

**COLONIAL FORESTRY AND AGRARIAN TRANSFORMATION  
IN GARHWAL, 1815—1947.**

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## CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this dissertation entitled "COLONIAL FORESTRY AND AGRARIAN TRANSFORMATION IN GARHWAL, 1815-1947" submitted by Mr. Dharendra Datt Dangwal, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY of this University, is an original work and has not been previously submitted for any degree of this or any other University.

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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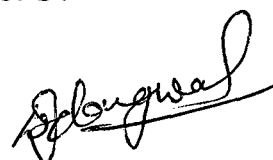
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I am solely responsible for the mistakes that might have crept in despite best of precautions.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Dhangwal', written in a cursive style.

(DHIRENDRA DATT DANGWAL)

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## ABBREVIATIONS

Agri	Agriculture
<u>ASBI</u>	<u>Agricultural Statistics of British India</u>
Commr	Commerce
Coll	Collectorate
DFO	Divisional Forest Officer
<u>EPW</u>	<u>Economic and Political Weekly</u>
ERR	English Record Room
FD	Forest Division
FSR	Forest Settlement Report
GOI	Government of India
<u>HDNWP</u>	<u>The Himalayan Districts of the North Western Provinces.</u>
<u>IESHR</u>	<u>Indian Economic and Social History Review</u>
<u>IF</u>	<u>Indian Forester</u>
NAI	National Archives of India
NWP	The North Western Provinces
Rev	Revenue
RKFGC	Report of the Kumaon Forest Grievances Committee
RRR	Revenue Record Room
SRG	<u>Settlement Report of Garhwal District</u>
SSK	Statistical Sketch of Kumaon
WP	Working Plans

# INTRODUCTION

Garhwal, situated in the northern part of Uttar Pradesh, is bounded in the North by Greater Himalaya, in the East by Kumoan, in the West by Himachal Pradesh and in the South by Meerut and Rohilkhand divisions.<sup>1</sup> The elevation varies from place to place. Some of the highest peaks of the country are situated in this region. These are Nandadevi (25661 feet), Kamet (25373 feet), Trishul (23490 feet) etc<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand places like Rishikesh has the height of 1000 feet. These features distinguish this region from the adjacent plains, and at the same time they account for the diversity within the region itself. The elevation of the place conditions its climate, vegetation, rainfall, texture of soil and consequently agricultural practices.

This region was known as Kedarkhand in the Puranas<sup>3</sup>. There are many mythological stories which link Pandavas to this region.<sup>4</sup> The great Hindu philosopher Sankracharya visited this region and established his math at Badrinath. Due to this it became an important centre of pilgrimage for

- 1 Garhwal now comprises of five districts, viz. Chamoli, Dehradun, Pauri, Tehri and Uttar Kashi.
- 2 The Himalayan Districts of the North Western Provinces, (hereafter HDNWP) compiled by E.T. Atkinson, 3 volumes (Allahabad, 1884 - 86) Vol. III Part I p.242.
- 3 H. K. Raturi, Garhwal Ka Itihas (1927; rept Dehradun, 1980); G.R.C. Williams, Historical and statistical Memoirs of Dehradun, (Roorkee, 1874) p.71.
- 4 Williams op cit., p.71.

Hindus. Moreover, the source of the Ganges, the holiest river to Hindus, is also situated in this region. Therefore, Hindus from all over India visited this region for centuries as a part of their religious duty. In the process many pilgrims settled in this region thus giving the history of this region a new twist.

Before Katyuris established their rule in Uttarkhand<sup>5</sup> this region was ruled by many tribes like Khas, Kirat, Kunind, Yodhey etc. Katyuris ruled this region sometimes around 7th-8th centuries. After that the area was divided into small principalities.

The Panwar dynasty unified these small principalities or chiefdoms, called Garhi (or forts).<sup>6</sup> The founder ruler of Panwar dynasty comes from Malwa. However, there is a dispute over the identity of the founder. Some scholars accept Kanak Pal, who according to them ruled sometimes between 8th to 10th centuries A.D., as the founder.<sup>7</sup> Others accept Ajay Pal, who according to them ruled sometime in the 14th Century, as the actual founder.<sup>8</sup> The Panwar dynasty

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5 Uttarkhand comprises of Garhwal and Kumoan Region. In British Period except Tehri Garhwal Kingdom, all region was under on civil division that was in Kumoan Division. The three districts of that division were Almora, Garhwal and Nainital.

6 There were 52 Garhis known as Bawan Garhi. The term Garhwal is drawn from this.

7 H.K. Raturi, Bhakt Darshan and Captain Shoorbeer Singh Panwar.

8 Rahul Sankrityayan, Shiv Prasad Dabral etc.

rule continued till 1804 when Gurkhas defeated and killed Pradhuman Shah, the king at Dehradun.

From 1804 to 1814 Gurkhas ruled Garhwal. At the end of the Anglo-Gurkha war Garhwal was partitioned. The territory to the west of Alaknanda river was handed over to Sudarshan Shah who helped the British to acquire the region, and the rest of the territory was included in the British Empire and was henceforth known as British Garhwal. Sudarshan Shah chose Tehri as his new capital, so the kingdom was known as Tehri Garhwal Kingdom. Tehri Garhwal kingdom merged with the Union of India in 1949.

This study will focus on British Garhwal. Some aspects of the Tehri kingdom will also be discussed.

Ramchandra Guha and Madhav Gadgil have expressed dismay over the neglect of ecological history<sup>9</sup>. They have argued that agrarian history of British India has focused almost exclusively on social relations around land and conflict over the distribution of its produce, to the neglect of the ecological context of agriculture. Their concern is justified. Perhaps, the ecological degradation caused by the policies of the colonial state had a more dangerous and longer term impact than any other aspect of colonialism.

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<sup>9</sup> Ramchandra Guha and Madhav Gadgil, 'State, Forestry and Social Conflict in British India: a study in the Ecological Bases of Agrarian Protest', Past and Present, May 1989.

Ecological factors vary from region to region. Therefore, there is need for a broader study of local factors which influenced British policy in India. Land settlements, tenurial structures, monetization of economy, commercialisation of agriculture etc need to be studied in the light of geographical and ecological factors which varied from region to region. The peculiarities of non-tribal hill regions have not been studied by scholars. Anthropologists have concentrated their study on tribal hill societies. Some scholars have recently begun to study social movements in the hills. David Arnold's essay on the Rumpa region of Andhra Pradesh is centred around resistance and protest and most of them of a violent nature<sup>10</sup>. There is a need to study other aspects of hill societies as well. People adopted new practices and adapted to new policies, at the same time the colonial state had to also bend its laws to accommodate to some extent the needs of the people. Confrontation was not inevitable. In the process, colonial intervention led to the transformation in agrarian practices. In some cases this led to economic dislocation in agrarian societies. In hill societies economic

10 David Arnold, 'Rebellious Hillmen: The Gudem Rumpa Risings, 1839-1924', in Ranjit Guha (ed.), Subaltern Studies I (Delhi, 1982). David Arnold talks of tension between hill and plain people. However, this was not characteristic of the relation of hill and plain people everywhere. In Garhwal there was no such conflict or tension. So there is need to study cooperation and exchanges of ideas as well, rather than only conflict.

dislocation was the result of colonial forest policy. This is one of the central themes of this study.

This study is divided into four main chapters.

The first chapter discusses the relationship between caste, land and social change. Social change has been discussed in the limited sense : how colonial rule affected the traditional nexus between caste, land and power. In the Indian context caste is considered an important factor in determining one's position in society . However, there are at least two distinct views about the nature and significant of caste. One view considers caste as the only important determinant in defining one's status in the social hierarchy and the power structure. The French anthropologist Louis Dumont argues that Hindu caste represents an instance of pure hierarchy and that power is sub-ordinate to status (religious ranks)<sup>11</sup>. He postulates a homology between varna and jati. The basis of jati system is the opposition between the pure and the impure. The higher castes are pure in relation to the lower, and the two have to be kept apart in order to safeguard the purity of the higher caste. Dumont thus underplays the economic dimensions or the class characteristics of the caste system.

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11 Louis Dumont, Homo Hierarchicus (London, 1970).



The second view rejects such a simple interpretation of the caste system. M. N. Srinivas for example, rejects a homology between varna and jati and argues that power and status are not the same. He presents the dominant caste thesis<sup>12</sup>. He show that the varna system cannot explain the complex jati system in which power is given a place higher than is allowed by the theoretical hierarchy of the pure and impure. Within the broader parameters of this framework, Andre Beteille argues that in contemporary India the dominant role of land owning groups, who often had their position at the middle and not at the top of the caste hierarchy, cannot be denied<sup>13</sup>. Therefore, there are two competing models to understand power in contemporary rural India. The relationship between the two models need to be

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- 12 M. N. Srinivas. Caste in Modern India (Bombay, 1962), Social Change in Modern India (Berkeley, 1966) The Cohesive Role of Sanskritization and Other Essays (Delhi, 1989) 'Mobility in Caste System' in Milton Singer and Bernard Cohn (eds), Structure and Change in Indian Society (Chicago, 1968), 'The Social System of a Mysore Village' in Mackim Marriott (ed), Village India, (Chicago, 1955). For critique of Dumont, see Yogendra Singh, Social Stratification and Change in India (Delhi, 1989); Dipankar Gupta, 'Continuous Hierarchies and Discreet Castes', EPW, Nov 17, 24 and Dec 1, 1984; Partha Chatterjee, 'Caste and Subaltern Consciousness', in Ranjit Guha (ed.) Subaltern Studies Vol VI (Delhi, 1989).
- 13 Andre Beteille, Studies in Agrarian Social Structure (Delhi 1974); Caste, Class and Power : Changing Pattern of Stratification in a Tanjor Village (Bombay, 1969).

explored. John MacDougall suggests a merger of the key feature of both models.<sup>14</sup>

In case of Kumaon R.D. Sanwal has shown that there was a close link between caste and power.<sup>15</sup> However, Sanwal does not analyse how this link was given concrete shape in pre-colonial times through grants of land and high offices. Under colonial rule this nexus between caste, power and land control weakened. To what extent did this link weaken and how were the privileges of different categories of people transformed ? These are the issues discussed in chapter one.

The second chapter discusses the agrarian structure. An agrarian history sensitive to ecological factors is yet to be written. A shift has taken place from an exclusive pre-occupation with tenures to a broader concern with the commercialisation of agriculture. Yet an obsession with the market has meant the neglect of specific local contexts of agrarian life.

S.C. Gupta and Imtiaz Hussain concentrated on 'landlord' and tenants as legal categories created by British revenue policy.<sup>16</sup> Eric Stokes and Ranjit Guha have

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14 John MacDengall, 'Two Models of Power in Contemporary Rural India', in Contribution to Indian Sociology, 1980, n.s.14 pp.77-94.

15 R.D. Sanwal, Social Stratification in Rural Kumaon (Delhi, 1976).

16 S.C. Gupta, Agrarian Relation and Early British Rule : A Case Study of Ceded and Conjured Provinces (Uttar Pradesh) (Bombay,

shown how the ideas that prevailed in Europe influenced British agrarian policies in India.<sup>17</sup> However, this approach failed to explain fully the practical aspects of policies. Asiya Siddiqi has analysed policies in relation to broader processes of socio economic change.<sup>18</sup> She held early 19th century settlements responsible for the monetization of rural economy and has shown how commercialisation led to a link with the world market. Elizabeth Whitcombe<sup>19</sup> has described every aspect of peasant life in Uttar Pradesh.

In chapter II I show the practical difficulties of implementing the land revenue policies of the government in this region. All the rules regarding precision in measurement, time duration of settlement, classification of lands assessment etc. were applied late in the region and with many modifications .

The third chapter discusses the agrarian economy of the region which had close links with forests. I attempt to discuss the ecological factors which in many cases

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1963); Imtiaz Husain, Land Revenue Policy in North India ; The ceded and Conquered Provinces (Calcutta, 1967).

17 Eric Stokes, The English Utilitarian in India (Oxford, 1959); Ranajit Guha, A Rule of Property for Bengal (Paris, 1963).

18 Asiya Siddiqi, Agrarian Change in a Northern India State ; Uttar Pradesh 1819-33 (Oxford, 1973).

19 Elizabeth Whitcombe, Agrarian Conditions in Northern India, Vol I ; The United Provinces Under British Rule, 1860-1900 (California, 1971).

determined the decisions of the peasants. Asiya Siddiqi argued that early settlements led to monetization and consequently to the adoption of commercial crops like indigo, cotton and sugar. But this did not occur in Garhwal. In spite of the efforts of officials, peasants did not adopt commercial crops. Although colonial intervention was powerful it was circumscribed by many local factors.

The fourth chapter is on colonial forestry. Scientific forestry adopted by the colonial state had profound impact on the life of the peasantry in Garhwal. The pioneering work in this field has been done by Ramchandra Guha.<sup>20</sup> He has shown how scientific forestry disrupted the 'Social Economy' of peasants. Colonial forestry curtailed rights of the people in the forests. This led to resistance and protest. Guha analyses the 'sociology of peasant protest' in this region. However, he tends to project the Chipko Movement back into the past.

There is a need to look more closely at the inter-relationship of agriculture and forestry. Colonial forestry

20 Ramchandra Guha, The Unquiet Woods : Ecological Change and Peasant Resistance in the Himalaya (Delhi, 1989); 'Forestry in British and Post-British India : A Historical Analysis', in EPW 29 October and 5-12 November 1983; 'An Early Environmental Debate : the making of the 1878 forest act', in IESHR 27, 1(1990); 'Rebellion As Confrontation', in Ranjit Guha (ed.) Subaltern Studies IV (Delhi 1985); with M. Gadgil op.cit. See also Madhav Gadgil, 'Towards an Ecological History', EPW Special Number November 1985. 'Ecological Organisation of the Indian Society', Vikram Sarabhai Memorial Lecture, delivered at JNU, February 13, 1991.

led to economic crisis in Garhwal. However, the long term impact, like the ecological disruption caused by colonial forestry, has been felt only recently. An attempt has been made in this chapter to provide a description of the steady curtailment of rights of the people in forests. The disruption caused by colonial forestry in the life of the peasantry is discussed.

# CHAPTER 1

## CASTE, LAND AND SOCIAL CHANGE

This chapter will discuss the relationship of caste, land and power, and how colonial rule brought about a transformation in this relationship. There are two schools of thoughts which suggest two opposing views. One argues that colonial rule could not penetrate deep into the social structure and thereby was unable to break the nexus between caste, land and power. It relied for its survival on the traditional elite. The transformation that took place was superficial. This line of thought proposes an argument of 'continuity'. The opposing view suggests that changes in agrarian society were deeper. I will try to analyse the social change in Garhwal in the light of the above mentioned arguments. However, at the outset, I would like to mention that I am discussing social change in a limited sense, focussing only on the relationship of caste with land control and power structure, and the extent to which this relationship weakened under colonial rule.

This chapter is divided into three sections. I begin with the traditional structure, then discuss the sources of power, and conclude with a discussion on the structural transformation.

## CASTE AND POWER: TRADITIONAL STRUCTURE

This section will deal with caste and power. To what extent did caste determine a person's positions in the power structure? I will try to analyse the status of the individual and the group in terms of their caste. How the position of different castes evolved and changed over time and how they related to each other?

The importance of power in the functioning of rural society is widely accepted. The notion of power, however, is conceived in varied terms. It can be used and applied in many ways. But the compliance of the person over whom it is exercised is necessary. About power Rudolph writes: "power is the capacity to impose one's will upon another, so that he is obliged to do what he would not otherwise do, or so that he is prevented from doing what he would otherwise do"<sup>1</sup>. In other words we may speak of the existence of power wherever compliance is secured by someone from others even against the latter's will. People might comply because of the fear of coercion or because they feel that those who issue commands have a right to do so. Andre Beteille argues that power in the wider sense might be backed in addition to physical force by economic control and ritual sanctions<sup>2</sup>.

1 Susanne H. Rudolph, 'Introduction' in Meghnad Desai, S. H. Rudolph and Ashok Rudra (eds.), Agrarian Power and Agriculture Productivity in South Asia, (Delhi, 1984) p.9.

2 Beteille, Caste, Class and Power, p.143.

Therefore, even ritual superiority may constitute an element of power in a certain setting.

Louis Dumont argues that the economic and political domains in India are closely intertwined and these are in turn encompassed by the caste system<sup>3</sup>. To David Ludden the status of major caste groups is an important variable in shaping the pattern of local access to investable resources<sup>4</sup>. When B. B. Chaudhuri talks of 'rural power', he considered caste an important factor in it.<sup>5</sup>

In the Indian context, therefore, division of power in the traditional social structure had close affinity with the caste structure. Andre Beteille has argued that in the past there was a greater overlap between the hierarchies of caste and class, and there was also a greater correspondence between caste structure and the distribution of power. He has further suggested that in the village, caste was traditionally the only important locus of power<sup>6</sup>.

In pre-colonial Garhwal caste was the important factor in the power structure. A recent study of Jean-Claude Galey

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3 Dumont, op. cit., p.36

4 David Ludden, 'Productive Power in Agriculture', in Desai, Rudolph and Rudra (eds.) op. cit. pp.74-75. For a similar argument see Madhav Gadgil, 'Ecological Organisation of the Indian Society' op. cit.

5 B. B. Chaudhuri, 'Rural Power Structure and Agriculture Productivity in Eastern India, 1757-1947,' in Desai, Rudolph and Rudra (eds.) op. cit. p.223.

6 Beteille, Caste, Class and Power, p.223.



on Garhwal looks at serfdom and servility in terms of indebtedness and bondage which was the result of dependence. This dependence, he argues, can be interpreted as the consequence of the conquest of the region by Thuljats (High Caste) and their domination over Khasas and Doms. He writes, "the foreign origin of the dominant castes, the occupation of conquered territories and submission of the former occupants seem to be the origin of social distinction"<sup>7</sup>.

Khasas or Khasiyas were the dominant caste in Garhwal before immigrants from plains came here. Whenever, there were Khasas there were Doms as well. Doms worked as serfs of Khasas. It is difficult to say for how long Khasas were dominating this region. They were supposed to be a strong tribe spread from Central Asia to the eastern Himalayas in Khasia hills at the beginning of the Christian era<sup>8</sup>. They started agriculture on a large scale in Garhwal. After interaction with immigrant Hindus from the plains, the Khasas adopted some Hindu practices.

The immigrants from the plains preferred to accompany adventurers or pilgrims ( to Badrinath, Kedarnath, Gangotri and Jamnotri) or be invited by ruling chiefs. Most of the

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7. Jean-Claude Galey, 'Creditors, King and Death: Determination and Implications of Bondage in Tehri Garhwal', in Malamoud (ed.) Debt and Debtors (Delhi, 1983).

8. British Garhwal: A Gazetteer by H. G. Walton, (Allahabad, 1910) pp. 111-12. See also HDNWP Vol I and III.

higher castes say they came to Garhwal with Kanak Pal who is sometimes identified with the first Panwar ruler of Garhwal. Kanak Pal who came from Malwa is said to have conquered the country in the seventh century<sup>9</sup>.

Panwar rulers invited Brahmins and Rajputs, apart from those who initially came with them, to come from the plains and settle in Garhwal. The immigration of the higher caste people started with the foundation of the Panwar dynasty and continued till the 18th century. According to local tradition many Brahmins came to Garhwal with Shankracharya, who set up at Badrinath one of his four Maths.<sup>10</sup>

Brahmins and Kshastriyas from all over India came here. They adopted different titles (sub caste or jati) from the name of the village where their forefathers first settled. However, they did not change their gotras. They received land in grants from the king. Infact, Garhwal kings offered land in grants to high caste pilgrims. Consequently, grantees were settled in Garhwal.

This immigration process was similar to that in many parts of India. Kingdoms of south under Pandya, Pallava, Chola and Chalukyas invited Brahmins. Andre Beteille has

9 Garhwal Gazetteer, 1910, p.61.

10 See Garhwal Gazetteer 1910; HDNWP; Raturi op. cit.; Sanwal op.cit. All important castes have maintained their geneologies. Atkinson and Raturi in their works have given list of Jatis, their originator and the place from where they came.

written about the village he studied : "An agrapharam such as that at Sripuram was often created by grafting a community of Brahmins who came from outside and giving them title either to remission of revenue or to ownership of land which in any case was tilled by separate classes of people."<sup>11</sup>

The society in Garhwal was stratified at two levels. On the one hand there were Biths (clean, included immigrants and Khasas) and Doms (unclean, or depressed castes). On the other among the Bith there were Thulgats (high castes or immigrants) and Khasas. Doms were aboriginal and were attached to Khasas as serfs. Khasas were the dominant caste. They did not wear janeo (sacred thread). Only, much later did they adopt some Hindu practices.<sup>12</sup> With the coming of immigrant high castes, naturally, there emerged a hierarchy in which immigrants were at the top, followed by Khasas, and then the Doms at the bottom. Within the Varna system Doms became Shudras. Khasas due to their dominant position were accepted as pure although their status was lower than Brahmin and Kshtriyas(Rajputs).<sup>13</sup>

Although, immigrants were divided into Brahmins and Rajputs, and there were also distinctions within Brahmins and Rajputs but these were of different order so less

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11 Beteille, Caste, Class and Power p.111.

12 Garhwal Gazetteer 1910, p.61.

13 See, Garhwal Gazetteer; HDNWP; and Sanwal op.cit.

effective as far as power structure was concerned. All immigrants were entitled to grants of land and office in state administration. Although, pre-dominance of a few sub-castes among immigrants cannot be denied.

Thus immigrant Brahmins and Rajputs (or Thakurs or Khatriyas) became the ruling class. Land control, the main source of power, will be discussed in the next section. In this section, I will discuss the other links between caste and power.

Ritual superiority is one of the important basis of hierarachy. Social honour in the caste system is very closely tied to ritual values. Styles of life which are highly esteemed are generally associated with a large number of ritual restrictions. Thus, there are restrictions among Brahmins on the eating of various kinds of food. Together with this there are ritual prescriptions with regard to the manner of dress, the caste mark and so on.

Caste has been also defined by some sociologist in terms of a distinct life style. In the terminology of Weber, they constitute a status group. "In contrast to classes" Weber writes, "status groups are normally

communities. they are, however, often of an amorphous kind"<sup>14</sup>

The caste system enjoyed both legal and religious sanctions in traditional Indian Society. Different castes were assigned different rights not only in economic matters, but over a wide range of social phenomenon. In traditional society punishment differed not only according to the nature of the offence committed, but also according to the caste of the offenders<sup>15</sup>. Wearing of the janeo by Khasiya constituted violation of norms and was liable to punishment<sup>16</sup>.

Due to their high caste status immigrants were close to the ruling class. Only high caste immigrants like Brahmins and Rajputs were entitled to dine in royal company<sup>17</sup>.

The immigrants were alone entitled to hold the offices of sardars (high military officers), faujdars (territorial military commanders who as a feudal lord of a specified area under their jurisdiction also exercised important civil,

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14 Max Weber, cited by Beteille, Caste, Class and Power, p.188.

15 Beteille, Caste, Class and Power, p.191

16 Garhwal Gazzetter, 1910, p.61.

17 Sanwal, opcit., p.29.

judicial and revenue functions), and Negis (subordinate officers concerned with revenue administration)<sup>18</sup>.

The machinery of justice, controlled entirely by immigrant administrators, was geared to maintain the status superiority of the latter, particularly of the Brahmins. Traill, the first settlement officer wrote, "in the interior, justice was administered, in civil and petty criminal cases by faujdars, or governors, while the cases of magnitude, and those originating in the capital or neighbourhood were determined in the Raja's court, under the superintendence of the Diwan"<sup>19</sup>.

Faujdars or military commanders who were responsible for judicial as well as civil administration of territorial units were either from the Thakur-Rajput or the 'Chauthani' category, and the Diwan (Prime minister) who presided over the court at the capital was from the latter category<sup>20</sup>.

Beside the formal court of justice every village had an informal panchayat consisting of the more influential members of the Bith lineage which held the land in

18 Ibid., p. 29. Sanwal's evidences are from Kumaon, but the esystem in Kumaon had close affinity with that in Garhwal. Sanwal also notes this similarity. He found similar stratification in T.D. Gairola's essay on castes in Garhwal published in the Journal of U.P. History Congress, 1922.

19 G.W. Traill, 'Statistical Sketch of Kumaon' (hereafter SSK) in J.H. Batten, Official Report on the Province of Kumaon, (Agra, 1851), pp.1-60..

20 Sanwal, op. cit., p.32.

'proprietary' or 'under-proprietary' tenure<sup>21</sup>. Till very late, in Tehri Kingdom, only those who held hissedari or maurisdari right in the land of a hissedari village, were eligible to participate in the election of a 'padhan' (village head man). Khaikars, could have only participated in the elections of a Khaikari village or if there was no hissedar in the village<sup>22</sup>. A similar situation also prevailed in British Garhwal<sup>23</sup>.

The 'Chauthanis' (holders of four important office), were always Brahmins. They were brahmins who immigrated to Kumaon between the eighth and the eighteenth centuries and were honoured by the local Hindu kings. They were given land grants and high administrative or ritual office<sup>24</sup>.

Therefore, it is clear that caste was the determining factor in social hierarchy. Caste was the source of power. It was due to their high caste that immigrant Brahmins and Rajputs dominated all spheres of life. However, from the above analysis it should not be concluded that power was only the prerogative of Brahmins and Rajputs. Khasas also wielded power over their immediate lower caste. This picture closely resembles the situation in Tanjor described

21 Ibid, p.33

22 Tehri Garhwal Rajya Ke Gram Padhan Sambandhi Niyam, (Narendranagar, 1931) (In private collection of Captain Shoorbeer Singh Panwar, Tehri Town).

23 HDNWP Vol.III Part D, p.292.

24 Sanwal op. cit., p.39.

by Andre Beteille. He has argued that in Sripuram power was largely controlled by Brahmins, non-Brahmins also enjoyed some power, but it was largely delegated to them by Brahmins to deal with the Adi-Dravidas, with whom Brahmins could not interact directly due to untouchability.<sup>25</sup>

Now we move to a discussion of land control which gave concrete shape to the power of high castes.

### CASTE AND LAND CONTROL : SOURCE OF POWER

This section will attempt to analyse the relationship between tenurial structure and caste structure and the implication of this relationship.

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In an agrarian society the nature of productive organisation is very closely associated with the nature of ownership, control and use of land. This is the theme explored in many of the recent works on agrarian histories.

Robert C. Neale argued that historians should stop looking at land as 'land' and start looking at what people hold in relation to it<sup>26</sup>. He emphasised the need to understand culture as well as the economic element in this 'holding' ( of land). Land holding has a complex meaning in

25 Beteille, Caste, Class and Power, p.224.

26 Robert C. Neale, 'Land is to Rule', in R.FryKenberg (ed.), Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History, (Madison, 1969) pp. 3-15.



TH 21





India. It has bearing on one's caste, one's social status and the power one holds in the social hierarchy. Writes, the French anthropologist, Louis Dumont, "Territory, power, village dominance result from the possession of land".<sup>27</sup> Dumont has observed the intertwined relationship between the economic and the political domains and how these in turn are encompassed within caste. However, some scholars deny that caste is the basic structural variable in defining hierarchy in society. They see the autonomous role of class or economic power in ordering society. Andre Beteille has underlined the dominant role of land owning groups.<sup>28</sup> Similarly, B.B.Chaudhuri has shown that zamindars were loosing power to jotedars. And even jotedars were not at the centre of the power structure. He has argued that small peasants were free to take their decisions. Jotedars lost their power to 'amlahs', moneylenders and mill owners (in the case of Jute).<sup>29</sup> However, there is commonalty between the two models. John MacDougall has emphasised the need to merge the key features of both models. He writes :

For the purpose of analysing power structure and the long run trends in the political economy, caste should be seen as one of the most important overt grouping through which subgroups ( Such as economic strata or factions) attain a group identity and mobilize for political action. Moreover, the process whereby one caste excercises dominance in a village are major tactical and

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27 Dumont, op.cit., p.153.

28 Andre Beteille, Studies in Agrarian Social Structure (Delhi, 1974) p.71.

ideological mechanism ,whereby the rich peasants monitors their power and cohesiveness as a class.<sup>30</sup>

Anand Yang, has also argued that in the agrarian setting of Saran land, economic power and caste were closely tied together.<sup>31</sup> Similarly, in pre-colonial Garhwal the control and use of land was governed by very complex tenurial arrangements which reflected not only the economic position of the individual and groups, but also their social position in the broadest sense of the term. Similarly, their pattern of work or the distribution of occupation was also an important aspect of the social system in which they lived.

There was a three tier tenurial system in Garhwal. Khasiyas were supposed to be the first to clear land for cultivation. However, with the foundation of Panwar dynasty the king became the owner of all land. Although, the ultimate proprietorship was vested in the sovereign,<sup>32</sup> in practice he did not disturb the real cultivators. But the king gave land in grants to immigrant Brahmins, Rajputs and officials. In such cases the grantee become Thatwan or Vritiwan and the cultivators of the land which was granted became Khaikar( Tenant) of the grantee. Some grants were

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29 Chaudhuri, op.cit., pp.99-170.

30 Mac Dougall, op.cit., pp.77-94.

31 Anand A. Yang, The Limited Raj : Agrarian Relations in Colonial India, Saran District, 1793-1920 (Delhi, 1989) p.44.

made only as an assignment to collect the revenue and keep that in lieu of salary. E.K.Pau, the settlement officer wrote :

Of the grants which did not convey property in the soil but only assignment of revenue, the most common were those which made as remuneration for the fulfillment of public office known as 'Negichari', 'Kaminchari', 'Jaidad' etc. and those made for the endowment of the religious establishment.<sup>33</sup>

These grants were made at the cost of cultivators, whose forefathers cleared land for cultivation. Such cultivators became Khaikar. Land in grants was only given to immigrant Brahmins, Rajputs and officials who were invariably from these two castes. However, it is not to suggest that those who were not high caste immigrants could not have been shareholders. All inhabitants of a village, which was not given in grant, were shareholders irrespective of their caste. Therefore, there were two types of share holders ( Hissedars) - those who were maurisi (by virtue of holding land for generations) and those who got land in grant.<sup>34</sup>

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- 32 Tehri Garhwal Raiya Ke Bhumi Sambandhi Adhikar Niyam (Dehradun, 1941), p.1. See also Garhwal Gazetteer 1910, p.80.
- 33 The Tenth Settlement Report of Garhwal, compiled by E.K. Pau (hereafter SRG). (Allahabad, 1896) pp.23-33.
- 34 Tehri Raiya Bhumi Niyam, 1941, pp.2-4.

The Khaikar had the hereditary right in land. A grantee could not have removed him. However, the Khaikar had to give, 'malikana' to the hissedar.<sup>35</sup>

The third category of cultivators were called 'Sirtans'. Sirtani right was not hereditary. Sirtans were tenants-at-will. Land was given to them by either Hissedars or Khaikars on certain conditions and for certain time period.<sup>36</sup> Mostly people of depressed caste were sirtan.

This three tier (Hissedar, Khaikar and Sirtan) tenurial structure has close relationship with the three tier caste hierarchy ( Thuljats, Khasas and Dom). Khasas were primarily responsible for cleaning land for cultivation but many were classed as Khaikar when a village was granted by a King to immigrants ( Thuljats). Doms were sirtans.

Badri Dutt Pandey refers to three circumstances in which the king could grant land :<sup>37</sup>

(a) He could donate land to the Brahmin for their erudition and this act was known as 'Sankalp' or 'Visnuprete' .

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35 Ibid., pp.2-4.

36 Ibid., p.3.

37 B.D. Pandey, Kumaon Ka Itihas (1937, rept. Almora 1990) pp.370-71.

(b) The king rewarded the brave with land for their galantry and this process of investiture was known as 'Raut'.  
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(c) The king also gave land to officers in the form of fiefs in lieu of their salaries.

In cases (a) & (c) land was obviously given to high caste immigrants and even in case (b) it was often given to brave Rajputs.<sup>38</sup>

The control of high castes over land was consolidated through such grants. It is, however, difficult to calculate the extent of this hold, particularly, the nature of its shift over time. The main problem is that there was no reliable enumeration in pre-colonial Garhwal. And there is no detailed enumeration of land holding available for that period. In the colonial period official enumeration started and some data are available, but, they are unreliable since the official categorization is blurred. The categories in the census which were applicable to the plains of the North-Western Provinces and later to the United Provinces of the Agra and Oudh were also applied in the hills, and this created a lot of confusion. For example, in the hill region there were Khasas who were divided into Khasas-Brahmin and

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38 For detail on the nature of grants see section on grants in chapter 3 below.

Khasas-Rajput. They were lower in status than the immigrant Brahmin and Rajputs. But in the plains there were no Khasas. So in the census Khasas of the hills were classed as Rajputs-Kshtriya. Even this classification was not followed consistently. For example, sometimes Khasas were enumerated seperately. So it is difficult to know the exact number and positions of the immigrants and Khasas.

Similarly, land tenure of the hills differed from the land tenure in the plain. The uniform application of tenurial categories resulted in confusion. For example, in the hills most hissedars (proprietors) cultivated land. He took 'malikana' but he did not rely completely on the rent from the land for his livelihood. He was himself a cultivator. This made it difficult for census authorities to ascertain the real position of land lord and tenant. In the 1911 census there were detailed categories specified for tenures. However, in 1921, these were only put under two categories, those who drew income from the rent on agriculture land, and those who were ordinary cultivators. This makes it difficult to differentiate between different categories of tenants in Garhwal.

Nevertheless, there are enough indicators to show that upper castes had a hold over the land. Even in 1896 after 81 years of colonial rule high castes had substantial land under their control. From the tables 1.1 & 1.2 it is clear

**TABLE 1.1<sup>a</sup> : POPULATION OF DIFFERENT CASTES AND LANDHOLDING.**

**1841 TO 1921.**

Caste	1841-42	1865 <sup>d</sup>	1872	1881	1901	1911	1921	Land Holding in 1896 in %
Brahmins	29122 (22.08)	59468 (23.91)	73747 <sup>b</sup> (23.76)	77960 (22.56)	101000 (23.52)	111973 (23.35)	114443 (23.59)	30.0
Thakur Rajput	44470 (33.71)	30545 (12.33)	94065 (30.32)					23.35
Khasa (Rajput)	34502 (26.15)	107627 (43.28)	65791 <sup>c</sup> (21.20)					41.99
Rajput Total	78972 (59.86)	138172 (55.55)	159856 (51.52)	24519 (59.1)	245000 (57.10)	269117 (56.12)	272925 (56.25)	65.34
Dom/ Depressed Castes	13581 (10.30)	35993 (14.47)	72258 (23.28)	54430 (15.75)	68000 (15.83)	78036 (16.28)	77334 (15.94)	3.47
Total	131916	248742	310282	345629	429430	479641	485186	

a) For the years to prior 1881 the sources are HDNWP, Vol.III, Part I, Garhwal Gazetteer 1910.

b) Number of khasa-Brahmin deducted.

c) Number of khasa-Brahmin added.

d) Atkinson rejected the 1865 enumeration.

e) Figure in parentheses denotes percentage of total population.

Note: Where the population of Khasas is not given separately it is not mentioned in the table. Walton wrote that two third of those mentioned as Rajput or Kshtriya Thakur are Khasas. However, when the breakup is given as in the case of 1841-42 and 1872 it does not prove. But 1865 enumeration which is not accepted by Atkinson reflects it to some extent. The last column is based on Pau's settlement report.

(f) population of castes other than these mentioned in the table is not taken in consideration.

**TABLE 1.2 : CASTES, TENURIAL STATUS AND LAND HOLDING IN 1896**

Caste(Jati)	Proprietors		Kharikars		Sirtans		Total	
	No.	Area in acres	No.	Area	No.	Area	No.	Area in acre
Sarola Brahmins	1567	6810.0	236	578.2	293	315.1	2096	7703.3
Gangari Brahmins	5267	27759.3	1930	5500.2	1378	1629.5	8575	34889.0
Khasa Brahmins	3685	24625.8	1454	5541.2	1143	1878.2	6286	32045.2
Inferior Brahmins	397	1948.4	210	998.0	103	231.3	710	3177.7
Total Brahmins	10916	61143.5	3830	12617.6	2921	4054.1	17667	77815.2
Total Chattris (Kshtriyas)	8676	48350.8	2771	9693.4	1410	2350.3	12848	60394.5
Khasiyas	14376	82167.0	5867	20416.8	3033	5964.9	23276	108593.7
Jogis	200	479.3	120	282.8	88	112.6	408	874.7
Vaishnovas	25	118.8	19	29.8	5	30.4	49	179.0
Baniyas	213	750.4	93	367.7	93	161.4	399	1276.5
Sarwagis	4	4.0	-	-	-	-	4	4.0
Sikh Dass	3	4.1	-	-	-	-	3	4.1
Dom (upper class)	419	1373.9	1792	3034.9	2915	2693.4	1526	7102.2
Dom (lower class)	64	334.6	601	760.0	1157	768.5	1822	1863.1
Muhammadans	21	171.1	20	82.5	20	43.4	61	298.0
Europeans	2	39.6	-	-	-	-	2	39.6
Native Christians	18	145.3	15	14.4	11	18.3	44	178.0
Sweepers	2	.2	-	-	-	-	2	.2
Grand Total	34930	159083.6	15128	47341.9	11653	16197.3	61711	258622.8

Source : Pau, E.K., Tenth Settlement Report of Garhwal District, pp.13-14.



that Brahmins were about 23 per cent of the total population. However, even in 1896 they held about 30 per cent of the cultivated land. It is difficult to know how many were immigrant Rajputs. Only in 1841-42, 1865 and 1872 are their numbers given separately. In 1841-42 and 1872 their number is given as more than the number of Khasas. This is untenable. If, as H.G. Walton says, two third of those who were recorded as Kshatriyas or Rajputs were Khasas,<sup>39</sup> then the number of immigrant Rajputs would be quite low. However, in the case of 1865 enumeration, the population of Khasas is given as 107627 and those of Rajputs as 30545. Immigrant Rajputs held 23.4 per cent of the land in 1896. Immigrant Brahmins and Rajputs together held around 53.35 per cent of the land in 1896. Khasas whose exact number is difficult to ascertain probably constituted about 50 per cent of the population and held around 42 per cent of the land. However Doms and Depressed Castes who constituted about 16 per cent of the population held around 3.47 of the total cultivated land in 1896. If we excluded Sirtani land which was not considered their own, than the proportion of land held by them will be lower than 3.47 per cent.

Despite the inconsistency of the data it can be asserted that high castes had a firm hold on land.

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39 Garhwal Gazetteer, 1910, p.62.

Therefore, it can be argued that in the pre-colonial Garhwal upper caste Brahmins and Rajputs had a predominance in all spheres. This was reinforced through their control over land. With the coming of the British this dominance came under threat. To what extent was this dominance weakened under colonial rule ? This is the subject of the next section.

#### STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATION :

The changes brought about by colonial rule in the power structure will be discussed in this section. In Garhwal, as I have already mentioned in the first section, the ruling elites were immigrant Brahmins and Rajputs. Therefore, the ruling elite was a closed group since its recruitment was based on birth and kinship. Although, a few exceptions were there. Prof. S. Tripathi writes about Kumaon society which has close affinity with the society in Garhwal. "Elite constituted a closed group; elite status in most cases is ascribed, it is ascribed on the basis of birth, kinship and age. Mostly, they comprised landed aristocracy."<sup>40</sup> However, with the establishment of the British rule the system did not remain so closed. The administrative structure of the British were quite different from that under the king. Under

40 S. Tripathi, 'Kumaon Society - its elite structure, change and social Policy', in O.P.Singh (ed.), Himalaya, Nature, Man and Culture, (Delhi, 1983).

the king only a few upper caste people were eligible for administrative posts. Only they were appointed Fauidars, Commanders, Negi etc.. However, under the colonial rule caste and kinship was not the basic criteria of eligibility for administrative and other government jobs.

British officials claim that the influence of high castes had been destroyed.<sup>41</sup> But it is difficult to accept it. High castes continued to control the land for long under British rule. Colonial bureaucracy sought their cooperation in revenue matters. Some families continued to hold hereditary revenue offices under British rule for long period.<sup>42</sup> Sayanas, Kamins, Thakurs and Padhans who wielded influence in rural societies were mostly from high castes. Throughout the British period they continued to influence rural society.<sup>43</sup>

Nevertheless, changes of a lasting nature in the structure of castes in Garhwal were set in motion by the British after 1815. The British generally did not take

41 Traill SSK, pp.1-60, Traill, settlement officer wrote, "to some of the principal Kamins and the Brahmins, the introduction of the British government, by destroying their former influence, has proved a cause of regret, but to the great bulk of the population this event has been a source of unceasing benefit and congratulation."

42 Files of the Revenue deptt. for several years, in the English Record Room Collectorate Pauri. Raturi family of Srinagar (Garhwal) claimed hereditary Kanungoship.

43 For the influence of these functionaries and shifts overtime in their influence under colonial rule see the section on Sayana & Padhan in chapter 3 below.

specific anti-caste measures but the administrative measures introduced by them had some effect on the structure of castes.<sup>44</sup>

The process of disassociating socio-religious status from its political and economic status was begun in Garhwal under Gurkhas and was continued by the British. Land tax on Brahmins, imposed for the first time by the Gurkhas, was continued by the British administration.<sup>45</sup> The rent free grants and assignments, in lieu of cash payment, held by members of high castes as advisors or administrators, were generally discontinued by the British. Grants of land to high castes, other than those who were officials, were also discontinued. Therefore, the important status distinction between Khasas and high castes was weakened.<sup>46</sup>

Under the British rule all persons who held land as proprietor or under-proprietor, irrespective of their caste, were legally compelled to provide provision and coolie services (Begar) to touring government officials, European tourists and travellers.<sup>47</sup> This undermined the superiority which high castes enjoyed in pre-colonial Garhwal. Local newspaper criticised kuli utar (Begar). People continued to complain against this system. So, E.K.Pau in his settlement

44 Sanwal, op.cit. pp.126-27.

45 Ibid., p.119 see also Pandey op.cit., p.394.

46 See section on Grants chapter 3 below.

in 1896 imposed a small cess in place of Kuli Bardavash (providing food stuff to officials and travellers without charging money).<sup>48</sup> However, complaints against Kuli Utar (carrying luggage of officials and travellers earlier without payment and latter with nominal payment) continued.<sup>49</sup> Garhwali, a local newspaper, in its August 1906 issue wrote that Kuli Utar was very painful to the people of Kumaon (means Kumaon division). The paper suggested the setting up of a Kuli agency which will keep horses and asses. In the April 1907 issue, T.D.Gairola wrote that if the government could not invest in Kuli agency, the people of Garhwal were prepared to pay some tax instead of providing Kuli Utar. The tax would provide enough resources to start a Kuli agency. Garhwali in almost every issue raised the question of Kuli Utar. It expressed peoples woes on account of the system. Public meetings were held to protest against all types of Begar. Later the government started a Kuli agency. Detailed rules regarding weight, distance, charges etc. were published in Garhwali.<sup>50</sup> T.D.Gairola, secretary Kuli Agency Garhwal District., submitted a report for year 1911-12 to the deputy

47 Providing Kuli Begar, Kuli Utar & Kuli Bardavash was condition in settlements. See SRG 1842, 1862 and 1896.

48 Garhwali, July 1913. See also SRG 1896.

49 Almost all issues of Garhwali raised the issue of all types of Begar in the first two decades of the 20th century. See for example, May 1906, June 1906, April 1907, January 1912, February 1912, August 1912, July 1913, Nov.-Dec.1914 etc.

50 Garhwali Nov.-December 1914.

commissioner.<sup>51</sup> In this report he protested that although Kuli Bardavash was discontinued in 1894 but some officials were still claiming Bardavash. He complaint against the misuse of Baradvash by Patwari and other local officials. Meanwhile Garhwali continued to ask for a raise in the wages of Kuli so that they could be readily available.<sup>52</sup> Thus we can see that Begar created a lot of animosity between people and administration, particularly because high caste people felt insulted on being equated with low caste in providing Begar. After establishment of Kuli agencies in different places, low caste people continued to carry luggage, although at remunerative wages.

The British abolished large number of cesses collected by the Garhwal king ( which were basically taken by the middlemen).<sup>53</sup> The real burden of these taxes was borne by the impoverished class of the Khasa tenants.<sup>54</sup>

The highly centralised administrative and judicial system established by the British in Garhwal was a negation of the traditionally decentralised system of judicial and civil administration. The earlier system gave the high caste commanders and administrators great prestige and power to

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51 Garhwali July 1913.

52 Garhwali August 1906. See also several other issues.

53 Traill SSK, in Batten compiled Official Report pp.1-60.

54 Sanwal op.cit., p.119, see footnote.

control the people under their jurisdiction and to maintain their status superiority.<sup>55</sup>

The British administration projected themselves as the protector of low castes. Some sociologists<sup>56</sup> argue that some advantages of British rule accrued to low castes. M.N.Srinivas writes that, "Broadly speaking, the establishment of the British rule particularly in the initial phase, enlarged economic opportunities for the people, including lower castes and the poor thus increasing the quantum of mobility in the system".<sup>57</sup> Sanwal has argued that due to the eating habits of the Europeans ( like Beef consumption), high caste people were reluctant to join as domestic servants in European households. Low caste people had no such inhibitions. And due to this they projected themselves as closer to those who wielded real power in the new setup. And this had a natural impact on their relations vis-a-vis high castes.<sup>58</sup> However, social change was not a simple process. Europeans also consolidated the power of the high castes. When on tour European administrators and travellers mostly stayed in the village at the house of high

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55 Traill SSK, in Batten compiled Official Report pp.1-60.

56 Srinivas, Role of Sanskritization; Sanwal op.cit., pp.128-34.

57 Srinivas, Role of Sanskritization, p.50.

58 Sanwal, op.cit., pp.128-34.

caste persons or padhans. This becomes clear from the memoirs of administrators and travellers.<sup>59</sup>

F.G. Bailey in his study of an Orissa village showed that two low caste Boad Distillers and Ganjam Distillers, were suddenly enriched due to the policy of Bengal Government regarding sale of liquor. These distillers now claimed higher status (caste) through sanskritization of their custom, ritual and way of life.<sup>60</sup> A similar argument can apply to Garhwal as well. Many people in Garhwal joined the British army (Garhwal Rifles) which led to economic mobility. Those who, like Khasas, joined the army claimed the high status of a pure Rajput or Khastriya.<sup>61</sup>

Classifying status within caste hierarchy was very difficult. We know that caste hierarchy in any given area is not clear cut, with the position of each caste defined precisely. Vagueness characterises the position of many castes.<sup>62</sup> And this left enough space for moving up or sliding down within the hierarchy. In pre-colonial days the ultimate authority for settling disputes with regard to caste ranking was the king, who would also, incidentally,

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59 See, Jim Corbett, My India (Madras, 1952).

60 F.G. Bailey cited by Srinivas, Caste in Modern India, p.17.

61 Army officers wrote to the Deputy Commissioner to ensure that the army personals got good treatment in the villages. See the relevant files in the English Record Room of Collectorate Pauri (hereafter ERR Coll Pauri).

62 Srinivas, Role of Sanskritization, p.53.



raise and lower the rank of the castes.<sup>63</sup> In Garhwal, under colonial rule when this authority of the King disappeared, there was enough space for manoeuvrability. In such circumstances decennial census introduced by the British, came unwillingly to the aid of ambitious low castes. They claimed higher rank through census classification.<sup>64</sup>

In Garhwal, it seems that in the census most of the khasas mentioned their castes as Rajput. E.A.H. Blunt, the census commissioner, reported that Khasas were putting on janeo and raising themselves to the rank of Rajputs.<sup>65</sup> Walton wrote, "The Khasiya (khasa) out to be distinguished from the pure Rajputs by his not wearing janeo : but now that there is no danger of punishment for its unjustified assumption most khasias adopted the thread".<sup>66</sup>

However, the dispute over status was not only between high caste and khasas. Within high caste there was rivalry for status. A few Brahmins decided not to share 'hookah' (pipe) with Rajputs. This created misunderstanding between the two. However, the newspaper Garhwal Samachar reported that this was not only a Brahmin verses Rajput issue. To assert their superiority some jatis of Brahmins do not share their hookah with other jatis of Brahmins. Similarly, the

63 Ibid., p.63.

64 Ibid., pp.49-50.

65 E.A.H. Blunt, Census of India, 1911, Vol. XV the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Part I, (Allahabad, 1912) pp.355-56.

newspaper argued that some Rajputs were also not sharing their hookah with other Rajputs who were poor. Garhwal Samachar criticised such a absurd way of asserting superiority.<sup>67</sup>

Brahmins were divided into two broad categories - Sarola Brahmins and Gangri Brahmins. There was no marked line of difference between the Sarolas and Gangaris.<sup>68</sup> However, there were some marriage and food tabboos.<sup>69</sup> Sarolas claimed superiority over Gangaris, which the latter rejected.<sup>70</sup> In one of the articles in Garhwal Samachar it was claimed that Sarolas were 'rasoya' (those who cook food for public consumption in the public functions).<sup>71</sup> But this claim was refuted in another article in the next issue of the newspaper because it did not show high status. In the article it was claimed that Sarola means 'sreshth' (the best). This continuous discussion around caste status was the peculiar feature of colonial rule.

There were many caste associations. 'Sarola Sabha' was an important one among them. Sabhas like this usually discussed their caste status in meetings, an asserted caste superiority in many ways. They also provided scholarship to

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66 Garhwal Gazetteer, p.910, p.61.

67 Garhwal Samachar, August-September 1912.

68 HDNWP, Vol.III, Part I, p.267.

69 Ibid., pp.267-68.

70 Ibid., p.267.

the students of their caste. In contrast to specific caste associations there were associations like Garhwal Union (in Hindi it was known as Garhwal Hitkarni Sabha), started on 19 August 1901, and Garhwal Bhratmandal. These Sabhas were open to the members of all castes. They criticised specific caste associations. The newspaper Garhwali, which was started by Garhwal Union in 1905, frequently criticized caste associations and argued against petty caste politics.<sup>72</sup> Garhwal Samachar was frequently criticizing caste associations. One article said that earlier there was no taboo in taking food prepared by others but this it was now being deliberately forced.<sup>73</sup> It was reported that a speaker in Sarola Sabha asked members who were officers to appoint only Sarolas in the jobs under them. In an article in Garhwal Samachar such a narrow attitude was criticised.<sup>74</sup> Garhwali in an article argued that although different caste associations were not harmful, but above these Brahmins, Khastriyas and Vashiyas associations there ought to be general associations which could protect the interest of all.<sup>75</sup>

There was also the Garhwal Shilpkar Sabha to highlight the problems of depressed castes. Garhwal Shilpkar Sabha

71 Garhwal Samachar, May-June 1913. This debate was continue process see January-February issue as well.

72 Garhwali, April 1908.

73 Garhwal Samachar, May-June 1913.

74 Ibid., May-June 1913.

passed a resolution on 6th June 1931 requesting the Deputy Commissioner, Garhwal, to replace word the Dom with the term Shilpkar.<sup>76</sup> There were many articles in newspapers requesting good behaviour towards Dom.<sup>77</sup>

Thus we see that there was a strong conflict over caste ranking. It seems that there was nothing like a static hierarchy. Perhaps the disappearance of the king, who presided over the caste hierarchy and who was the ultimate arbitrator of one's status, led to this situation. Now the colonial state appropriated this role. And decennial census became an important instrument in deciding the status. However, the right of colonial state in deciding caste status had a doubtful legitimacy. This was partly because of the ignorance of the colonial administrators regarding local caste hierarchies. Therefore, caste groups continued their struggle for higher status at the local level.

#### CONCLUSION :

From the above discussion in this chapter it is clear that the situation was quite fluid in Garhwal under the colonial rule as far as mobility in the caste hierarchy is concerned. However, the system did not become entirely open,

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75 Garhwali, April 1908.

76 Resolution, Basta No. year 1907-34, Deptt. I, file no. I/8, 1930-31. ERR Coll. Pauri.

77 See Garhwali August 1912, May 1911.

nor did the old elite disappear. They struggled to keep their power and status intact. There was a general public debate over the position and power of various castes. The redefinition of caste status was carried on through the formation of caste associations. Moreover, the old elite was the first to take to education and consequently government services. Nevertheless, there can be no denial of the fact that the pre-colonial power structure had weakened because the guardian of that structure the 'king' was no longer there. And this transformation in structure will become more clear in the following chapters when I discuss the new structure in more concrete terms.

## CHAPTER 2

# AGRARIAN STRUCTURE

English perception and notions of land differed from that of pre-colonial India. Western notions of property led to redefinition of customary Indian notions. This process of redefinition was carried on through different settlements. Settlements were meant to define some fundamental questions regarding ownership of land, level of revenue demand, agency of revenue collection and the identity of revenue payers etc. In this process the agrarian structure was transformed. This chapter is addressed to these questions.

It was difficult to give practical shape to theoretical ideas. Precise measurement of the land was desirable but in the case of Garhwal measurements proved difficult. The land settlement in Garhwal was supposed to be Raiyatwari, in which every shareholder had to pay revenue directly to state official, but in practice the village headman was accepted as the revenue payer on behalf of villagers. The time and duration of settlements also remained disputable throughout colonial period. Similarly, rights of cultivators and levels of revenue demand also could not be decided fully to the satisfaction of either the colonial state or the peasantry. These issues, most of which were local in characteristic, are discussed in this chapter.

## GRANTS :

Grants were very important in pre-colonial Garhwal. The entire agrarian structure was woven around the grants. Most parganas (group of villages) were under different types of grants.<sup>1</sup>

The king could have donated land to Brahmins for their erudition. This act was known as 'Vishnuprete'. This grant was widely prevalent. All the Brahmin families who immigrated to the hills, got land in grant.<sup>2</sup> Since the royal dynasty had itself immigrated to Garhwal from Malwa and conquered these territories, they strengthened their position by giving grants to high caste Brahmins who visited the region on their pilgrimage to Badrinath, Kedarnath, Gangotri and Jamunotri. This strengthened the position of the king in the new set up. This also led to the subordination of local inhabitants (khasas). The grantees became proprietors (thatwan) and the real cultivators (Khasas) became tenant (Khaikar). This created a new power equation which continued till the coming of Britishers.

The king rewarded the brave with land grants and this process of investiture was known as 'Raut'. This grant was

1. For discussion on grants in pre-colonial period see Tehri Rajya Bhumi Niyam; Traill 'SSK' in Batten Compiled Official Report, pp.1-60; SRG 1842 in Batten Compiled Official Report; SRG 1896; HDNWP Vol. I & III; Pandey op.cit., SRG 1864.
2. Sanwal op.cit., see also Garhwal Gazetter 1910; and HDNWP VOL.I.

mostly conferred on Kshtriyas or Rajputs who either immigrated with the King's family or immigrated later. The grantee in this case also became proprietor or hissedar and the real cultivators were turned into tenant.

In both the above cases the grantee was entitled to 'malikana' from tenants. They also get some other cesses as well. The tenants were occupancy tenants (Khaikar) and could not be removed by the grantee. Khaikar had to pay land revenue. In all those villages where the grantee lived Khaikar could not hold the office of Padhan.<sup>3</sup> Often the grantee also claimed a right over waste. In some cases the grantees also cultivated land themselves.

The members of Royal family also got grants. Some officers got grants in lieu of their salaries. In both cases the grantee kept all land revenue with himself. However, those who got grants in lieu of their salary (Vritivan) did not become proprietor. They could claim the land revenue only till they held office.

Temples were also given land in grant. These grants were called 'gunth'. The land revenue from these grants was kept for the expenditure of the temple and salaries of the servants in the temple. Proprietary right was not given to temples and its 'Pujari'. But if the cultivators of a

3. Tehri Rajya Bhumi Niyam, PP. 1-3.



granted village deserted it and temple servants started cultivation then proprietary right was given to temple servants.<sup>4</sup>

All those villages which were not under any type of grant were divided into two categories. The revenue of some villages was directly used for the Royal family and the court. Such villages were called 'Sirkari'. Rest of the villages were under the Fauidar whose function was to collect revenue, send a fixed amount to the Royal Treasury, and to utilize the rest in maintaining troops.

Therefore, grants were fundamental to the pre-colonial agrarian structure of Garhwal. Grants were also an important source of power, particularly of the upper castes.

However, equations began to change with the coming of Britishers. Colonial administrators addressed themselves to the question: who were the proprietors? who could pay the revenue? Therefore, all the grantees were accepted as proprietors (hissedar). Those who were permanent tenants (khaikar) became occupancy tenants. And the Sirtans became tenants-at-will.<sup>5</sup>

Therefore, all grants except temple grants were abolished. Temple grants were also restricted. Only grants

4. SRG 1896, Para 45.

of important temples were maintained. Grants to small temples and village temples were withdrawn. Temple grants were divided into two categories : 'Gunth' and 'Sadavrat'. The former was to maintain temples, the latter was claimed by the government to provide food, medical facilities, shelter to pilgrims. Some amount was spent on construction of roads. Hospitals were also opened for pilgrims. Thus the power of pujaris over 'sedavarat' grants came to an end. Only a few temples were left with gunth.<sup>6</sup> On the land held under gunth grants, pujari's power to settle new tenants was abolished after prolonged disputes. Now permission of the Deputy commissioner was required as in other navabad grants to settle new tenants.<sup>7</sup> Thus powers of pujaris on temple grants were considerably reduced. For example, their proprietary right over land (as claimed by some temples) was no longer recognised.<sup>8</sup> In 1895 government declared that the temples had no right over waste in gunth village.<sup>9</sup>

Around 1864, the government proposed to give the pujaris 20 years revenue of the temple to acquire temple

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5. Traill 'SSK' in Batten Compiled Official Report, pp.1-60. See also different SRs.
  6. HDNWP VOL.III, Part I, p.303.
  7. SRG 1896, para 45.
  8. Garhwal Gazetteer 1910, p.104.
  9. Ibid., p.104.

**TABLE 2.1**  
**GUNTH GRANTS TO TEMPLES**

Gunth Grantees	Villages	Area in bisis	
		1823	1863
Badrinath	262	4785	4372
Kedarnath	54	775	967
Kameshwar	14	232	267
Lachhminarayan	5	102	126
Raghunath	8	108	166
Tungunath	9	133	189
Gopeswar	6	222	254
Small grants	165	1449	1783
Waste	12	39	-
Total	535	7845	8074

Source : HDNWP, Vol. III, Part I, p.303.

land. Many pujaris agreed. Consequently the importance of temples decreased.<sup>10</sup>

The system of land grants slowly disappeared under colonial rule except in the case of important temples. Padhan (headman of village) who were also malguzar (collector of revenue) some time got revenue free grants in lieu of padhanchari which was 5 per cent of the total land revenue of the village. But, when he got padhanchari in

10. SRG 1864, p.13.

cash, revenue free grant was not given. Sometime both land grant and cash were given to make up 5 per cent of the village revenue.<sup>11</sup> Revenue free grants were also made to Europeans for tea plantation.<sup>12</sup>

## MEASUREMENT

One of the concerns of the colonial state was precision in measurement of the land. It was necessary for a correct assessment of land revenue. It was also helpful in decreasing the reliance on the local elites who claimed knowledge in revenue affairs. Various shapes of fields made it difficult to measure accurately in the initial years. This problem was serious in the case of hill areas where there were terraced fields. So when new techniques were evolved these were applied to the measurement of land.

In pre-colonial Garhwal revenue was charged on the basis of the quantity of seed sown<sup>13</sup>. So the measurement of land was never desired. Gurkhas also continued this system. But to the Britishers who were obsessed with accuracy, it was apprehensive. But, in the hill areas measurement of land was difficult. It called for a lot of expenditure. Therefore, G.W. Traill, the first settlement officer continued with the old system. In the first settlement

11. Garhwal Gazetteer, 1910, p.104.

12. Ibid., pp.82-83.

(1815-16), the revenue rates were fixed at a level twenty five per cent lower than the Gurkha rates.<sup>14</sup> It constituted land revenue of his first settlement.

In 1822 G.W. Traill attempted to estimate the whole area of the province (Kumaon and Garhwal together were referred to as a province till then) without actually measuring the area.<sup>15</sup> Measurement was made necessary by the Regulation VII of 1822. It incorporated within it the minute of Holt Mackenzie.<sup>16</sup> However, its implementation could not become possible in Garhwal and Kumaon perhaps due to the uneven surface of the land measuring which would have incurred heavy expenditure.

So Traill adopted the method of 'nazar-andaz' (guess from inspection). He drew village boundaries which were since then known as 'san assi' (or sal assi) boundary, for, they were drawn in samvat 1880 (1822 A.D.). The unit of measurement (used in records) was 'nali' which was equal to 240 square yards.<sup>17</sup>

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13. Ibid., p.88.

14. Traill 'SSK' in Batten compiled Official Report, pp.1-60.

15. Ibid., pp. 1 to 60.

16. Selection from the Revenue Records of the North Western Province (hereafter NWP), 1818-20, (Allahabad 1866). For detail discussion see Imtiaz Hussain op.cit.; Siddiqi op.cit.; B.R. Misra, Land Revenue Policy in the United Provinces under British Rule, (Benares, 1942).

17. Garhwal Gazetteer, 1910, p.92.

The Regulation IX of 1833 made it desirable to have real measurement and proper assessment.<sup>18</sup> The Board of Revenue in which Robert Mertin Birds was involved in the task of directing settlements, was interested in having real measurement of land in Garhwal, because only then matters relating to rights of landlords and tenants could have been decided finally.<sup>19</sup> With this idea in mind the Board sent T. H. Batten, who had experience of settlements in the plains to Garhwal in 1837.

After an initial observation Batten found this task difficult. He felt that the real measurement would take a long time and the expenditure would be too high to be covered by the revenue. Therefore, Board of Revenue relented.<sup>20</sup> Batten continued the system of 'nazar-andaz' adopted by Trail.<sup>21</sup>

In the last days of company rule revision of settlement was taking place. The directive of James Thomson to Revenue officers constituted important principles in the assessment process during the settlement. While the assessment was the important issue in the rest of the North Western Provinces, real measurement of the land had yet to take place in

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18. Misra, op.cit., p.64.

19. SRG 1896, p.56.

20. SRG 1842, in Batten compiled Official Report, pp.89-117, see also SRG 1896, p.56.

21. SRG 1842, in Batten compiled Official Report, pp.89-117.

Garhwal. The process for new settlement started in 1856 but was obstructed by the Mutiny, and could be resumed only later. By 1864 J. O. B. Beckett completed the whole process of the settlement.

In this settlement, cultivated land was measured through regular field surveys. The unit of measurement was 'bisi' which was equal to 4800 square yards only, 40 square yards less than an English acre.<sup>22</sup> Surveyors carried a chain of 20 Yards with them and measured the land in the presence of cultivators. The whole process consisted of preparation of records of rights, including the khasra, the muntakhib (a record showing all fields under the name of a cultivator), the 'tehrij' (a record giving the total of the muntakhibs for each cultivator), and the phont, showing the holding of each proprietor and khaikar, and the revenue payable by him.<sup>23</sup> If desired, a cultivator could have at his own expenses received a list of his fields with maps from the khasra.<sup>24</sup> Mr. Muir, a member of the Board of Revenue toured the district to test the accuracy of the khasra measurement. He found the measurement satisfactory.<sup>25</sup>

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22. SRG 1864. See also HDNWP VOL.III, Part I, p.298.

23. Garhwal Gazetteer, 1910, p.95.

24. Ibid., p.95.

25. Ibid., p.95.

Beckett succeeded in creating village records based on regular field surveys. It was an advance over the records prepared by Batten on the basis of 'nazar-andaz' of the officials. Due to this, the difference in the area of cultivated land between the two settlements was quite large in case of some villages. In such cases Beckett presumed that in the first settlement the Padhan and the Malquzar had under stated the extent of cultivated area. So Beckett imposed a heavy revenue demand on such villages.<sup>26</sup> Such an action was unjustified. Since there was no tradition of measuring land as such, it was wrong to expect the Padhans to accurately mention the land under cultivation in the village.

Between 1891 and 1896 a new settlement was carried out under the over all supervision of E. K. Pau. It was thought fit to introduce cadastral survey in Garhwal, so that a proper revenue rate could be charged on the real increase in the cultivated land. This survey resulted in the unexpected increase in the area of each field.<sup>27</sup> It was happening perhaps due to two reasons. First, due to the imperfectness of earlier surveys. Second, the 'waste' between the fields was now being included under the new

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26. SRG, 1864.

27. SRG 1896, p.77.



survey technique as part of the field area. The area of 'waste' was large due to the terraced nature of cultivation.

People resisted the new survey by bycotting it or through non-cooperation. Acceptance of the new survey would have meant an enormous increase in revenue. Local (native) Amins who were assisting the survey resigned enmass.<sup>28</sup> However, the settlement process resumed after sometime. People were assured that officials would give serious consideration to their complaints. Expenditure on survey was escalating. So in some remote villages the idea of cadastral survey was dropped. Survey in such villages was carried on in the old pattern adopted by Beckett.<sup>29</sup>

In this settlement maps were prepared for each village and patti (group of villages). Each village was clearly shown on the map. Suitable scales (sometimes 64 inches to a mile) were adopted for clarity.<sup>30</sup> The total agricultural land measured in this survey was 979.9 square miles, of which 28.3 square miles were waste (fell between fields due to the terraced nature of land). Therefore, the total agriculture land entered in the khasra was 951.6 square

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28. Ibid., p.77.

29. Ibid., p.77.

30. Ibid., p.76.

miles. The total fields measured were 2877305. Therefore, the average area per field was .212 acre.<sup>31</sup>

In 1925-26 an experimental settlement was carried out in 799 villages of Barahsyn pargana under the supervision of Ibbetson. The cost of the settlement in this pargana was Rs. 142000, which meant an average of Rs.177 per village. According to this estimation, the cost of settling the whole district would have been very high. Therefore, the colonial administration decided not to continue with cadastral surveys.<sup>32</sup> Nor did they adopt Beckett's method. There was a reversion to Traill's method of 'nazar-andaz'. Therefore, no village records were prepared in this settlement except for Barahsyun Pargana. Only the areas of 'nayabad' were added to Pau's records. The total new area entered was 61137 acres. Therefore, assessed area increased from 283080 acres to 344217 acres. This meant a 21.6 per cent increase.<sup>33</sup>

However, there was a new problem. In those villages where cadastral survey had not been introduced in 1896, their records had become 60-70 years old. Therefore, a cadastral survey of these villages in 13 pattis was ordered

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31. Ibid., p.80.

32. Revenue Settlement of the Garhwal District, 1930, compiled by Ibbetson, p.7.

33. Ibid., p.10.

in 1930. The survey of these pattis was completed in 1936.<sup>34</sup>

From the above discussion we can draw one or two conclusions. Although the actual measurement of land was considered necessary since 1833, it could not be introduced in Garhwal before 1864 due to local factors. Similarly, cadastral survey could cover all villages of Garhwal only in 1936. It was deferred due to the heavy expenditure it was supposed to incur. So it can be argued that the settlement process was determined by a combination of colonial imperatives and local pressures.

#### DURATION OF SETTLEMENTS

Fixing the duration of settlements was a very important question. After the principle of permanent settlement was rejected, it was necessary to decide on the proper duration of settlements. A short duration was as much disliked as a long duration. Short duration called for frequent reviews which meant heavy expenditure. Long duration meant depriving the state of revenue in case of expansion of cultivation and increase in production.

The first British settlement in Garhwal was for one year (1815 to 1816). Traill fixed the demand on the basis

34. S.P.Dabral, Uttarakhand Ka Rajnitik Tatha Sanskritik Itihas,

of what was collected the previous year. The next settlement, also for one year, was signed with Padhans.<sup>35</sup> The third settlement was for three years (1817-18 to 1819-20). The fourth one was also for three year (1820-21 to 1822-23). The remaining three settlements of Traill's were for five years each.<sup>36</sup>

Regulation IX of 1833 proposed a long term 30 years settlement and had to be based on local records of rights.<sup>37</sup> In Garhwal all earlier settlements were for short terms. So people were suspicious of a long term settlement. Padhans were unwilling to sign such a long term settlement because they were not prepared to commit themselves to regular payment of revenue keeping in view the uncertainty of crops. Moreover, cultivators often deserted villages. In such cases Padhans had to bear the revenue burden. Therefore, as a compromise Batten, the settlement officer, was asked to moderate the revenue demand considerably.<sup>38</sup> The time duration was also reduced from 30 to 20 years. But this did not allay the doubts of the people.

Other settlements, those of Beckett 1864, Pau's 1896 and Ibbetson 1930 were for 30 years each.<sup>39</sup> Thus the

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(Dugadda, n.d.), vol. 7, p.218.

35. Garhwal Gazetteer, 1910, p.91.

36. Ibid., p.92.

37. Misra, op. cit., p.61.

38. Garhwal Gazetteer 1910, p.93.

39. See respective SRs.

duration of settlement was decided in favour of 30 years hesitatingly. Nevertheless, the problem of revenue collection and the expenditure on settlements always bothered the colonial state. It affected the introduction of real measurement.

### AGENCIES OF TAX COLLECTION : THOKDAR, KAMIN, SAYANA AND PADHAN

Right from the beginning the colonial state had to decide who were the potential revenue payers. Then it had to decide who would collect revenue and hand them over to officials .

In pre-colonial Garhwal taxes were collected either by the grantees and handed over to the Fauidar or by Fauidars themselves through their officials.<sup>40</sup> Gurkhas collected taxes from Sayanas or Kamins through their military commanders.<sup>41</sup>

Under British rule, before the first settlement by Traill, Kamins and Sayanas had already applied for Sayanachari. Traill met them at selected places and farmed out revenue to them. This was the first settlement and lasted only for a year. In the second settlement revenue

40. It has been discussed above. See section on grants in this chapter.

41. Garhwal Gazetteer 1910, p.90.

was farmed out to Padhans instead of Sayanas. All the Padhans of the concerned patti were asked to distribute the revenue of the patti among themselves according to the number of cultivators in each village. Like the Sayanas in the first settlement, Padhans signed "Kaul-Karar-Patta" with the settlement officer.<sup>42</sup> Padhans committed themselves to pay revenue regularly. They had to collect revenue from proprietors (hissedars) and hand that over to Patwaris of their area. This arrangement continued afterwards.

Sayanas, Kamin and Thokdar were local non-government officials. According to Pau, the settlement officer, 'Kamin', Sayana and Thokdar were the three different names of the same official. In southern Garhwal the term 'Kamin' was used and in northern Garhwal the term 'Sayana' was common.<sup>43</sup> The area over which these officials supervised was called 'thok'. So 'thokdar' means an official of a 'thok'. Stowell accepted that Sayanas, Kamins and Thokdars were synonymous, but he argued that there was a minor difference. Kamin was an official who was not a hissedar in the village from where he collected revenue.<sup>44</sup> Sayana on the other

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42. Garhwal Gazetteer, 1910, p.91. See also HDNWP VOL.III. Part I, p.285.

43. SRG 1896, para 39.

44. V.A. Stowell, A Manual of the Land Tenure of the Kumaon Division, (1907; rept. Allahabad, 1937), p.121.

hand was a hissedar in some of the villages from where he collected revenue.<sup>45</sup>

In pre-colonial period, Savana or Kamin had the same role as the zamindar in the plain.<sup>46</sup> He had to collect revenue and make it over to state officials. In the first British settlement in Garhwal, Traill summoned them and signed 'Kaul-Karar-Patta' with them.<sup>47</sup> The division of revenue among villages was left to them. They had to also decide in consultation with hissedars the amount of revenue to be paid by cultivators of the villages.<sup>48</sup> They selected the Padhan in their 'thok'. They had to discharge police duties; inform Patwaris of crimes, and theft; help in the investigation of crimes; and keep records of death in their 'thok'. They had to arrange for 'Kuli utar' and 'Kuli bardayash' while they themselves were exonerated from Utar (begar).<sup>49</sup> They were entitled to get 3 to 10 per cent of the revenue collected by them.<sup>50</sup>

These privileges of Savanas or Kamins disappeared slowly. In the second British settlement in Garhwal (1816-17), Traill signed 'Kaul-Karar-Patta' with Padhans instead of with Savanas. This considerably undermined the clout of

45. Ibid., p.121.

46. SRG 1896, para 39.

47. Garhwal Gazetteer 1910, p.50.

48. HDNWP VOL. III, Part I, p.22.

49. SRG 1842 in Batten compiled Official Report, pp.89-117.

50. Ibid., p.534.

Sayanas in revenue matters. However, they remained influential for quite a long time. Most of the Padhans who signed contracts with Traill in the second settlement were appointed by Sayanas.<sup>51</sup> They continued to get their 'Haq-dastur' which included special presents on special occasions like marriage etc. from villagers. Batten, in 1842, recorded their 'Haq-dastur' thus giving some sort of legitimacy to their customary dues. Apart from this they continued to get around 3 per cent of the revenue of their 'thok'. They were allowed under the Indian Arms Act, 1878, to carry of one gun and one sword.<sup>52</sup>

In the early 1850s there was a move to do away with the privileges of Sayanas and Kamins. Their revenue powers had been abolished much earlier and their police duties were considered insignificant. Now they were accused of corruption. If their privileges were untailed the officials felt, then state revenues would increase. Therefore, in 1856, the Senior Assistant Commissioner of Kumaon and Garhwal recommended their gradual extinction.<sup>53</sup> Then came the Mutiny. All of a sudden it was found that the Sayanas came from the old and influential families of Garhwal. They were respected by all. Friendly relation with them was considered necessary to contain the influence of

51. SRG, 1896, para 55. See also Stowell, op. cit., p.5.

52. Garhwal Gazetteer, 1910, p.86.

53. Ibid., p.86.



'Swarajyawadis'.<sup>54</sup> Thus Metcalf's argument that the Mutiny played an important role in the shift of British policy appears very relevant.<sup>55</sup> Thokdars and Sayanas continued to exist, although, Pau, the settlement officer in 1896, removed the names of many Thokdars from the list of 'Haq-dastur'.<sup>56</sup> Hereditary succession helped Sayanas in their effort to survive.<sup>57</sup>

Padhans gained their powers under British rule. Their powers and duties in Pre-British period are not well known but we know that they were under the strict control of Sayanas or Kamins. This continued till the first British settlement. In fact during the first settlement, Padhans were left at the mercy of Sayanas. Sayanas could appoint or remove any Padhan.<sup>58</sup> Moreover, Sayanas had to allocate the revenue demand among villagers which Padhans had to collect.

But this situation altered after the second British settlement. This time Traill engaged Padhans directly, over the heads of Sayanas, for revenue collection. All Padhans of each patti were summoned at different places. Revenue was divided according to the number of cultivators in the villages. Padhans had to collect revenue from hissedars

54. Stowell, op. cit., p.122.

55. T.R. Metcalf, Aftermath of Revolt : India 1857 - 1870, (Princeton, 1964).

56. SRG, 1896, para 87.

57. Ibid., para 87.

58. Stowell, op. cit., p.5.

(share-holders) and submit it with the Patwari of his circle.<sup>59</sup> Due to their revenue duties they were now known as Malguzars. They were also assigned police duties.<sup>60</sup> Sayanas had to supervise Padhans in their police duties. In revenue affairs Padhans had no interference from Sayanas.

Only hissedars were qualified to become Padhans. Padhans was elected by hissedars or appointed with the consent of hissedars.<sup>61</sup> In khaikar village there was a provision of 'Ghar Padhan' or the Padhan appointed by the proprietor or proprietors of the village.<sup>62</sup> There could be more than one Padhan in a village each representing his clan. The office of the Padhan was usually hereditary. However, he could be removed from his office on complaints from hissedars and on account of misconduct.<sup>63</sup>

Padhan had many privileges. Apart from the 5 per cent share of the revenue, he was entitled to 'Haq-dastur'.<sup>64</sup> Under 'Haq-dastur' he got many gifts on special occasions from the villagers. When he was not given his share of revenue in cash, he received a revenue free land grant. In case the return from the grant fell short of 5 per cent

59. Garhwal Gazetteer, 1910, p.87.

60. Ibid., p.87.

61. HDNWP VOL. III, Part I, pp. 292-94. See also Tehri Garhwal Raiya ke Gram Padhan Sambandhi Niyam, (Narendranagar, 1931):

62. HDNWP VOL. III, Part I, pp.292-94.

63. Traill, 'SSK' in Batten compiled Official Report, pp.1 to 60. See also Stowell, op. cit., p.113.

64. Stowell, op. cit., p.113.

share of the village revenue he was given the balance in cash.<sup>65</sup> On the village waste he could settle tenants.<sup>66</sup>

With the dilution of Sayana's supervisory powers, Padhans came to control revenue affairs. They had to deal directly with Patwaris. Thus, the Padhan emerged as an important non-official functionary in the new agrarian system.

### ASSESSMENT AND CLASSIFICATION OF LAND

There were no defined principles for assessment and classification of land in the early British settlements. There was the practice of keeping a watchman guard the crops till the revenue was realised. Holt Mackenzie's Minute which was incorporated in the Regulation VII of 1822, argued for a detail measurement, field by field, of the whole area under settlement and a careful classification of various types of soils according to their varying productiveness. The declared objective of Regulation VII of 1822 was the moderation of assessment. Mackerzie thought that in the long term this would also be profitable to the Government.<sup>67</sup> However, since early British settlements in Garhwal were only based on the 'nazar'andaz' system, it was not possible

65. Ibid., p.113.

66. Ibid., p.113.

67. Selection From the Revenue Records, NWP, 1818-20. See also detail discussion on Misra op. cit.; Imtiaz Hussain op. cit..

to classify land. It was left to Padhans to distribute revenue among hissedars of the village. No rules of assessment were followed in Garhwal.

The regulation VII of 1822, due to its 'cumbersome method of assessment, proved after some 10 years experience, or rather experiment, to be unworkable.'<sup>68</sup> Therefore, Regulation IX of 1833 simplified the method of assessment and made it more practical and easy.<sup>69</sup> The tedious estimates of the quality and value of actual produce were dispensed with and the system of average rent and revenue rates for different classes of soil was introduced.<sup>70</sup> State demand was to be reduced to 66 2/3 per cent of the net assets (rent from the land).<sup>71</sup>

In the 1842 settlement Batten recorded the tenurial status of inhabitants and classified cultivated land. Both irrigated and unirrigated land were divided into three categories each.<sup>72</sup> For the first time, the amount of revenue due from different classes of cultivators in a village was clearly recorded. It was called 'Fard Phant'.<sup>73</sup> However,

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68. Whitcombe, op. cit., pp.122-23.

69. Misra, op. cit., p.64.

70. Ibid., p.65. See also Whitcombe, op. cit., pp.122-23.

71. Whitcombe, op. cit., pp.122-23.

72. SRG, 1842 in Batten compiled Official Report, pp.89 to 117. See also Garhwal Gazetteer, 1910, p.93.

73. SRG 1842 in Batten compiled Official Report, pp.89-117, See also Garhwal Gazetteer, 1910, p.93.

Batten's settlement was also based on 'nazar-andaz', so the principles of assessment could not be established properly.

In the NWP, in the early settlements, not more than 10 per cent share of the rent they collected. Regulation VII of 1822 fixed the state share at 82 per cent (of the rent), and Regulation IX of 1833 at 66 per cent, while the Saharanpur Rules (following the Saharanpur Settlement) of 1855 reduced the state share to 50 per cent.<sup>74</sup>

However, rent was not important in the case of Garhwal. Most cultivators used to pay land revenue directly. Therefore, it was more important to classify land according to productivity, for the assessment purposes. So Beckett, the settlement officer in 1864 divided land into three categories viz. irrigated (sera), first class dry (abbal ukhar) and second class dry (doyam ukhar). For assessment, one bisi second class dry land was taken as the basic unit. First class dry land was considered 1 1/2 times better than second class dry land. And irrigated land was held to be two times as good as the second class dry land.<sup>75</sup>

E.K. Pau's settlement (1891-96) adopted different principles of assessment. Throughout the cadastrally surveyed area, assessment was based on the application of 'zarb bisi'. The number of 'zarb bisi' was found by

74. Misra, op. cit., p.67.

multiplying the number of bisis of each class of assessable land by a constant factor and adding up the products. The unit of cultivation was assumed to be one bisi of second class dry land. Irrigated land was held to be three times as good as the second class dry land : its factor was therefore three, that is to say one bisi of irrigated land was computed at the value of three 'zarb bisis'. The factor for first class dry land was by a similar calculation taken as 1 1/2, and so on. It was thus possible by means of a survey and a brief calculation to arrive at the competitive value in 'zarb bisi' of different villages, pattis and parganas.<sup>76</sup>

It is clear from the above discussion that in Garhwal the pattern of assessment evolved late and was slightly different from other parts of the province.

#### LAND REVENUE DEMAND

Land revenue was the most important source of income of the company. Whenever there was a proposal for moderation it was because revenue demand was already exorbitant. When Halt Mackenzie argued for moderation of revenue it was 'to make it clearly profitable for the cultivators to hold the lands now occupied by them and to seek an extension of their

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75. SRG 1864, p.8.

76. This paragraph about calculation of 'zarb bisi' is based on Garhwal Gazetteer 1910, p.98. See also SRG 1896.

tenure....'<sup>77</sup> This, it was expected would lead to a long term increase of revenue resources.

Colonial administrators in Garhwal were repeatedly arguing that the revenue demand in the region was light. But this is not corroborated by facts. Revenue per bisi on assessable land was Re 1, 3 annas (it was Re 1, 4 annas 1 pie on cultivated land) in 1823.<sup>78</sup> This rate continued to be de-escalated in successive settlements. This simply shows that the initial rate was too high. This rate per bisi was higher than the average rate for the United Provinces in 1916-17.<sup>79</sup> The official claim that the British revenue demand was moderate was based on a comparison with revenue demand under Gurkhas. But the British never compared their revenue demand with that of the Garhwal King for obvious reason. This comparison is difficult now because no reliable information regarding the revenue demand of Tehri Garhwal is available.

The British revenue collection in the NWP was rapacious.<sup>80</sup> Revenue Kists had to be paid before harvest which could be forestalled in case of non payment of

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77. Holt Mackenzie, cited by Neeladri Bhattacharya, 'Colonial State and Agrarian Society', in S. Bhattacharya and R. Thapar (eds.) Situating Indian History, (Delhi, 1986).

78. SRG 1864 p.6. For cultivated land it is calculated.

79. See table 3.5 for comparison.

80. Whitcombe, op. cit., p.155.

revenue. Thirty years later, official opinion deplored this practice.<sup>81</sup>

The Gurkha revenue demand according to the 1811 settlement was Rs.87724 (Gorkhali rupees). In 1811, 1812 and 1813 the revenue collected was G.Rs. 71819, G.Rs. 57735 and G.Re 51623 respectively.<sup>82</sup> The collection of the final year of Gurkha rule was taken by Traill as the basis for his first settlement in 1815-16. Only adjustments were made to take into account the changed value of currency.<sup>83</sup> Thereafter, Traill increased the revenue demand in all his settlements. It was Rs. 37056 in 1815 and Rs.57432 in 1822. This was about a 55 per cent increase in just seven years. Revenue demand for different years are given below in the table 2.2.

From tables 2.2 and 2.3 it is clear that revenue was increasing continuously. Between 1815 to 1822 the demand increased 55 per cent. Between 1822 and 1840 (table 2.3) it increased only 17 per cent. It shows that in initial years revenue increase was rapid but it slowed down afterwards. The 1842 settlement was made for 20 years so revenue demand was not increased after the settlement. Therefore, it did

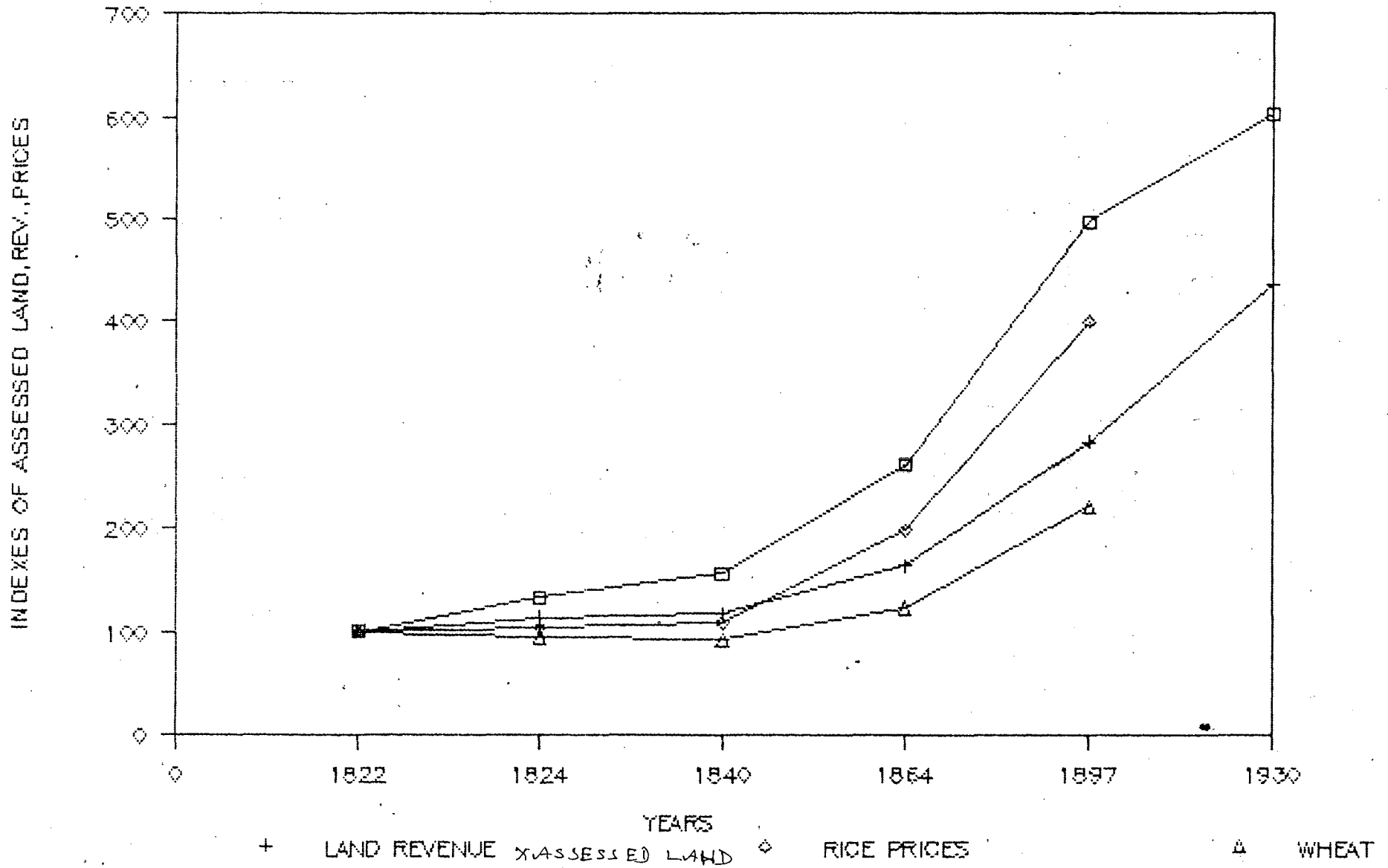
81. Ibid., p.155.

82. Traill, "SSK" in Batten compiled Official Report, pp. 1 to 60. Traill and others argued that the revenue collection under the Gurkhas was low, and this was an index of the high level of demand.

83. Ibid., pp. 1 to 60.



GRAPH B



not register much increase till 1864 when the revenue demand was revised. By 1864 the demand was 1.6 times that of 1822. By the end of the century revenue was approximately 3 times that of 1822, and it became 4.4 times by 1930. Thus the slow increase became rapid after 1860.

However, revenue increase cannot be judged objectively unless it is compared with the other variables which are linked to revenue increase. Prices of foodgrain can be taken as one important variable.

Table 2.3 shows that prices of rice registered a very slow growth rate between 1822 and 1840. It was just 7 per cent higher in 1840 than that in 1822. Wheat prices in fact registered negative growth. Its index went down from 100 in 1822 to 92 in 1840. It means prices of rice and wheat changed only marginally between 1822 and 1840. If it is compared with the increase in revenue then the slow increase in revenue demand is understandable. However, if prices are taken as the only important variable linked to revenue, then it can be concluded that revenue increase was unjust. Because Rice prices increased only 7 per cent, Wheat prices went down by about 8 per cent, while revenue increased by 17 per cent.

## TABLE 2.2 : LAND REVENUE DEMAND

Year	Revenue (Rs.)	Year	Revenue (Rs.)	Year	Revenue (Rs.)	Year	Revenue (Rs.)
1815	37056	1824	66361	1864	95546	1879-80	96176
1816	41781	1828	67725	1872-73	95579	1882-83	96074
1817	45548	1829	67396	1873-74	95579	1896	165727
1820	54996	1833	69254	1874-75	95579	1896	165727
1821	54389	1834	68332	1875-76	95559	1925-26	173318
1822	58511	1840	68682	1876-77	95559	1930	255161
1823	64901	1843	69220	1877-78	96186		
				1878-79	96176		

1. Backett gives this amount but Klalton gives Rs.64506.

Sources : Settlement Reports of Traill, Batten, Beckett & Pau. For 1925-26 and 1930 Debral Vol.7, p.219. Atkinson Vol.III, Part I, table on p.289, and 301. Walton, Appendix no. IX.

After 1840, prices of both rice and wheat picked up. By 1864 prices of rice was approximately double to that of 1822. However, the increase was not that impressive in the case of wheat. In the case of wheat it increased only 22 per cent. By the end of the century rice prices were 4 times that of 1822, while wheat price was 2.2 times that of 1822. It shows rapid increase in the prices after 1840. If prices are again compared with revenue, we find that revenue increased slower than rice price and faster than wheat price (table 2.3). Therefore, as a whole revenue increase was moderate.

**TABLE 2.3 : ASSESSED LAND, LAND REVENUE AND PRICES OF RICE AND WHEAT**

Year	Land assessed for tax in bisi	Index Land assessed	Land Revenue in Rs.	Index Land Revenue	Rice Prices Sers per Rs.	Index Rice Price	Wheat Price Sers per Rs.	Index Wheat Price	Incident of land Revenue on Assessed Land		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)			
								Re.	A.	P.	
1822	57432	100	58511	100	28 <sup>a</sup>	100.	22 <sup>a</sup>	100	1	3	0
1824	76340	132.92	66361	113.42	N.A.		N.A.		0	14	0
1840	89653	156.10	68682	117.38	26	107.69	24	91.67	0	12	0
1864	149379	260.09	95546	163.30	14 1/4 <sup>b</sup>	196.49	18 <sup>b</sup>	122.22	0	11	0
1897	285349	497.00	165727	283.24	7 <sup>c</sup>	400.00	10 <sup>c</sup>	220.00	0	9	4
1930	347058	604.34	255161	436.10	-	-	-	-	N.A.		

Source : Column (1) and (3) upto 1864 Beckett CNCD in Debral p. 195. For 1897 Pau's settlement Papers. For 1930 Ibbotson cited by Debral Vol. 7, pp.218-19. Column (5) and (7) are based on Traill's settlement report for year 1822, Atkinson for other years except 1897 which is based on Pau's settlement Report. Column (9), Beckett cited by Debral Vol. 7, p.195 upto 1864 and Pau for 1887.

Column (2), (4), (6) and (8) are calculated by me.

(a) Prices is average from 1816 to 22 given by Traill in SR p.25-26 (in Batten (ed.) report).

(b) Prices of wheat and rice is given for the year 1865 by Atkinson Vol.III Part I, p.313.

(c) Prices is taken from Pau's settlement report and are for the year 1895 (not 1897) but taken for approximate idea.

**TABLE 2.4**  
**INDEX OF RICE AND WHEAT PRICES**

Year	Rice sers/ rupee	Index	Wheat sers/ rupee	Index	Years	Rice sers/ rupee	Index	Wheat sers/ rupee	Index
1862	8	100	23	100	1878	10.9	165.24	13.2	172.93
1863	18.5	97.23	28	82.14	1879	11.8	152.54	14.5	158.62
1864	15	120.00	19.5	117.95	1880	12.5	144.00	16.1	142.86
1865	12.2	147.54	14.9	154.36	1881	13.3	135.34	18.8	123.34
1866	13.5	133.33	17.2	133.72	1882	16.5	109.09	22.3	103.14
1867	12.5	144.00	13.8	166.67	1883	19.9	113.21	20.2	113.86
1868	18.2	98.90	21.5	106.98	1884	11.9	157.26	15.2	151.36
1869	15	120.00	22	104.94	1885	11.6	155.17	16.6	138.55
1870	14	128.57	17.9	128.49	1886	11.2	160.71	15.8	145.57
1871	12.5	144.00	18.1	127.07	1887	12.3	146.34	15.7	146.50
1872	11.2	160.71	15.5	148.39	1888	11.3	159.29	14.2	161.97
1873	14.8	121.62	17.5	131.43	1889	12.2	147.54	17.2	133.72
1874	13.8	130.43	17.5	131.43	1890	11.2	160.71	14.5	158.62
1875	15.3	117.65	22	104.94	1891	9.2	195.65	12.5	184.00
1876	14.3	125.87	18	127.87	1892	7	257.14	9.6	239.58
1877	10.2	176.47	14	164.29	1893	9.1	197.80	10.2	225.49
					1894	8	257.14	12.4	185.48
					1895	7		10	230.00

Source : Pau's Settlement Report. Prices drawn from his graph. Index for prices calculated by me.

Now we compare revenue increase with another important variable - expansion in cultivated area. Land under cultivation continued to increase throughout the 19th century. Till 1840 its growth was slow but afterwards it increased rapidly. Compared to 1822, assessed land had increased 56 per cent by 1840, 260 per cent by 1864 and 500 per cent by the end of the century. The area of a assessed land expanded faster than the increase in land revenue. By the end of the century land revenue was about 3 times that in 1822, while assessed land was 4 times. However assessed land was not always the land under cultivation. Expansion of cultivation was slower than the increase in the assessed area. So the increase of revenue burden on cultivated area was higher than the increase on assessed area.<sup>84</sup>

Moreover, 'nayabad' land was quickly assessed. But its productivity was obviously lower than other land. So its revenue bearing capacity was low. Between 1822 and 1897 assessed land increased from 57432 bisis to 285349 bisis (table 2.3) which means 227917 bisis were newly added. If we take the productivity of this newly added land as half of the already cultivated land then the relationship of revenue with other variables will be the reverse.

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84. See for area under cultivation chapter 4 below.

Moreover, bringing new land under cultivation required heavy expenditure and a lot of labour. This made the land revenue demand appear unjustifiably heavy.

From the above discussion it can be concluded that initially British land revenue demand was heavy but slowly with expansion in cultivation it became lighter. But not as light as the statistical data would suggest.

#### TENURIAL RIGHTS :

Under British rule 'thatwans' of the King and the direct tenant (khaikar) were clubbed together. Both were recognised as proprietors or shareholders (hissedars).<sup>85</sup> A hissedar had the right to sell the land. They received 'malikana' which was about 10 per cent of the land revenue. They were also entitled to some 'haq-dastur'. But collection of 'haq-dastur' became difficult. To resolve the problem Beckett fixed a share of 20 per cent of the revenue as malikana. This had to be paid in cash. No 'haq-dastur' was to be claimed.<sup>86</sup> But it is difficult to say whether 'haq-dastur' disappeared or not.

All the indirect khaikar of the king became khaikar or occupancy tenent under British rule.<sup>87</sup> They could not be

85. Stowell, op. cit., p.31.

86. Ibid., p.66. See also SRG 1864; HDNWP VOL.III, Part I, p.318.

87. Stowell, op. cit., p.63.

removed from the land. With the recording of rights their position strengthened. Batten in 1842 and Beckett in 1864 clearly recorded their rights in land. As khaikars could not have been removed they often decline to pay 'malikana'. Therefore, even after Beckett, the problem continued. Realising 'malikana' become more and more difficult.<sup>88</sup> Population pressure in the late nineteenth century resulted in frequent disputes between the hissedars and the khaikars over ownership of the waste land.<sup>89</sup> Moreover, in successive settlements many khaikars succeeded in getting them recorded as hissedars.<sup>90</sup> However, hissedars were also asserting their rights over the land of khaikar. If some khaikar by mistake recorded sirtan, hissedar were apt to go to court to evict the khaikar. There were numerous such cases in the court.<sup>91</sup>

Khaikars continued to improve their position. The land Revenue Acts of the North Western Provinces secured the position of occupancy tenants. Therefore, Atkinson wrote that khaikars were frequently far better off than the proprietors.<sup>92</sup>

In the beginning of colonial rule sirtans were in the advantageous position. There was enough culturable land in

88. HDNWP VOL.III, Part I, p.318.

89. Ibid., p.312.

90. T.D. Gairola, Selected Revenue Decision of Kumaon, (Allahabad, 1936), p.74.

91. Ibid., p.74.

92. HDNWP VOL.III, Part I, p.312.



every village and they were free to move from one village to another due to which their bargaining position vis a vis hissedars and khaikars was strong.<sup>93</sup>

As a departure from pre-British rule, now sirtans could be recorded as khaikars after securing the consent of hissedars. Particularly if the sirtan was cultivating a piece of land for a long period.<sup>94</sup> They were also recorded as khaikar if they cleared new land for cultivation.<sup>95</sup>

But they lost all advantages with the increase in population. The colonial administration did nothing to secure their position. However, around 1925 the Board of Revenue and Commissioner Kumaon in many of their judgements held that a sirtan cultivating land for a long period could not be removed.

Therefore, from the above discussion it can be concluded that hissedars lost their ground because the collection of 'haq-dastur' became difficult. Khaikars on the other hand became consolidated their position. Sirtans were initially in advantageous position vis a vis hissedars and khaikars but they lost that advantage due to increase in population. There was only a small area of land to be

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93. Stowell, op. cit., p.7.

94. Ibid., pp.7-8.

95. Garhwal Gazetteer 1910, p.81.

offered to sirtans and there were too many sirtans to claim that land.

#### CONCLUSION :

We see that grants lost their importance under British rule. Pre-colonial agrarian structure was woven around grants. The new settlement process led to the introduction of real measurement. Although in principle it was found essential to embark on real measurement but the difficulties involved in it in the hill area and the possibility of heavy expenditure resulted in a delay in introducing these measures. Similarly, the introduction of long duration settlements and classification of soil were delayed due to local factors. Implementations of the principles of assessment was difficult. Padhan's position strengthened under British rule while Savanas lost ground considerably. Among tenorial classess khaikars gained while hissedar found it difficult to collect customary claims. Sirtans after initial gains lost their grounds due to population pressure. However, the important fact is that local factors were important in determining policy.

## **CHAPTER 3**

# **THE AGRARIAN ECONOMY**

This chapter discusses different aspects of the subsistence agrarian economy. How did the ecological factors determine the economic dynamism of a region like Garhwal ? How did the population pressure create difficulties ? What were the factors responsible for shaping the cropping pattern and harvest cycle ? To what extent were the price movements important ? And what technological changes were introduced under colonial rule ? These are some important questions which have been dealt with in this chapter.

### **ECOLOGICAL DETERMINANTS**

Ecology conditions human action. This conditioning is most emphatic in the case of the agricultural practices. Land formation, soil quality, altitude of the land, water resources, temperature, rainfall determine the adoption of practices. Practices are evolved after the long process of trial and error which take into consideration all these factors.

Village sites were chosen carefully : well drained dry, close to the water sources and guarded against

landslips and avalanches.<sup>1</sup> Around the village, usually below it, was the cultivated land. Occasionally, as in parts of Chaundkot and Barahsyun, cultivation extended almost continuously from the top of the hill to the ravine.<sup>2</sup> In other parts, as in the Gurdarsyun in Devalgarh, cultivation was almost confined to the valley, the upper hill sides being left untouched.<sup>3</sup> Hillside were sufficiently levelled so as to cultivate without terracing. There was an alternative method of cultivation of slopes, it was known as Katil or Khil. Shrubs and bushes were cut down and burnt and land was dug up with hoe. After a crop, it was allowed to lie fallow for number of years till the bushes had grown up again. Then the process was repeated.<sup>4</sup> In the south of the district, this system of cultivation was only practiced on very steep hillsides, where the plough could not be used.<sup>5</sup> The northern Katil was usually made on a gentle sloping hillside, and this was particularly the case in Dhaijyuli and Choprakot, where the area of Katil cultivation was considerable.<sup>6</sup>

The terracing of hillsides was an age long practice in this region. The terracing of the land was to ensure that only a small quantity of the top soil would be washed out by

1. SRG 1896, p.15.
2. Ibid., p.15.
3. Ibid., pp.16-17.
4. Ibid., pp.16-17.
5. Ibid., pp.16-17.

the rain. Such a terraced land, infact, frequently collected the détritius from the hillside above.<sup>7</sup>

Nature and texture of the soil determines its productivity. The quality of the soil throughout the hills varied according to the nature of the underlying rock. For agricultural purposes the soil of the region may be divided in to clay or fine grained, sandy or coarse grained, and loam or medium grained in Garhwal.<sup>8</sup> Since the rock was near the surface between pieces of stones mixed with the soil and defined its peculiar character.<sup>9</sup>

Clay soil was known as lwintha, red earth; the more usual term Chopri was applied to alluvial loam, containing of course a considerable amount of clay but not with the characteristic red colour. Elsewhere, if a distinction was made, it was that lwintha was too pure and hard a clay to be good for cultivation; whereas Chopri was a clayey loam. Sandy soil was known as balwan, bablan, reti or retuli matti. In Choprakot the light soil that clothes the slope of Dudatoli was known as phur matti; The ordinary soil was known as Kakran, Chachran, Kankriyali matti, a somewhat light loam mixed with small stones. If the stones were large, or plentiful, the soil was known as gagran (rockey).

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6. Ibid., pp.16-17.

7. Ibid., p.90.

8. Ibid., p.90.

9. Ibid., p.90.

A light loam was also known as patli matti, while tinta matti was red soil resembling clay in colour, composed chiefly of sand. Soils, so full of decaying organic matter as to be black was known as Kata matti.<sup>10</sup>

Irrigation was another important factor in determining agricultural practices. Irrigation was carried out in this region through small channels called gul.<sup>11</sup> These guls were taken out from the small rain-fed streams. So the level of rain was important : when the rainfall was deficient the region was visited by famine.<sup>12</sup>

Rainfall in Garhwal was not uniform. It varied according to the location of the place. Generally speaking the maximum rainfall occurred at the two points, where the general rise in the elevation takes place, namely the foot of the hills and the foot (or line) of the snow. In both places average rainfall was 60 to 70 inches. The incidence of the monsoon rain varied according to the distance from the high hills. Greater the distance from the high hills, higher was the rainfall. Thus at Srinagar (Garhwal), where there were no high hills within five or six miles, the average rainfall was 35 inches, while at Karanparyag, a place of much the same altitude, at the bottom of a deep gorge surrounded from every sides by hills the rainfall was

10. This paragraph is based on SRG 1896 pp.90-91.

11. Ibid., p.21.

about 50 inches. At Pauri, situated at an elevation of 5600 feet, near similar high hills, the average rainfall was also about 50 inches. In places behind the snow line the monsoon rainfall was less, while in winter there was heavy snow. At the niti pass for instance the rainfall from July to September had been observed 5.5 inches, while in the winter precipitation was so-heavy that the whole valley was blocked with snow.<sup>13</sup>

Winter rainfall was greater at places close to hills. The driest month in the year was November when the rainfall averaged less than half an inch; December was also dry with an average rainfall from half to three quarters, though in a wet season two to four inches were received. The monsoon rains usually started earlier than in the plains. Heavy showers, apparently of local origin, accompanied by northerly and westerly winds, was common. The scouring action of those early showers on the dried up and pulverous soil was very great, and the damage done by erosion was usually much greater than at any other time of the year. A long break during the rain was fatal to crops, as owing to the steep slope of the hills the water rapidly drained off, and in a few days the ground became dry and hard.<sup>14</sup>

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12. Garhwal Gazette 1910, pp.76-77.

13. Paragraph is based on Garhwal Gazette 1910, pp.28-29.

14. Ibid., pp.29-30.

The annual fluctuation in rainfall becomes clear from graph A. The above mentioned rain cycle had an important bearing on the method of cultivation and rotation of crops.

#### DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS :

In this section growth rate of population is discussed (see table 3.1). An attempt has been made to understand the trends in demographic growth. It has been compared with the growth in the cultivated area. The purpose is to know the pressure on land. To present the other side of the picture density per square mile is also discussed.

To understand the trend in growth rate we can divide the period between 1821 to 1951 into three phases. The first phase is between 1821 to 1872. The data of this period are not reliable because of the procedure adopted. However in the absence of other sources we have to base our conclusions on these data.

The first estimate of the population of British Garhwal was made by Traill, a settlement officer, in 1821. He did not count heads. But during the settlement process he counted houses in the district. In accordance with his experience he allowed 6.5 persons to a house and arrived at the figure of 125000.<sup>15</sup> Such an enumeration has its own

15. Traill, 'SSK' in Batten compiled official Report, pp.1-60.



limitation. J.H. Batten another settlement officer adopted a procedure similar to that of Traill and arrived at the figure of 131916 for the year 1841.<sup>16</sup> This would suggest an average annual growth rate of 0.27 per cent. The next enumeration in 1853, estimated the population of Garhwal District to be 235788.<sup>17</sup> The average annual growth rate between 1841 and 1853 was 4.96. This is the highest annual growth rate registered in Garhwal till 1951 (see table 4.1). This creates doubt about correctness of the enumeration, although, we have no alternative data to question its reliability. The next enumeration in 1858<sup>18</sup> however registered a negative average annual growth rate of 0.21. If we assume that the 1853 enumeration was incorrect and then calculate the average annual growth rate of population between 1841 and 1858 the growth rate appears to be 3.41 per cent. This is a more acceptable growth rate because the growth rate was also as high as 3.21 per cent between 1865 and 1872. However, the average annual growth rate of population in the first phase (1821-72) was only 1.79 per cent.

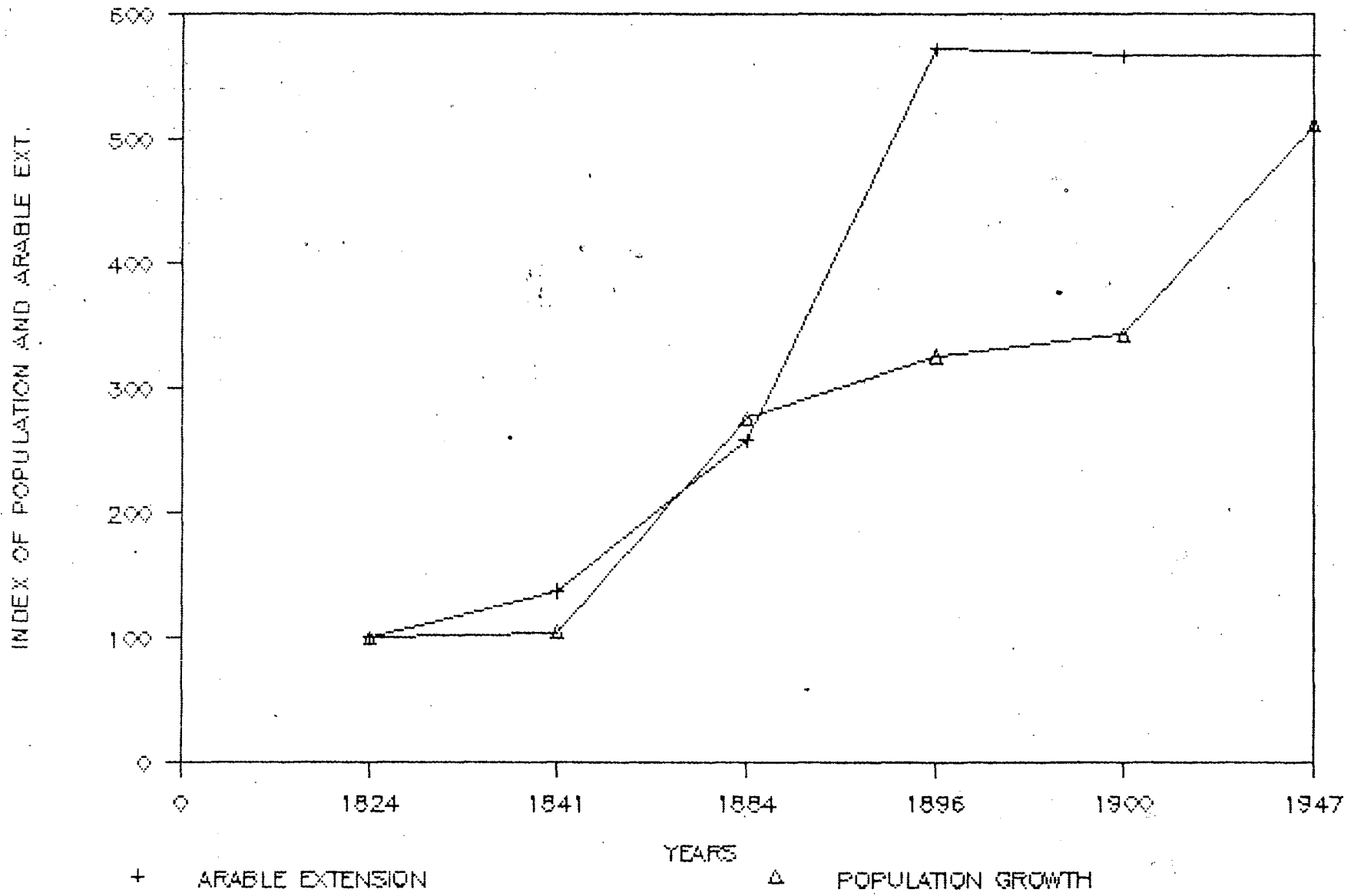
In the second phase (1872-1901), the regular decennial census process started. Although, census data are not perfect, nevertheless the data for this phase are more

16. SRG 1842, in Batten compiled official Report, pp.1-60.

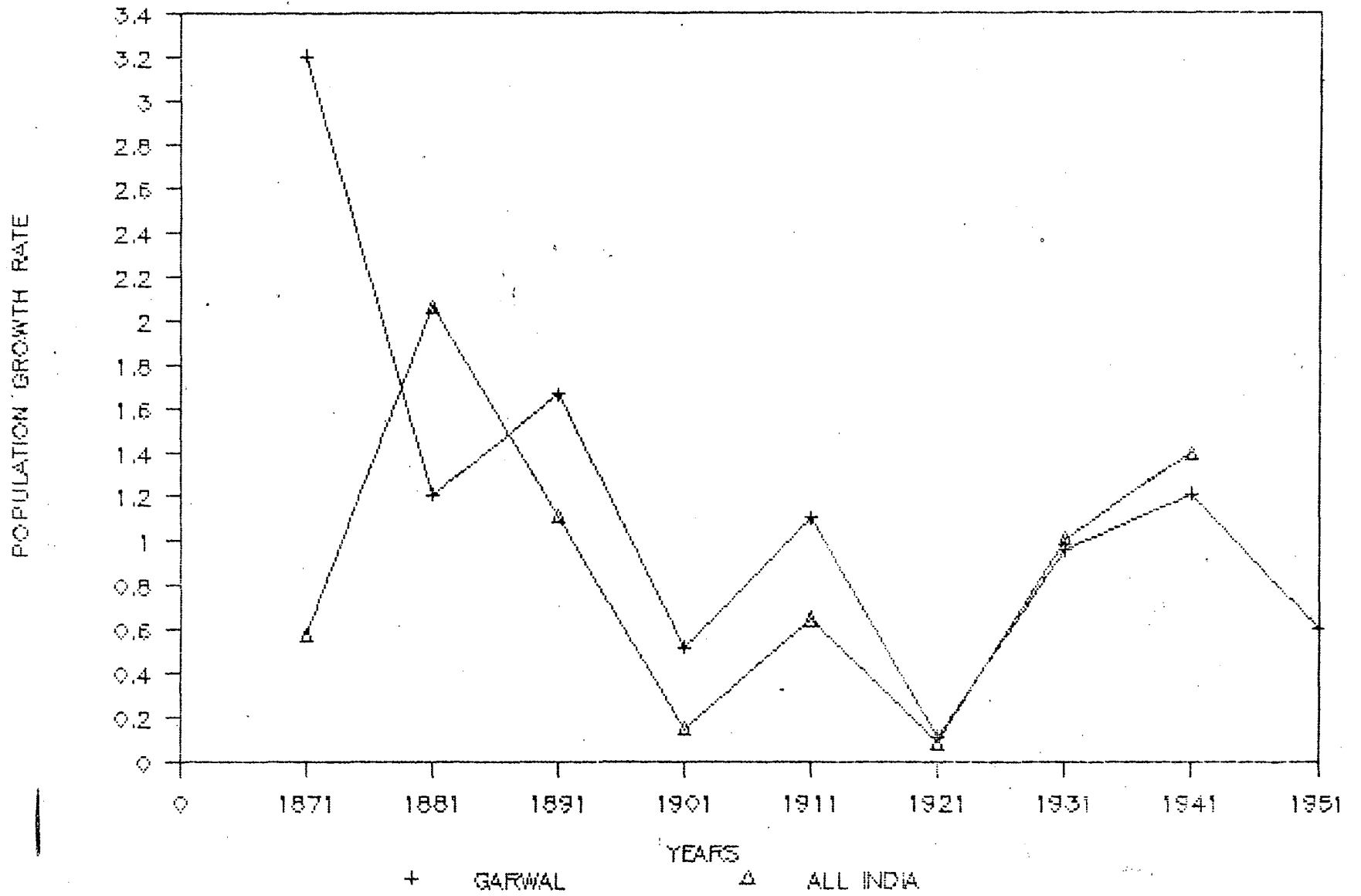
17. HDNWP VOL.III, Part I, p.266.

18. Ibid., p.266.

GRAPH D



GRAPH C



reliable. Between 1872 and 1881 population registered a 1.21 per cent average annual growth rate. In the second decade of the second phase the average annual growth rate was 1.67 per cent. The growth between 1891-1901 was particularly low (0.52 per cent) due to widespread famine in this decade. The average annual growth rate of population in the second phase was 1.13 per cent.

In the third phase (1901-1951) the average annual growth rate was 0.80 per cent, much lower than the growth rate in the earlier two phases. The second decade (1911-1921) of this phase had a particularly slow growth of 0.12 per cent. The growth in the fifth decade was again relatively low (0.61 per cent)

If we compare the average annual growth rate of population of Garhwal with that of India we find that after 1901 there is similarity of trend. The growth rate for Garhwal exceeded that of India between 1891 and 1921. Between 1921 and 1941. The growth rate for India was higher than Garhwal. However, between 1871 and 1891 there was an inverse relationship between the all India and local trends of population growth. (see graph). This possibly indicates local peculiarities of demographic growth. But it is also likely that the figures before 1891 are not very reliable.

Now looking at the density per square mile, we find that it was continuously increasing (see table : 4.2). Assuming the total area of the district to be 5629 square miles,<sup>19</sup> density per square miles was 22 in 1821, 44 in 1865, 76 in 1901, 95 in 1931, 107 in 1941 and 114 in 1951. This clearly shows an increasing population pressure. The increasing population pressure had bearing on natural resource utilization and on the economy as a whole.

The increasing population pressure led to the expansion in the cultivated area. This relationship has been shown in the table 4.3.

Area under cultivation expanded in three distinct phases. In the first phase between 1824 to the middle of the 19th century, the area under cultivation increased slowly. From 46205 bisis in 1824,<sup>20</sup> it increased to 63825 bisis at the time of Batten's settlement in 1842.<sup>21</sup> This was an increase of 38 per cent.

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19. This area has been given in the Gazetteer of British Garhwal 1910. However, the area varied according to the adjustment of the boundry of the district. It was given as 5500 square miles in HWGP (VOL.III, Part I & p.238). So the minor adjustments have been over looked in calculating density.

20. Traill, 'SSK' in Batten Compilled official Report, pp.1 to 60.

21. SRG in Baten compilled official Report, pp.88-128.

**TABLE 3.1**  
**AVERAGE ANNUAL GROWTH OF POPULATION**  
**IN GARHWAL DISTRICT AND IN THE COUNTRY**  
**1821 - 1951.**

Years	Population	Garhwal District Percentage increase over previous figure/ Decennial (per cent)	Growth rate (per cent)	India Average annual Growth rate (per cent)
1821	125000	-	-	-
1841	131000	+5.5	0.27	-
1853	235788	+78.74	4.96	-
1858	233326	-0.6	0.21	-
1865	248742	+6.6	0.92	-
1872	310282	+24.7	3.21	0.58
1881	345629	+11.4	1.21	2.07
1891	407818	+17.9	1.67	1.11
1901	429900	+5.4	0.52	0.15
1911	479641	+11.7	1.10	0.65
1921	485186	+1.2	0.12	0.09
1931	533885	+10.0	0.96	1.01
1941	602115	+12.8	1.21	1.40
1951	639625	+6.2	0.61	-

Source : Figures of population upto 1872 are based on HDNWP VOL. III, Part I and Garhwal Gazette 1910. There after figures are from respective census reports and District census Hand Book for Garhwal District 1951 (Allahabad).

Columns 3 and 4 are based on calculation.

Column 5 is taken from Dharna Kumar (ed.) The Cambridge History of India (Delhi, 1982), p.488.

In the second phase, in the second half of 19th century, the area under cultivation expanded rapidly. By 1885 it had increased to 119654 bisis,<sup>22</sup> 2.6 times the area under cultivation in 1824.

In the third phase, that is in the first half of the 20th century, the area under cultivation remained stagnant. It was 260000 acres or 262166 bisis in 1900.<sup>23</sup> There was no arable extension till 1947.<sup>24</sup>

Now we compare the expansion in area under cultivation with population increase. Between 1821 and 1841 the population increased by 5.5 per cent while area under cultivation increased by 38 per cent between 1824 to 1841. It shows that area under cultivation was increasing much faster than population. As has already been mentioned the enumeration of population in this period was based on procedures which cannot be totally relied upon. By 1884-85 population had registered 177 per cent increase over 1821 figure. Arable expansion registered an 159 per cent increase between 1824 and 1884-85. In other words, population in 1884-85 was 2.8 times that of 1821 and cultivated area 2.6

22. Agriculture Statistics of British India (hereafter ASBI) Vol I 1883-85 (Calcutta, 1886). Area has been converted into bisis (One acre=4840 square yards, and one bisi=4800 square yards).

23. District Census Hand Book of Garhwal District 1951. In ASBI area is given 262484 acres till 1905-06, then it became 260000 in 1906-07 and remain this afterward. ASBI for relevent years (Vol.I).

24. District Census Hand Book 1951.

time. It shows that population increased faster than arable land if the whole period between 1824 and 1884-85 is taken together. But area under cultivation again increased rapidly and by 1900 it was 5.7 times that of 1824 (see table : 3.3). By the end of the 19th century the population was 3.4 times that of 1821.

Thus, in different phases the rates of demographic and arable growth fluctuated, but as in the 19th century a whole the arable increased faster than the population (See graph).

By 1947, the area under cultivation was remained 5.7 times that of 1824. By 1951 the population was 5.1 times that of in 1821. So in the long term, between 1824 and 1951, arable expansion managed to keep ahead of population increase, although the arable was stagnant after 1900.

However, statistical data do not explain every thing. For example arable expansion has no meaning if production was not increasing at the same rate. And it has virtually no significance if productivity of the land as a whole was decreasing. We lack figures for productivity and production. But we know that arable expansion meant a movement into poor soils with low productivity, so expansion of arable was accompanied by a possible decline in average productivity. The crisis deepened after 1900 when arable expansion stopped.



**TABLE : 3.2**  
**POPULATION DENSITY PER SQUARE MILE IN**  
**BRITISH GARHWAL**  
**(1821-1947)**

Year	Persons per square mile	Year	Persons per square mile
1821	22	1891	72
1841	23	1901	76
1853	42	1911	85
1858	41	1921	86
1865	44	1931	95
1872	55	1941	107
1881	61	1951	114

Source : Computed on the basis of population figures and total area. Total area taken for calculation is 5629 square miles. See footnote no. 19 in this chapter.

**TABLE 3.3**  
**INDEXES OF ARABLE EXPANSION AND**  
**POPULATION GROWTH**  
**(1821-1947)**

Year	Arable Land in acres	Index Number of Arable Land	Year	Index Number of Population
1824	45823	100.00	1821	100.00
1841	63295	138.13	1841	105.53
1884-85	118665	258.96	1881	276.50
1896	262484	572.82	1891	326.25
1900	260000	567.40	1901	343.92
1947	260000	567.40	1951	511.70

Source : Column 2 is based on Traill's 'SSK' in Betten compiled Official Report, GSR 1842 in Batten compiled Official Report, GSR 1896, ASBI for relevent years and District Census Handbook 1952.

Column 3 is calculated.

Column 5 computed from table 3.1.

## CROPPING PATTERN AND HARVEST CYCLES :

Rice and wheat were the most important staples of the region. On high altitudes where the slope was steep and irrigation through small channel was not possible, only coarse grains were produced. In fertile regions rice and wheat were sown on irrigated level land (sera) and coarse grains were produced on unirrigated land (ukhar).

The cultivation of commercial crops like sugarcane, cotton etc. was not prevalent. However, attempts were made to introduce tea in the region. In 1827 Dr. Royle suggested to Lord Amherst the probability of successful cultivation of tea in the mountains of Kumaon.<sup>25</sup> In 1884 a committee with Dr. Wallich at its head was appointed by Lord William Bantick to investigate the possibility of tea cultivation in this region. In 1835 tea seeds were procured from China and from them plants were raised at Calcutta and sent to Assam, Kumaon and Garhwal.<sup>26</sup> Tea nurseries were established by the government in Kumaon and Garhwal and they were placed under the superintendence of Dr. Falconer of the Botanical Garden at Saharanpur.<sup>27</sup> Mr. Fortune succeeded Dr. Falconer. In 1848 Mr Fortune was deputed by the Court of Directors to visit China. He brought and introduced nearly 20 thousand plants in the Himalayas. Although, initially prospects of tea

25. Garhwal Gazette 1910, p.37.

26. Ibid., p.38.

cultivation looked bright but later the experiment proved a failure. The great hopes of tea trade with Central Asia vanished when Russia imposed prohibitory duty on tea imported from India.<sup>28</sup> Nor did the people of the region show any interest in tea plantation. An experiment tried near Lobha of granting revenue free land for tea cultivation did not succeed.<sup>29</sup> A government factory with three Chinese and ten native workers was started at Gadoli near Pauri around 1840.<sup>30</sup>

It was hoped that tea cultivation would become universal : every zamindar (hissedar) would have a few acres under tea and they would supply tea leaves to the nearest factory. These hopes were falsified.<sup>31</sup> Very few people in the region produced surplus food grain for sale. Tea could not displace subsistence food grain production. The hill people had to produce this subsistence. Supplies of foodgrains in the region were scarce and the prices were very high.<sup>32</sup> To secure stocks the people had to go a long way to the tarai and the plains. So they preferred to produce grain and sell whatever was surplus rather than produce tea for the market. The system of advances (tacau) introduced to encourage tea production in the region also

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27. Ibid., p.38.

28. HDNWP VOL.III, Part I, p.259.

29. Garhwal Gazette, 1911, pp.38-39.

30. Ibid., p.39.

31. Ibid., p.39.

failed to work.<sup>33</sup> Because of this unwillingness to adopt commercial crops, the Garhwal peasants escaped the debt trap, in which peasants of the other parts of India found themselves. Therefore, tea was only grown in the estates of Europeans attached to tea factories. The largest tea estate in the district was that of Gwaldom. Smaller gardens existed at Musete, Benital and Silkot. In 1897 the Garhwal district produced 69000 lbs of tea; by 1907 the production had declined to only 52000 lbs.<sup>34</sup>

The cropping pattern in the region remained stable. The pattern was dictated by ecological determinants. So rice and wheat were always cultivated in the patches where it could be. The land newly broken for cultivation produced coarse grain. Mandua and Jhangora were supposed to grow even on poor and unterraced land. Therefore, when cultivation expanded the area under these grains increased in relation to other crops (see table : 3.4). When the soil in these tracts improved, wheat could be introduced. The expansion of the area under rice and wheat was dictated by the fact that land revenue under colonial rule had to be paid in cash. Rice and wheat were expected to fetch good prices.

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32. See the next section on prices in this chapter.

33. Garhwal Gazette 1910, pp.38-39.

34. Ibid., p.39.

Due to paucity of data for the nineteenth century, it is not possible to discuss in greater details the shifts in cropping pattern. However, from 1880 onwards data are available.

In 1884-85 the net cropped area was 118865 acres and total cropped (including double cropped) area was 163840 acres. The proportion of area under rice, wheat and other foodgrains was 19.53 per cent, 25.78 per cent and 54.69 per cent respectively of the total cropped area. (see table 4.4). This ratio continued upto 1895-96. In 1896 when new measurements took place under the new settlement, the recorded net cropped area was 262484 acres and the total cropped area 354300 acres. The proportion of total cropped area under rice, wheat and other food grains was 9.46, 18.06 and 72.48 per cent respectively.

This unusual rise in the cropping area of the coarse grain underlines the fact that the land newly broken for cultivation was mostly unirrigated, low in productivity and unsuitable for wheat and rice. (This corroborates the argument about low productivity of new land given in the previous section of this chapter and in the section on revenue demand in the second chapter). Nevertheless, one must note that the area under wheat also registered an impressive growth.

**TABLE : 3.4**  
**AREA UNDER CULTIVATION AND AVERAGE**  
**ACRES UNDER DIFFERENT CROPS (1884-1920)**  
**IN BRITISH GARHWAL (IN ACRES)**

Years	Area under Rice	Area under Wheat	Area under other Food grains	Total cropped area	Net cropped area	Area under Oil Seeds
1884-85 to 1889-90	32000	42240	89600	163840	118865	3200
1890-91 to 1895-96	32000	42240	89600	163840	118865	3200
1896-97 to 1901-02	33500	64000	256800	354300	262448	2700
1902-03 to 1907-08	33500	64000	256800	354300	262448	2700
1908-09 to 1913-14	33500	64000	256800	354300	260000	2700
1914-15 to 1919-20	33500	64000	256800	354300	260000	2700

Source : ASBI, Vol. I for relevant years. Average figures have been computed.

Here it is pertinent to note the limitations of data. Acreage data for Garhwal were not collected annually. W.H. Moreland in Season and Crops Report for the United Provinces<sup>35</sup> pointed out that the annual return for Garhwal and Almora districts were not filled nor were the details of cultivated area for different crops available. The old data for area under crops were annually re-recorded till new data were available. Annual fluctuations were therefore not known and when the new data were recorded the figures gave the appearance of abrupt changes. The figures in the Agriculture

35. Season and Crops Report of the United Provinces, 1902-10.

Statistics of British India<sup>36</sup> suggest that the area under different crops did not change between 1884-85 and 1895-96, or between 1896-97 and 1905-06, and again between 1906-07 and 1919-20. Annual fluctuations were, thus, not recorded. The nature of our data impose limitation on interpretation. However, it is indicated by all the sources available that net area under cultivation and the area under different crops remained by and large constant between 1897 to 1947.<sup>37</sup>

Mixed cropping was also practised extensively. In kharif and rabi seasons pulses and oil seeds were often sown along with rice and wheat.

Among the coarse grains which dominated the cropped area Barley, Ragi, Mandua and Jhangore were the most important. Tur, Bhat, Gahat were the important pulses. Oil seeds, mostly for self consumption, were also sown. The area under oil seeds was 3200 acres between 1884-85 and 1895-96. Then the area declined to 2700 acres in 1897 and never increased after that.<sup>38</sup> Til (sesamum) and mustard were the most important oil seeds grown in this region. Garhwal was famous for its turmeric, ginger and chillies. They were grown in the southern pattis of the district near the marts

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36. ASBI Vol. I for relevent years.

37. See ASBI, District Census Hand Book for Garhwal District 1951, and Census Reports, particularly for 1951.

38. ASBI for relevent years.

in the plains where they found a ready market.<sup>39</sup> The proceeds from these crops also helped in paying cash revenue.

Crop rotation of the hills is in many respect distinct from the plains. Apart from two harvests rotation - kharif and rabi - other patterns were also practiced. Crop rotations were constrained by the nature of soil, altitude of the place, availability of water and manure.

There were three main types of crop rotation. The first type was a one year rotation; the second extended to two years; and in the third, the crop rotation was as long as five years and more.

Within the first type we can identify as many as six cropping patterns depending upon the quality of soil, altitude of the place, availability of water and manure.

A two crop rotation of rice and wheat in a single year was practiced on good irrigated soil.<sup>40</sup> It was only possible in river valleys. The places where this rotation was practiced were the warmest in the region.

This same rotation of rice and wheat was sometimes carried out surprisingly on dry land in the Thart Valley of

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39. Garhwal Gazette 1910, p.40.

40. SRG 1896, p.18.



Pairon.<sup>41</sup> Perhaps the good quality of soil made this possible.

A similar two crop rotation of jhangora and wheat was also practiced in a single year. It was practiced on dry land in the hotter parts of the Alaknanda Valley. These two crops were alternately grown without any interval or fallow.<sup>42</sup>

Another two crop rotation was that of chua and barley.<sup>43</sup> This was practiced in the northern villages in fields near the homestead which were regularly enriched by manure.

In the south there was a similar rotation between ugal or buckwheat and barley. It was confined to outlying land. Ugal was said to have the merit of not being injured by the mist which is common during the rainy season in the hills south of the Khatti-utain range.<sup>44</sup>

At the high altitudes where snow melts in June only one crop was taken in a year. Seeds were sown after the snow melted in June and reaped with kharif crops in autumn.<sup>45</sup>

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41. SRG 1896, p.18. See also Garhwal Gazette 1910, p.35.

42. SRG 1896, p.18.

43. Ibid., p.18-19.

44. Ibid., p.18-19.

45. Garhwal Gazette 1910, p.37.

In the second type of crop rotation usually covering two years, we can again identify different patterns.

In one pattern, land was divided into two halves. In one half rice was sown in April and reaped in September. It was followed by wheat, sown in October and reaped in April. Then mandua was sown and reaped in October, after which the land remained fallow till next April.<sup>46</sup> In the another half, rotation followed the same line. The only difference was that the crops of the two halves were different. This can be understood from the chart given below :

Months				
	April to Sept.	Oct. to April	April to Sept.	Oct. to April
I half	Rice	Wheat	Mandua	Fallow
II half	Mandua	Fallow	Rice	Wheat

The system of fallowing a whole block of land instead of scattered fields had its advantage. A consolidated block of fallow land allowed the village cattle to graze on the straw and grass that could be found on the terraced walls. For this reason half of the village would be found apparently lying waste in the winter. In land which was too hard to grow rice or wheat. Jhangora and barley were grown in rotation.<sup>47</sup>

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46. SRG 1896, p.18.

47. SRG 1896, p.18.

In the second pattern chua, barley and mustard were grown in a two years cycle. Chua was sown in April and reaped in September. In October barley was sown and reaped in June. Then mustard was grown between August and December. And between December to April the land was half fallow. This pattern was practiced in the high villages of the north. But the people of those high villages were shepereds rather than agriculturists, and the rotation was not always practiced by settled peasants.<sup>48</sup>

The third type of rotation, of five years, also had two patterns.

The outlying areas, away from the village, could not be manured properly. Here, wheat or barley was sown in autumn and reaped in the following spring. It was followed immediately by a crop of mandua. After this was cut the field was allowed to remain fallow during winter.<sup>49</sup> Next summer a crop of ihangora was raised. The land then remained fallow for three years. The whole rotation thus occupies five years. This system known as tisala, or intermittent cultivation on terraced land, was particularly confined to the south of the district.

The second pattern of three years fallow was common in newly broken land. In Talla Dhangu, til (sesamum) was

48. Ibid., p.18.

followed next year by Jhangora and then a three years fallow.<sup>50</sup>

In this section we have seen that Garhwal peasantry was involved in subsistence foodgrain production. Rice, wheat and coarse grain were the crops mainly grown. Coarse grains were raised over an extensive area because it can be grown on poor soil without water. So we see that with the expansion of arable, the proportion of coarse grain was increasing vis a vis rice and wheat. We have also seen that due to subsistence agriculture peasantry in Garhwal had shown a reluctance to adopt commercial crops.

Ecological factors were thus important in determining harvest cycles. Therefore, apart from simple kharif, rabi and zaid crops in a one year rotation, there were complex, two years and five years cycles as well. This was necessiated by the quality of soil, the availability of water and manure, the temprature of the area and the altitude of the place concerned.

## PRICE MOVEMENTS

In Garhwal, prices were higher than other parts of India. This is clear from table no. 3.5. Difficulties in

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49. Ibid., p.18-19.

50. Garhwal Gazetteer 1910, p.36.

transportation insulated the region and created problem for a free flow of goods. People in the region produced food grain mostly for self-consumption. Precisely due to this people suffered enormously in times of famine. Providing relief was very difficult, for it required transportation of grain from distant places in the plains.

However, fluctuation in prices cannot be explained by identifying only local factors. Local fluctuations do have a relationship to the all India patterns. Many reasons have been given for price fluctuations. Some have discovered an inversely proportional relationship between price fluctuations of agricultural products and yields per acre.<sup>51</sup> However, this relationship was not uniform in the case of all agriculture products. In the case of cotton, yield per acre was not a significant determinant of change in prices.<sup>52</sup> Similarly for jute, there was a weak relationship between changes in yield per acre and changes in prices.<sup>53</sup> Internationally prices and demand strongly influenced the prices of such export crops. In any case, agriculture prices in India had a general relationship to movements of world prices.

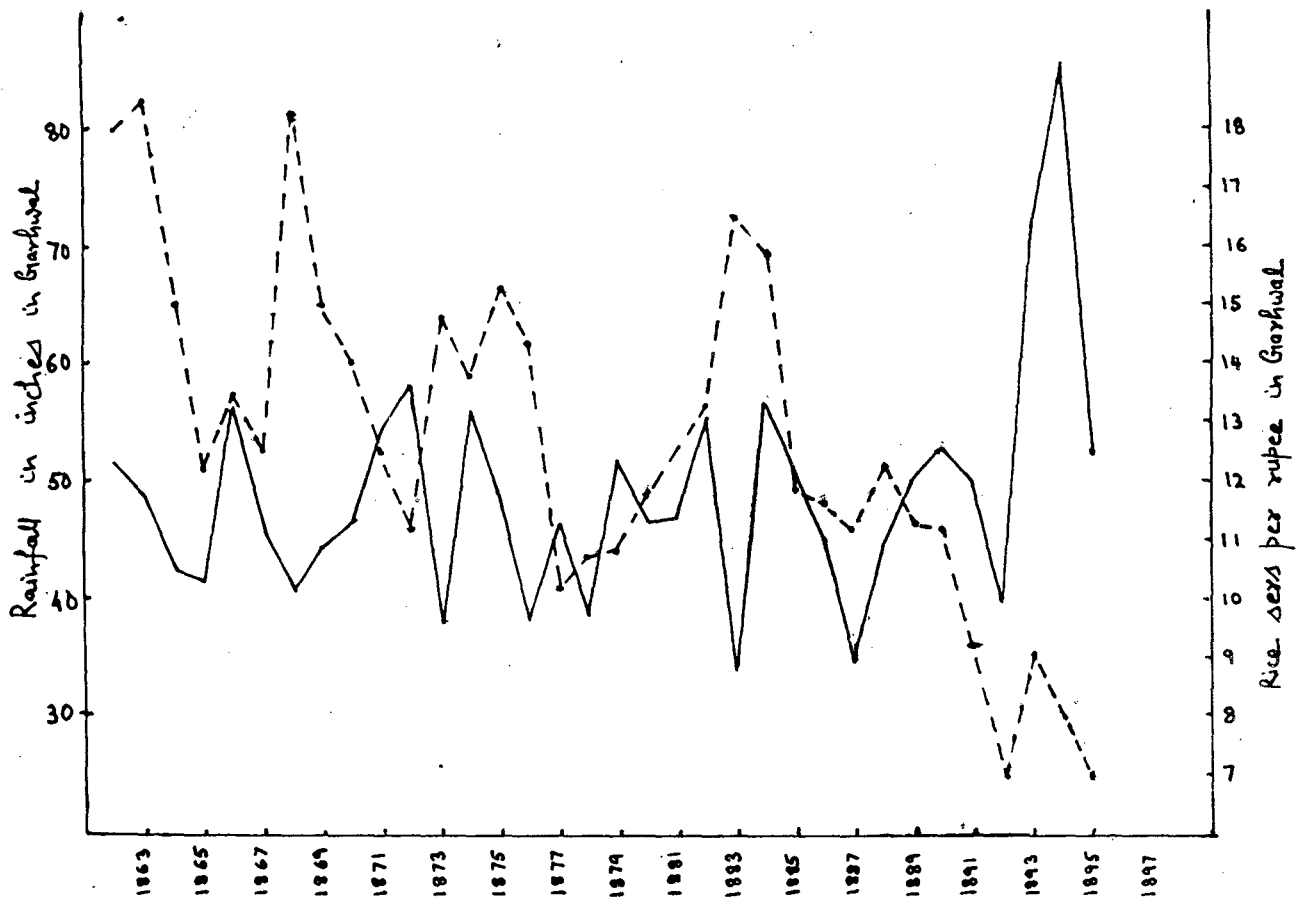
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51. Michelle MacAlpine, 'Price Movements and Fluctuations in Economic Activity (1860-1947)', in Dharma Kumar (ed.), The Cambridge Economic History of India, (Delhi, 1982), pp.878-904.

52. Ibid., pp.878-904.

53. Ibid., pp.878-904.

GRAPH - A



Source: SRG 1896

———— Rainfall  
----- Prices

One characteristic of prices in this region was the enormous local variations. Prices in different places were determined by the distance from the plains. In the interior, prices were very high due to freight charges. Table : 3.6 shows the difference in prices at Kotdwar and Srinagar (Garhwal). Kotdwar is at the foothill and closer to the plains in comparison to Srinagar. However, even Srinagar does not represent the deep interior. Srinagar prices only indicate the fact that prices increased as one moved towards the interior.

High prices of grains and problems of supply had impact on cropping pattern. Peasants were reluctant to produce commercial crops since it was difficult to replenish grain stocks.

To what extent did prices influence the area under food grain ? The need to pay revenue in cash created a pressure to produce rice and wheat which were more valuable than coarse food grains, and were easy to sell. However, as we have seen in the previous section, the area under coarse grain was increasing more rapidly than that under wheat and rice. This was due to the fact that the land newly broken for cultivation was only suitable for the coarse grain. So it appears that the shift to wheat and rice was limited to

the fertile, irrigated areas, while coarse grain was a natural choice in areas of expanding cultivation.

Long term price movements in Garhwal were not purely a regional phenomena. While the level of prices differed from the rest of the country, the general pattern of movement was similar. Short term fluctuations however were determined by local factors like rainfall and yields. Let us follow the fluctuation of prices and rainfall in the graph (graph A). In 1883-84 prices were high while rainfall was 34.3 inches, much below average. Prices slumped in 1884-85 when rainfall was average, that is 56.7 inches in 1884 and 51.2 inches in 1885. The following year prices rose again for rainfall was below average. In 1889 a normal rainfall saw the prices slump again. There was thus, an inverse relationship between rainfall and prices.

Therefore, it can be concluded that while the people of this region were subjected to price fluctuation similar to the fluctuation elsewhere in India, they suffered a greater disadvantage due to their geographical location. Ecological factors did not allow peasants to adopt any commercial crops. Price movements did play minor role in determining cropping pattern. Due to this, the cropping pattern reflected a stability and continuity. Therefore, it can be argued that price fluctuations had no uniform impact



throughout the country; regional factors like geography and ecology redefined this impact.

#### TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE :

There was little technological change in our period of study. Techniques of ploughing, sowing, manuring, irrigation, harvesting, threshing etc. by and large remained the same. Nevertheless, under the pressure of increasing population people were compelled to intensify production.

**TABLE 3.7**  
**PRICE RISE IN 19TH CENTURY IN GARHWAL**

Years	Rice sers per rupee	Index	Wheat sers per rupee	Index
1816-21	28	100	22	100
1840	26	107.69	24	91.67
1850	20	140	23	95.65
1860	19.5	143.59	20.5	107.32
1870	14	200	17.5	125.71
1880	12.5	224	16.1	136.65
1890	11.2	250	14.5	151.72
1895	7	400	10	220.00

Source : 1816-21 based on Traill 'SSK' in Betten (ed.) Official Report. 1840 to 1860 based on HDNWP. 1870 to 1895 based on SRG 1896 (From Graph on p.68) From HDNWP. Prices taken prevalent at Kotdwar, Rice Medium quality taken, wheat white is taken. Index number is computed.

Unterraced and infertile soils were ploughed. Attempts were made to improve irrigation facilities through

cooprative and individual efforts. There was an increase in the number of bullock and ploughs. The number of cattle, the source of manure, increased. While there was no breakthrough in technology, peasants struggled to improve land productivity. Methods of cultivation varied with the crop. To prepare the ground for seed, the land was ploughed once for coarse kharif crops, such as jhangore and mandua, and twice for other crops. The second ploughing was known as ukhalna in the southern dialect of the district and duriyana in the central. In the case of rice and sometimes wheat, the clods were broken up after each ploughing by an instrument having a long handle known as dilara. The ground was also smoothed over by an instrument like a harrow without teeth known as jal. The seeds were then sown and the ground was ploughed a second or third time as the case may be. The jal was then finally taken over the field again, this time very carefully, to leave it quite even. When the Kharif crops grew to a height of a few inches from the ground, the harrow was applied. In the case of mandua, jhangora, and the coarse crops the harrow was applied a second time; in the case of rice only once. Then, until the crop began to come into ear it was regularly weeded (malsogarno or godno) with the hoe (kutli). The rabi crop was neither harrowed nor weeded. But if there was heavy rain on clay soil after the grain had germinated, the land was some times harrowed to let up the

**TABLE : 3.6**

**PRICES IN GARHWAL SERS PER RUPEE (SHOWING PRICE DIFFERENCE DUE TO LOCATION)**

Articles	Native Names	1840		1850		1860		1865		1868		1869	
		S. <sup>1</sup>	K. <sup>2</sup>	S.	K.	S.	K.	S.	K.	S.	K.	S.	K.
Rice 1st	Basmati	20	16	11 1/2	14 1/2	11 3/4	12	7 1/4	9 1/4	7 3/4	7 3/4	8 3/4	7 1/2
Rice 2nd	Bakuwa	50	26	22 1/4	20	21 1/3	19 1/2	11 1/4	12 1/4	12 3/4	12 3/4	14 1/3	9 1/4
Rice 3rd	Rasiya	55	24	25	22	23	21	12 1/4	13	13 1/2	13 1/2	15	10
Wheat White	Dandhkani	58	24	23	23	35	20 1/2	13	18	20	17 1/2	21	12
Wheat Red	Lalgehun	60	25	24 1/2	24	36 3/4	20	13 3/4	18 3/4	21 1/2	28 1/2	22	12 1/2
Barley	Jau	70	30	50	25	36	22	27 1/4	24 3/4	18 1/2	26 1/2	26 1/4	16 1/2
Millet	Manduwa	70	50	48	40	40	28	21	24	19 3/4	23 3/4	28 1/2	16
Buckwheat	Ogal	37 1/2	40	29 3/4	28	24 3/4	22	13 3/4	18 3/4	11 3/4	16 1/2	15 1/4	13 3/4
Rape	Lahi	40	42	30	37	25	28	18	22	16	24	14	17
Pulse	Urd	32 1/2	45	25	35	23 1/4	30	12 1/2	16 1/4	11 1/2	17 3/4	13 1/4	10 1/2
Onion	Pyaj	80	-	70	-	65	-	58	-	50	-	45	-
Potatoes	Alu	60	41	50	34	45	33	32	28	28	18	24	14

Source : HDNWP, Vol III, Part I, p.313.

1. S stand for Srinagar and 2. K for Kotdwar.

**TABLE 3.5**

**AVERAGE COMPARATIVE PRICES OF RICE AND WHEAT FOR GARHWAL, UP AND ALL INDIA.**

Year	Rice(husk) Rupees per Maund									Wheat Rupees per Maund								
	Garhwal			NWP <sup>1</sup> /UP			All India			Garhwal			NWP <sup>1</sup> /UP			All India		
	R.	A.	p.	R.	A.	p.	R.	A.	p.	R.	A.	p.	R.	A.	p.	R.	A.	p.
1883-84	3	7	9	2	11	3	2	15	8	2	11	10	1	12	7	2	10	3
1884-85	2	10	8	2	11	8	3	11	11	2	0	0	1	15	1	2	13	2
1886-87	3	10	0	3	3	6	3	5	8	3	8	0	3	0	1	2	15	11
1887-88	4	0	0	3	3	11	3	3	5	3	4	0	2	11	11	2	15	8
1888-89	1	5	3	3	2	6	3	10	1	1	12	6	2	8	5	3	1	1
1889-90	1	13	0	3	5	6	3	9	0	3	10	2	2	13	9	3	4	1
1918-19	10	11	0	5	11	0	2	11	0	8	10	0	6	5	0	6	6	0
1919-20	11	7	0	5	5	0	3	8	0	8	0	0	5	8	0	5	10	0

Source : ASBI, Vol. I for relevent years.

1. From years 1883-84 to 1889-90 the average prices is only given for the NWP; Oudh is not included in it. For rest of the years prices are given for whole of the United Provinces.

shoots : this process being known as palgarno or darakgorno.<sup>54</sup>

The crop was cut with a sickle (dathi or darathi). Rice was cut close to the root. In the case of jhangora or mandua only ear were cut and the stalks, (jhangreth and nalau), after they dried, were cut and stored as fodder. Wheat and barley were cut about the middle. When the sheaves were brought to the threshing floor, the ears were chopped off for threshing, while the stalk was given to the cattle. In ordinary years the stalks which remained on the fields was not collected : they were left for the cattle to graze or were burnt. When grass was scarce, stalks were carefully cut and presented for fodder. The straw which was collected was stacked on trees near the homestead, or in absence of these on poles known as taila. Rice was not taken to the threshing floor but the paddy was separated from the stalks on the field. It was usually left on the field for three days after being cut, and then spread in sheaves on a matting of wheat straw (or ringal, a small plant). The grain was then pressed out by the feet. The straw which remained was known as paral.<sup>55</sup>

The threshing floors were usually constructed on a ridge where fresh air was expected. The grain was trodden by

54. Based on SRG 1896, pp.20-21. See also Garhwal Gazette 1910 pp.32-34, and Traill's 'SSK' in Betten (ed.) Official Report, pp.1-60.

oxes. For the purpose of winnowing, the grain was poured out of a basket held high up on to a mat below. The grain was then stored in big baskets in the upper story of the house till required for use.<sup>56</sup>

On irrigated land, rice was usually sown in a seed bed (bijwar) At the beginning of the rain season, after the young plants had attained a height of about 6 inches, they were transplanted. Chillies were also produced in a similar way. In most of Talla Salan a similar method of cultivation was followed to produce mandua. It was sown in a separate field, and when the plants came up they were transplanted to the adjoining fields. This operation was carried out at beginning of the rains. But in the case of mandua neither the nursery nor the other fields were irrigated.<sup>57</sup>

Manure was usually applied to the ground immediately before the seed was sown. It was then ploughed in with the seed, In the case of mandua and sometimes in the case of wheat, manure was scattered over the ground after the crop had germinated. Gahat was not manured at all, and was usually sown in the stoniest fields in the village. To say of a field "Is men ghat bhi na hota" meant that it was very bad indeed.<sup>58</sup> Ugal was also not usually manured. Till in the

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55. SRG 1896, p.21.

56. Ibid., p.21.

57. Ibid., p.21.

58. Ibid., p.21.

beginning of the 19th century when cattle were kept in the lower story farmyard manure was usually stacked in a heap just outside the dwelling house. "Now (by the end of 19th century) that the cowsheds are a separate part of the village, it is stored in a heap near them till required for use."<sup>59</sup> Intermittent cultivation known generally as tisala, got only a dressing of weeds which were cutdown, allowed to rot and were then ploughed in. In Katil the shrubs were cut and burnt and the same procedure was sometimes observed in terraced tisala. Leaf manure was used throughout Garhwal. Oak leaves were preferred; pine leaves were not only useless, but noxious as well. Sera was not manured. The silt brought down by the flooded streams afforded the necessary top dressing. In a great part of the salens and chadukot, and to some extent in Barasyun, Dewalgarh and Chandpur, it was the custom to pen the cattle in fields for manure.<sup>60</sup>

Irrigation was carried on by small channels called guls. These were taken out from the small streams found at the bottom of almost every valley. The channels were cut along the contour of the hill.<sup>61</sup> At the source of the channel a dam (band) was constructed by piling stone on the stream bed. Then water was directed into the channel.<sup>62</sup> The

59. Ibid., p.21.

60. Based on SRG 1896, p.21 and Traill, 'SSK' in Betten compiled Official Report, pp.1-60.

61. Garhwal Gazette, 1910, p.32.

62. SRG 1896 p.21.

length of gul varied according to the height of the land to be irrigated and the fall of the stream.<sup>63</sup>

The channels were often dug by villagers through cooperative effort. However, individuals also dug for their own uses. Guls dug by individuals increased rapidly in the 20th century and this also led to dispute over land.<sup>64</sup>

Guls were only useful for wheat and rice, other crops depended on rainfall, which was plentiful in the region. Guls also depend on rainfall because only heavy rains led water into small streams. The area under irrigation which was 2560 acres in early 1880s rose to 8500 acres in the first decade of 20th century. Thereafter, irrigated area remained stagnant at 8500 acres till 1947.<sup>65</sup> Between 1947 and 1951 irrigated area doubled.<sup>66</sup>

Bullocks were important for ploughing land. Traill counted 28546 bullocks in 1822.<sup>67</sup> This number increased continuously. By 1890 there were 83500 bullocks<sup>68</sup> and by

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63. Garhwal Gazette 1910, p.32.

64. There are many files of cases of dispute over gul in the RRR and ERR of Pauri Collectorate. These show the rapid growth of guls, particularly after extension in arable area in 1880s and 1890s.

65. ASBI, Vol. I for relevant years.

66. District Census Hand Book, 1951.

67. Traill 'SSK' in Batten compiled official Report, pp.1-60.

68. ASBI, Vol I for relevant years.



1896-97 this number was 119127.<sup>69</sup> By 1912-13 there were 171794 oxen.<sup>70</sup>

Although the number of bullocks was increasing, the increase was not in proportion to the expansion in the cultivated area. Acres per bullock increased enormously by the end of 19th century. Thereafter, due to stagnation in the arable area, acres per bullock decreased. In 1824 there was 1.64 acres per bullock, in 1884-85 it declined to 1.42 acres, in 1896-97 it was 2.20 acres, and in 1906-07 it was 1.51 acres per bullock.<sup>71</sup> The fluctuation appears to be due to the variations in arable expansion in different phases. We have already discussed the limitations of the available data. Cattle disease and famines affected the population of cattle as well. It must be noticed that all bullocks were not efficient for ploughing. A large number were kept for manrue.

We do not have figures for the number of ploughs in the 19th century. But in 1884-85 the aera per plough was 2.35 acres, in 1896-97 it was 4.50 acres, in 1906-07 it was 4.45 acres and in 1912-13 it was 3.22 acres.<sup>72</sup> The situation remained similar throughout the first half of the 20th century.

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69. *Ibid.*

70. *Ibid.*

71. Computed from the figures available.

Table 4.10 gives figures for cattle and plough. The sudden increase in some years had to do with gaps in enumeration which has already been discussed.

From the above discussion it can be concluded that there was technological stagnation. Innovation in technology was essential to improve production while arable area was stagnant throughout the first half of 10th century. Colonial forest policy was largely responsible for this stagnation.

We have seen that ecological factors were important in the agrarian economy of the region. Cropping pattern and harvesting cycle were strictly defined by these factors. Price movements were also qualified by the regional factors in which geography and ecology played an important role. There was hardly any improvement in technology. The situation was worsened by adverse land-man ratio. In such conditions the role of the state becomes important. But the state compounded the problem by implementing a forest policy which virtually stopped the expansion of arable. It is important to note that the area under cultivation between 1947 and 1951, increased 2.4 times and the area under irrigation approximately doubled in just 3 years.<sup>73</sup>

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72. Computed from the figures of ASBI, Vol. I for relevant years.

73. Census of India 1951 Volume for UP. See also District Census Hand Book of Garhwal District 1951.

**TABLE 3.8**  
**CATTLE POWER AND PLOUGHES IN BRITISH**  
**GARHWAL (1886-1912)**

Years Ploughs	Bullocks	Cows Male+	Buffaloes Female	Young Stock Calves Buffaloes calves	Sheep	Goats
1886-87 50600	295699		35134	N.A.	239392	
1891-92 49515	83500	111300	25400	58100	82900	124300
1896-97 58392	119127	158836	35738	83389	93306	139958
1901-02 58392	119127	158836	35738	83389	93306	139958
1906-07 58392	119127	158836	35738	83389	93306	139958
1911-12 80759	171794	278801	60321	169649	237621	359774

Source : ASBI, Vol. 1 for relevent years.

## CHAPTER 4

# COLONIAL FORESTRY

### INTRODUCTION:

The vast forest resources in this region prompted the colonial state to intervene decisively. People's access to forest resources was strictly regulated. This led to the curtailment of the rights of the people in the forests. This chapter will discuss the nature of colonial exploitation of forests, the dislocation caused by the colonial forestry and the erosion of the rights of the people. State intervention has been discussed in both British Garhwal as well as Tehri Garhwal Kingdom.

The colonial forest policy was an instrument of imperialism to drain the colony of its forest resources for the interest of colonial power. The British were quick to recognize that the supply of timber from the depleting Oak trees of England could be replaced by teak from the Western Ghats. This would supply timber for the Royal Navy. However it was necessary to establish that the state was the real owner of forests. It was argued that forests were owned and controlled by the state in Europe. Similar arguments for state ownership were considered valid for India. The role of state was emphasised in conserving forests. 'Forest conservancy' was only possible through 'scientific

forestry'. The timber from the forests had to be exploited 'scientifically'. The whole thing was presented as an opposition the 'scientific' and the 'unscientific'. Lopping of tree, uncontrolled grazing, burning forest floor for new grass and all such practices of the peasantry were 'unscientific'. However, there was little consensus among the British administrators about all the above arguments. A dominant section shared these view!

Large scale commercial exploitation of forest started with the introduction of the railways when there was a need for durable railway sleepers. However, large scale appropriation was not possible without establishing undisputed state ownership of forests. It required legal sanction. The Forest Law of 1865 was an attempt to fulfill this need.

The Forest Law of 1865 proved wanting so it was amended in 1872. One of the prominent colonial administrators B.H.Baden-Powell, severely criticised the Forest Law of 1865. He found it 'utterly insufficient because it still gave the people rights without regulation in some areas'. He found the Act 'quite imperfect and indeed unsound in principle

1. See, B.Ribbentrop, Forestry in British India (Calcutta, 1900), B.H: Baden-Powell, Forest Law (London, 1893), Ramchandra Guha, 'Forestry in British and Post British India', EPW 29 october and 5-12 November 1983, for discussion on motives behind the colonial forest policy. For the divergent views within colonial

because its definition of the government forest was very limited.'<sup>2</sup>

Therefore the Act of 1878 gave wide powers to forest officials. This act provided a broad framework and left the rest of the matter to local forest officials. The local officials were entitled to reserve any forest and make local rules to regulate practices. This act empowered the local governments to enact laws without violating the spirit of the act.<sup>3</sup>

Under the provisions of The Indian Forest Act 1878, the government of the North Western Provinces and Oudh drafted detailed rules to regulate forest practices. Rules provided that all unmeasured wood and timber would be deemed government property unless any person established his rights over them.<sup>4</sup>

The government of the North Western Provinces and Oudh declared detailed rules for Naintal, Ranikhet and Lalitpur forests.<sup>5</sup>

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administration see Ram Guha, An Early Environmental debate: The making of 1878 forest Act' in IESHR Vol. 27, No.1 (1990).

2. Baden-Powell, Forest Law, pp.188-89. See also Ribbentrop, op. cit., p.109. He has mentioned defects of the 1865 Act.
3. Baden-Powell, Forest Law, p.195.
4. Letter No.305 dated 28 February, from the Government of the North Western Provinces and Oudh to the Government of India (hereafter GOI). Prog A, Jun 1880, Nos. 6 to 14, Agri., Rev., and Commr.(Forest) NAI.
5. Ibid.

Protected forests were now reserved, collection of all such forest produce which were manufactured and then removed were prohibited. Breaking of land for cultivation and clearing or for any other purpose was prohibited.<sup>6</sup> Detail rules were made to ban hunting, shooting and fishing, except with the permission of forest officers.<sup>7</sup> Forest officers were given enormous powers.<sup>8</sup>

### COLONIAL FORESTRY IN GARHWAL :

The peasant economy in Garhwal was closely linked to forest resource utilization. There was a wide range of forest resources utilized by the peasantry : fuel, fodder grass, green leaves for fodder, litter, timber for building chans and agriculture implements, earth, stone, and slates watermill, edible fruits, roots, ringales, babar grass, and torch wood etc.<sup>9</sup>

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6. Notification No.395, dated 23rd March 1880 by the Government of the North Western Provinces and Oudh. Prog. A Jun 1880, Nos 1 to 5, Agri., Rev., Commr. (Forest) N.A.I.
  7. Notification No 303 of the government of the Northwestern Provinces and Oudh, dated 28th February 1880. Prog. A June 1880, Nos 6 to 14, Agri., Rev. Commr. (forest) N.A.I. This notification mentions all provisions in detail.
  8. Notification No.301, of the Government of the North Western Provinces and Oudh, dated 28th February 1880, Prog. A Jun 1880, Nos 6 to 14, Agri., Rev. Commr. (Forest) N.A.I. Notification was issued under section 75 of the IFA 1878. The powers given to officers are given in details.
  9. Working plan (here after WP) for Jamuna Forest Division (here after FD), Tehri Garhwal State, 1932-33 to 1952-53, Meerut 1832 p.28. (Compiled by P.D. Returi)

The only cess collected on forest produce in pre-colonial Garhwal was transit duty on exports: This transit duty was collected on chaukies (posts) established for this purposes at the foot of hills.<sup>10</sup>

Under colonial rule transit duties were abolished.<sup>11</sup> Mr. Traill the Commissioner was authorised in the early years of British rule to farm out forest dues or Kath bans, and Kath-mahals as they were called for their principle items Kath (timber) bans (bamboo) and Kath (catechu).<sup>12</sup> As a result revenue increased from Rs.566 in 1818 to Rs.1405 in 1828.<sup>13</sup> Table 4.1 shows the revenue increase in the initial years of the British rule.

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Collection of dues on pasturage and other produce continued mostly in the form of the transit duty. Transit duties for different products in 1847 is given in the table 4.2.

In 1849 the collection of the forest and pasturage dues from the Kotri Dun and from Udepur was handed over to the Superintendent of Dehradun and to the Collector of Bijnor respectively.<sup>14</sup> In 1858 forests came under Major Ramsay, the Commissioner of Kumaon, who was also the first conservator

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10. W P for the Garhwal F D, 1896, Compiled by F.B.Bryant. See also Garhwal Gazetteer 1910, p.10; HDNWP Vol.I, p.845.
  11. Garhwal Gazetteer 1910, p.10.
  12. Ibid, p.10-11.
  13. Ibid, p.11.



**TABLE : 4.1**  
**REVENUE FROM FOREST DUES IN KUMAON AND**  
**GARHWAL BETWEEN**  
**1818-19 TO 1826-27 (IN RUPEES)**

Years	Revenue From Kumaon Forests (in Rs.)	Revenue From Garhwal Forests (in Rs.)	Total Revenue (in Rs.)
1818-19	2644	566	3200
1819-20	3327	662	3989
1820-21	4038	812	4850
1821-22	4579	924	5503
1822-23	5368	934	6302
1823-24	5733	1368	7101
1824-25	2216	1100	3366
1825-26	2294	1381	3675
1826-27	2620	1405	4025

Source : HDNWP Vol.I, Part II, p.846.

of this region.<sup>15</sup> He at once stopped the contract system and gradually induced cultivators to take up land south of the submontane road, leaving the valuable forests to the north untouched .

Thus we see that till the first half of the 19th century forest exploitation had not become very important. Forests were under the revenue department and dues from

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14. W P for the Ganges FD Compiled by N.Hearl (Allahabad,1888) p.2.

15. Ibid., p.2.

**TABLE 4.2**  
**TRANSIT DUTY ON SOME ITEMS IN GARHWAL IN**  
**1847**  
**IN ANNAS AND PAISA**

Items	Each Cart Load		Each Pony Load		Each Head Load	
	A.	P.	A.	P.	A.	P.
Bamboo	6	0	0	6	0	3
Bhabar grass	6	0	0	6	0	3
Tall reeds	6	0	0	6	0	3
Munj	4	0	0	6	0	3
Wood	6	0				
Sal Logs (lattas)	8	0				
Charcoal	4	0				
Tatreeds	6	0	0	6	0	3
Brunt lime	12	0	0	6	0	3

Source : HDNWP Vol.I, Part II, p.915.

these were insignificant. No systematic attempt was made to limit peasant's rights in the forest. However, in the second half of the 19th century the situation began to change particularly after 1864. The Imperial Forest Department was formed in 1864. The management of the forests in Garhwal transferred to the forest department in 1868.<sup>16</sup> In 1879 they were declared reserved forests according to section 34 of

16. WP for the Garhwal FD, 1898, pp.19-20. See also WP for the Ganges FD, 1888, p.2.

the IFA. In 1878 as far as Garhwal was concerned and a schedule was also given of all village land situated within forest limits. Although forests open to rights were marked on the maps in 1879, their boundries were not notified.<sup>17</sup>

Ganges forest division was carved out of the Garhwal Forest Division (hereafter FD) in December 1879. Thereafter, forests of Garhwal were constituted into two FDs : Garhwal FD and Ganges FD.<sup>18</sup> Ganges FD had an area of 224104 acres or about 350 square miles.<sup>19</sup> Garhwal FD had an area of 134354 acres.<sup>20</sup>

Till 1893 many forests in Garhwal had been notified as reserve. However, settlements carried out between 1892-94 made more elaborate classifications. In October 1893 all waste lands not forming part of the measured land of villages or the forests earlier reserved were declared District Protected Forests (hereafter DPF). Detailed rules were framed to regulate lopping, fodder collection, timber need etc. In 1903 DPF were divided into two classes, close civil forests and open civil forests.<sup>21</sup> Between 1911 and 1917 a large area of DPF was declared reserved, severely restricting people's rights in the forests.

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17. WP for the Ganges FD, 1888, p.2.

18. Garhwal Gazetteer, 1910, p.11.

19. Ibid., p.11.

20. Ibid., p.13.

21. Ibid., pp.16-17.

## RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES

The customary practice of unrestricted access to forest resources was anathema to the colonial state. In the logic of the colonial state, the whole land belonged to the state. So it had to impress upon the people that whatever rights they were enjoying were because of the mercy of the state.<sup>22</sup>

Following this line of argument, in 1879, forests in Garhwal were declared reserved. In these reserved forests people's rights were strictly regulated. The sanction of the forests officer was required to collect wood, to cut grass, to graze cattle and to take wood for agriculture implements etc.<sup>23</sup>

The less important forests from the point of view of the colonial state were under district administration and were called DPF. Even in these forests the Deputy Commissioner expected to closely supervise local practices. For this purpose 1886 onwards the Deputy Commissioner kept a separate staff consisting of a Ranger and four patrols

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22. B.H. Baden-Powell strongly held these views. In his writing he was stressing these points. See his lectures to the students of the forest college, compiled in Forest Laws See his Forest Settlements (Oxford 1890). And his arguments in forest conferences (like in Baden-Powell and Gamble compiled, Report of the Proceeding of Forest Conference, 1873-74 (Calcutta, 1874).

23. WP for the Ganges FD, 1888, pp.2-3.

(forest guards). This staff was increased in the following years.<sup>24</sup>

Mr. Bhawani Datt Joshi was appointed the Forest Settlement Officer, under the order of the Government of the North Western Provinces and Oudh, to report on the specification of certain rights in the reserves of Kumaon, Garhwal and Ganges FD.<sup>25</sup> He had to carry on further the work of Major Garstin who had already enquired into the nature of certain rights. Garstin did not specify the extent to which the local inhabitants had certain rights to enjoy. Mr. Oakeshott had settled the reserves of Iron Company's grants, Dolmar-Mora, Gagerniglat and Lands-down.<sup>26</sup> Joshi was expected to specify the nature of the following rights of the local people : firewood from fallen wood, wood for agriculture, implement timber for buildings, charcoal for blacksmiths, and bamboos.<sup>27</sup>

From the official point of view the local use of timber had to be specified clearly since it meant the use of commercially valuable timber. It was essential to decide the amount of wood which was necessary for each family. Oakeshott in his settlement proposed that Padhan's

24. Garhwal Gazetteer, 1910, pp. 16-17.

25. Under the order no. 479F/213, dated 23rd Jun 1891, referred in the Joshi's Forest Settlement Report (hereafter FSR). Report is in the Basta - 1891 to 95 years, FD file in the ERR Coll. Pauri.

26. Ibid..

requirement of wood was greater than that of other cultivators. The requirement of Doms was lower.<sup>28</sup> He proposed this on the basis of the size of houses. He assumed that Pardhan's houses were larger than other villagers and among other villagers the size of Dom's houses was smaller. Joshi found such categorisation wrong. He argued that the Padhan was not always the richest member of a village community having the largest house. On the basis of Joshi's recommendations the Commissioner drew up a new scale to decide the demands of villagers after having a discussion with senior forest officers.<sup>29</sup>

In the new scale, wood and timber requirements of the villagers had to be decided according to the size of the house. The houses were divided into three categories according to their size : those covering an area more than 1000 square feet; those between 500 to 1000 square feet; and those which were less than 500 square feet. For the houses covering more than 1000 square feet the requirement per annum was fixed at 25 cubic feet of sal or 50 cubic feet of Chir. For the houses covering 500 to 1000 square feet the quantity allotted was 20 cubic feet of sal or 40 cubic feet of chir per annum. And for the houses less than 500 square feet the quantity per annum was 10 cubic feet of sal or 20

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27. Terms of reference are given in Joshi's FSR itself. ERR Coll., Pauri.

28. Ibid.

cubic feet of chir. It was left to the forest department to give either sal or chir. In the hills there were cattle sheds as well. So 14 cubic feet of miscellaneous wood per annum was allotted to pakka cattle sheds and outer buildings. For the temporary cattle sheds and out houses the quantity to be allotted was 10 cubic feet of miscellaneous wood per annum. This scale was conveyed to the Settlement officer to decide people's requirement in reserved forests.<sup>30</sup>

Villagers could either claim their requirement annually or once or twice in 3 years. In case of emergency they could claim advance timber not exceeding 5 times their annual allowance.<sup>31</sup>

It is interesting to note that the quality of wood for house building had to be decided by the forest department, not by the dwellers of the house. Whether one's house had to be constructed of chir or sal was to be at the discretion of the forest officer. People were not acquainted with quantification of wood in the cubic feet. As we will see later in this chapter, the Kumaon Forest Grievances Committee accepted that people faced problems in such

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29. Ibid., p.2.

30. Convey by the Commission Kumaon to the Forest Settlement Officer by letter dated 18th March, 1892, attached to Joshi's FSR, ERR Coll. Pauri.

31. FSR 1891, ERR Coll. Pauri, p.3.

quantitification and it suggested that the unit of measurement ought to be the number of trees.

The Forest Settlement Officer was also required to specify the requirement of firewood from reserved forests. According to Mr. Joshi, the settlement officer the right to firewood from the forest was a troublesome right to enquire into.<sup>32</sup> The requirement varied from family to family. But the colonial administration had to determine how much they had to give away from the reserve forests. The Forest Settlement Officer, inspite of a minute enquiry, found that the right holders could not say to what extent they resort to the reserves for firewood.<sup>33</sup> Ultimately, the Settlement Officer decided on an allowance of 50 headloads of fallen wood annually for each family.<sup>34</sup> In Haldwani, Ramnagar and other marts at the foot of the hills, where the number of families was large and the number of members per family small, only 12 to 13 headloads were considered sufficient.<sup>35</sup> For the Tharu's of Tarai one cartload per family for each month from November to April was allowed. During the remaining months the Tharu needed less firewood since their labourers leave for their homes in the hills. Tharus also used some firewood for their dwelling sheds. Their right to timber for building was not recorded. Therefore, they were

32. Ibid., p.10.

33. Ibid., p.10.

34. Ibid., p.10.



allowed to remove fallen wood up to 30 inches in girth (only the dry fallen wood of 30 inches in girth could be removed : no standard tree could be cut).<sup>36</sup>

Similarly for agriculture impliments each family was allowed a right to 2 cubic feet of wood every year.<sup>37</sup> One score of bamboo annually for each family was sanctioned subject to the availability of bamboo in the block which had to meet the demand.<sup>38</sup> The right to charcoal was enjoyed only by a few villages.

Nainital and Ranikhet had protected forests as well. so the list of demands on these forest was linked to the demand on reserve forests. It must be clear here that in this region except in two blocks of Nainital and Ranikhet, forests were divided into two categories : reserved and DPF, as has been already referred. However, later in Garhwal, some patches were declared 'protected forests'.

Extensive rules were drafted for protected forests of Kumaon.<sup>39</sup> No person was allowed to cut, saw, convert or remove any tree or its timber unless it was used for bonafide agriculture or domestic purposes within five miles

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35. Ibid., p.10.

36. Ibid., p.10.

37. Ibid., p.11.

38. Ibid., p.11.

39. It must be noted that wherever, Kumaon is mentioned in this chapter it is also referred to Garhwal as well, if not otherwise

of the place where such tree or timber was produced.<sup>40</sup> Conditions for use could be modified by licences granted by the Deputy Commissioner.<sup>41</sup> No person was allowed to manufacture charcoal or catechu or trade in any forest produce except under the conditions of the licence granted by the Deputy Commissioner.<sup>42</sup> The lopping of tree for fodder or manure was permitted provided that no tree under one feet 6 inches in girth was lopped and that no tree was lopped to more than 2/3rd of its height. No extension of cultivation, when it involved the cutting of tree, could be made except with the permission, in writing, of the Deputy Commissioner.<sup>43</sup> People in the region used to poison the water in streams for fishing purposes. This was also prohibited.<sup>44</sup> Without the permission of the Deputy Commissioner no person was allowed to set snares or traps. Elaborate rules were drafted for shooting and hunting in the protected forest of Garhwal, Nainital and Almora.<sup>45</sup>

These rules and regulations were so wide in scope that they affected every peasant family of Garhwal. To the people

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mentioned. It was because that most of the forest laws were made for the whole division of Kumaon, of which Garhwal was a district.

40. Prog.A, May 1894, Nos 5 to 8, Agri.Rev.Commr. (Forest) NAI.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid.

44. Ibid. Water was poisoned to kill fish and take them to eat.

45. Detail rules can be seen in the notification of the Government of the North Western Provinces and Oudh. Prog. A. December 1898, Nos. 3 and 4, Agri.Rev.Commr. (Forest) NAI.

who were emotionally related to the forests these changes were tragic. Now the state directly intervened in their life. The forest inhabitants and peasants were used to a relative autonomy from the state prior colonialism because it was difficult for the central authority to exercise a strong control over the hill regions. Yet they tolerated colonial intervention because DPF provided for some of their needs. The colonial state was now taking under its control all that was seen as commercially valuable. Some trees which had been left for the people to use were subsequently brought under state protection. The officials feared environmental degradation due to local practices in DPF and the possibility of drying up of water sources of many towns and villages and threat to the canals of the Gangetic plains. Moreover, it was argued that people's practices in these forests were responsible for floods and torrents. Therefore, between 1903-06 DPF was divided into two categories : the closed civil forests and the open civil forests. Subsequently between 1911-17 in the new forest settlement a large area of the DPF was converted into Reserves and the people of Garhwal were virtually left without forests.

Elaborate forest settlements took place in Almora, Garhwal and Nainital districts (Kumaon civil division) between 1911-17. In the settlements, large chunks of the DPF

were declared Reserved forests, leaving to the people nothing but a right over bushes. According to Sir John Hewett, who was the spirit behind this settlement, this reservation was essential to conserve the water supply of the Kumaon hills which fed the large canals of the United Provinces.<sup>46</sup> He felt that an indiscriminate exploitation of forests was drying up the water resources.

It is true that forests were being over exploited. But colonial forest policy was responsible for this. The reservation of large parts of the forests inevitably led to over use the limited open forests. Degradation was also a consequence of commercial exploitation encouraged by the state. Moreover, as Ramchandra Guha has argued, people were suspicious of the intentions of the forest department. So they did not care about improving forests.<sup>47</sup>

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46. Report of the Kumaon Forest Grievances Committee (hereafter RKFGC) Prog. A., Jun 1922, Nos. 19-24, Agri.Rev.Comm. (Forest) NAI, paragraph 5-6.

47. Guha, The Unquiet Woods, pp.55-61. Guha argues that this led to the alienation of the people from the forest. Although, he is correct in his argument about alienation, but, forests would have been degraded, due to the intensity of use, even if people would not have been alienated. Moreover, the large scale commercial exploitation must have led to disturbances in the ecological equilibrium of the plants kingdom. It must have had also to do something with the degradation of the forests in the vicinity of the populace. Alienation appears far fetched idea because Marx's alienation cannot be compared here. People were extremely aware of the importance of the forests of their surrounding. So deliberately harming them or let them degrade does not look possible.

Under the settlement of 1911-17 the area declared Reserved was as follows : Almora 969 square miles, Garhwal 2125 square miles and Nainital 217 square miles.<sup>48</sup> Rest of the area of DPF remained as protected (civil) under the control of the Deputy Commissioner who exercised power as conservator in these forests. The total area of Garhwal district was 5629 square miles.<sup>49</sup> Out of this about 3301000 acres or about 5250 square miles was under forest in 1911-16. Apart from the already reserved area, 2125 square miles of the DPF was also brought under the category of Reserved forest in this new settlement. Thus leaving a very small area out side forest department's control. Forests under civil administration were also strictly regulated. According to the Report of the Kumaon Forest Grievances Committee (hereafter RKFGC) the control of the Deputy Commissioner over these civil (remaining DPF) forests was relaxed.<sup>50</sup>

In the Protected (civil) forests which were under the control of the Deputy Commissioner, in official opinion, people had free access and there were only limited restrictions. These restrictions included government right to all stones, slates and other minerals. No building was to be erected on unmeasured (civil forest) land without the permission of the Deputy Commissioner. All extension of

48. RKFGC, para 5-6.

49. Garhwal Gazetteer, 1910, p.1.

50. RKFGC, para 8.r

cultivation by genuine terracing was freely permitted but in the case of new cultivation a nayabed application was still necessary. In certain villages which were scheduled, the old restrictions on the extension of cultivation were maintained and for extension a nayabad application requiring the commissioner's sanction was still necessary. Such villages were those (a) in which the grazing grounds were few or (b) in which 'Katil' (or unterraced) cultivation was considered injurious to the hillsides.<sup>51</sup>

The remaining DPF area outside the Reserves was also under the strict control of the Deputy Commissioner. Almost all the rights were regulated in this category as well. In such a situation, it was natural for the people to be restless. 1916 onwards 'forest crimes' increased rapidly. When the situation became very serious the forest department constituted a committee known as the Kumaon Forest Grievances Committee in 1921 to go into the forest grievances of the people.<sup>52</sup> The committee had instructions to (a) enquire into the grievances of the residents of the Kumaon hills regarding the policy instituted in 1911 of

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51. This paragraph is based on RKFGC, para 8.

52. The committee was chaired by the Commissioner of Kumaon Mr. Wyndham. Other members of the committee were Thakur Jodh Singh B. Negi, M.L.C. Garhwal and Mr. R.G. Marriot of the Indian Forest Services. The committee later included Pt. Lachmi Datt Pandey, Chairman Municipal Board, Almora, as the representative of Kumaon (Kumaon proper) RKFGC, PARA 1.

reserving civil forests; (b) report to the government about possible modification of that policy.<sup>53</sup>

The enquiry brought to light many local grievances. Under the new settlement, pillars to demarcate forest boundary had come very close to the cultivating area. This created suspicion in the mind of the peasantry. This problem was constantly mentioned to the committee by the people throughout Garhwal. The committee suggested that the pillars should be removed.<sup>54</sup>

People protested against lopping regulations. Lopping was practised for fodder, manure and fuel. Prohibition in reserved forests and strict regulation in remaining forests created problems for the people. According to the Committee lopping was practically forbidden (in the reserved forests) in Almora, Nainital and the south Garhwal. In the north Garhwal it was regulated by 'cumbersome rules difficult to follow or enforce'. In the forests of the high hills where snow remained on the ground for many months of the year, villagers had to lop to get fodder for their cattle. Throughout Kumaon where grass was scarce in the months of April and May, the cattle depended on Oak and kokat leaves. Lopping, therefore, could not be stopped. Lopping regulations gave rise to 75 per cent of the forest related

53. RKFGC, para 1.

54. Ibid., para 12.

court cases. This created bitterness between official and villagers. The committee proposed that the restrictions on the lopping of Oak and Kokat trees had to be removed except in the case of Class II reserves.<sup>55</sup>

Another grievance was the tax on cattle grazing. The record of rights specified the number of cattle which could graze. A tax was charged when the number of cattle exceeded this specified limit. Grazing restrictions were based on the argument that grazing prevents regeneration and it severely damages vegetation on slopes which often led to floods.<sup>56</sup> But the villagers believed that grazing was not harmful to forests. Some of the colonial administrators also shared this view. E.M.H. Moir, the Deputy Conservator of the forest, Tons Division, argued that regeneration in places which were open for grazing was better than in the places where it was closed.<sup>57</sup> He based his arguments on the observation of 10 years and added that high grass resulted due to the ban on grazing and hampered regeneration. High grass also hindered seeds reaching the ground. He further argued that fire also cause great damage to forests having

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55. RKFGC, para 13.

56. Chief Engineer PWD (Irrigation Branch) The North Western Provinces and Oudh to the Government of the North Western Provinces and Oudh in a letter dated 9th September 1894. Prog. A October 1895, Nos. 8-9, File No.-278. Agri.Rev. (Forest) NAI.

57. The Indian Forester, Vol. 8, 1882, pp.274-77.



high grass! But these arguments made little impact on the orthodox supporters of 'scientific forestry'.

As grazing was considered essential, restriction on it caused bitterness. According to the committee the tax on cattle grazing yielded only a small income of Rs.2000. But the tax caused great friction between forest guards and the people. In Almora and Nainital districts permits were issued which were based on entries in the list of rights. This often resulted in tensions. The committee proposed that there should be no counting of cattle, no levy of fees and no restrictions on the number of cattle permitted to graze except in the regeneration area of class II reserves as suggested in the report.<sup>58</sup>

The forest settlement officer in Almora considered that goats and sheep were highly injurious to the forest trees so they were excluded from Almora reserves outside the unadministered portions of the north; this exclusion was also imposed in south Garhwal. However, the local people told the committee that goats and sheep provided the only meat eaten by the people of the region. They were also a source of rich manure. So the committee proposed that as in

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58. RKFGC, para 14.

the case of cattle, sheep and goats should also be given free access to reserves.<sup>59</sup>

In this region it was customary for women and children to collect forest produce. So forest related offences were mostly committed by them. But women and children could not go to court. This would violate traditional sensibilities. So the attempts by forest guards to forcibly prevent lopping or grass cutting created bitterness. The committee proposed that wherever possible, forest guards should be removed so as to do away with this real grievance.<sup>60</sup>

The number of the court cases against forest offences were very large. There were a total of 1028 cases in 1920 of which 622 were cases of illicit lopping, and 160 of felling of timber. A general complaint was that forest cases were not enquired into in detail. The committee suggested that more care should be given to the investigation of these cases by the Ranger and Divisional Forest Officer (hereafter DFO). It also suggested a reduction in rules and regulations so as to decrease the possibility of committing offences.<sup>61</sup>

There were complaints against the system of permits granted to cut timber. The local people said that the sanction was always delayed. The grant sanctioned to places

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59. Ibid., para 15.

60. Ibid., para 16.

61. Ibid., para 17.

distant from their houses and only useless trees were given by the subordinate officials. The committee felt that most of these grievances could be solved by withdrawing all restrictions on the extraction of timber for agriculture impliments, cow sheds and building throughout the class I reserves suggested by it. The indent system was restricted only to class II reserves. The committee further suggested that the Ranger should deal with the indent directly; the indent should be granted at any time of the year except during the fire protection season (March to Jun); whole trees should be given and the cubic feet allotment used only by the department for their own enumeration; and finally good timber near the village should be given.<sup>62</sup>

Firing protection was also resisted by the people. They argued that firing produced a better crop of grass. Firing cleared the accumulation of pine needles which otherwise made steep hill slopes dangerous for grazing cattle. The Deputy Commissioner of Almora wrote that the fire protection in the hills was not only unnecessary but actually pernicious.<sup>63</sup> He argued that annual fire did not damage young plants, but chir needle left slop slippary which caused death to many cattle. So, as a concession, the forest department started firing forest selectively around March.

62. Ibid., para 18.

63. Annual Progress Report of the Forest Department in the North Western Provinces and Oudh, 1897-98, p.17.

But this did not solve the problem since firing only in May was relevant to the villagers when pine-needles covered forest floor. Therefore, incendiarism was widespread. One observer wrote about incendiarism that it was the 'easiest to perform and hardest to detect'.<sup>64</sup> In such a situation the committee proposed that the fire protection be withdrawn from the Class I reserves suggested by it. However, it had to continue in class II Reserves.<sup>65</sup>

Restrictions of other rights created similar bitterness. These include restrictions on collection of firewood, dry leaves, fruits and roots, threshing grass and bark of creepers. Similarly, restrictions on the use of lime stone, clay, slate, bamboo and ringal (a small plant belong to bamboo species) etc. were irritating to villagers. The committee proposed that there should be no list of rights and free access should be given to villagers for enjoying such rights.<sup>66</sup>

People registered a few more grievances to the committee. These were : not issuing of licences for guns to protect crops and cattle from wild animals, restrictions on shooting and fishing in the reserves, prohibition on

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64. Some A.J.C. in the IF, Vol. XI, 1885.

65. Ibid., para 19.

66. Ibid., para 20.

cultivation in Kharaks (temporary sheds), restriction on constructing houses in the benap land etc.

The most important recommendation of the committee, to resolve the above mentioned grievances of the people, was to divide the newly reserved area under the new settlement (1911-16) into three categories. Thus the 3311 square miles forest area reserved under the new settlement was to be divided as follows : 1986 square miles under Class I reserve; 1090 square miles under class II; and 178 square miles under the 'civil-forest' category.<sup>67</sup>

In class I, only some restrictions were retained : (1) No 'royal tree' (Deodar, Tun, Cypress and Walnut) was to be cut without permission; (ii) cultivation within boundry pillars was not to be permitted except by disforestation under the section 26 of the Indian Act and a nayabad grant under the rules; (iii) no sale of forest produce was to be permitted except by village artisans for local needs; (iv) the export of hides, skins, stones, slates and other minerals had to remain a government monopoly, but this was not to interfere with the right of villagers to quarry stones or slates for their domestic or village usages; (v)

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67. Prog. A., Jun 1922, Nos. 19-24, Agri.Rev. (Forest) NAI.

restriction on Kharaks and temporary cultivation around them was to be allowed up to the maximum limit of one acre.<sup>68</sup>

Forest guards in these class I forests were no longer required. A periodical inspection by a forest official not below the rank of a range officer was to be the only visible sign of control exercised by the forest department. However to ensure that relaxation of rules would not lead to their abuse, the forest department reserved to itself a right to impose control and close any area which was seriously damaged.<sup>69</sup>

In the second class forests, which was commercially exploitable the control of the forest department was wider. Here fire control was considered necessary and had to be exercised in resin, regeneration areas, fuel and grass preserves and deodar banis. In other areas firing had to be done under the departmental control every year. Measures had to be taken for the preservation of trees which were commercially valuable. There was to be no control over Oak, Sandan, Genthii, Kokat, including shrubs and creepers. In the regeneration areas, the fuel and grass preserves and Deodar banis, the department had to exercise extensive control. These areas could be closed to all rights, including the

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68. RKFGC, para 32.

69. Ibid., para 32.

cutting of grass and lopping or felling any species of tree.<sup>70</sup>

Beside these first class and second class reserves, a small area of 178 square miles had to be reverted to the category of 'civil forest'. It meant that this area to again become part of DPF. These had to be consisted of isolated blocks of Kokat, and non-commercial sal, isolated block of Oak, chir etc.<sup>71</sup>

On the recommendation of chief conservator and the United Provinces Forest Board, the Government of the United Provinces accepted the recommendations of the Kumaon Forest Grievances Committee in principle. However, acceptance of recommendations required the permission of GOI because it involved disforestation (or dereservation) of an area of more than 10 square miles.<sup>72</sup>

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70. Ibid., para 33.

71. Ibid., para 24.

72. Letter dated 16th February 1922, from the Government of the United Provinces to the GOI. Prog.A Jun 1922 Nos 19-24, Agri.Rev. (Forest) NAI. (Attached with RKFGC). In this Letter it was written that 1911-17 settlement was implemented for profit to the forest department but it suffered loss. In May 1921 large scale incenderism took place as a protest not only in the newly reserved area but also in the old reserve forests as well. Therefore, to save the situation the committee was set up and its token recommendations accepted.

The Imperial government asked for estimates of the area which had to be dereserved. The GOI was unwilling to open up forest patches more than 10 square miles in area.<sup>73</sup>

This reaction of the GOI put the government of the United Provinces into tight spot. The Government of the United Provinces found it difficult to estimate the area affected by the new recommendations, without a prolonged enquiry. The Lt. Governor of the United Provinces wrote to the GOI, in the letter dated 20th March 1922, to accept the recommendations of the committee otherwise the Non-cooperators would mobilize the local population.<sup>74</sup>

The problem of the local government was understandable because it had to deal with 'crimes' directly. Ultimately recommendations of the committee accepted. However, these recommendations only partially resolved the grievances of the people. The area to be dereserved was very small in comparison to the area under class I and class II. It was only 5.4 per cent of the total area carved out as Reserved out of the DPF. Therefore, the bitterness against forest department continued and was reflected in popular protests.

From the above discussion we see that the colonial state steadily encroached on the rights of the people. The

73. Letter dated 18th March 1922. Prog. A. Jun 1922, Nos.19-24, Agri.Rev. (Forest) NAI.

74. Prog. A. Jun 1922, Nos 19-24 Agri.Rev. (Forest) NAI.



continued bitterness against the forest department which occasionally resulted in protests compelled the forest department to come forward with concessions. However, concessions were never made when vital interests of colonial state were involved. Therefore, a balancing act between restrictions and concessions continued throughout the British rule.

The deep impact of the colonial forestry was also felt in the neighbouring Tehri Kingdom. This is discussed in the next section.

#### COLONIAL FORESTRY IN THE TEHRI KINGDOM

In the Tehri Kingdom colonial forestry was as well established as in British Garhwal. The British pioneered the exploitation of Tehri forests. Before the British the same royal family ruled the kingdom for many centuries. But forests were not exploited on a commercial scale nor were people's rights regulated. The nature of the transit duty that was imposed in pre-colonial period has already been discussed. However, the changes in Tehri show that the impact of colonial rule transcends political boundaries.

In the 1840s, one Mr. Wilson got the Tehri forests on lease from the king. This lease was renewed near about 1850 for all the forest products on the paltry annual rent of

Rs.400.<sup>75</sup> Mr. Wilson exploited all forest products including musk-pods, munal feather, and skin of wild animal.<sup>76</sup> After the renewal of the lease he started felling a small deodar forest in the Barethi gad (small stream) basin. The felling was so heavy that the beautiful deodar of Baragaddi, Bhandarsyun and Mahiddanda almost disappeared and in Harsil all but defective and inaccessible trees were cut.<sup>77</sup> He introduced the water transport of timber which made exploitation of forest resources on commercial basis possible.<sup>78</sup>

Mr. Wilson's lease continued upto May 1, 1864. Attracted by the flourishing timber business of Mr. Wilson, the Local Government of the North Western Provinces secured a lease of all the forests of the state from the Darbar on an annual rental of Rs.1000/-. This lease was granted on May 1, 1864 for a period of twenty years.<sup>79</sup> On the expiry of this lease in 1884 it was extended for one more year on mutual agreement. The Government engaged Mr. Wilson for some time to exploit for the government the forests which had been leased.<sup>80</sup> Besides deodar from the Harsil forests papri

75. Working Plan (hereafter WP) for the Jamuna Forest Division (hereafter FD), Tehri Garhwal State, 1932-33 to 1952-53, compiled by P.D. Raturi, (Meerut, 1932), p.48.

76. WP for the Uttarkashi FD 1939-40 to 1959-60, (Calcutta, 1938), p.36.

77. Ibid., p.36.

78. Ibid., p.36.

79. WP for the Jamuna FD, 1932, p.49.

80. Ibid., p.49.

was also exploited from Kelsu. In 1880, Harsil deodar was demarcated the fire protection system was introduced and felling of deodar by villagers were regulated by the permit (by the colonial state not the kingdom).<sup>81</sup>

The encroachment on the rights of the people, therefore, started in the Tehri Kingdom as early in 1880s. The intentions of the Imperial government become clear in the correspondance between the Government of the North Western Provinces and the GOI regarding the renewal of the lease of these forests.

The problem started when the king refused to lease forests other than deodar, to the British government in 1885. He had become aware of the commercial potential of these forests and felt that he received a most inadequate rent under the old lease.<sup>82</sup> The GOI felt that under the terms of the old lease the Raja had no right to discontinue the lease of chir forests.<sup>83</sup> The GOI rejected the contention of the Government of the North Western Provinces that the Raja had a right to keep his forests. The legal consultant of the GOI felt that the Raja was bound by the old term to

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81. WP for the UttarKashi FD, 1938, p.36.

82. Letter no.443F-12-63, dated 9th July 1985, From the Government of the North Western Provinces to the GOI, Prog. A. August 1885, Nos. 15 to 17. Agri.Rev. (Forest) NAI.

83. Letter dated 20th July 1885 from the GOI to the Government of the North Western Provinces, Prog A, August 1885, Nos. 15 to 17, Agri.Rev.Commr. (Forest) NAI.

renew the lease.<sup>84</sup> The GOI asked the Government of the North Western Provinces to reopen negotiation with the king and offer him the same terms as had been offered by the GOI to the Raja of Chamba (in Punjab).<sup>85</sup> However, the Government of the North Western Provinces wrote back that the king had been offered a rent much higher than what the forest officers of the circle considered it safe to offer.<sup>86</sup> Ultimately when the king refused to change his mind, GOI left the issue to be decided by the local government.<sup>87</sup>

The local government now sought the advice of Sir Henry Ramsay, the Commissioner Kumaon division, who was party to the old lease negotiation with the king. Ramsay said that the old lease was not intended to be anything more than a friendly arrangement. He wrote : "--- as will be seen by examining the difficult clause of lease, I never for a moment contemplate extinguishing the Raja's power or

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84. Letter dated 22nd July 1885 from the GOI to the Government of the North Western Provinces, Prog A, August 1885, Nos. 15 to 17, Agri.Rev.Commr. (Forest) NAI.
85. Letter dated 26th August No.840-F, from the GOI to the Government of the North Western Provinces, Prog A, August 1885, Nos. 15 to 17, Agri.Rev.Commr. (Forest) NAI.
86. Letter No.443 F-12-63 dated 8th July 1885, from the Government of the North Western Provinces to the GOI Prog A, August 1885, Nos. 15 to 17, Agri.Rev.Commr. (Forest) NAI.
87. Letter No. 840 F, dated 26 August 1885, from the GOI to the Government of the North Western Provinces, Prog A, August 1885. Nos. 15 to 17, Agri.Rev.Commr. (Forest) NAI.

authority as Captain Bailey imagines may be done under my lease."<sup>88</sup>

The above discussion shows that the Imperial government overlooked the authority of the Raja in their urge to exploit the forest resources of the region. The Government of the North Western Provinces wrote :

"It was added that the GOI does not consider it necessary to take into consideration at present the Raja's proposal for undertaking the management of all his forests on the expiry of the new lease in 1905; and that in any case it is desirable that those forests which are most important to the surrounding country should always be subject to the Government inspection and regulation."<sup>89</sup>

This negotiation also reflects on the relationship of the paramount power and the princely states.

However before the old lease expired, in 1880, the government had already demarcated the important deodar forests of Rikhnal, Datnu, Jokh, Banal, Shylna, Deorana, Deolsari, Tewa, Onter, Siri, Sins.etc.; protected them from

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88. Extract from the Letter No.17 dated 22nd Jun 1880, of the Commissioner Kumaon division to the Government of the North Western Provinces, in a letter of the Government of the North Western Provinces to the GOI. Prog A., August 1885, Nos.15-17, Agri.Rev.Comm. (Forest) NAI Ramsay also protested declaring lease forests as reserved and extinguishing people's right in them. For detail see the correspondance in the above mentioned proceeding..
89. Letter no. 443 F-12-63, dated 9th July 1885, the Government of the North Western Provinces, to the GOI Prog A, August 1885, Nos. 15 to 17, Agri.Rev.Comm. (Forest) NAI.

fire and stopped the felling of deodar without rawana by the villagers.<sup>90</sup>

The Raja did not agree to lease out all forests. With the expiry of the old lease, the control over all forests except some in the Tons Valley and shivpuri, and Sainkot forests, reverted to the Tehri King on May 1, 1885.<sup>91</sup> For their management the state constituted its own forest department.<sup>92</sup> The exploitation of the forests continued.<sup>93</sup> The forest rights enjoyed by the villagers were attempted to be regulated by executive orders.<sup>94</sup> Felling of certain valuable species was permitted only by rawana. Shifting cultivation was totally banned.<sup>95</sup> Breaking up of forest areas for the new cultivation was stopped except with the special permission of the Durbar.<sup>96</sup> Grazing of the cattle by outsiders was restricted by imposing grazing fee.<sup>97</sup>

On January 1, 1897 the services of Pandit Keshva Nand and a forester were obtained from the British Government on deputation. By 1899, they demarcated almost all of the deodar, sal and papri forests, a large area of chir and a

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90. WP for the Jamuna FD, 1932, p.49.  
91. WP for the Uttarkashi FD, 1938, pp.36-37.  
92. Ibid., p.37.  
93. Ibid., p.37.  
94. WP for the Jamuna FD, 1932, p.50.  
95. Ibid., p.50.  
96. Ibid., p.50.  
97. Ibid., p.50.

few small patches of ban near Tehri.<sup>98</sup> This work was so much hampered by opposition from the villagers that, at times it had to be postponed, and finally had to be given up.<sup>99</sup> Along with demarcation of forests new restrictions were being introduced.<sup>100</sup> Prohibition was introduced against felling of trees including Kukat, without permit; lopping rules for oak were introduced; the system of fire protection was proposed in all the forests including those near villages; grazing rights were curtailed; checks were also imposed on the extension of the cultivation in waste lands.<sup>101</sup> Most of all the villagers resented the Gujar (a nomadic caste of the plain) being given permission to graze large number of buffaloes in their forest pasturage and elsewhere.<sup>102</sup>

Pt Sadanand succeeded Pt Keshva Nand as the conservator of forests of the Tehri Kingdom on November 5, 1904. On his suggestion few modifications were made in 1905 to pacify the villagers. Right of the villagers to unrestricted utilization of all kinds of trees on existing cultivation was recognised; permission was granted to extend existing cultivation up to 20 chains (scale of the measurement of land in the Kingdom) in treeless waste lands; permission granted for the firing of forests other than those recently

98. WP for the Uttarkashi FD 1938, p.37.

99. Ibid., p. 37. See also WP for the Jamuna FD, 1932, p.50.

100. WP for the Uttarkashi FD, 1938, p.37.

101. Ibid., p.37.

102. Ibid., p.37.

felled; permission was given for the felling of trees other than the reserved species viz. deodar, chir, kail, thuner, rai, tun, shisham, sal, sain and papri.<sup>103</sup>

Pt. Rama Datt Raturi took over as the conservator in 1907. He divided forests into three classes - Reserved, Protected and Civil Forests.<sup>104</sup>

In the first class reserves, use of all the existing paths and canals were permitted while grazing, fuel, litter and free grant of trees were allowed in special cases only.<sup>105</sup> In the second class, grazing was to be closed in the areas under regeneration after making adequate provision in other areas. Permits were necessary for the felling of only deodar, thuner, fir, kail, chir, tun, shisham, sal, papri, khair, walnut, darli, oaks, salri, bakli and haldu. Lopping was confined to the Kukat trees more than 6 feet in height, excluding the top one-fourth branches over 4 inches in girth. The use of old chans (temporary sheds at high altitudes) was allowed, except where there was danger of fire. Forests which were not closed for fire in regeneration areas, could be burnt annually with the necessary precaution. Suitable land was to be given for cultivation for two years on the payment of rent and for its permanent

103. WP for the Jamuna FD, 1932, p.51.

104. Ibid., p.51. See also WP for the Uttar Kashi FD 1938 p.38, WP for the Tehri FD, 1963-64 to 1972-73, compiled by Jagat Narayan, (Nainital, 1966), p.43.



cultivation a sanction from the Durbar was necessary. Shooting was permitted under existing rules with the exception of musk-deer and munal.<sup>106</sup>

As if these restrictions and regulations were not enough, even third class forests which were supposed to be free of restrictions were now regulated. Here also permission was essential for the extension in cultivation; for the felling of chir, tun, shisham and deodar; and for shooting of musk-deer and munal. In the case of intentional or deliberate misuses they could be annexed to the demarcated forests.<sup>107</sup>

The first and second class forests were separated from the third class forests and the cultivated area by boundary pillars. Their control was to be under the forest department.<sup>108</sup> The third class forests were to comprise of the forest and the waste land lying between the demarcation boundary and the assessed land. They were to be under the control of the Revenue department.<sup>109</sup>

The scheme annexed all the rights of the villagers. Therefore Pt. Rama Datt's proposals again faced violent

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105. WP for the Jamuna FD, 1932, p.51.

106. Ibid., p.51.

107. Ibid., p.52.

108. Ibid., p.52.

109. Ibid., p.53.

opposition by the villagers. They were, however, 'promptly suppressed'.<sup>110</sup>

Forest settlements were carried out on the above lines in Rawain and Jaunpur between 1909 and 1911.<sup>111</sup> These settlements were then modified in 1918-23 and in 1927-29.<sup>112</sup> All these forest settlements were superceded in 1930 by a Durbar circular No.21. According to this order, the record of the forest concessions for the Jamuna Forest Division was completed in 1929-31 and for the rest of the Kingdom in 1936-37.<sup>113</sup> Meanwhile in 1927, Dr. Ing. F. Heske, the part time Professor of forestry at Oxford School of forestry was appointed forest advisor. All the following forest settlements and working plans were based on his advice.<sup>114</sup>

We have seen that in the Tehri kingdom forest exploitation was started by the colonial state. The pace set by the colonial state was continued by the Kingdom. People's rights were curtailed. However, incessent resistance of the people compelled the state to give concessions. But attempts at accomodations did not prove adequate since people were against any sort of regimentation. In this respect there was no difference between the British Garhwal and the Tehri

110. WP for the Uttar Kashi FD, 1938, p.39.

111. WP for the Jamuna FD, 1932, p.52.

112. WP for the Uttar Kashi FD, 1938, p.40.

113. Ibid., p.40. See also WP for Tehri FD 1939-40 to 1960-70 Part I, compiled by Mahima Nand Bahuguna.

114. WP for the Uttar Kashi FD, 1932, p.40.

Kingdom. The commercial exploitation of the valuable timber species was the main motive for forest control in both cases. People suffered equally under the two sets of rulers.

## CONCLUSION

The subsistence economy of the peasant in the hills which was built up in close association with nature broke down with the onslaught of the colonial forestry. From the above discussion we have shown how the people were denied rights which they enjoyed for ages. The intervention of the state forestry was so direct that the peasant became incessantly restless. They never accepted state's authority of such blatant intervention. Breach of forest laws became the order of the day. The history of the colonial forestry in Garhwal is the history of people's resistance. Whenever forest settlements were attempted which curtailed the rights of the people they rose against the state. In the Tehri Kingdom forest officers, to the rank of even the conservator were obstructed from conducting business and were even attacked.<sup>115</sup> Grazing and lopping regulations were violated without exception. Women & children were also involved in the 'forest offences'. People resisted being summoned to the court. There was a proverb 'Adalat ko chadhnu ar gadhoh in

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115. Guha, Ramchandra; The Unquiet Wood, pp.65-66. He has extensively discussed protest.

chadhnu.' (going to court is as insulting as riding on a donkey).<sup>116</sup>

However, it should not be concluded that the state was unconcerned about the problems of the people. In fact, concessions were made. Attempts were made to record rights according to the demands of the populace. However, the 'vital interests' of the state were rarely compromised. So people always found the concessions insufficient.

The greatest loss to the villagers from the colonial forestry was the restriction on extension of cultivation. All settlement officers, Traill, Balten, Beckett, and Pau recognised people's right to extend cultivation till the late 19th century. Whenever new land was broken for cultivation, proprietary right was conferred on the people who cleared it. But such rights were no longer granted under colonial rule. Between 1900 and 1947 there was no extension of cultivation. This stagnation resulted in the economic crisis which has been discussed in the previous chapter. The declining fertility of soil confounded the problem. Many factors resulted in the declining of the fertility of the soil like depleting forest cover, drying of the water sources, inefficient cattle power due to the restriction on grazing and lopping, poor quality of manure and deficiency of

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116. Garhwal August 1912. See also RKFGC, op. cit.

good grass due to fire protections. The table below shows the declining fertility of the soil. Except in the case of rice, yields per hectare decreased. The increase in the case of rice may be due to the increase in irrigation facilities in post colonial India.

**TABLE 4.3**  
**ESTIMATED YIELDS OF AGRICULTURE CROPS IN**  
**UTTARAKHAND**  
**(KG. PER HECTARE)**

Crop	<u>Yield Kg. per hectare</u>	
	1896	1979
Rice	1120	1133
Wheat	898	538
Barley	N.A.	362
Mandua	1120	924
Jhangora	1100	924

Source: William Whittaker, 'Migration and Agrarian change in Garhwal District, Uttar Pradesh given by Guha : The Unquiet Woods, p.145.

It is noteworthy that "out of the total area of 5471 square miles only 451 square miles was under cultivation, and between 1862 to 1896 while population increased 75 per

cent, cultivated area increased by only 50 per cent.<sup>117</sup> After that cultivated area stagnated while population increased. The colonial forestry was responsible for this crisis.

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117. Garhwali, August 1912. Writing in protest of the 1911-17 Forest settlement in the British Garhwal. The figures of area and population differ to that of given in previous chapter. Nevertheless this quote is given to show the concern of the writer.

## CONCLUSION

In pre-colonial Garhwal caste was an important determinant in deciding one's status in social hierarchy. High caste was necessary for access to political power : for appointment as high government officials, like Raujdar, Sardar etc. High caste was also necessary to exercise economic power : land was given in grants only to high castes. Therefore, power was not subordinate to status as Dumont<sup>1</sup> suggests but power reinforced status. The pure hierarchy of Dumont failes to explain the actual social complexities. All high castes did not wield equal power. For example, in the case of Garhwal, 'Chauthani' were more important than other Brahmins. Similarly, Rajputs who were Fauidars were more powerful than others.

The dominant caste model of Srinivas<sup>2</sup> and the dominant role of land owing group proposed by Beteille<sup>3</sup> also do not explain the caste, land control and power nexus in Garhwal. High castes were invariably controlling land and wielding power. To understand the social structure of this region, it is important to use a more complex model of caste.

Now we come to the next point : to what extent was the traditional structure of Garhwal affected by colonial rule ?

1. Dumout, op. cit.
2. Srinivas, Caste in Modern India.
3. Beteille, Caste, Class and Power.

All types of grants were discontinued by the British. No official was given land in grant in lieu of salary, except occasionally the Padhan. Thus the possibility of a hissedar becoming a khaikar disappeared. In the new administrative set up castes no longer remained the only criteria for government employment; although, old elites continued their hold on some traditional revenue offices (Kanungo, Savana etc.). This elite took to English education to secure government employment. Similarly, all the grant holders of the king became hissedars so their hold on land continued. But the realisation of customary dues had become difficult. When the rights of khaikar were recorded and their hereditary rights were well established, they refused to pay 'malikana'. To resolve this problem the settlement officer, in 1864, imposed a small cess in lieu of customary dues. But the problem remained..

Systems like begar undermined the superiority of high castes. Under colonial rule all hissedars were compelled to provide kuli utar (a type of begar). This system came under severe criticism. A movement was launched against it, spearheaded by local elites. Later the system was replaced by kuli agencies in which low caste people continued to work, although now at remunerative wages.



With the disappearance of the King who preserved and perpetuated the traditional structure, the social and political situation became fluid. Mobility within the caste hierarchy became easy with the disappearance of final arbiters in deciding status. The role of deciding status was appropriated by the colonial state, through the decennial census. There ensued a struggle for superior status, which was reflected in the formation of caste associations. In Garhwal Khasas claimed Kshatriya status. However, the system did not become entirely open. Nor did the old elites disappear. Old elites continued their struggle to perpetuate their privileges.

Savanas wielded enormous power in pre-colonial Garhwal. The British also recognised them as tax collecting agents in the first settlement but soon they were replaced by Padmans as the prime tax collectors. Savanas slowly lost their power. Administration was seriously thinking of dispensing with the Savanas when the revolt of 1857 broke out. Metcalf's<sup>4</sup> argument that the Mutiny played an important role in the shift of British policy appears pertinent. The Commissioner of Kumaon now wrote that Savanas were the prominent people of the region and their role in controlling the population of the region was important. Nevertheless, by the end of the century, although Savanas had still to

4. Metcalf, op.cit.

supervise Padhans in police duties their power had become ornamental.<sup>5</sup> Padhans, on the other hand, gained power under colonial rule. They were collectors of taxes, they received five percent of village revenue in cash or a grant of land in lieu of cash.

Thus we see that under colonial rule structural transformation did take place. Colonial rule penetrated deep into the village, contrary to the argument of some historians. 'Local influence' and 'Local elites' could not remain unaffected by colonial rule. Social transformation was not superficial. So the argument of 'continuity' does not appear correct. Yang's view that colonial rule was a 'Limited Raj' and its effect below the district level was superficial appears quite contrary to the findings of this study. However, this study does not suggest that local elites were displaced and a total structural transformation took place. It suggests that local elites continued to struggle for their privileges. They also gained under colonial rule through education and employment, but these gains were different from the privileges of traditional structure. Some non-traditional elites competed with them and gained. In the new set up some traditional privileges were lost, but new opportunities opened up.

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5. GSR, 1896, para 87.

Instead of local elites, 'local conditions' determined British policies. Precise measurement of land was the desired objective of the colonial state. Since it helps in accurately deciding tenurial rights, assessment of revenue and classification of soil according to productivity. Moreover, it decreases reliance on local elites. Nevertheless, the initial British settlements in Garhwal were based on 'nazar-andaz'. Real measurement of land could not be introduced in Garhwal before 1860s, although Regulation VII of 1822 and Regulation IX of 1833 both made it the declared objective of settlements. 'More perfect' cadestral surveys were introduced in 1896 in Garhwal, but covered all the villages of the district only by 1936. Although theoretically measurement and surveys were desired, local conditions made survey difficult.

Short duration settlements meant recurrent and heavy expenditure. Long duration meant loss of revenue. This problem was finally resolved, and in 1833 a thirty years duration of settlement was agreed upon. However, till 1838 no settlement exceeded a five years duration in Garhwal. In 1840 the duration of settlement was kept at 20 years, instead of 30 years, due to unwillings on the part of Padhans to agree to a long settlement. Similarly, policies regarding assessment and classification of soil were circumscribed by local factors.

Land revenue demand was continued to increase. While revenue was increasing faster than prices, the increase was slower than arable expansion. Arable expansion in the second half of the 19th century was rapid. It was due to the increasing pressure of population and easy availability of land. However, the land brought under cultivation was 'Katil'. The crop was grown intermittently on this land some times at a gap of three to five years or more. Productivity of such land was low. Therefore, in real terms land revenue was not light.

Arable expansion in the first half of the 20th century stagnated. While, the population was continuously increasing throughout this period. This led to an enormous pressure on land. The situation was confounded by the lack of technological change. The area under irrigation registered only a marginal increase. Availability of manure must have decreased due to restrictions on the utilization of forest produce, like collecting of leaves and lopping of branches. This finding conforms to the observation of Sumit Guha about Deccan that 'Overall trajectory of the regional rural economies may be best viewed in terms of a transition from a land abundant to a land scarce situation, with the

availability of land substitutes, such as irrigation as a mitigating factor.<sup>6</sup>

Prices in the region were higher than in other parts of India. Inaccessibility and freight charges led to high prices. The broad general trends of prices were similar to the pattern for India. However, fluctuations were also caused by local factors. There was an inverse relationship between price movements and rainfall in Garhwal. And the prices at different places were linked to the distance from the plains. There was pressure to produce rice and wheat since these fetched prices higher than coarse grain. It was particularly essential since revenue had to be paid in cash. However, we have noticed that the area under coarse foodgrain was increasing in proportion to rice and wheat. It was because of the fact that newly broken land for cultivation was not suitable for growing rice and wheat.

Ecological factors were very important in deciding harvest cycle and cropping pattern. Moreover, the quality of soil, availability of water and manure were also important determinants. Attempts on the part of the colonial state to encourage the peasantry to adopt tea plantation failed due to scarcity of foodgrain and the difficulties in replenishing food stocks.

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6. Sumit Guha, The Agrarian Economy of the Bombay Deccan, 1818-1941, (Delhi 1985), p.200.

Ecological factors influenced the working of the subsistence agrarian economy of the region in many other ways. Small water channels (guls) which irrigated fields were fed by small streams flooded by rain. Selection of crops and harvest cycles in snow covered regions were again dictated by nature.

This subsistence peasant economy had a close relationship with forests. Forests provided many needs of peasants. However, uninterrupted forest resource utilization of the pre-colonial period came under regimentation under colonial dispensation. People's rights in forests began to be curtailed after 1870s due to the colonial forest policy. Free access to forest resources was an anathema to the colonial state. Colonial forest policy was based on exploitation of commercially viable species. However, the state was not single minded in curtailing rights of the people. Concessions were given and accomodation was made whenever possible without compromising the vital interests of colonial state. Therefore, concessions could not fully allay the grievances of the people. This led to a tense situation in which resistance and protest became a permanent feature.

The impact of colonial forestry was deep and wide. This led to a dislocation of the agrarian economy. In this

respect, as we have seen, there was no difference in the nature of exploitation of forests and curtailment of the rights of the people in British Garhwal and in the Tehri Kingdom. Large areas of forest were reserved. Due to restrictions many crafts went into oblivion.

An important impact of colonial forestry was the stagnation in arable area. Forest policy did not allow extension in cultivation. This led to a shift from 'land abundant to land scarce' situation, particularly, in periods when population was increasing. This led to a crisis in the agrarian economy of the region. Declining fertility of the soil confounded the situation.

## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX 3-A

#### AVERAGE PRICES OF AGRICULTURE PRODUCTS BETWEEN 1816-21 IN SERS PER RUPEE IN GARHWAL

Articles	Sers	Article	Sers	Article	Sers	Article	Sers	Article	Sers
<u>Kharif</u>									
Grains	28	Makaee	24	Titinia	30	<u>Rabi crops</u>			
Rice		Ganra	30	<u>Oil seeds</u>		<u>Grains</u>		Kabli Matter	18
Manduwa	40	<u>Pulses</u>		Sarson	30	Wheat	22	<u>Oil seeds</u>	
Jhengore	42	Urd	18	Til	12	Barley	28	Atrsi	16
Kowni	40	Bhat	24	Bhinjira	10	Ganra	30	Sarson	32
China	40	Gahat	24			<u>Pulses</u>			
Chaur		Rjes	22			Masur	20		
Marsa	40	Toria				Chana	17		
Kodu	10	Arhai	20						
Ugal	16	Mung	16						
Bajra	26	Gorans	22						
Juwar	36								

Source : G.W. Traill's 'Statistical Sketch of Kumaon' in Batten (ed.). 'Official Report of the Province of Kumaon.' p.27, Only average prices of crops are taken.



**APPENDIX 3-B**  
**AVERAGE PRICES OF THE AGRICULTURE PRODUCTS AT DEHRADUN**  
**PRICE IN RUPEES (DECIMAL OF RUPEE) PER MANND.**

Years	Rice Rs.	Wheat Rs.	Barley Rs.	Cholum or Jawar Rs.	Chunbu or Bajra Rs.	Morua Or Ragi Rs.	Gram	Maize Rs.	Arhar dal Rs.
1873	3.221	2.322	1.723	1.816	1.893	2.177	1.959	2.43	2.404
1895-1899	4.249	3.136	2.300	2.904	3.057	2.537	2.439	2.583	3.675
1900-1904	4.588	2.947	2.042	2.372	2.262	1.935	2.550	1.822	3.900
1905-1909	5.509	3.885	2.555	3.032	2.086	2.917	3.130	2.802	4.653
1910-1914	5.140	3.740	2.428	3.158	3.102	2.982	2.897	2.832	3.766
1915-1920	7.068	5.610	3.087	6.148	5.172	3.751	4.635	3.183	6.695

Source : Prices and Wages in India, Government of India publication, Calcutta, 1922. Except for 1873, average prices have been computed.

**APPENDIX 3-C**  
**AGRICULTURE PRICES IN BRITISH GARHWAL**  
**(IN SERS PER RUPEE)**

Year	Rice sers to a rupee	Index	Wheat sers to a rupee	Index	Barley sers to a rupee	Index	Mandua sers to a rupee	Index
1862	18.0	100.00	23.0	100.00	32.4	100.00	35.0	100.00
1863	18.5	97.23	28.0	82.14	33.5	96.72	37.2	94.02
1864	15.0	120.00	19.5	117.95	24.5	132.24	24.9	140.56
1865	12.2	147.54	14.9	154.36	27.2	119.12	21.0	166.66
1866	13.5	133.33	17.2	133.72	20.0	162.00	23.6	148.31
1867	12.5	144.00	13.5	166.67	15.0	216.00	18.3	191.26
1868	18.2	98.90	21.5	106.98	18.5	175.14	19.8	176.77
1869	15.0	120.00	22.0	104.94	26.2	123.66	28.5	122.81
1870	14.0	128.57	17.9	128.49	19.5	166.15	N.A.	
1871	12.5	144.00	18.1	127.07	22.5	144.00	N.A.	
1872	11.2	160.71	15.5	148.39	18.8	172.34	N.A.	
1873	14.8	121.62	17.5	131.43	19.2	168.75	N.A.	
1874	13.8	130.43	17.5	131.43	18.9	171.43	N.A.	
1875	15.3	117.65	22.0	104.94	22.8	142.11	N.A.	
1876	14.3	125.87	18.0	127.87	22.0	147.27	N.A.	
1877	10.2	176.47	14.0	164.29	16.5	196.36	N.A.	

1878	10.9	165.14	13.2	172.93	15.5	209.03	N.A.	
1879	11.8	152.54	14.5	158.62	18.5	175.14	N.A.	
1880	12.5	144.00	16.1	142.86	19.3	167.88	N.A.	
1881	13.3	135.34	18.8	123.34	20.8	155.77	N.A.	
1882	16.5	109.09	22.3	103.14	25.8	125.58	N.A.	
1883	15.9	113.21	20.2	113.86	18.6	174.19	N.A.	
1884	11.9	151.26	15.2	151.36	21.8	148.62	N.A.	
1885	11.6	155.17	16.6	138.55	20.6	157.28	N.A.	
1886	11.2	160.71	15.8	145.57	19.9	162.81	N.A.	
1887	12.3	146.34	15.7	146.50	20.5	158.05	22.6	154.87
1888	11.3	159.29	14.2	161.97	18.5	175.14	20.4	171.57
1889	12.2	147.54	17.2	133.72	20.4	158.82	23.5	148.94
1890	11.2	160.71	14.5	158.62	18.2	178.02	21.1	165.88
1891	9.2	195.65	12.5	184.00	16.8	192.86	17.0	205.88
1892	7.0	257.14	9.6	239.00	13.0	249.23	12.9	271.32
1893	9.1	197.80	10.2	225.49	13.5	240.00	17.0	205.88
1894	3.0	225.00	12.4	185.48	18.1	179.01	19.2	182.29
1895	7.0	257.14	10.0	230.00	16.4	197.56	16.8	208.33

Source : SRG 1896 Taken from graph given on page no.68.

Index Numbers are computed.

## APPENDIX 4-A

### FOREST REVENUE OF THE GARHWAL FOREST DIVISION

Years	Revenue (in Rs.)	Years	Revenue (in Rs.)
1865-66	248350	1873-74	153795
1866-67	228357	1874-75	116948
1867-68	177359	1875-76	200946
1868-69	188733	1876-77	140322
1869-70	148972	1877-78	173348
1870-71	111745	1878-79	131875
1871-72	130380	1879-80	111794
1872-73	208700		

Source ; HDNWP Part I, Vol.D, pp.916-17.

## APPENDIX 4-B

### REVENUE FROM THE FOREST IN GARHWAL DIVISION (IN RS.)

Years	North Garhwal	South Garhwal
1914-15	11353	19529
1915-16	17027	29611
1916-17	58218	52538
1917-18	97058	91004
1918-19	122532	73744
1919-20	155430	80335
1920-21	111788	47626
1921-22	93783	32033
1922-23	59420	32881
<u>Garhwal Division</u>		
1923-24	55321	
1924-25	100967	
1925-26	115810	
1926-27	99645	
1927-28	85615	
1928-29	64760	

Source : WP for the Garhwal FD, compiled by R.N. Brahmar, 1930-31 to 1939-40, Allahabad 1932.

**APPENDIX 4-C**  
**FOREST REVENUE IN THE TEHRI KINGDOM**  
**THE FOREST LEASED TO THE BRITISH GOVT.**  
**(BRITISH FOREST REVENUE ON THE LEASE FORESTS)**

Years	Bhagirathi Division	Jaunsar-Babar Division
1869-70	4508	N.A.
1870-71	15451	36589
1871-72	536924	128891
1872-73	694013	323834
1873-74	466591	512336
1874-75	204176	242017
1875-76	107480	222247
1876-77	87964	203628
1877-78	121129	207098
1878-79	102822	242436
1879-80	50970	214406

Source : HDNWP, Vol I, Part I, p.846. It must be noted that these forests were given to the British Government by the King on lease on payment of Rs.10000 annual.

## APPENDIX 4-D

### FOREST REVENUE OF THE TEHRI KINGDOM (IN RS.)

Years	Tehri FD	Uttar Kashi FD	Jamuna FD
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1931-32	76997	34812	35234 <sup>1</sup>
1932-33	93357	33374	94198 <sup>2</sup>
1933-34	99041	81693	
1934-35	79358	114002	
1935-36	175349	141880	
1936-37	53033	78154	
1937-38	142927		

Source : Column (2) WP Tehri FD, 1941, p.33.

Column (3) WP Uttar Kashi FD, 1938, p.47.

Column (4) WP Jamuna FD, 1932, p.57.

1. For the year 1929-30.

2. For the year 1930-31.

**APPENDIX 4-E**  
**NUMBER OF CHIR TREES FELLED IN THE TEHRI FD**  
**(1911-12 TO 1938-39)**

Years	Commercial Chir	Total Value of Timber
	No. of Felling Trees	(in Rs.)
1911-12	5377	36816
1912-13	3752	44893
1913-14	1706	23693
1914-15	1775	26724
1915-16	3695	38162
1916-17	5421	57569
1917-18	8976	113490
1918-19	2435	35636
1919-20	1894	28319
1931-32	8053	69062
1932-33	6062	75358
1933-34	5286	86693
1934-35	3732	67990
1935-36	7852	162489
1936-37	3878	39737
1937-38	7215	125814
1938-39	3497	46865

Source : WP Tehri FD, 1941, p.32. No figures are available between 1920 to 30.



**APPENDIX 4-F**  
**NUMBER OF TREES FELLED IN UTTAR KASHI FD (IN NUMBER)**  
**1864 TO 1938**

Period	Deodar	Kail	Chir	Papri
1864-85	10000	-	-	1000
1885-1911	12250	-	12511	3012
1911-38	17453	14062	140096	2801

Source : W. P. ULLAL KASHI FD, 1938, p.47.

## GLOSSARY

<u>Abbal</u>	Superior
<u>Bardavash</u>	Supply of Provisions
<u>Begar, Kuli Utar</u>	Forced Labour
<u>Chauthani</u>	Four important highcastes who held four important office.
<u>Diwan</u>	Chief Minister.
<u>Dom</u>	Depressed Castes.
<u>Durbar</u>	Royal Court.
<u>Faujdar</u>	Territorial Military Commander.
<u>Gul</u>	Small Channels to carry water into field.
<u>Hissedar</u>	Shareholder.
<u>Hookah</u>	Pipe.
<u>Kamin</u>	A head over <u>Padhans</u> .
<u>Kanungo</u>	An officer who supervises <u>Patwaris</u> and keeps revenue records.
<u>Katil</u>	Intermittently cultivated land.
<u>Khaikar</u>	Occupancy Tenant
<u>Khasra</u>	Official record of fields, crops and peasants cultivating them. An important part of the village revenue papers.
<u>Kaul-Karar-Patta</u>	Agreement deed.
<u>Kharif</u>	The Autumn harvest.
<u>Malikana</u>	Rent on land.
<u>Maund</u>	A unit of weight, roughly equal to 82 lb.
<u>Negi</u>	A subordinate revenue official.

<u>Padhan</u>	Village headman.
<u>Panchayat</u>	Village Council.
<u>Pargana</u>	An administrative unit smaller to District.
<u>Patwari</u>	Revenue official in-charge of <u>patti</u> .
<u>Patti</u>	A group of villages.
<u>Rabi</u>	The spring harvest.
<u>Raut</u>	A type of land grant.
<u>Savana</u>	A head over many villages who supervise Padh.
<u>Seer</u>	A unit of weight roughly equal to 2 lbs.
<u>Sera</u>	Irrigated land.
<u>Sirtan</u>	Tenant-at-will.
<u>Takavi</u>	Office advances to cultivators from public fund.
<u>Tarai</u>	Himalayan foot hills.
<u>Thatwan</u>	Person who gets land in grant.
<u>Thokdar</u>	Like <u>Savana</u> a head over many <u>Padhans</u> .
<u>Thuliat</u>	High Castes.
<u>Ukhar</u>	Dry land.

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