

CHAPTER IV
URBAN CENTRES IN
SOUTH GUJARAT

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Urban history is a study of two contrasting aspects. The one is related to its components of being 'urban', which is very simple whereas the other is really complex and baffling. The latter is related to the agreeable and non-agreeable definitions of the urban settlements, classification of urban settlements, interpretation and analysis of the nature of the components that make the settlements urban, nature of interaction with rural settlements and, finally, the dynamism that is generated out of all these. In fact, the entire generation of urban historians had struggled to seek explanation to these contrasting aspects.¹ Robert Ezra Park, one of the founding fathers of modern urban studies wrote in the second decade of the twentieth century that "the city is a state of mind, a body of customs and traditions and of unorganized attitudes and sentiments that inhere in those customs and are transmitted with this tradition."² In Indian Historiography, Urban History is not considered as an independent discipline. Instead, it deals with the processes of non-agrarian activity and economy of the settlements that emerge in time and space.³ It is a sub-discipline in the making under Economic History, an essential branch of major discipline—History. A review of studies on the urban settlements in Indian context suggest that these studies had been largely urban biographies either of large size urban settlements— administrative, pilgrimage, entrepot, manufacturing, and

¹ There is no agreeable definition for urban settlements. Different scholars in different disciplines have offered different criteria to be urban or non urban. In this way the term had been used very loosely. It can therefore be stated that what is not rural is urban. For understanding of urban see H. G. Dyos, 'Agenda for Urban Historians'; G. H. Martin, 'The Town as Palimpsest' and S. G. Checkland, 'Towards a Definition of Urban History' in *The Study of Urban History*, H. J. Dyos (Ed.) London, 1968, pp. 1-46, 155-70 & 343 -68; Eric E. Lampard, 'The Nature of Urbanisation' and Blumin Stuart M., 'When Villages Becomes Town: The Historical Contexts of Town Formation' in *The Pursuit of Urban History*, Derek Fraser & Anthony Sutcliffe (Eds.), London, 1983, pp. 3-68.

² See R. E. Park, 'The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behaviour in the Urban Environment', *American Journal of Sociology* (hereafter *AJS*), XX, 1916, pp. 517-612; reprinted in R. E. Park, E. W. Burgess and R. D. Mackenzie, *The City*, New York, 1925, pp. 1-46.

³ See S. C. Misra, 'Urban History in India - Possibilities and Perspectives', in *The City in Indian History*, pp. 1-2; Bruce M. Stave, 'In Pursuit of Urban History: Conversations with Myself and Others- A View from the United States'; Theodore Hershberg, 'The Future of Urban History' and S. G. Checkland, 'An Urban History Horoscope' in *The Pursuit of Urban History*, pp. 407-467.

commercial or some times medium size urban settlements that achieve eminence due to their sustenance because of their multifunctional roles in relation to a large urban settlement in span of time.⁴ Before offering definition to the nineteenth century urban settlement in Indian context a background to the understanding of seventeenth and eighteenth century urban settlements' is mandatory.

Hamida Khatoon Naqvi,⁵ Gavin R. G. Hambly,⁶ Burton Stein,⁷ M. P. Singh,⁸ I. P. Gupta,⁹ B. G. Gokhale,¹⁰ K. K. Gillion,¹¹ G. D. Sharma,¹² Indu Banga,¹³ C. A. Bayly,¹⁴ R. E. Frykenberg,¹⁵ Kenneth Ballhatchet, John Harrison,¹⁶ Shireen Moosvi,¹⁷ Lakshmi Subramanian¹⁸ and many more extensively researched on the inland and coastal urban settlements for the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Works of these scholars establish commonality in the definition of urban settlements. Based on these studies I offer a simple definition and classification of inland and coastal urban settlements that will be

⁴ Gavin R. G. Hambly, 'Town and Cities: Mughal India', *CEHI*, I, 434-35; Howard, Spodek, 'Studying the History of Urbanisation in India', *Journal of Urban History*, May, 1980, pp. 251-95 and 'Beyond Rorschach Tests: Palimpsests and Nodes, Conflicts and Consciousness in South Asian Urban Theory'; Howard Spodek and D. M. Srinivasan, (Eds.), *Urban Form and Meaning in South Asia: The Shaping of Cities from Pre-Historic to Pre-Colonial Times*, Washington, pp. 255-68.

⁵ H. K. Naqvi, *Urbanisation and Urban Centres under the Great Mughals, 1556-1707*, Vol. I, Simla, 1971, pp. 1-15 and 77-138.

⁶ Gavin R. G. Hambly, 'Town and Cities: Mughal India', *CEHI*, I, pp. 434-52.

⁷ Burton Stein, 'The Far South', *CEHI*, Vol. I, pp. 452-57.

⁸ M. P. Singh, *Town, Market, Mint and Port in Mughal Empire, 1556-1707*, Delhi, 1982.

⁹ I. P. Gupta, 'Urbanisation in Gujarat During the Seventeenth Century', *Studies in Urban History*, (Eds.) J. S. Grewal & Indu Banga, Anritsar, 1978, pp. 43-60.

¹⁰ B. G. Gokhale, *Surat in the Seventeenth Century*, Bombay, 1979, pp. 7-27 and Preface.

¹¹ K. K. Gillion, *Ahemdabad- A Study in Indian Urban History*, Berkeley, 1968, pp. 1-7.

¹² G. D. Sharma, 'Urban Social Structure: A Case Study of the Towns of Western Rajasthan During the 17th Century' in *Studies in Urban History*, pp. 70-79.

¹³ Indu Banga, 'Polity, Economy and Urbanisation in the Upper Bari Doab', 1700-1947, *Studies in Urban History*, pp. 192-205.

¹⁴ C. A. Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars, North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion 1770-1870*, Delhi, 1992, pp. 110-163 & 346-68.

¹⁵ R. E. Frykenberg (Ed.), *Delhi Through The Ages, Essays in Urban History, Culture and Society*, Delhi, 1986, pp. XI-XIX.

¹⁶ Kenneth Ballhatchet and Johan Harrison, (Ed.) *The City in South Asia, Pre Modern & Modern*, New Jersey, 1980, pp. 20-48, 69-87 & 324-42.

¹⁷ Shireen Moosvi, 'The Gujarat ports and their Hinterland: The Economic Relationship', in *Ports and Their Hinterlands in India 1700-1950*, pp. 121-130.

¹⁸ Lakshmi Subramanian, 'Western India in the Eighteenth Century: Ports, Inland Towns and States', in *Ports and Their Hinterlands in India 1700-1950*, pp. 153-80.

advantageous in the understanding of the urban settlements during the nineteenth century.

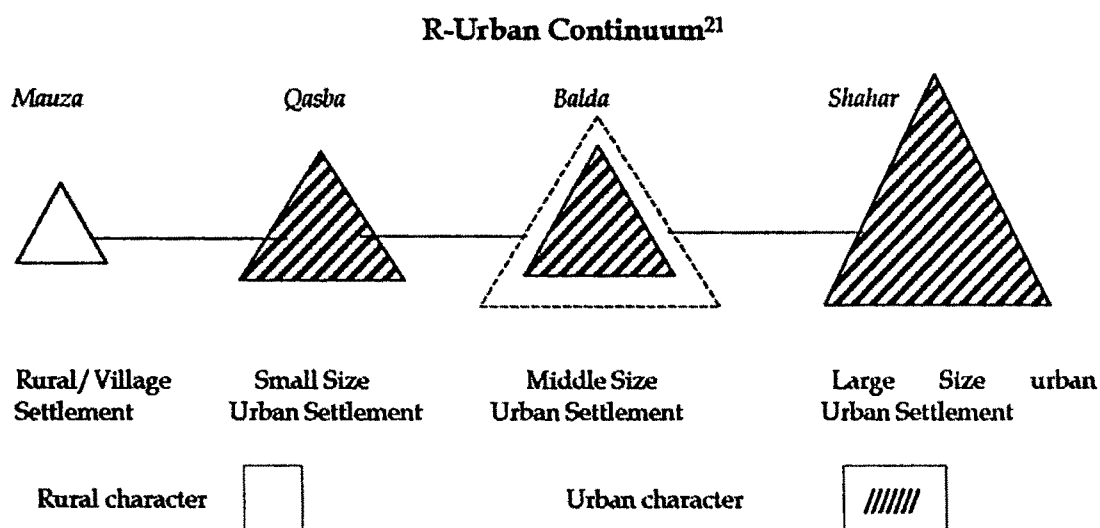
Urban settlements/urban centres/cities or towns are the residential units where human beings are pre-dominantly engaged in non-agrarian occupations like manufacture of products, trade and commerce, creation of administrative culture and societal network that give the region its urban culture. Lewis Mumford explained the process of production and creation related to an urban settlement in the following words:¹⁹

The city, as one finds it in history, is the point of maximum concentration for the power and culture of a community. It is the place where the rays of the many separate beams of light fall into focus, with gains in both social effectiveness and significance. The city is the form and symbol of an integrated social relationship; it is the seat of the temple, the market, the hall of justice, the academy of learning. Here in the city, the goods of civilization are multiplied and manifolded; here is where the human experience is transformed into visible signs, symbols, patterns of conduct and systems of order. Here is where the issues of civilization are focussed; here too the ritual passes on occasion into active drama of a full, differentiated and self-conscious society.

The first simple division of urban settlements is into large/big and small centres. However in the growth process there emerges a third one, which is termed as middle size urban settlement. This division is illustrated in the model based on the concept of r-urban continuum.²⁰

¹⁹ Lewis Mumford, *Culture of Cities*, London, 1938, p. 3.

²⁰ A. B. Saxena, 'Urban Dynamics in Haryana, 14th to Mid-18th Century' unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 2000, p. 127. Also see A. B. Saxena & Hitendra J. Maurya, 'Impact of Environment and Trade on the Growth and Sustenance of Small Urban Settlements: A Case Study of Padra Town in Gujarat', *Proceedings of the UGC- National Seminar on Environment and Trade: Policies and Perspective of the Third World Countries* M. K. Amin College, Padra, M.S. University of Baroda, Vadodara. (Forthcoming September 2003).



The prevalent terminologies during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, for the three inland urban units were *sahar*, *balda* and *qasba* and for coastal settlements were *bandar* (large size) and *bara* (middle and small size).²² Features that were common to inland urban settlements were permanent market/*bazaar*, non-agriculturist inhabitants, easy availability of water, fortification/walled enclosures/castles, administrative machinery, public buildings, etc. whereas for coastal/port settlements the common feature was an access to open sea through a harbour or a creek or an estuary in case of *bandars* and through small rivers in case of *baras*.²³ Besides these features, terminologies for a *qasba* town/small size urban settlement appear in relation to their functional role. In the late eighteenth century, sources refer to them as *ganj*, *pura*, *hat*, etc.²⁴ The functional classification offered to urban units in the above-mentioned studies thus put them in the following categories:²⁵

²¹ R. Ramchandran, *Urbanisation and Urban Systems in India*, pp. 96-119 & 293-321.

²² M. P. Singh, *Town, Market, Mint and Port in Mughal Empire*, p. 1.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2 and also see Rhoads Murphy, 'On the Evolution of Port city' in *Brides of the Sea: Port Cities of Asia from 16th - 20th Centuries*, Frank Broeze, (Ed.), Australia, 1989, p. 230 and Atiya Habib Kidwai, 'Conceptual and Methodological Issues: Ports, Port Cities and Port-Hinterlands' in *Ports and Their Hinterlands, 1700 -1950*, Indu Banga, (Ed.) Delhi, 1992.

²⁴ C. A. Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars, North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion 1770 -1870*, Delhi, 1992, pp. 110 -163 & 346 - 68.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 3 -13 & 192-224.

- A. Administrative Headquarters—Imperial, Provincial and District
- B. Commercial and Industrial Centres
- C. Manufacturing Centres
- D. Agricultural Produce Excellence Centres
- E. Emporiums/Marts or Centres located on the Strategic Points, Frequented Land Routes and Navigable River Routes
- F. Port Towns--*Bandars* and *Baras*
- G. Pilgrim Centres
- H. Market Towns
- I. Village Towns/*Qasba*.

All these categories of urban settlements remained multifunctional with overlapping roles. Their growth and decay depended upon the intensity of economic growth and imperial/provincial/local patronage.

Agricultural and non-agricultural legacies of the eighteenth century for all over India have been traced and they have helped in sorting the issues related to the definition of urban settlements, process of urbanisation and rural-urban interdependence during the first half of the nineteenth century.²⁶ Among all the legacies of the eighteenth century to the nineteenth century in relation to urbanisation, the growth and decline of the markets and the generative potential appear to be more sensitive and significant.²⁷ The growth or decline rate of the markets in a region depends upon the prevailing political situation on one hand and the adaptability to the transformations in that region on the other. The generative potential of the markets is based on climatic situation, demand and supply, capital availability and investment risks of the region and its inhabitants. If one looks at the issue as one based on the political reasons, one finds the urban situation with negative growth rate during the colonial period in comparison to the earlier period. The issue is debated over in the next section.

²⁶ C. A. Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars*, New Delhi, 1983, pp. 35-109; C. A. Bayly, *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire*, 1990, New Delhi, pp. 1- 44 & 110-162; B. R. Tomlinson, *The Economy of Modern India 1860-1970*, New Delhi, 1983, pp. 1-29 and Tirthankar Roy, *The Economic History of India, 1857-1947*, New Delhi, 2000, pp. 1- 47.

²⁷ The legacies of the eighteenth century had already been discussed in Chapter I, II and III of this thesis in relation to Gujarat in general and with respect to South Gujarat in particular. Also see C. A. Bayly, *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire*, 1990, New Delhi, pp. 1- 44 and Tirthankar Roy, *The Economic History of India, 1857-1947*, New Delhi, 2000, pp. 1- 47.

The consolidation of territorial power by the British in 1800 and the period of political instability brought about surprisingly a period of stagnation and decay of urban settlements in India, which lasted for well over a century.²⁸ The nineteenth century urban scenario stands out in contrast to the Mughal period of urban growth. There are some of the traditional reasons for the decline of the urban settlements.²⁹ Firstly, there was a lack of interest on the part of the British in the prosperity and economic development. Secondly, the emergence of industrial revolution in England in the second half of the eighteenth century altered the very complexion of urbanisation in England and in India at a later stage. Thirdly, there was a decline in patronage to artisans by the aristocracy and imperial houses. In the fourth place, introduction of the railroads in India resulted into diversions in the existing trade routes into several channels and railway stations; these railway stations became nodal points of export of raw stuff and import of ready goods and thereby depriving the earlier trade centres of their monopoly in trade. The traditional reasons stated above hold truth in case of the large urban settlements of the pre-colonial period but the close examination of these reasons in case of medium and small size urban settlements during the colonial period does not satisfy a researcher as adequate reasons for the general decay of the urban settlements in a micro or a macro region. A need is therefore felt to seek solution to the problem-oriented issues. The first issue will be to explore the satisfactory reasons that contributed to the decay process of the medium and small size urban settlements; and second, whether there really existed any decay process related to these urban settlements or there was a transition, which initiated the growth process of urbanisation.

²⁸ See Atiya Habeeb, 'Urban Growth: A Historical Perspective', *Travaux et Documents de geographic Tropicale*, CEGET, 1981, pp. 31-57; Davis Kingsley, 'Urbanisation in India: Past and Future' in Turner Roy, (Ed.), *India's Urban Future*, Bombay, 1962, pp. 3-26 and 'Around 1800, India had 16 cities with a population of one lakh or more, and about 1500 towns spread over all parts of the country. Only a third of the towns and cities were located in the Ganga plains; western and southern India were comparatively more urbanized, while eastern India was the least urbanized. The overall level of urbanisation in 1800 is estimated to be approximately 11 percent. Varansi was the largest city in India in 1800, followed by Calcutta; Surat, Patna, Madras, Bombay and Delhi had populations of only 1,50,000. Among these cities, only three (Calcutta, madras and Bombay) were entirely new cities established by the British; the rest had their origins in mughal or earlier times' in R. Ramchandran, *Urbanisation and Urban Systems in India*, p. 61.

²⁹ R. Ramchandran, *Urbanisation and Urban Systems in India*, pp. 60 - 62.

In order to quantify the reasons of growth and decay of middle and small size urban settlements one must see urban settlements as 'moments'³⁰ in the process of the development or underdevelopment of societies. These moments are the sets of factors in all epochs that are linked to the modes of production and economic integration prevalent in the economy and to the ways in which economic surplus is generated, appropriated and utilized. Hence, by implication, urbanisation as a process of reorganization of the size of population and of urban activities and urban space becomes linked to the process whereby economic surplus gets geographically concentrated in a pattern directed by the circulation of goods and services by movement of people and in economy, by the circulation of investment, money and credit. Thus, from this point of view the qualitative and quantitative attributes of urbanisation are determined by two factors:

- (a) the total quantity of surplus appropriated and in circulation; and
- (b) the degree to which this surplus is available in a concentrable form.

These two factors govern the pace and degree of urbanisation as well as the fate of individual urban centers.³¹

Atiya Habeeb Kidwai examined the situation very intensively. Based on her discussion, I put my argument in the following manner.

Let us begin with the premise that colonial urbanisation in India can not be understood as a separate structure with its own laws of transformation and construction but should be analyzed as an expression of a set of relationships of domination and dependence which evolved *vis-à-vis* a metropolitan economy.³²

³⁰ Philip Abrams, 'Towns and Economic Growth', in Philip Abrams and E. A. Wrigley (Eds.), *Towns in Societies*, Cambridge, 1978, pp. 30-31. Also see David Harvey in *Social Justice and the City*, Arnold, p. 250 and Atiya Habeeb, 'Urban Atrophy in Colonial India: Some Demographic Indicators' in *The City in Indian History*, pp. 150-51.

³¹ For details of this paradigm see, Atiya Habeeb, 'Urban Growth: A Historical Perspective', in *Problems de Croissance Urbaine dans le Monde Tropical*, Travaux et documents de Geographic Tropicale, CECET, Bordeaux, 1981, no. 45 and David Harvey in *Social Justice and the City*, Arnold, pp. 246-48.

³² See, B. Roberts, *Cities of Peasants: The Political Economy of Urbanisation in the Third World*, Arnold, London, 1928; and A. Amin, *Accumulation on a World Scale: A Critique of the Theory of Underdevelopment*, New York, 1974.

Two types of inter-related dominations co-existed in the nineteenth century India, which affected the structure of urbanisation during this period:

- (a) Colonial domination with the essential objectives of direct administration and intensive exploitation of resources; and
- (b) Capitalist-commercial domination effected through the terms of exchange by which raw material was procured below its value and manufactured goods were sold at prices higher than their value either in deliberately created markets or the existing markets.

These systems of domination resulted in a relationship that was essentially asymmetrical. This asymmetry altered the qualitative and quantitative attributes of urbanisation by introducing the following changes in the economy:

- (a) the surplus appropriated was largely funneled out of the system and thus reduced its total quantity available within the system; and
- (b) the channels of circulation of this surplus were changed both in terms of spatial and social linkages.

This naturally reduced the degree and pace of urbanisation in colonial India and produced a new geographical configuration, which was superimposed over the pre-colonial structure.³³

In order to be more elaborate on the aspects of medium and small size of urban settlements I attempt the following explanation on the basis of historical evidences. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*³⁴ records the number of large urban settlements/*shahar* as 120 and that of the medium and small size settlements/*qasba*/townships as 3,200 during the late sixteenth century. Furthermore, the level of urbanisation during the seventeenth century was higher in comparison to that found during the late nineteenth century.³⁵ C.A. Bayly, who worked on northern India, estimated about sixty *shahars* and 180 medium and small size settlements in c. 1770.³⁶ This number did not disappear or decreased in c.1800. Infact the number of medium and small urban

³³ See Atiya Habib, "Characteristics and Process of Urbanisation in Colonial India – A Case Study of Calcutta and Its Hinterland, 1872-91", Ph.D. Thesis, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 1979.

³⁴ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, III, pp. 545-46 as cited in Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, (reprint), p. 75.

³⁵ This comparison is based on the proportion of urban to total population. See Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, (reprint), p. 76.

³⁶ C. A. Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars*, New Delhi, 1983, pp. 111-112.

settlements remained unchanged.³⁷ The only transformation was the decrease in number of inhabitants in some cases. These settlements continued to survive in the similar way. The percentage of population inhabiting the places with distinct urban characteristics was larger at the end of the eighteenth century than at the beginning, though there had been displacement of population from the largest into medium size and small size places.³⁸ Thus, in the first half of the nineteenth century as a whole, there appears to have been a clear-cut but not startling growth of the total population living in towns of over 5,000, and the rate of growth of urban population exceeded, though only marginally, the rate of growth of the population as a whole.³⁹ During the second half of the nineteenth century, when process of carving of colonial control was complete the urbanisation process was yoked to an urban structure that was not very weak, at least in terms of the size of its base. New political and economic factors had however stated exerted their limiting effects on the growth of towns.⁴⁰ The British colonial policy underwent shifts. During the first half of the nineteenth century the British concentrated on increasing their resources through land revenue and maximization of mercantile profits and later creating infrastructure during the second half for the stabilization of both.⁴¹ In this way the urban structure and the process of urbanisation were affected by the drain of the appropriated surplus, the increase in foreign trade consisting of imports of cheap machine-made goods and exports of industrial raw material and the changes in the channels of trade, both spatial and social. The railways disturbed the traditional trade routes. The centripetal inter-settlement linkages that had evolved over time based on a by and large introverted road system were placed

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

³⁸ Bayly estimates that towards the end of eighteenth century, about 15% of the population of north India was urban out of which 7% lived in towns with a population of over 5,000 and 3% in cities of over 10,000. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

³⁹ Bayly is of the opinion that this represents not so much the stagnation of a stable urban population but a sharp contention between forces pushing urbanisation forward and equally powerful ones tending to decline. *Ibid.*, pp. 304-05. Also see Atiya Habeeb, 'Urban Atrophy in Colonial India' in *The City in Indian History*, p. 152.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 305 - 06 and Atiya Habeeb, 'Urban Atrophy in Colonial India' in *The City in Indian History*, p. 153.

⁴¹ See R. C. Dutt, *The Economic History of India*, Delhi., Vol.I, pp. 277-82 and R. P. Dutt, *India Today*, Calcutta, p. 119.

by the centrifugal pulls generated by the economy of colonial cities in a macro region. These pulls were the results of the establishment of new port-towns and orientation of the railway network and internal commodity flows running towards them. A process of urban atrophy was thus set in motion in the old towns and cities affecting their population, size, industries and economic activities in general.⁴² This process of decay is termed as de-urbanisation and is marked by the following:⁴³

1. stagnation in the level, pace and concentration of urbanisation;
2. stagnation in the rates of growth of towns in each size class;
3. the presence of a significant proportion of urban settlements with negative rates of growth;
4. a high degree of variability in the ranks of higher under urban settlements accompanied by an obsolete decrease in their population;
5. a general movement of towns to lower classes; and
6. accentuation of urban primacy.

Another problem-oriented issue in regard to the urbanisation of the nineteenth century is the classification and categorization of urban settlements in the changed circumstances. This problem-oriented issue is multidimensional. One deals with size, the other with population and yet another with functional dynamism. The classification and categorization of urban settlements with regard to the above two for sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in our earlier discussion does not hold completely true as there are a few urban settlements of the nineteenth century that does not qualify for the either category mentioned earlier to be the urban settlements. These urban settlements lie in between 'a village and in being a town'. C. A. Bayly did attempt this issue for the eighteenth century. However, the case for first half of the nineteenth century still remains unresolved. This issue of classification of towns even bothered the writers of the nineteenth century as well, particularly to the Demographers and Census Surveyors. The definition and classification, which the surveyors attempted, could not qualify all the urban settlements hence definition, classification and categorization kept changing. Before I attempt any

⁴² Atiya Habeeb, 'Urban Atrophy in Colonial India' in *The City in Indian History*, p. 154.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

classification of the nineteenth century settlements in the selected South Gujarat territory, I would try to analyze the comments of the Census Surveyors in the Census reports for the period 1872-1911.

The 1881 census defines an urban settlement/a town as 'a place where population remains not less than 5,000 and 'the inhabitants resided in one assemblage of houses of being of a common nature'. This definition is befitting for nucleated village and does not solve our purpose of definition of urban settlements under investigation. The 1891 census gave some consideration to the administrative status of a town. According to it, 'a town denotes every place that has a Municipality or brought under similar regulation'. In fact this was the first attempt to attribute to the town, a function different from that of a village. However, examination of the small town/*qasbas* in the 1891 census for any classification is not suitable. Towns in India tend to be large aggregations of population in a small area with no mature urban functions. In 1901, the *Census Report* came out with the following definition that a town should include not only the Municipality but also the Cantonment and Civil lines. This development was due to the presence of the British regime. During this period, the Municipal units or Cantonments or Civil Lines overshadowed the original nucleus of urban inhabitation. But there were many small towns without these features. Among these were the headquarters of the Princely and Native States that were not economically generative but were understood as towns. The 1911 Census surveyors worked in this direction and added to the list of towns, the headquarters of the Princely States/ Native States for special reasons.

Thus combining all the definitions of classification of towns on functional basis for the late eighteenth and first three quarters of the nineteenth century and definitions of the *Census Reports* of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a broad classification for urban settlements can be constructed. These urban settlements can be broadly classified into two: first, into inland and port urban settlements/towns; and second, into large, middle and small towns. The small towns have their own categories depending on their functions. These are the market towns, pilgrim towns, village towns and Native State headquarters. I

reconstruct the classification and categorization in relation to the South Gujarat territory for both inland and port-towns/urban settlements.

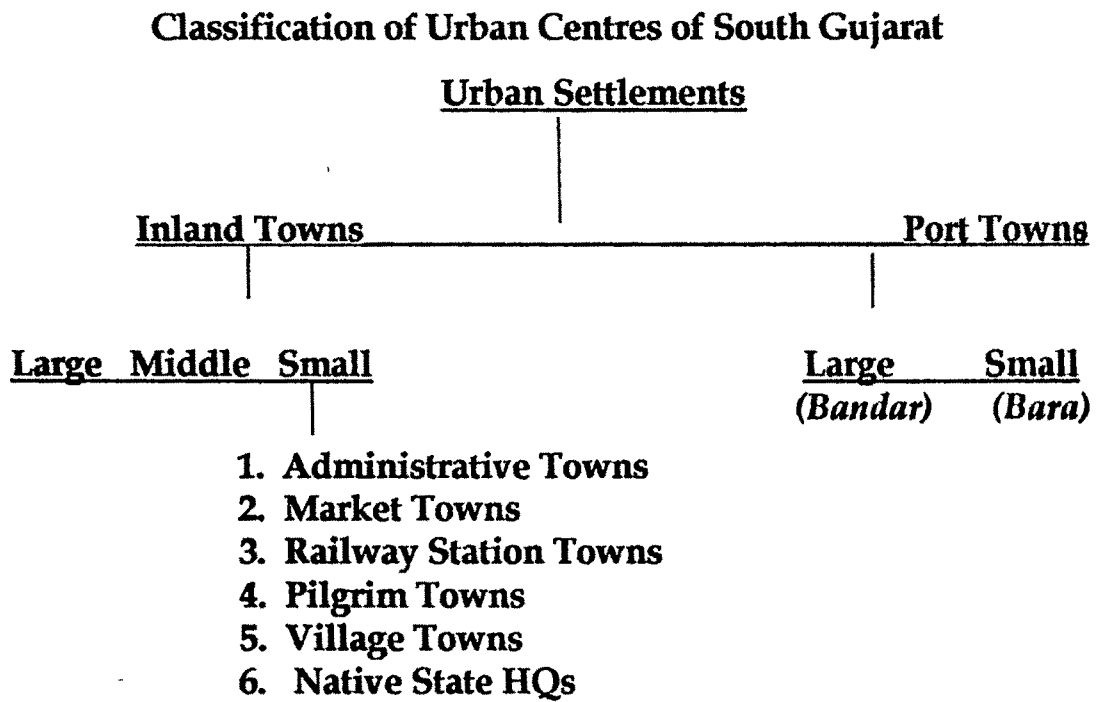


TABLE 1
Urban Settlements in South Gujarat, c.1800-c.1900

<i>Taluka</i>	Inland Urban Centres				Port Towns/Urban Centres	
	Large Towns /City	Middle Towns	Small Towns	Village Towns	<i>Bandar</i>	<i>Bara</i>
<i>Sinor Taluka</i>	-	Sinor	-	Tain/Ten	-	-
<i>Tilakwada Peta Mahal</i>	-	-	Tilakwada	Amroli	-	-
<i>Navsari Taluka</i>	-	Navsari	Maroli	Vesma, Borsi & Sisodra	-	Navsari
<i>Gandevi Taluka</i>	- -	Gandevi Bilimora	- -	Ajarai	- -	Gandevi & Bilimora
<i>Songadh Taluka</i>	-	-	Songadh	Rupgadh & Salehr	-	-
<i>Vajpur Peta Mahal</i>	-	-	-	Vajpur, Navapur, Bardipada & Umarpada	-	-
<i>Vyara Taluka</i>	-	-	Vyara	Unai, Umrat & Naradganga	-	-
<i>Mahuva Taluka</i>	-	-	Mahuva	Kankaria, Vehval, Valvada & Karchalia	-	-
<i>Velachha Taluka</i>	-	-	Velachha & Variav	Mangrol, Hathuran, Kosamba, Nani Naroli & Libodra	-	-
<i>Vakal Peta Mahal</i>	-	-	Vakal	Khala & Chokdi	-	-
<i>Kamrej Taluka</i>	-	Kamrej	Kathor	Timba, Kadodra & Gala	-	-
<i>Palsana Taluka</i>	-	-	Palsana	Balesar	-	-
Broach District <i>Amod Taluka</i>	-	-	Amod	-	-	-
<i>Ankleshwar Taluka</i>	-	Ankleshwar	Panoli	Elav	-	-
<i>Hansot Peta</i>	-	Hansot	-	-	-	-

Wagra Taluka	-	-	Wagra, Dahej & Gandhar	-	-	Dahej & Gandhar
Jambusar Taluka	-	Jambusar	Kavi, Dehgam & Tankari	Gajera, Kanwa, Vedach & Devjagam	-	Dehgam & Tankari
Broach Taluka	Broach	-	Palej	Bawa Rustam, Bhadbhut, Karod & Sukaltirth	Broach	-
Surat District Olpad Taluka	-	-	Olpad	Kudrama, Kudiana, Bhatta, Kim, Vadoli & Saen	-	Bhugva
Mandvi Taluka	-	-	Mandvi, Bodhan & Tarkeshwar	Mandvi, Devgadh & Sarkui	-	-
Bardoli Taluka	-	-	Bardoli	Sarbhon, Kadod, Mota, Vankaner & Valod	-	-
Jalalpur Taluka	-	-	Jalalpur	Abrama, At, Sisodra, Supa, Astgam, Satem & Munsad	-	-
Chikhli Taluka	-	-	Chikhli	-	-	-
Chorasi Taluka	Surat	-	Rander	-	Surat	Rander
Bulsar Taluka	-	Bulsar	Tithal	Gorgam, Bhadeli & Ghudoie	-	Bulsar
Pardi Taluka	-	-	Pardi, Vapi, Umarsari and Udwada	Lakhmapur, Chibad-Kutch, Panch Amba & Bugwara	-	Umarsari and Udwada

Dangs	-	-	-	Gadhvi/ Garvi, Amala, Derbhavati, Vasurna/ Wasurna & Pimpri	-	-
Rajpipla	-	-	Nandod, Rajpipla, Ratanpur & Rampur	Old Rajpipla Limodra/ Nimodra, Sagbara, Jhaghadia Avidha, Dumal, Vegalpur, Dev Mogra, Jeyor, Mokhdi Ghanta, Mota Saja, Sanjala, Panetha, Bhalod, Thava and Rupnagar	-	-
Bansda	-	-	Bansda	Unai	-	-
Dharampur	-	-	Dharampur	Arnai, Nagar, Panikhadak & Pangarbari	-	-
Sachin	-	-	Sachin	Dumas & Bhimpur	-	-

Source: *Gazetteers of Bombay Presidency; Traveler's Accounts; Survey Settlement Reports of Talukas and Revised Survey Settlement Reports.*

II

At the out set it must be noted that I have not taken into account the large urban settlements in the South Gujarat territory i.e., Broach and Surat. Therefore the urban profile of these cities is not offered in the forthcoming discussion however, the networks between them and medium and small urban settlements do appear in the discussion from time to time.

Small Urban Centres of Gaekwad State in the South Gujarat Territory

Sinor: Sinor is located on the Narbada in the Baroda *prant* of the Gaekwad State. It is about 19 miles to the southwest of Choranda, another well-known place of the

Gaekwad territory. According to the census of 1881, it had population exceeding a little over 6,000.⁴⁴ It was the *taluka* headquarter. The Sinor *taluka* was about 14 miles in length. This *taluka* was surrounded on the north by the villages of the Dabhoi *taluka* of the Baroda Prant; on the south by the villages of Rajpipla; on the east partly by the villages of Tilakwada *taluka* and the Sankheda *Melwas* and on the west by the villages of the Choranda and Dabhoi *talukas*.⁴⁵ Sinor was the only place that could be considered as urban settlement in the *taluka* during the nineteenth century because it housed the administrative offices, market and a few public building. This place is historically important as finds reference in Persian Chronicles and traveler's accounts. *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* refers to it as *pargana* headquarters.⁴⁶ James Forbes visited this place in the late eighteenth century i.e., 1783.⁴⁷ He referred this place as place of some consequence due to its scenic beauty, public and private houses of distinction and the number of inhabitants that amounted to 10,000. The inhabitants were the weavers who excelled in the manufacture of coarse cotton cloth for the Persian and Arabian markets with some finer *baftas* and muslins for home consumption. Besides the manufacture of these varieties of cloth, the dying of cotton cloth was also carried out there. If the comparison of this settlement is made for the period between 1783 and 1883 based on James Forbes' account, *Survey Settlement Reports* and *Revised Survey Settlement Reports*, one can conclude that the settlement underwent significant changes.⁴⁸ The first was the number and nature of inhabitants, followed by production pattern, infrastructure and its relative significance in the region. In 1883, one finds references to the existence of temples of Bhadreshavar Mahadev and Angareshvar Mahadev, though smaller and less splendid in comparison to Chandod, sculpture and paintings, offices of the *vahivatadar*, *munsif*, police *fauzdar*, *sarkar Haveli*, police lines, customs house, municipality, four *dharmshulas*, a post office, a Gujarati school, a

⁴⁴ GBP, Baroda, 1883, p. 552.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 260 and *Supplement of Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, p. 199.

⁴⁷ *Oriental Memoirs*, Vol. II, Ch. 4, in GBP, Baroda, 1883, p. 552.

⁴⁸ *Ibid* and *Jamabandi Settlement Report on the Sinor Taluka of the Baroda Division*, Huzur Political Office, Revenue Department, No. 606, 1888-1918, 263/4, pp.5-40. (Here after JSR)

Marathi school and a dispensary. All of these are a testimony to the changes that Sinor underwent during this period of more than hundred years.⁴⁹ Moreover, the railway line network and road network provided more mobility towards it. In its surroundings, it had railway station at Ten/Tain that developed as a *qasba*/village town.⁵⁰ Sinor had a connectivity to other *talukas* of central and south Gujarat through high roads as well. For instance, a high road connected Sinor and Karjan along B. B. & C. I. Railway.⁵¹ These railway and road routes proved to be very helpful for transportation of passengers and goods. The trade traffic mostly dealt in grains and cotton.⁵² Sinor *taluka*'s income from all sources amounted to Rs. 3,67,127 ½ in 1879-80; Rs. 3,49,439 ¾ were realized from land revenue and Rs. 17,100 from other sources like custom, excise, stamp and transit duties.⁵³

Tilakwada: Like Sinor, Tilakwada is also located on the Narbada. It was the headquarters of the Tilakwada *peta mahal* in the Baroda *prant* of the Gaekwail State. It had some 38 villages.⁵⁴ The Tilakwada *peta mahal* was surrounded by Rewa Kantha Agency in the north and east; on the south by Nandod in the Rajpipla State; and, on the west by the villages of Sinor *taluka* of the Baroda *prant*.⁵⁵ In the nineteenth century it has been recorded as a market town along with Amroli.⁵⁶ It catered to the needs of the Baroda *prant* as well as the Rewakantha Agency.⁵⁷ It was sparsely populated. The population figures for the years 1872 and 1881 are 1,712 and 1,810 respectively. The town had public offices like *mahalkari*'s office, *fauzdar*'s *kacheri*, police lines, two *dhiarmshalas*, a government Gujarati school and temples that were dedicated to Maninageshvar, Saptamatrika and to

⁴⁹ GBP, Baroda, 1883, p. 554.

⁵⁰ JSR, Sinor Taluka of the Baroda Division, Huzur Political Office, Revenue Department, No. 606, 1888-1918, 263/4, p. 7.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

⁵³ GBP, Baroda, 1883, p. 552.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 558 and JSR, Tilakwada Peta Mahal of the Baroda Division, Huzur Political Office, Revenue Department, No. 607, 1892-1918, pp. 22-27.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁵⁷ GBP, Baroda, 1883, p. 559.

Tilakeshvar.⁵⁸ The two market towns— Tilakwada and Amroli—were connected by fair-weather roads with each other and with other parts of the Gaekwad State and the British Districts. According to the revenue statements of the *peta mahal*, its income from custom, excise, stamp and transit duties was Rs. 1,132 approximately.⁵⁹

Amroli: Amroli is recorded as the *tappa* in the Tilakwada *peta mahal*.⁶⁰ It served the collection and distribution centre for the agricultural produce of the villages of Tilakwada *peta mahal*. The *Jamabandi Settlement Correspondences* refer to it as a market town. The trade transaction was mainly in grains.⁶¹

Navsari: Navsari is recorded as *taluka* and *prant* headquarters in the contemporary sources. The Navsari *taluka* was the southwestern *taluka* of the Navsari *prant* of the Gaekwad State with an area of 125 sq. ms./322.5 Sq. Kms.⁶² It was located between 20° 57' N latitude and 72° 56' E longitudes.⁶³ Navsari is an historical town with the following historical names-Nagvardhan, Nagsarika, Nagshahi, Nagmandal, Navsareh and Parsipuri.⁶⁴ Ptolemy records it as Nasaripa. ⁶⁵ According to his information, it lied on the ancient trade route towards Broach. It is intimately connected to the migration and settlement of Parsees in Western India since 1142 A.D., Who migrated to this place from Sanjan and their place of original inhabitanace was in Persia.⁶⁶ Parsees thrive and prospered in Navsari and its surroundings since then. Under the Delhi Sultan and Mughals they received *desaigiri* of the Navsari *taluka* and established themselves as enterprising businessmen and shopkeepers.⁶⁷ Their *mobeds* or

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 558.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ JSR, *Tilakwada Peta Mahal of the Baroda Division*, Huzur Political Office, Revenue Department, No. 607, 1888-1918 pp. 14 -15.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁶² IGI, *Baroda*, 1908, p. 98.

⁶³ IGI, Vol. XVIII, p. 425 and IGI, *Baroda*, 1908, p. 101.

⁶⁴ G. H. Desai, *Navsari Prant no Sarva Sangrah*, (*Gujarati*), Baroda, 1919-20, p. 407.

⁶⁵ IGI, Vol. XVIII, p. 425 and IGI, *Baroda*, 1908, p. 101.

⁶⁶ GBP, *Baroda*, p. 565 and IGI, Vol. XVIII, p. 425 and IGI, *Baroda*, 1908, p. 101. Also see, Hitendra Maurya, 'The Role of Parsees in the Growth of Urban Economy Region During the Nineteenth Century', PIHC, 63rd Session, Amritsar, December, 2003 (Forthcoming December 2003) pp. 1-10. (Cyclostyle copy)

⁶⁷ GBP, *Baroda*, p. 565.

sacerdotal class also made this town their stronghold.⁶⁸ The existence of old fire temple is a testimony to their position, which they continued to enjoy even during the nineteenth century.⁶⁹ Due to the *Parsees* enterprising pursuits, the nineteenth century records this place as a town that showed signs of comfort and wealth.⁷⁰ Its streets were well watered and the sanitation remained praiseworthy. The town traces the existence of the nineteenth century houses that were big and palatial and had good gardens. These houses belonged to wealthy *Parsee* merchants who have retired from business elsewhere to their ancestral home.⁷¹ In the neighbourhood of these houses were plantations of date palms, which were restored to, by visitors and inhabitants alike for the purpose of imbibing the famous *toddy* of the district.⁷² The *toddy* manufactured in Navsari was considered the most delicious and healthy.⁷³ Besides *Parsees*, this place remained popular with the imperial authorities. Malhar Rao Gaekwad was fond of living here and it was in this town that he got married to a silk cotton-tree, which was then formally destroyed as an object to avert misfortune.⁷⁴ Navsari houses the palace that was probably constructed during the times of Malhar Rao. After the introduction of railways in India this town was connected to the main rail route. It traversed almost 147 miles/236.52 Kms towards Bombay along the main line of the Bombay-Baroda and Central India Railway (B. B. & C. I. Railway).⁷⁵ Its connectivity with Surat and Baroda was only 18 miles/29 kms and 99 miles/159 Kms respectively.⁷⁶ Besides having a railway station, it had a metalled road that joined the railway station and town proper and other made roads traversing the municipality limits and beyond, connecting it to Gandevi, Posra, etc.⁷⁷ Maroli is another railway station in the vicinity of Navsari on the B.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 565.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 563.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 562.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 563.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 562.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 563 and JSR, Navsari and Gandevi Talukas, 1891 in Huzur Political Office, Revenue Department, 1891-1918, No. 666, file no. 253/34, p. 9L.

B. & C. I. Railway route that headed towards Surat and Bombay.⁷⁸ A metalled road connected both Maroli and Navsari. This distance was 1 ½ mile and it extended towards the British village of Jalalpur, a mile further to the west. As far as the public buildings of the nineteenth century is concerned, Navsari had a high school and the Anglo-vernacular school, the former known as the Sir Kawasji Jahangir Zarthosti Madrasa and the latter as the Dada bhai Kawasji Tala School.⁷⁹ Parsees and the Gaekwad government maintained both these buildings. Besides these schools, there were dispensary, civil hospital, Mehraji Rana library, police ward houses, public garden, offices of *Subah* and District Judge, Jail (constructed during 1879-80) and *Sadar* distillery.⁸⁰

Among the religious structures, reference to fire temples of *Parsees*, Hindu pagodas, *dargahs* of *pirs* revered by both Muslims and Hindus and Jain Parshnath temple is must.⁸¹ All these places housed fairs and festivals on various occasions that led to hectic social and economic interaction. During the nineteenth century though it lost its eminence as a cloth-manufacturing centre it still continued to manufacture coarse *sarees*, *khadi* and other coarse cotton cloth on its handlooms.⁸² The town evidenced the washing of silk thread and silken cloth besides dyeing; making of drums, *tabla* and *mridang*; soap and perfumery factory on the outskirts of the town; boot and shoe manufacturing; and artisans produced articles of copper, brass, iron, wood and leather for local use.⁸³ The manufacture of the *kusti* or sacred thread worn by the *Parsees*, which was woven by the wives of the *mobeds*, was considered a work of skill.⁸⁴ This thread was largely exported to all the parts of India. However, it had rich market in Bombay. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Navsari municipality became very effective and its income from customs, excise and tolls was Rs. 8, 500. Besides this income,

⁷⁸ JSR, *Navsari and Gandevi Talukas*, 1891 in Huzur Political Office, Revenue Department, 1891-1918, No. 666, file no. 253/34, p. 8R.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 568.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 563.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 564 & 566; IGI, Vol. XVIII, pp. 425-26 and IGI, *Baroda*, 1908, p. 101.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 568.

⁸³ IGI, Vol. XVIII, p. 426.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 568.

Navsari town also received State grant of Rs. 5,500.⁸⁵ The town had import and export trade by both rail and water. For the latter, the Purna River on the left or south bank was the means. It afforded fair convenience and the harbour was gradually improved.⁸⁶ For instance cotton was exported from the Navsari port during the first of nineteenth century.⁸⁷ During the 1845-46 the cotton exported incurred Rs. 1,272. The population figures for the Navsari town during the years 1881 and 1901 are 14,937 and 21,451 respectively.⁸⁸ In 1901, there were 12,357 Hindus, 4,756, *Parsees*, and 2,753, Musalmans.⁸⁹

Besides Navsari and Maroli in the Navsari *prant*, the settlements that can be considered as urban are Vesma, Borsi and Sisodra. The last three were in fact were the market towns for the villages of the Navsari *taluka* and carried the agrarian surplus to Navsari that had permanent markets for agrarian as well as non-agricultural produce. These three and Maroli had been assessed as small towns based on their functional role and size, and Navsari as middle size urban settlement.

Gandevi: Gandevi is recorded as both inland and port⁹⁰ town of middle size on the basis of its functionality, population and settlement planning. It is located at 20° 49' N and 73° 2' E longitude on the bank of small stream called as Vengania.⁹¹ Being the headquarters of the *taluka*, it housed the office of *Vahivataidar* and *Faujdar*, a magistrate's court, a dispensary, and a high school aided by the state, vernaculars schools and public offices.⁹² Besides the early mentioned offices, the town had post office, dispensary and Anglo-Vernacular School, a large tank, temples, resort, etc. According to census of 1881, it housed 4,844 Hindus, 1,522 Muslims, 662 *Parsees*, 53 Jains and one Christian.⁹³ This number increased to

⁸⁵ IGI, Vol. XVIII, p. 426.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Alexander Mackay, *Western India*, p. 235.

⁸⁸ IGI, Vol. XVIII, p. 426.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ Alexander Mackay, *Western India*, p. 235. The export of cotton from Gandevi in 1845-46 was Rs. 1, 497; in 1846-47 was Rs. 2,752; in 1847-48 was Rs. 2,642 and in 1848-49 was Rs.1, 803.

⁹¹ IGI, Vol. XVIII, p. 571. Also see IGI, *Baroda*, 1908, p. 100 and IGI, Vol. XII, 1908, p. 126.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *Ibid.*

5,927 in 1901.⁹⁴ The *Vanias* were the leading merchants of the town and *Parsees* carried the trade aboard.⁹⁵ The places with which it had trade relations were Nandurbar, Bansda Bombay and surrounding settlements.⁹⁶ Its location on the B. B. & C. I. Railway route gave it an opportunity for internal trade along the rail route to Amalsar and Surat. Therefore, it established itself as a market town as well.⁹⁷ It also had metalled roads, which joined the railway station to the town proper; Gandevi to town Bilimora and Chikhli.⁹⁸ The commodities in which Gandevi carried out trade generally comprised of agrarian surplus.⁹⁹ There was considerable trade in grain, molasses, ghee, and castor oil.¹⁰⁰ The town's artisans were engaged in manufacture of *sarees* and *khadi* on handlooms.¹⁰¹ One does not find reference to municipality in the town, which probably came to existence in 1905. In 1905, the taxes collected by it through custom, excise and tolls amounted to Rs. 3,500.¹⁰² As far as the factories and industries are concerned, Gandevi had a sugar factory that was owned by a private firm and few handloom units.¹⁰³

Bilimora: Like Gandevi, Bilimora was the middle size inland and small size port town of the Gandevi *taluka*. It is situated at 20° 46'N latitude and 73° 0' E longitude on the bank of the Ambika river along the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway.¹⁰⁴ Its distance from Navsari is 13 miles whereas its location from Bombay is 135 miles in the southeast direction.¹⁰⁵ Besides the rail route, the metalled road connected Gandevi and Bilimora port to the thriving town of Bilimora. Due to its proximity through rail and road, it emerged as a potent town market not only of the *taluka* but also that of the South Gujarat

⁹⁴ IGI, Baroda, 1908, p. 100 and IGI, Vol. XII, 1908, p. 126.

⁹⁵ GBP, Baroda, p. 571.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* and JSR, Navsari and Gandevi Talukas, 1891 in Huzur Political Office, Revenue Department, 1891-1918, No. 666, file no. 253/34, p. 43R.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ GBP, Baroda, p. 571.

¹⁰² IGI, Baroda, 1908, p. 100 and IGI, Vol. XII, 1908, p. 126.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ IGI, Baroda, 1908, p. 100.

¹⁰⁵ GBP, Baroda, p. 571 and IGI, Baroda, 1908, p. 100.

territory and Gujarat.¹⁰⁶ Traders from all parts of Gujarat visited it for molasses/*gol*. It exported molasses to Kathiawad, Bhavnagar and Karachi.¹⁰⁷ Besides molasses, the other export items destined to Bhavnagar, Surat and Bombay were mangoes, jackfruits, pine apples, dried ginger, plantains, etc.¹⁰⁸ The items of import and export from the Bilimora port were wood, groceries, jaggery for sugar mill from Madras, coal, tobacco, Mangalore tiles, Porbander's stone, etc. and dried ginger, mango, fuel, plantains, castor oils, tiles, vinegar, mats, hemp, bones, etc. respectively.¹⁰⁹ This trade incurred dock-cess and port dues, which amounted to Rs. 1,700 from imports and Rs. 9,000 from exports in 1891.¹¹⁰ Because of hectic activity at port, initiatives were taken to improvise infrastructure at port.¹¹¹ Besides this, it is recorded as a seat of a town magistrate and a *naik faujdar* in the late nineteenth century sources.¹¹² The town had a customhouse, a vernacular school, a railway station, a post office, a dispensary, and government bungalow, tower of silence, temples, etc.¹¹³ People of all castes and communities resided here. According to the estimates of 1901 census, the town housed some 4,693 registered inhabitants and many more who visited to this place with sole purpose of business.¹¹⁴ The town had a municipality which had an income of Rs. 1,300 derived from the state, sugar-mill, ginning factories and rice mills.¹¹⁵ The carpenters excelled in sandalwood and ivory work.¹¹⁶

Baleshvar/Balesar: Baleshvar/Balesar is recorded as a small town and place of interest in the contemporary source. It was located 10 ½ miles from Navsari and ½ mile from Palsana.¹¹⁷ It can be considered as a small town either located in Gandevi *taluka* or Palsana *taluka* of the Navsari *prant*. In other words, it was a

¹⁰⁶ JSR, *Navsari and Gandevi Talukas*, 1891 in Huzar Political Office, Revenue Department, 1891-1918, No. 666, file no. 253/ 34, p. 43R.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ IGI, *Baroda*, 1908, p. 100.

¹¹² GBP, *Baroda*, p. 571.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ IGI, *Baroda*, 1908, p. 100.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ GBP, *Baroda*, p. 571.

boarder town of Gandevi and Palsana *talukas*. Though the population figures for 1881 do not qualify it to be a small town but due to its production capacity and quality it is being given this category. It housed only 2,029 persons out of whom 239 were Hindus, 782 Muslims, four *Parsees* and five Jains.¹¹⁸ Most of the inhabitants were artisans who were indulged in coarse cloth weaving.¹¹⁹ Calico printing of good quality was also carried out that had market in Gandevi and Bilimora.¹²⁰ No account regarding public buildings is found in this small town except an old mosque.¹²¹

Ajarai: Ajarai is another small town of village town category with the significance of market town in the Gandevi *taluka*. It acquired this status due to its location and functionality as weekly markets were held. It developed as a collection and distribution centre of agrarian surplus and it was from here that the surplus was carried to Bilimora and Gandevi and from there to Surat via railways.

Songadh: Songadh is recorded as the headquarters of the *taluka* of the same name in Navsari *prant* of Baroda State.¹²² It was located at 21° 10' N latitude and 73° 36' E longitudes along the Tapti Valley Railway line. Though the contemporary sources register it as a village town in the late nineteenth century, I put it in the category of small towns due to its functional role.¹²³ In the eighteenth century it was a town of considerable significance. This place has a pride status of being the first capital of the rulers of the Baroda state. This place housed a fort that was the stronghold of Pilaji Gaekwad. Though the fort is in the demolished state, it reveals the hidden past. Its past is recorded in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency* in the following words:¹²⁴

The fort of Songadh is situated to the west of town on a small hill, the top of which is reached by a foot path about a mile in length from the level of plain below. The fort was originally seized from the Bhils, some families of whom still hold *jagirs* in connection

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² *IGI, Baroda*, 1908, p. 102.

¹²³ *GBP, Baroda*, p. 584.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 584-585.

with it. From the top of the hill two high walls run down sloping out and are connected at the bottom by a very high wall in which is a gateway. The only portion of the defenses, which is still kept in repair, is the entrance at the north end. ... Besides this there are small tanks, which hold water throughout the whole year. In the lower part of the enclosed space are the ruins of what must have been a fine palace with several storeys. It has a garrison of 25 men, and there are 35 guns in it, ... the fort was probably built or at any rate restored in the time of the Moghal Emperors... It once served as an enclosure for very large houses among which, there was the residence of H. H. the Gaikwar. A few temples are in dilapidated state are of some architectural interest.

In the late nineteenth century, it had the offices of *vahivataidar* and *faujdar*, a post office, a dispensary, a permanent market that fulfilled the local needs and a special boarding school for the boys and girls of the forest tribes.¹²⁵ The boys were trained in carpentry and agriculture on a model farm attached to the school, where experiments in cultivation and sericulture were also carried out. Songarh saw the emergence of municipality during the last year of the nineteenth century. Documents for the year registers it to be administrated by municipality. The income of municipality from taxes and annual State grant amounted to Rs. 800.¹²⁶

Rupgadh and Salehr: Rupgadh and Salehr are recorded as another fort towns of the Gaekwad period in series that enjoyed significance in the late eighteenth century when the Gaekwad State was in the stage of making. The nineteenth century records them as a fortified place with little activity related to trade and refers to the men of significance of these places that were located in Baroda.¹²⁷

Vajpur: Vajpur is recorded as a village town and the headquarters of the *peta mahal* of the same name in the nineteenth century.¹²⁸ It was located at a distance of 22 miles and had the offices of *mahalkari* and *naib faujdar*.¹²⁹ It was also fortified and Pilaji Rao constructed the fort between 1719-23.¹³⁰ Though this village town did not have a permanent market of its own for its villages

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 585 and *IGI, Baroda*, 1908, pp. 102.

¹²⁶ *IGI, Baroda*, 1908, p. 103.

¹²⁷ *GBP, Baroda*, pp. 585-87.

¹²⁸ *GBP, Baroda*, p. 585 and *JSR, Peta Mahals of Vajpur and Umarpada of the Navsari Division*, Baroda, 1916, p. 1.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹³⁰ *JSR, Peta Mahals of Vajpur and Umarpada of the Navsari Division*, Baroda, 1916, p. 1.

agricultural produce, it had local commodity transactions at the market places in Songadh, Navapur and Sagbara/Sakbara of the Songadh *taluka*.¹³¹

Umarpada: Contemporary sources record Umarpada as another village town of the Vajpur *peta mahal*. It became a separate *peta mahal* in the second decade of the twentieth century. Its significance lies in being the western forest tract of Vajpur *peta mahal* in the vicinity of Songadh *taluka* known for agrarian produce. Though it had no permanent market but the weekly markets contributed to rural-urban dynamism in its locality. The other places with which it had contacts for the transaction of agrarian surplus were Mangrol in Velachha *taluka* of Navsari *prant* and Devgad in Mandvi *taluka* of the British district, Surat.¹³² Umarpada was uninterruptedly connected through fair-weather roads to Kosamba, Bardipada, Khat, Choknada and Sutkheda.¹³³ These places were of significance for agrarian produce transaction at the local level and regularly had *hats/weekly markets*.

Vyara: Though it was the *taluka* headquarters of the same name, Vyara is registered as a small town in 1883 with a population of only 3,701 persons, which increased to 6,117 in 1901.¹³⁴ It was located at 21° 07' N latitude and 73° 27' E longitudes on the Tapti Valley Railway in the Navsari *prant* of the Baroda State. Like any other small town in the region, it too excelled in the trade of agrarian produce. Its import network was located as far as Khandesh and export contact in Surat.¹³⁵ It had a railway station which was located along the Tapti valley railway line. The northern part of the Vyara *taluka* benefited most out of the trade transactions and passenger traffic.¹³⁶ Besides rail line, Vyara *taluka* and the town of Vyara had good road network that was constituted by made and fair-weather tracts. Cart traffic comfortably plied on it. The roads that remained in use are as follows:¹³⁷

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ GBP, Baroda, p. 582 and IGI, Baroda, 1908, p. 103.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ JSR, Vyara Taluka, Baroda, 1907, p. 5.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

Vyara - Unai (20 miles; of which only 4 or 5 miles were metalled)

Vyara - Kanjad (10 miles; partly metalled)

Vyara - Khedawada (12 miles)

Surat - Songadh

Vyara - Chikhli (not metalled) and many cart tracts.

Its historical past reveals that it was a fortified town that housed many buildings, which however were in the dilapidated state at the compilation of these details about this urban settlement.¹³⁸ The only objects of interest here were a *Parsee* tower of Silence and two small-dilapidated forts. Among the public buildings that the town had were *vahivataadar* and *faujdar's* office, munsif's court, a post office, a dispensary, a vernacular school, four regular government schools and boarding schools.¹³⁹ Besides Vyara, the boarding schools were located at Dolvan, Ghani, and Gadad.¹⁴⁰ There were some 125 houses and religious structures like temples and mosque.¹⁴¹ A municipality administered it, with an annual grant from the State that amounted to Rs. 1,100.¹⁴² Besides all these details about Vyara town, one come across the hot springs located in the vicinity at Unai.¹⁴³ A *pucca* tank is recorded, which had religious as well as scientific significance. The hot spring tank contained lime, sulphates, chloride and free ammonia.¹⁴⁴ The relative importance of this place lies in the fair and great gathering that was held every year during the month of *Chaitra* (April-May). People from all walks of life did visit it with the sole purpose of bathing and lucrative business. Paddlers and traders came down from Surat, Bombay, Khandesh, Dangs, Nasik, Bulsar, Bansda, Navsari, Chikhli, Gandevi, Mahuva and other neighbouring districts.¹⁴⁵ The trade transaction was made in *toddy* (maximum), bakeries, spices, dry fruits, eatables, brass and copper rings, glass bangles, head and neck ornaments, bodices and other apparels, caps and metal pots.¹⁴⁶ Besides Unai, the places where fair and festivals used to take place were

¹³⁸ GBP, Baroda, p. 582.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, and JSR, Vyara Taluka, Baroda, 1907, p. 5.

¹⁴⁰ JSR, Vyara Taluka, Baroda, 1907, p. 5.

¹⁴¹ GBP, Baroda, p. 582.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 583.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

Umrat and junction of the Naradganga with the Tapi River. The former was the annual feature and the latter was the once in twelve years. It was held religious equivalent to that of Nasik.¹⁴⁷

Mahuva: One does not trace any thing different from other small towns of the *prant*. It was located on Purna River. It is registered as a *taluka* headquarter with a *vahivatadar* and *faujdar's* office and a vernacular school.¹⁴⁸ This place finds mention as a manufacturing centre of women robes i.e., *sarees* and coarse cloth woven on handlooms.¹⁴⁹ Reference to weekly markets at Mahuva and its vicinity are available in *Jamabandi Survey Settlement Reports* that establishes it as a collection and distribution center in the Mahuva *taluka*. This weekly markets were held at Kankaria, Vehval, Valvada, Karchalia and Dungri, which can be considered as the village towns in the *taluka*.¹⁵⁰ At these *bazaars*, the people of the neighbouring villages assembled to exchange groceries, clothe, trinkets and sundries either with money or grain.¹⁵¹ The chief exports were cotton, juvar and rice. The imports were pieces goods, groceries, iron, brass and copper pots.¹⁵²

Velachha: Like Mahuva, Velachha is also recorded as a small town with *vahivatadar* and *faujdar's* offices.¹⁵³ Its importance lies in being a market town.¹⁵⁴ The Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway passed through the western villages of the Velachha *taluka*.¹⁵⁵ The *taluka* did not have any station. Instead, the station was located at Kim that was not very far and fair-weather roads connected both the places.¹⁵⁶ Velachha's produce in turn had a good market in the markets of Panoli and Ankleshwar that had connectivity to highway through land and rail route.¹⁵⁷

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 581.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ JRS, *Mahuva*, file no. 613, 1895-1918, p. 12.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ GBP, *Baroda*, p. 578.

¹⁵⁴ JRS, *Velachha - Vakal Taluka*, Bombay, 1892, p. 2.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, and GBP, *Baroda*, p. 576.

¹⁵⁶ JRS, *Velachha - Vakal Taluka*, Bombay, 1892, p. 2.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

Vakal: Vakal is recorded as headquarters of the *peta mahal* of the same name in Velachha taluka of Navsari *prant* of the Baroda State.¹⁵⁸ As far as its status as urban settlement is concerned, it can be categorized as a village town and small market town with *mahalkari* and *naib faujdar's* office.¹⁵⁹ It was well connected with Velachha and in turn with Kim, Panoli and Ankleshwar in Broach district.¹⁶⁰

Variav: Variav is another town of lesser significance situated on the north bank of the river Tapti at a distance of about two miles from Surat in Velachha taluka.¹⁶¹ Its inhabitants amounted to 2,963 out of which 1,746 were Hindus, 1,169 Muslims, 18 *Parsees* and 30 Jains.¹⁶² Most of the traders were the Muslini *Bohoras* who were very enterprising. These traders had business connections with the distant places in countries like Mauritius, Singapore, China, and others.¹⁶³ The traders largely imported grain from Khandesh and exported it to Surat.¹⁶⁴ Reference to *dharmshalas*, a large mosque, a post office and a vernacular school existing in this place is found.¹⁶⁵ This place also remained famous for *dholi papdi* or Dolichos lablab, which was of excellent taste.¹⁶⁶

Besides Velachha, Vakal and Variav our sources speak of other village towns in the Velachha-Vakal taluka. These were Mangrol, Hathuran, Kosamba, Libodra and Nani Naroli. The importance of the first four was in the transaction of the agrarian surplus of the taluka but the last one had advantage of mining in iron slags that had market in Gujarat and outside.¹⁶⁷

Kamrej: Kamrej is recorded as a town of middle size with offices of *valivatadar* and *faujdar* in the taluka of the same name.¹⁶⁸ It is located at a distance of 20 miles from the *prant's* headquarter i.e. Navsari on the south bank of the Tapti

¹⁵⁸ GBP, Baroda, p. 578.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, and JRS, Velachha - Vakal Taluka, Bombay, 1892, p. 2.

¹⁶⁰ JRS, Velachha - Vakal Taluka, Bombay, 1892, p. 2.

¹⁶¹ GBP, Baroda, p. 578.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 578-79.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 579.

¹⁶⁷ See table 9 of Chapter I and R. Bruce Foote, *The Geology of Baroda State*, p. 112.

¹⁶⁸ GBP, Baroda, p. 575.

river. Besides the public offices, the town had a vernacular medium school and *dharmshalas*.¹⁶⁹ This place remained popular among the people in *taluka* as well as in the other parts of Gujarat because of the ancient temples where regular annual fairs were held from time to time. These temples belonged to Shri Narad, Brahma, Shri Koteshtar and Shri Mokshanath Mahadev on the bank of the river Tapti.¹⁷⁰ According to 1881 census, it had population of 1,408 persons, of whom 1,266 were Hindus, 119 Musalmans, 7 Parsees and 16 Jains.¹⁷¹ *Vanias* and Brahmins were the two leading communities of this place.¹⁷² In 1891, the number of people increased to 1,721.¹⁷³ This place evidenced growth in course of time. It was possible because the B. B. & C. I. Railway passed through western part of the *taluka* and the local markets were within its easy reach.¹⁷⁴ The nearest railway station to this town was Surat and that was located only at a distance of ten miles.¹⁷⁵ It was joined by Surat through a clear weather road, which got metalled during the last years of the nineteenth century. Besides Surat, it had access to Amroli Railway Station on the Tapti located at a distance of 1 ½ miles and Saen Railway Station. Kamrej had a metalled road connecting to Kathor, Palsana, Navsari, Variav, Sandyar and other places in its vicinity.¹⁷⁶ It is reported that river route also remained in use besides the rail and road routes for passenger and trade traffic. The Tapti River was navigable for small craft and their usage depended on the course of wind.¹⁷⁷ Trade in Kamrej was free of taxes except octroi duties at Kathor, Kamrej and Variav.¹⁷⁸ The traders from Kamrej had exposure to foreign commerce. They traded with Mauritius, Bourbon, the Cape, Natal, China, and the Straits.¹⁷⁹ At the local level, the trade was in grains and oil-seeds with Khandesh and Central India.¹⁸⁰ The chief imports in the town

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

¹⁷³ JRS, *Kamrej Taluka*, 1892, p. 1.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

were household goods and cloth from Bombay and Surat.¹⁸¹ The cloth that was imported from Bombay and Surat was dyed here and exported back to the same places.¹⁸²

Kathor: Kathor is referred as a small town on the northern bank of the river Tapti in the Kamrej *taluka*. The Population consisted of 3,712 persons, of whom 1, 209 were Hindus, 2,256 were Muslims.¹⁸³ This number increased to 4, 819 in 1891 and above 5,000 in 1901 census.¹⁸⁴ Of the Muslims, the *Sunni Bohras* were maximum in number and enterprising by nature. The town had both traders and artisan classes. The artisans excelled in calico printing and manufactured coarse cloth/*khadi* on their handlooms.¹⁸⁵ The trading class had been so enterprising that they had trade relations as far as China and Mauritius.¹⁸⁶ Among the items of export reference to grains, *surangi* and calico prints or coloured clothes is unavoidable.¹⁸⁷ This allowed them to have fabulous business abroad where they stayed for years together and returned from there with huge amount of wealth. The town housed the office of magistrate and *faujdar*, post office, dispensary, *dharmshala*, Gujarati and Urdu schools, a large Jain temple and three mosques of which two are fairly respectable buildings, a *sadar distillery* and permanent market.¹⁸⁸ Besides these buildings and offices, Kathor also remained famous for its vegetable produce. Brinjals, solangum, ovigerum, etc. were exported to Surat, which had large market and incurred very good prices.¹⁸⁹

Besides Kamrej and Kathor, one finds reference to Timba, Kadodra and Gala¹⁹⁰ as village towns, which had periodic markets. These village towns also remained the centre of activity from time to time as the maximum collection and distribution of surplus grains of the *taluka* was carried out.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

¹⁸³ GBP, Baroda, p. 576.

¹⁸⁴ JRS, Kamrej Taluka, 1892, p. 1.

¹⁸⁵ GBP, Baroda, p. 576.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ Gala finds reference as the *pargana* headquarters in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, (tr.), p. 260.

Palsana: Palsana is situated on the river Mindhola at a distance of 9 miles from Navsari. It was the seat of a *vahivatadar* and a *faujdar*. Post office, rest houses, a vernacular Gujarati school, temples, mosques, etc. were other facilities that this small town enjoyed in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.¹⁹¹ The population according to the census of 1881 was estimated to be of 2,375 persons. It comprised 2,326 Hindus, 3 Parsees, and 46 Muslims.¹⁹² The maximum concentration was that of *Desais* and *Anavala Brahmans*. Though the town did not excel in any manufacture, the embroidery work by the *Desai* or *Anavala Brahman* women was highly prized in the Palsana locality and its neighbouring *talukas*.¹⁹³ This work was carried out on a small scale that fulfilled the local needs. Palsana had its own market where transaction was carried out in the surplus grains of the *taluka*. Besides this it made use of the markets of Surat as an extended centre of its surplus.¹⁹⁴ It excelled in cotton trade and had markets for its cotton at Balesar, Bardoli, Vesma, Sabargam, Sisodra, Sania and sometimes at Rander and Surat.¹⁹⁵

Small Urban Centres of the British Districts:

Broach District

Amod: Amod is recorded as *taluka* headquarter with the similar name in the British district of Broach in the nineteenth century documents.¹⁹⁶ It can be considered as a small town,¹⁹⁷ which remained fortified till 1848.¹⁹⁸ Its location can be traced between 21° 59' N latitude and 72° 54' E longitude i.e. thirty miles southwest of Baroda, the capital of erstwhile Gaekwar State. The river Dhadhar flowed at a distance of one mile in its north. Nothing concrete can be stated regarding its population in the first quarter of the nineteenth century as the census figures and number of houses for town is available for the years 1848 and

¹⁹¹ GBP, Baroda, p. 573.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁴ JSR, Palsana Taluka of the Navsari Division, 1892, Baroda, pp. 2-3 in Sir Suba office, file no. 271/50.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁹⁶ Memoir on the Zilla of Baroche, p. 10; Briggs, *The Cities of Gujarashtra*, p. 395 and GBP, Surat and Broach, p. 537.

¹⁹⁷ Letter of N. B. Beyts to J. G. White, Collector of Broach, Appendix R, No. A/584 Of 1876 in RSS of Amod Taluka, p. 28.

¹⁹⁸ Briggs, *The Cities of Gujarashtra*, p. 395 and GBP, Surat and Broach, p. 537.

1874. In 1848 and 1874, the number of houses was 1,812 and 1,922 respectively and the number of inhabitants increased from 4,944 to 5,325 i.e. 7.2%.¹⁹⁹ It remained inhabited by all communities, caste and class categories: like Hindu, Muslim, Christians and government servants, artisans, private servants, traders, cattle dealers, laborers, etc.²⁰⁰ However, the predominant were the *thakors* who were the owners of land.²⁰¹ The land amounted to 21,214 *acres* that incurred annual income of Rs. 80,000.²⁰² The first *Survey Settlement* papers and *Revised Survey Settlement Report of Amod Taluka* record about the iron workers of the Amod town who made knives and razors and about the weavers and dyers who prepared red cloth that was used by ladies in making skirts and *sarees*.²⁰³ The roads from different directions reached Amod. The made roads accounted two; one traversed from Jambusar and passed through it and reached Broach and the other from Amod to the Palej Railway Station. Amod remained a collection and distribution centre of both food grains and cash crop of its 53 villages.²⁰⁴ In fact due to its location on the significant road route i.e., Jambusar-Broach and its access to Palej railway station, a network for internal trade of considerable size was created. Its working is obvious by having a peep in its local markets. The merchants of Palej and Broach controlled the local markets of Amod along with Sarbhon.²⁰⁵ Palej and Broach were situated at a distance of only 14 and 22 miles. Tankari *bandar* remained another favorite spot and served as outlet of the agricultural produce of the cultivators and grain merchants of Amod to the rest of the South Gujarat territory.²⁰⁶ The commodities of trade were cotton, *juvar*,

¹⁹⁹ Letter of N. B. Beyts to J. G. White, Collector of Broach, Appendix R, No. A/584 Of 1876 in *RSS of Amod Taluka*, p. 28 and *GBP, Surat and Broach*, p. 537.

²⁰⁰ Letter of N. B. Beyts to J. G. White, Collector of Broach, Appendix R, No. A/584 Of 1876 in *RSS of Amod Taluka*, p. 29.

²⁰¹ *GBP, Surat and Broach*, p. 537.

²⁰² *Ibid.*

²⁰³ *Ibid.* and Letter of N. B. Beyts to J. G. White, Collector of Broach', Appendix R, No. A/584 Of 1876 in *RSS of Amod Taluka*, p. 28.

²⁰⁴ Letter of N. B. Beyts to J. G. White, Collector of Broach', Appendix R, No. A/584 Of 1876 in *RSS of Amod Taluka*, p. 26. Also see map of Survey Settlement of Amod Taluka, Xerox sheet attached in Appendix of Chapter IV.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

wheat, rice and *tuvar*. The details of the prices of these commodities for the period 1810 to 1874 are given in Table 2.

TABLE 2
Prices of Agricultural Products in Rupees for Period 1810-1874

Product	1810-1820	1833-50	1851-1860	1861-1866	1867-1874	Average of 64 years
Cotton	18	27	24	09	10	18
<i>Juvar</i>	46	68	60	30	30	47
Wheat	41	46	46	21	22	35
Rice	50	62	43	31	27	43
<i>Tuvar</i>	52	54	44	15	15	36

Source: Letter of N. B. Beyts to J. G. White, Collector of Broach', Appendix R, No. A/584 Of 1876 in RSS, *Amod Taluka*, p. 28.

Besides being the center of agricultural trade products, it had public offices like *mamlatdar kutcherry*, residences of *Thakor*, police station and post office.

Ankleshwar: Ankleshwar, located between 21° 37' N latitude and 73° 2' E longitudes finds reference as *mahal* headquarter of *sarkar* Broach in *Ain-i-Akbari*²⁰⁷ and *Supplement of Mirat-i-Ahmadi*²⁰⁸ during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth century respectively. It can be categorized as a medium size urban settlement based on its functional role and demographic data. The functional role of this town has already been traced in Chapter III through the *Memoirs of Monier Williams*, *Survey Settlement Reports*, *Gazetteer Bombay Presidency* and *Revised Survey settlement Reports*. A brief profile is offered about it being a significant inland town of the Broach district, which continuously grew during the nineteenth century. Firstly it was the *taluka* head quarters throughout the century and enjoyed all administrative powers in the territory between 21° 25' and 21° 43' N latitude and 72° 35' and 73° 8' E longitude with an area of 294 sq. miles.²⁰⁹ It was located along Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway at a distance of 6 miles south of Broach.²¹⁰ It was connected with Hansot, which was located 12 miles away towards the western direction, a road running joined it to Nandod that was located at a distance of 9 miles eastward in the Rajpipla

²⁰⁷ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 261.

²⁰⁸ *Supplement of Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, p. 201.

²⁰⁹ *IGI*, Vol. V, 1908, p. 385.

²¹⁰ *GBP, Surat and Broach*, p. 549.

territory.²¹¹ Since the opening of the railway, the trade of the town got increased. The details of the goods traffic from the Ankleshwar railway station are given in Table 3.

TABLE 3
Goods Trade Traffic at Ankleshwar Railway Station

Year	Goods Traffic outward						Goods Traffic Inward					
	Cotton		Grains		Other Articles		Cotton		Grains		Other Articles	
	Tons	Rs.	Tons	Rs.	Tons	Rs.	Tons	Rs.	Tons	Rs.	Tons	Rs.
1867	1037	24,450	422	2,714	3118	24,369	03	40	518	3,461	4144	34,904
1868	1121	21,020	1354	10,259	4295	37,459	54	718	556	3,734	2596	39,970
1869	1260	24,029	604	4,303	4120	34,052	177	2,198	811	4,995	1124	10,297
1870	1793	34,540	594	3,502	5138	37,367	06	75	1147	7,679	3435	21,925
1871	1562	28,153	522	3,206	4360	31,830	28	360	736	5,163	1220	11,356

Source: *Papers Related to the Introduction the Survey settlement into the Broach and Ankleshwar Talukas of the Broach Collectorate, Gujarat, SRBG, No. CXLVI, NS, Bombay, 1874, p. 184.*

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, it acquired the status of chief timber mart of the South Gujarat territory. Its access to Rajpipla territory benefited it through timber trade²¹² and trade in forest produce. The wood that was imported from the Rajpipla territory via Nandod was timber, firewood and bamboos meant for building purposes. The forest produce included wax, honey, hides, drugs and jungle products. It exported piece goods, metals, hardware, salt and other necessary items of life to Nandod. The other chief commodity in which trade transaction was made at Ankleshwar was the cotton. In fact, it became the staple article of trade, which resulted into installation of ginning factories.²¹³ It had three ginning factories in 1882-83. Besides ginning factories, it had factories in making of country soap,²¹⁴ paper²¹⁵ and stone hand-mills²¹⁶. Besides the ordinary sub-divisional revenue and police offices, the town was provided with a subordinate judge's court, a post office, a library, eight schools including an English schools for boys and one for girls. The strength in English

²¹¹ *Ibid.*

²¹² Ankleshwar had timber trade in rafters and bamboos brought from the Rajpipla forests. *Ibid.*

²¹³ *Ibid.*

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*

²¹⁵ Ankleshwar was in 1855 celebrated for its paper manufacture, which gave employment to 400 people. Dr. Buists' notes of a visit to Gujarat in *Transaction of Bombay Geological Society*, XIII, 77.

²¹⁶ GBP, *Surat and Broach*, p. 549.

school was of 576 boys and 98 girls.²¹⁷ The municipality was established in 1876, and had average revenue during the decade ending 1901 of Rs. 20,000.²¹⁸ In 1903-04, the income was Rs. 23,600 derived from octroi (Rs. 8,000) and house and land tax (Rs. 5,600).²¹⁹ From the population aspect, it can be stated about Ankleshwar that it evidenced an increase in number. According to first census, details for 1874 showed that it had some 8,865 persons that got increased to 9,535 in 1881; 10,692 in 1891 and 10,225 in 1901.²²⁰

Hansot: Located between 21° 32' N latitude and 73° 2' E longitudes Hansot, finds reference as a *mahal* headquarter and port of *sarkar* Broach in *Ain-i-Akbari*²²¹ and a *mahal* headquarter in *Supplement of Mirat-i-Ahmadi*²²² for sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth century respectively. It is recorded for the late sixteenth century that there was a park near Hansot abounding with deer and other game, 12 miles long and 6 miles broad, perfectly leveled and covered with verdure.²²³ It was a significant town for both administrative and economic purposes that it continued to enjoy even during the nineteenth century. It was first brought under British rule in 1775, was given back to the Peshwa in 1783, and was again restored to the British in 1803 under the terms of the treaty of Bassein.²²⁴ Monier Williams records it as *pargana* of Broach Collectorate in 1820's with an extent of 18 miles between east and west and about 15 miles between north and South.²²⁵ It was also a seat of an independent revenue officer till 1869.²²⁶ Finally for fiscal purposes it was made a part of the Ankleshwar sub-division.²²⁷ It evidenced change in administrative status as it is recorded as headquarters of the *peta mahal* of the Ankleshwar *taluka* since the second half of the nineteenth century.²²⁸

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, and IGI, Vol. V, 1908, p. 385.

²¹⁸ IGI, Vol. V, 1908, p. 385.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*,

²²⁰ GBP, *Surat and Broach*, p. 549 and IGI, Vol. V, 1908, p. 385.

²²¹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 261.

²²² *Supplement of Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, p. 201.

²²³ Gladwin's *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, 66.

²²⁴ GBP, *Surat and Broach*, p. 563.

²²⁵ *Memoir on the Zilla of Baroche*, p. 4.

²²⁶ GBP, *Surat and Broach*, p. 563.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 545 & 563.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 545.

Hansot contained the office of a *mahalkari*, a post office and a dispensary. It was well connected by a metalled road to Ankleshwar Railway Station and the town proper.²²⁹ This very road was considered very significant in the Broach district because it had connectivity to most part of the British districts in the Gujarat region.²³⁰ There were other significant roads that connected Hansot were with Elav, Bhatta, Panoli Railway Station.²³¹ Like Ankleshwar, Hansot was having the permanent market and it traded in agrarian produce as well as piece goods, metal articles and other necessary things in life.²³² According to the census of 1874 it had some 1,322 houses and a population of 4,102 persons.²³³

Panoli: Panoli is recorded as one of the significant places in Ankleshwar *taluka* with a railway station. The rail route connected Ankleshwar and Panoli along the mainline of Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway. This route increased the trade traffic during the last years of the third quarter of the nineteenth century in Table 4 that helps to assess the growing importance of a small village and thus gaining momentum for becoming an urban centre. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century sources, it is recorded as a small town.

TABLE 4
Goods Trade Traffic at Panoli Railway Station

Year	Goods Traffic outward						Goods Traffic Inward					
	Cotton		Grains		Other Articles		Cotton		Grains		Other Articles	
	Tons	Rs.	Tons	Rs.	Tons	Rs.	Tons	Rs.	Tons	Rs.	Tons	Rs.
1867	03	80	02	06	33	228	-	-	26	83	112	3,127
1868	04	59	98	652	46	276	-	-	06	27	94	59
1869	-	-	-	-	18	120	01	14	76	268	60	353
1870	12	217	60	326	128	481	-	-	39	132	107	711
1871	-	01	73	398	77	332	-	-	08	35	03	20

Source: *Papers related to the Introduction the Survey settlement into the Broach and Ankleshwar Talukas of the Broach Collectorate, Gujarat, SRBG, No. CXLVI, NS, Bombay, 1874, p. 184.*

²²⁹ *Papers Related to the Introduction the Survey Settlement into the Broach and Ankleshwar Talukas of the Broach Collectorate, Gujarat, SRBG No. CXLVI, NS, Bombay, 1874, p. 144.*

²³⁰ *Ibid.*

²³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 144-45.

²³² *Ibid.*, p. 145.

²³³ *GBP, Surat and Broach, p. 563.*

Wagra: Wagra is categorized as a small town that remained the *taluka* headquarters since the second half of the nineteenth century. It was located at 21° 50' N latitude and 72° 53', E longitude. It housed the office of *mamlatdar* and of the court of the subordinate judge.²³⁴ This place did not have anything that could qualify it to be an urban center except it's being the administrative headquarters till the third quarter of the nineteenth century. It was only during the last quarter of the nineteenth century that it evidenced improvement in means of communication in terms of construction of made roads that linked it to Broach, the district headquarters, Amod and Dahej, a port town in its vicinity and iron bridges on Bhuki creek at Bhensali on the Dahej road and Derol on the way to town Amod.²³⁵ As far as its trade transaction activities are concerned, it dealt in agrarian surplus during the fair season.²³⁶ Though it had a few weekly market places, its chief market was at Broach from where the import of necessary items was made by the shopkeepers for day-to-day life. From population point of view it was sparsely inhabited and no concrete information regarding the ginning factory or any such unit is reported. The number of inhabitation in 1872 was only 1,228 that got increased to 3000 in 1901.²³⁷ It therefore can be placed in the category of Village town with administrative headquarters.

Dahej: It is recorded as a *bara*/port in the contemporary sources with historical significance in the British district Broach on the right bank of the Narbada i.e. about 3 miles from the river and 26 miles west of Broach.²³⁸ *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* both refers to it as *bara*, *mahal* headquarters and an urban settlement of considerable significance in *Sarkar* Broach.²³⁹ Its importance as a port town remained quite significant in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. However, it started losing its position in the late eighteenth century. It came under the British in 1780 as the chief town of a small revenue division of twelve

²³⁴ GBP, *Surat and Broach*, p. 569.

²³⁵ RSS, *Vagra Taluka*, 1903, p. 3.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*

²³⁷ GBP, *Surat and Broach*, p. 569.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 560.

²³⁹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 260 and *Supplement of Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, p. 200.

villages.²⁴⁰ It was restored to the Marathas in 1783 and in 1817, under the terms of the Treaty of Poona, was again recovered by the British.²⁴¹ Due to political instability, the port was closed in 1804 and reopened in 1819.²⁴² Monier Williams record it as 'Dahej-bara'.²⁴³ The Dahej port handled boats of not more than 53 ½ tons (150 *khandis*) burden.²⁴⁴ The average annual value of trade at the port of Dahej for five years ending 1871-72 is returned at Rs. 67,740 of export and Rs. 530 of import.²⁴⁵ According to census of 1872, it contained 618 houses and 2,092 inhabitants in its residential area.²⁴⁶ During the late nineteenth century, it started losing its significance as small port town for the obvious reasons of shift in trade through rail route and emergence of Bombay and gradual loosening position of Surat and Broach. However, it is referred to as 'Dehej-Bandar' in *Revision Survey Settlement Reports* of the late nineteenth century.²⁴⁷ It mainly dealt in trade of grains and agrarian items. It did not have any large market in fact Broach served this purpose for it. Owing to the difficulty of carting goods over the extensive muddy bank of the Narbada, the port of Dehej rapidly sank into insignificance. The value of the total yearly average exports and imports which for the 10 years ending 1872 amounted to Rs. 15,00,000 fall below one lakh for the 5 years ending 1898 or to be more exact to Rs. 88,500.²⁴⁸

Gandhar: Gandhar is recorded as a *bara* in the Wagra *taluka* in the nineteenth century sources. This place evidenced phases of development and decay in course of time. *Ain-i-Akbari* records it as *mahal* headquarters as well as a port frequented by vessel during the sixteenth and seventeenth century.²⁴⁹ However, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* does not refer to it as *mahal* headquarters or a port town. In the nineteenth century, Monier Williams²⁵⁰ records it as a *bandar* along with Broach,

²⁴⁰ GBP, Surat and Broach, p. 560.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 561.

²⁴² GBP, Surat and Broach, p. 561.

²⁴³ *Memoir on the Zilla of Baroche*, p. 13.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 560.

²⁴⁷ RSS, Wagra Taluka, 1903, p. 32.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

²⁴⁹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 260.

²⁵⁰ *Memoir on the Zilla of Baroche*, p. 58.

Tankari, Jambusar, Dehgam and Dahej in the Broach Collectorate and *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency* mentions it as maritime city of some significance in the following words:²⁵¹

'... is perhaps the Kandhar on the Gulf of Cambay, said to have been attacked by the Musalmans in one of their early expeditions against western India, when the temple 'bodd' was destroyed, and a mosque built in its place. At the close of the sixteenth century Gandhar (Kandhar) is mentioned as one of the ports connected with the emporium of Broach. About the same time (1546) the city was taken without any resistance, and destroyed by the Portuguese in one of their pillaging expeditions along the shores of the Gulf of Cambay. After the destruction of the town by the Portuguese, the people of Gandhar are said to have gone and settled at Jambusar. According to a local legend, the raja of Gandhar, by his devotion to the worship of the sea, gained a promise that, if he ever stood in need of help the sea god would come to his assistance. After some time the king, wishing to test whether the god would keep to his promise, called upon him to come. The god appeared, but enraged with the king's want of faith, sent a mighty flood, which overflowed the whole. Towards the end of the eighteenth century the place was plundered and burnt by pirates from near Cambay, and in 1790 the lands were overflowed by a very high tide. Owing to the failure of the rains in the next season, the salt was not washed out and sinking into the land did it lasting harm. When surveyed in 1820 the village lands were said to have been uncultivated for fifty years. At the town itself elevated mounds of brick and stone as well as innumerable foundations excavated for building material or in the hope of finding treasure, were found scattered over a space three miles in circumference. Remains of former prosperity were also noticed in noble tanks at the neighbouring village of Keswan, as well as stone bridge and rich tombs of Chanchiwal'.

It was located on the left bank of the Dhadhar River about 4 ½ miles from the Gulf of Cambay. In the late nineteenth century, it is referred as a village town with only 240 houses and a population of 810 persons.²⁵² The obvious reason for its decline from town of eminence to a village is destruction by the Portuguese during the late eighteenth century.²⁵³ The revival of this port/*bara* of the nineteenth century started since the times when Monier Williams recorded about it and details of the custom duties collected here were as follows:²⁵⁴

Years	Custom Duty at Gandhar <i>Bandar</i>		
	<i>Rups.</i>	<i>Qrs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>
1817-18	33,026	0	1 (for 9 months only)
1818-19	39,364	2	3 (for 12 months)
1819-20	26,200	2	59 (for 12 months)

²⁵¹ GBP, *Surat and Broach*, pp. 561-62.

²⁵² *Ibid.*

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 562.

²⁵⁴ *Memoir on the Zilla of Baroche*, p. 58.

Besides it being engaged in maritime trade, it is reported that salt manufacture also took place near Gandhar. At Gandhar and in its neighbourhood salt was manufactured and the saltpans were closed only in 1868.²⁵⁵ After its decline, this place received on an average only six vessels in the period between 1831-1874. The custom duties on an average for this period amounted only to Rs. 659.²⁵⁶ The late nineteenth century sources like *Revision Survey Settlement Reports* do not record it as *bara*; it is simply recorded as a village town. This region evidenced construction of made and unmade roads that brought shifts in the nature of trade, which became completely internal transaction.²⁵⁷

Kavi: Located on the left bank of the Mahi River, Kavi is recorded as a small town and a place of pilgrimage for Jains and *shravaks* in the Jambusar *taluka* of Broach district.²⁵⁸ In the past it enjoyed glory as being one of the *thana* of Jambusar *pargana* in *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* period i.e., c.1760.²⁵⁹ It can be considered as a pilgrim center that enjoyed trade activity on occasions of fairs. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the inhabitants had some 1,500 houses and their population was only 4,500 according to the census carried out in 1872.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁵ GBP, *Surat and Brouch*, p. 562.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁷ RSS, *Vagra Taluka*, p. 32.

²⁵⁸ '...there are two temples of comparatively recent date. They are said to have been erected by merchants of Cambay in honour of two marriages; one of them is called, after the mother-in-law, *sasu*, and the other, after the daughter-in-law, *vahu*. The inner chamber of the mother-in-law's temple is twelve feet square and twenty-five feet high. It is entered by a door seven feet high and four feet wide. The daughter-in-law's temple has a door about six feet high and three and a half feet wide. Both of these buildings are surrounded by walls. There is no special day for visiting Kavi. Jain pilgrims, sometimes singly, sometimes in bands of from fifty to 200, pass through Kavi temples receive no grant from government. They are managed by the Jain community. The revenue are kept by a banker in Jambusar, who meets any charge that may be required for repairs. The story about the origin of the two temples at Kavi, is, that the mother-in-law of a rich Cambay merchant built the first temple. When finished, she went her with her daughter to see it. But the daughter was tall, and as she entered struck her head against the gate. She reproached her mother with the meanness of the entrance, who, in reply, advised her to built something better. On her return to Cambay the daughter went to her father and asked him to let her have money to build a temple. He agreed, promising to give her the profits of the cargoes of seven ships. The profits turned out to be Rs. 11,00,000, and with this sum the second temple was built'. GBP, *Surat and Brouch*, pp. 566-67.

²⁵⁹ *Supplement of Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, p. 200.

²⁶⁰ GBP, *Surat and Brouch*, p. 566.

Dehegam: It is referred to in Persian chronicles, travelers' accounts and archival sources as a port town of maritime significance.²⁶¹ Dehegam is located on the left bank of the Mahi, i.e. about a mile from the mouth of the river in Jambusar *taluka* of Broach district. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* refers to it as a *pargana* headquarters and as a *bara* with the revenue of 12 villages and a *thana* of Lohara under its control.²⁶² In the nineteenth century, Monier Williams registers it as a *bandar* of significance along with Tankari and Jambusar in Broach district with the limitation that these ports transacted commodities but had less trade or no trade with foreign countries. The commodities from this *bandar* were carried to Bombay and thence further.²⁶³ The details of custom duties of Dehegam for the period 1817-20 are given below:²⁶⁴

Years	Custom Duty at Dehegam <i>Bandar</i>		
	<i>Rups</i>	<i>Qrs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>
1817-18	186	3	90 (for 9 months only)
1818-19	779	0	40 (for 12 months)
1819-20	1,178	2	16 (for 12 months)

The average annual value of trade of the port of the Dehegam from 1867-72 is estimated at Rs. 51,350 for export items and Rs. 89,720 for import articles.²⁶⁵ In fact, the Dehegam port also evidenced shifts in trade due to the entry of railways in Gujarat and in Jambusar *taluka*. It is recorded in *Revision Survey Settlement Reports* of Jambusar *taluka* that business in this port declined very much as all the merchandise of north-eastern Gujarat and Malwa, which used to flow through it got diverted by B. B. & C. I. Railway, except a portion of local trade. The comparison of export- import trade in the pre-railway and railway period during the nineteenth century gives the following picture through the Table 5. The chief items of import were timber, cloth and sugar while the chief export items were grain, cotton and *ghee*.²⁶⁶

²⁶¹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 260; *Supplement of Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, p. 200; *Memoir on the Zilla of Baroche*, p. 58 and *GBP, Surat and Broach*, p. 560.

²⁶² *Supplement of Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, p. 200.

²⁶³ *Memoir on the Zilla of Baroche*, p. 57.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

²⁶⁵ *GBP, Surat and Broach*, p. 560.

²⁶⁶ *RSS, Jambusar Taluka*, p. 41.

TABLE 5
Comparison of Import and Export Trade of Dehgam in Nineteenth Century in
Pre-railway and Railway Period

Trade	Pre-Railway Period c. 1850 in Rs	Railway Period c.1885-c.1900 in Rs	Decrease %
Import	61,003	11,756	(-) 80.72%
Export	2,07,577	60,033	(-) 70.08%
Total	2,68,580	71,789	(-) 73.27%

Source: RSS, *Jambusar Taluka*, p. 41.

The decline of import and export trade was very sharp leading to decline of more than 70%. In spite of this decline in import and export, it is recorded as the permanent marketplace and catered the needs of the villages of Jambusar *taluka* throughout the nineteenth century.²⁶⁷ Thus, by the end of nineteenth century, Dehgam got transformed to a small port town with lesser significance and market town of regional importance.

Tankari: It is the second port of significance in Jambusar *taluka* in historical past including the nineteenth century.²⁶⁸ It was situated in Broach district on the eastern side of a small creek, which stroked northward for about 5 miles from the right bank of the river Dhadhar and about 7 miles from the mouth of that river.²⁶⁹ The geographical location made the navigation difficult during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and it was possible to navigate only during high tides. During the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century, it remained involved in brisk maritime trade. Before offering its maritime potential, a brief historical profile of this port town becomes mandatory because it is registered in nineteenth century as a port of eminence next to Broach in the Broach district.²⁷⁰ It finds reference in both *Ain-i-Akbari*, and *Supplement of Mirat-i-Ahmadi* as a port town. Monier Williams mentions it along with Broach, Dahej, Gandhar and Dehgam.²⁷¹ Its volume of trade was quite significant and the details of the custom duties are given below:²⁷²

²⁶⁷ RSS, *Jambusar Taluka*, p. 41.

²⁶⁸ Alexander Mackay, *Western India*, pp. 254-55 and GBP, *Surat and Broach*, p. 569.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁰ RSS, *Jambusar Taluka*, p. 41.

²⁷¹ *Memoirs on the Zilla of Baroche*, p. 57.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 58.

Years	Custom Duty at Tankari Bandar	
	Rups.	Qrs. Rs.
1817-18	33,026	0 01 (for 9 months only)
1818-19	39,364	2 03 (for 12 months)
1819-20	26,200	2 59 (for 12 months)

Besides the maritime trade, it also indulged in exporting of the opium of Malwa as well as of cotton and grain of Jambusar and Amod.²⁷³ Like Dehgam, Tankari also received a setback in its maritime activity with the introduction of railways. The trade got concentrated to internal trade through rail and road route. The trade returns for the year (1874-75) show a total of exports worth Rs. 2,80,980 while the total of import amounted to Rs. 16,38,880.²⁷⁴ A comparison of import-export trade is drawn in Table 6 for the pre-railway and railway period in the nineteenth century.

TABLE 6
Comparison of Import and Export Trade of Tankari in Nineteenth Century in
Pre-railway and Railway Period

Trade	Pre-Railway Period c. 1850 In Rs	Railway Period c.1885- c.1900 In Rs	Decrease %
Import	3,56,294	2,76,321	(-) 22.44%
Export	41,85,770	12,03,215	(-) 71.25%
Total	45,42,064	14,79,536	(-) 67.42%

Source: RSS, Jambusar Taluka, p. 41.

The table reveals that there was decrease in import amounting to 22% and in export almost 71%. The local trade was carried in grain, cotton and *ghee* whereas the import of timber, cloth and sugar was profitable. Tankari was well connected to Jambusar railway station through metalled road that helped in internal trade transaction. It also had the permanent market other than Dehgam and Jambusar and therefore also emerged as collection and distribution centre of agrarian surplus in the *taluka*.²⁷⁵

Jambusar: Jambusar traces its existence as an administrative headquarters since mid-eighteenth century. It is referred as *pargana* headquarters in *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* and headquarters of the northern *taluka* of Broach district during the nineteenth

²⁷³ GBP, Surat and Broach, p. 569.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁵ RSS, Jambusar Taluka, p. 41.

century.²⁷⁶ It lies at 22° 3' N latitude and 72° 48' E longitudes i.e., 5 miles north of the river Dhadhar on slight elevation in good natural environment with rich mangroves.²⁷⁷ It was brought under the control of British in 1775 and remained under their control till 1783 when it was given to Marathas by the treaty of Purandhar; it remained with Marathas/Peshwas till 1817 and finally was brought under British control in 1817 by the Treaty of Poona.²⁷⁸ In 1783 Mr. Callendar built a fort that was probably used as *thana*. The fort started decaying by the second half of the nineteenth century.²⁷⁹ In the last quarter of the nineteenth century this structure housed the treasury, the civil courts, and other government offices.²⁸⁰ Besides this fortified structure one finds reference to lofty houses and ordinary houses in the old quarter of the Jambusar town. There were in all 4,275 well-built houses; out of that 2,690 were of the first class; 1,360 of the second and 225 of the third classes.²⁸¹ Among other places that need mention in nineteenth century context are the public buildings and religious structures. The public buildings included *mamlatdar's* office, municipal and post offices, dispensary, *sadawarat*/charitable trust and three rest houses.²⁸² The municipality in Jambusar came to existence in 1856. Since then it carried out repair work and construction of streets and water tanks for supply to residential areas.²⁸³ The municipality, established in 1856 had an average income of about Rs. 12000 during the decade ending 1901.²⁸⁴ In 1903-04 the income was Rs. 13,900, including grants of Rs. 2,000 from government for education. The town also had 7 schools. Six of them were (including an English school) for boys and one for girls. The size and demographic figures qualify it as a medium size town during

²⁷⁶ *Supplement of Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, p. 200; *GBP, Surat and Broach*, p. 563 and *IGI*, Vol. XIV, Oxford, 1908, p. 44.

²⁷⁷ 'To the north of the town is a lake of considerable size sacred to Nageshwar, or the snake-god, with richly-wooded banks, and in the centre of the water a small island about forty feet in diameter overgrown with mango and other trees'. *GBP, Surat and Broach*, p. 563 and *IGI*, Vol. XIV, Oxford, 1908, p. 44.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁹ *GBP, Surat and Broach*, p. 563.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*

²⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 565.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁴ *IGI*, Vol. XIV, Oxford, 1908, p. 45.

the nineteenth century. Its population fluctuated sharply through out the nineteenth century. For instance in 1817 there were 10,474 souls; in 1849 they stood 12,051; in 1872 14,924 inhabitants and in 1901 there number fall to 10,181.²⁸⁵ The reason for decline was the retardation in trading activity. If one surveys Jambusar as a trade centre finds that it was a very prosperous town of the Broach district in the second half of the eighteenth century, which gradually lost its position during the second quarter of the nineteenth century.²⁸⁶ The growth and decay of this place was based mainly on two factors. These were the trade and commerce activity at Broach and Tankari and shift of trade from water to rail route since 1861. Broach and Tankari were the maritime ports; and Jambusar had fabulous business because of its location as a connecting point between them and their hinterland localities. One can make out the significance of Tankari for Jambusar from the *Memoirs on Zilla Baroache* written by Monier Williams. While registering the custom dues for Tankari he record the details for Tankari and Jambusar interchangeably.²⁸⁷ The custom dues of Jambusar/Tankari have been stated in the discussion above in Tankari/Tankaree. The comparison of export import trade in the first, second and third quarter clearly reveals the declining trend. In the third and fourth decade of the nineteenth century i.e. 1837-47, the average export and import trade amounted to Rs. 70,09,140 that got reduced to Rs. 16,38,880 in 1874. It means decrease of approximately 76%. Beside this Jambusar also lost its prospects of sea trade due to its connectivity to B. B. & C. I. Railway through Palej Railway Station to Bombay. Palej Railway Station was only 18 miles from Jambusar and Jambusar was well connected with Palej through metalled road. Jambusar had good connectivity with Broach as well through road route. Hence it emerged as a potent centre in supply of agrarian

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 563-64 and *JGI*, Vol. XIV, Oxford, 1908, p. 44.

²⁸⁶ 'Since it first came under British rule, the importance of Jambusar as a centre of trade would seem, on the whole, to have fallen off. In 1777 Mr. Callendar, at that time Collector of Jambusar, estimated its population at from twenty to twenty-five thousand souls, but this was only a rough calculation, as no special enumeration had then been made. In 1788 Dr. Hove described the streets as containing 'elegant house, some no less than three stories high, and very neat in regard to cleanliness'. Indigo was then one of the chief articles of trade'. Hove's *Tour's*, p. 91 in *GBP, Surat and Broach*, p. 564.

²⁸⁷ *Memoir on the Zilla of Baroche*, p. 58.

surplus and other goods from its hinterland to Broach and Surat that were in turn extended to Bombay. This process of growth in Jambusar neighbourhood gave it a set back in its old established sea trade. However this development cannot be taken completely negative as it opened new vistas for the growth process, which is quite evident in demographic figures and new industrial opportunities, which this town evidenced in late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Jambusar records the existence of industry related to export of raw cotton.²⁸⁸ It had three ginning factories where cotton was half pressed into bales.²⁸⁹ During some 14,963 bales/2,672 tons of cotton was exported by rail from Palej Station.²⁹⁰ Besides cotton trade, tanning and manufacture of leather and calico printing also survived as a significant industry.²⁹¹ The other small-scale units were of ivory, armlets and toys.²⁹² Jambusar had a network of roads both made and unmade connecting it to village towns like Dumas, Variav, Palej etc that were traversed for rural trade as Jambusar had both permanent market and periodic markets for particulars commodities.²⁹³ *Vanias* were the predominant merchant class of all orders in the town, who indulged in commerce as well as local trade from being the moneychanger to petty shopkeeper and peddler.²⁹⁴

Gajera: Located on the northeastern frontier of the Broach district and about six miles northeast of Jambusar town, Gajera finds reference since eighteenth century as a town with magnificent buildings. Nothing is mentioned about its productive or trade potential in our sources except the residential houses number and people's accounts. The *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency* records as follows: "In 1788 Gajera, then protected by a wall, was described as 'the first town in these districts for elegant houses and magnificent buildings.'²⁹⁵ In 1849, the place contained 1,175 houses of which 329 were deserted and a population of 3,654

²⁸⁸ GBP, *Surat and Broach*, p. 564.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*

²⁹² *Ibid.*

²⁹³ RSS, *Jambusar Taluka*, pp. 40-41.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

²⁹⁵ *Hove's Tours*, p. 91 in GBP, *Surat and Broach*, p. 563.

souls. At the time the walls had already been allowed to fall into decay though the memory of attacks of freebooters was still fresh in the people's minds".²⁹⁶ In 1874, the number of houses in this town of lesser importance was 1,349 with 4,037 inhabitants.²⁹⁷

Kanwa, Vedach and Devjagam find reference as pilgrim towns where fairs were held once or twice a year. During these occasions, these places used to evidence hectic activity when people from the neighbourhood and far places in Gujarat visited. Hindus revered Kanwa. Its permanent inhabitants accounted to 2,634 and their number used to increase by 5,00 or more on the festival occasion.²⁹⁸ Devjagam was also a Hindu pilgrimage in the Jambusar *taluka* at the mouth of the Dhadhar river.²⁹⁹ Fairs were held twice a year in the month of April and November at this village. Around 200 people from other places attended this fair festival.³⁰⁰

Broach: Broach is a well-known urban settlement of large size.³⁰¹ It was the district as well as *taluka* headquarters during the nineteenth century. It had network through rail and road route all over Gujarat and in Bombay Presidency. Almost all the urban and rural settlement looked towards it for economic growth. As our study concentrates on medium and small size urban settlements, the lengthy details are therefore not taken into account but the discussion about Broach in the present chapter and earlier chapters clearly establishes the horizontal and vertical mobility. Broach was the fulcrum of all economic, political and social activities in the Broach district territory. The Broach *taluka* territory had village towns, market towns and railway station town. Bhadbhut,³⁰² Karod³⁰³ and Shuklateerth³⁰⁴ were significant for Hindu population

²⁹⁶ Mr. Richardson's Report-dated February 2, 1848 in *GBP, Surat and Broach*, p. 563.

²⁹⁷ *GBP, Surat and Broach*, p. 563.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 565.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 561.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁰¹ H. G. Briggs, *The Cities of Gujarashtra*, Bombay, 1849, pp. 390-402 and Alexander Mackay, *Western India*, pp. 251-54.

³⁰² *GBP, Surat and Broach*, pp. 550-51.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 565-66.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 567-69.

and Bawa Rustam³⁰⁵ for Muslims as pilgrim centres. Fair markets were held at these places also. Palej was a significant railway station town and Tankaria and Chamargam the market towns.

SURAT DISTRICT

Olpad:³⁰⁶ *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* traces the existence of Olpad as *pargana* headquarters of the *sarkar* Broach during the seventeenth and eighteenth century.³⁰⁷ *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* refers to it as Orhar³⁰⁸ and the nineteenth century sources refer to it as a small town and *taluka* headquarters with offices of a revenue officer, a subordinate judge's court, a police office, a dispensary, a post office and schools in Surat district.³⁰⁹ In 1877, this town had some 1,176 houses with 4,001 inhabitants that got reduced to 793 houses and 3,275 inhabitants.³¹⁰ The reason of decrease in population lies in the famine that affected the town in the late nineteenth century. Olpad had its permanent market where agrarian produce of the Olpad *taluka* was brought but the produce was so much that the merchants of Olpad were not in position to purchase it and could export it elsewhere. Hence Olpad developed its market region mainly at two places: Rander and Surat city.³¹¹

Olpad *taluka* did not have made roads till the first half of the nineteenth century. Olpad was connected to other places in its *taluka* and beyond it by fair-weather roads. In post 1868 period, Olpad *taluka* evidenced construction of made roads. The first ran between Kudrama to Rander via Olpad, the second from the bank of Tapti to Bhatta and the third from Kudiana (salt-pan) to Rander.³¹² After the introduction of railways in Gujarat, Olpad benefited through rail connectivity. The rail route crossed the *taluka* territory. Rail feeders were constructed between Kim and Vadoli and Saen to Olpad.³¹³ These routes were

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 548-49.

³⁰⁶ It is located at 21° 0' N latitude and 72° 47' E longitudes.

³⁰⁷ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 260 and *Supplement of Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, p. 200.

³⁰⁸ *Supplement of Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, p. 200.

³⁰⁹ *GBP, Surat and Broach*, p. 298.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, and *Census of India, 1901, Vol. IX-B, Bombay, Pt. III, Provincial Tables, Bombay, 1902*, pp. 2-3.

³¹¹ *RSS, Olpad Taluka*, p. 36.

³¹² *Ibid.*, p. 35.

³¹³ *Ibid.*

used for transporting the agricultural produce to Rander, which was *taluka's* market town.³¹⁴ In this way, Olpad *taluka* had three railway stations: Kim, Saen and Amroli. The post-1868 period also evidenced the construction of a bridge over Kim near Elav.³¹⁵ The Kim River was navigable and the boat route over Kim contributed in carrying vegetables and garden produce to Surat.³¹⁶ Olpad *taluka* had Bhagva as its port.³¹⁷ It is recorded as *bara* in the contemporary sources. This port was used for postal communications, transportation of fuel and grains between Bombay, Surat, and Goga.³¹⁸ Besides Rander and Surat city, the produce of Olpad *taluka* had its market at Kim, Saen, Variav and Kathor. Thus, a description of Olpad *taluka's* economic profile suggests that, besides Olpad, there were also other small towns namely Kim, Saen, Amroli, Bhagva, Vadoli, Kudrama and Kudiana.

Mandvi:³¹⁹ Mandvi is recorded as a small town and the *taluka* headquarter of same name with a municipality. As far as the public and general facilities are concerned, the town had sub-divisional revenue and police offices, a post office, a dispensary and schools till 1877.³²⁰ The income of Mandvi municipality in 1874-75 was Rs. 4,460, representing a taxation of Re. 1/- per head of the total population.³²¹ The pre-1872 period does not record much details of the roads except that the road routes were fairly well made and some of the roads and rail routes that became operational and connected Mandvi town to other places in Mandvi *taluka* and other important places in South Gujarat. The roads were the railway feeders and made roads. The railway feeder ran from the Kim station of the B. B. & C. I. Railway to Tarkeshwar through Gaekwad Gala *pargana* via Bhatkol and thence to Mandvi through Nogama, Jurpur and Kusal villages.³²²

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, also see Alexander Mackay, *Western India*, pp. 235-36.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*

³¹⁹ It is located at 21° 16' N latitude and 73° 21' E longitudes.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*

³²¹ *Ibid.*

³²² *RSS, Mandvi Taluka*, p. 42.

Some of the other roads ran from Mandvi towards north through Tarsara, Khurad to Visdalia; others from Mandvi to Karwarah in Baroda State via Dudhvada and Pipulvada.³²³ The public facilities further improved in the post-1877 period. The new road network that emerged in the period between 1872-1900 was metalled and constructed by *Taluka* Local Board. These roads ran between Mandvi and Devgad, Aretha and Bodhan, Fulvadi and Maldha, Mandvi and Vareth, Usked Khurad and Amalsari and between Moti Cher and Godvah.³²⁴ The market towns recorded for Mandvi *taluka* and its villages in pre-1872 period were Tarkeshwar, Bodhan and Devgad besides Mandvi. Tarkeshwar, Bodhan and Mandvi are recorded for having a permanent market whereas Devgad was known for a weekly market that was held on every Thursday.³²⁵ In the late nineteenth century, sources spell of more weekly markets that generated lucrative trade in the Mandvi *taluka*. Besides Tarkeshwar and Bodhan, a weekly market was held at Sarkui and fair markets at Dharampor and Bodhan.³²⁶ Bodhan had a fair that used to fall after twelve years.³²⁷ This fair festival lasted for one year. People from the districts like Surat, Broach, Ahmedabad, Baroda, Rajpipla, etc. visited this place on this occasion. The trade that was carried here dealt in copper and bronze vessels, sweetmeats, miscellaneous merchandise, etc.³²⁸ This trade on an average incurred Rs. 1000 to Rs. 1,200.³²⁹ From the population point of view, Mandvi and Bodhan can be classified as important small towns. In 1872, Mandvi had 1,171 houses.³³⁰ These houses had 4,430 inhabitants that got reduced to 4,142 in 1901 whereas Bodhan had 3,305 people during 1872.³³¹

³²³ *Ibid.*

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

³²⁷ *GBP, Surat and Broach*, p. 298.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*

³³⁰ *GBP, Surat and Broach*, p. 298.

³³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 298 and *Census of India, 1901, Vol. IX-B, Bombay, Pt. III, Provincial Tables, Bombay, 1902*, pp. 2-3.

Bardoli: Bardoli is referred to as a small town and the *taluka* headquarters of the same name in Surat district. It is situated at 21° 8' N latitude and 73° 9' E longitudes.³³² Surat city was only 19 miles away from Bardoli along the Tapti Valley Railway line.³³³ The town had office of a sub-divisional revenue officer, a police office, a post office, 5 schools and a dispensary.³³⁴ In the pre-1865 period, one does not find reference to too many roads or even to made roads connecting Bardoli with its *talukas* villages or the places beyond it. However, reference to clear road network is available. The clear roads in the Bardoli *taluka* are as follows:³³⁵

1. Pardi-Vaga to Vadoli
2. Sarbhon to Valod
3. Bardoli *qasba* to Khandesh via Tajpur, Khurad, Hindola, Manekpur and Kamalchod traverse the entire Surat district from west to east, and is very excellent line connecting these to Khandesh
4. From the skirts of the bank of Tapti, passing through Vaghecha, Bhamaia and Uchrel to Kadod and thence via Miavadi to the Mandvi fort.

The late nineteenth century registered improvements in the road networks when clear roads were constructed. These include roads that ran between Kalliawadi and Kadod and between Bardoli and Navsari Railway Station.³³⁶ Besides road network, Bardoli became the part of railway network during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The line that ran between Surat and Nandurbar passed through the territory of Bardoli *taluka*.³³⁷ Bardoli had access to Navsari and Surat that were its large markets for agrarian surplus whereas Bardoli *qasba*, Sarbhon, Kadod, Mota, Vankaner, Valod and Buhari *qasba* were its relatively small markets.³³⁸ Sarbhon, Kadod, Mota, Vankaner and Valod were the small towns with potent markets of the agrarian produce in the Bardoli *taluka*. The population of Bardoli town in 1901 was 5,172.³³⁹

³³² GBP, *Surat and Broach*, p. 297.

³³³ IGI, Vol. VI, 1908, p. 432.

³³⁴ GBP, *Surat and Broach*, pp. 297-98.

³³⁵ RSS, *Bardoli Taluka*, p. 44.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 5 & 44.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

³³⁹ IGI, Vol. VI, 1908, p. 432.

Jalalpur: Jalalpur is recorded as *taluka* headquarter of the same name in the late nineteenth century and earlier as Supa *taluka* and a village town.³⁴⁰ It is located at 20° 55'N latitude and 72° 55' E longitudes.³⁴¹ Jalalpur housed a sub-divisional revenue office, a police office, schools and a post office at the end of third quarter of the nineteenth century.³⁴² The component of urbanism traced in Jalalpur seems to be very marginal as it had a very small number of inhabitants and they were mainly cultivators. The *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency* mentions it with 475 houses and only 2,162 inhabitants in 1872.³⁴³ It is surprising that though the *taluka* headquarter finds mention as a village town the *taluka* is recorded to have the best communication network among all the districts of Gujarat.³⁴⁴ The road and rail network connected it with the local as well as the distant market towns.³⁴⁵ The three railway stations that were the means of carrying its agricultural produce to distant places were Navsari, Amalsar and Bilimora.³⁴⁶ As far as road network is concerned, Jalalpur *taluka* was connected with a metalled road to Navsari, which was 1 2/3 miles in length. Similarly, another metalled road traversed Amalsar.³⁴⁷ The other road that reached railway station was the Jalalpur-Vedchha station road.³⁴⁸ Besides the station roads, small roads that were bridged and gravelled also find mention. The details of the local road network are provided in the Table given below:

³⁴⁰ GBP, *Surat and Broach*, p. 298.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*

³⁴² *Ibid.*

³⁴³ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁴ RSS, *Jalalpur Taluka*, Appendix R & p. 2.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 5 of 1899, p. 5.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

TABLE 7

From	Destination To	Length in Miles.	Metalled	Gravelled	Bridged	Partly Bridged.
Road from Navsari Station to Jalalpur and Kanbi vad		1 2/3	Metalled	-	Bridged	-
Road from Navsari frontier to Kabilpur Junction and thence to Purna River including Kaliawari Dispensary branch.		6 2/3	-	Partly gravelled	Do	-
Road from Kabilpur Junction to Ambika River		9	-	Do	Do	-
Road from Panar to Amalsar		3 1/3	-	-	Do	-
Road from Matwad Karadi to Uga		15	-	-	Do	-
Road from Navsari station to At		7	-	Partly gravelled	Do	-
Road from Jalalpur to Salej		5 1/3	-	Do	-	Partly Bridged
Road from Hansanpur Junction to Abrama		5	-	-	-	Do
Road from Abrama to Amalsad		5	-	Partly gravelled	Bridged	-
Road from Jalalpur to Eru via Purneshvar Mahadev		2	-	Do	-	Partly Bridged
Road from Arda to Supa		3	-	-	-	Do
Road from Satem to Astgam		4 1/2	-	Partly gravelled	-	Do
Road from Virvadi to Maldhara		2	-	-	-	-
Road from Amalsad station to Amalsad village		1/2	-	Gravelled	Bridge	-
Road from Kaliawari to Desaivad		1/2	Metalled	-	-	-
Road from Vedchha station to Abrama		2	-	-	-	Partly Bridged

Source: RSS, *Jalalpur Taluka*, No. 5 of 1899, p. 5.

As far as local market network for the Jalalpur *taluka* is concerned, it had markets at Jalalpur, Abrama, At, Sisodra, Supa, Astgam, Satem, and Munsad.³⁴⁹ Jalalpur had market for its produce as far as North Gujarat.³⁵⁰ The mangoes produced in Jalalpur had great demand in Navsari. As a result, many *Parsees* of Navsari showed interest in the growing of mango trees and they converted the cultivable land at Vijalpur and Jalalpur in garden lands.³⁵¹

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*

Chikhli: Like Jalalpur, Chikhli is also recorded as *taluka* headquarters of the same name and a small town.³⁵² It is located at 20° 46'N latitude and 73° 9' E longitudes.³⁵³ Chikhli housed ordinary sub-divisional revenue and police offices, a post office and a dispensary.³⁵⁴ In the pre-1865 period, one does not find reference to a very good network of communication. However, Chikhli town had accessibility of two railway stations—one at Bilimora and the other at Dungri.³⁵⁵ In order to reach these two places, there were no good road tracts and the commuters faced difficulties. These roads remained unmade and attempts were being made for the betterment of the road routes.³⁵⁶ The post-1865 period evidenced numerous improvements as a result of the efforts of Colonel Prescott. A metalled and bridged road traversed between Chikhli and Bansda. This road was 13 ½ miles in length. The other small roads, which were clear roads, ran between Thala to Matwad that reached Navsari; Surkhai to Unai Mata; Ohud to *qasba* Chikhli; Kher gaum to Chikhli and thence Pipal gabhan.³⁵⁷ Chikhli had a permanent market but it was not very important as a market town. Instead, it had its reach to the markets at Gandevi, Bulsar, Bilimora and Amalsar.³⁵⁸ Chikhli 'gur' had a good market both at Broach and Surat.³⁵⁹ The traders used to visit at the place of production, bargained and carried the *gur* through the railway route at fixed rates.³⁶⁰ Chikhli town had some 770 houses in 1872 inhabited by 3,054 persons that got increased to 4,041 in 1891 and 4,440 in 1901.³⁶¹ Thus, from the demographic point of view, it remained a small town with more of rural characteristics.

Chorasi taluka:³⁶² It is recorded as an administrative unit of eighty-four villages³⁶³ and two towns of historical eminence.³⁶⁴ These were Surat³⁶⁵ and

³⁵² GBP, *Surat and Broach*, p. 298.

³⁵³ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁵ RSS, *Chikhli Taluka*, p. 48.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 7 and IGI, Vol. X, 1908, p. 221.

³⁶² Central *taluka* of Surat district, Bombay, lying between 21° 02' and 21° 17' N. latitude and 72° 42' and 72° 59' E longitudes with an area of 102 square miles... The *taluka* forms a richly wooded plain, with

Rander³⁶⁶ both being *bandars* and the entrepôts of the Surat district during the nineteenth century as well.³⁶⁷ Besides Surat and Rander, some of the villages that grew in size and economic activity acquired the status of village towns. Chorasi *taluka* benefited most due to the vital role played by Surat and Rander and the local trade that the *taluka* evidenced throughout the century. In other words, it can be stated that Chorasi *taluka* remained the collection and distribution centre of agrarian produce of the villages whereas the *taluka's* towns i.e. Surat, a city and Rander, a middle size town, contributed to the transaction of the agrarian produce to the distant places leading to overall growth of the *taluka*. Detailed information on local trade is available in *Survey Settlement Reports* of the nineteenth century. Before tracing the local trade network, a few lines on road and rail communication are necessary for better understanding of the region that was generative in terms of production as well as transaction. By the end of first survey of land settlement, the *taluka* had both rail and road communication. The B. B. & C. I. Railway ran straight from the south to north. It had two railway stations—one at Surat and the other at Maroli. Sachin was beyond the territories of the *taluka* although it served the purpose of transaction for goods and passenger traffic. Metalled road also ran in length and breadth. The only macadamized road in the Gujarat province during the third quarter of the nineteenth century was the road between Surat and Dumas.³⁶⁸ By 1896, the communication facilities improved further with the addition of roads made by the grant of the local funds. The road network now connected the interiors of the *taluka* with Surat and Rander and also other important town settlements of the South Gujarat territory and even beyond it. The shorter roads that came to into

highly cultivated fields enclosed with hedges. With the exception of the Tapi, which forms the northern boundary for about 18 miles, there is no river of importance, and the water supply is defective, owing to the smallness of the village reservoirs and the brackishness of the well water. *IGI*, Vol. X, 1908, pp. 327-28.

³⁶³ For categorization and details on these 84 villages of Chorasi *taluka* see *RSS, Chorasi Taluka*, pp. 31-33.

³⁶⁴ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 261 and *Supplement of Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, p. 214. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* records it as *pargana* in Surat *sarkar*.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.* Both *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* records it as city in *Sarkar* Surat.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.* Both *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* records it as *pargana* headquarters and a port town of Surat *Sarkar*.

³⁶⁷ *RSS, Chorasi Taluka*, p. 34.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

existence between 1866-1896 were from Surat to Bardoli; from Surat to Olpad and from Rander to Bhimpur, Veracha, Sachin, Ved and Bhatta.³⁶⁹ Besides the land trade facility, the region had waterborne trade that was conducted from Rander and Surat. The waterborne trade was done through the sea as well as the Tapti river. We have already got an idea of Surat's sea-trade from the discussion in Chapter III. Our stress in this section will be now on Rander's sea-borne and river-borne local trade. It is recorded in the *Survey Settlement Reports* that "all the villages on the banks of the Tapti or within its proximity by a mile or two, have the benefit of boat communication with Surat and a large portion of garden produce was retailed in the fruit and vegetable markets."³⁷⁰ In the first half of the nineteenth century, Rander is recorded as the outlet for the cotton export of the *taluka* of Surat Collectorate.³⁷¹ As far as market capabilities of the *taluka* are concerned, it finds to be the main markets. Besides Surat and Rander, it had access to Navsari in the Gaekwad territory.

Surat: Many scholars have attempted the evaluation of trade potential, urban capacities and urban social structure of Surat city for the nineteenth century.³⁷² I will name only the work of V. A. Janaki in particular, because it helps in strengthening the argument that is developed in this thesis.³⁷³ The description of Surat city cannot be included in our discussion as it falls apart from the compass of this study, which deals only with middle and small size settlements (my emphasis). Thus, not going into the details of Surat, I offer profile of Rander that belonged to a port town category in the South Gujarat territory.

Rander: Located between 21° 13' N latitude and 70° 51' E longitudes, Rander is recorded as a municipal town situated on the right bank of the Tapti about two

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

³⁷¹ Alexander Mackay, *Western India*, p. 245.

³⁷² See Ashin Das Gupta, 'The Maritime City' in Indu Banga (Ed.), *Ports and Their Hinterlands in India (1700-1950)*, New Delhi, 1992, pp. 359-365; and Gita Bajpai, 'Rural Economy and Society in Transition in British Gujarat: The Surat Collectorate in the First Half of The Nineteenth Century' in G. N. Sharma and V. S. Bhatnagar (Eds.), *The Peasantry Through The Ages in Western India*, Jaipur, 1993, pp. 30-44; Also see G. J. Desai, "Surat Under The Britishers", (Ph.D. Thesis), S.P. University, Vallabh Vidyanagar, 1969.

³⁷³ V. A. Janaki, *Some Aspects of the Historical Geography of Surat*, Baroda, 1974, pp. 52-101.

miles above Surat.³⁷⁴ As the seat of a considerable export trade in raw cotton, Rander traces its historical past since the ancient times.³⁷⁵ Al-Biruni recorded it as 'Rahanhour' and *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* register it as *pargana* headquarters during the seventeenth and eighteenth century of Surat *sarkar*.³⁷⁶ It is interesting to note that during the thirteenth century, Rander is referred to as an Arab colony. The Arab traders, also referred to as *Nayatas*, settled here after overpowering Jains and traded with far off countries like Malacca, Bengal, Tawasery (Tenasserim), Pegu, Martaban and Sumatra in all sorts of spices, drugs, silk, musk, benzoin and porcelain. Rander thus emerged as a prosperous and wealthy town of South Gujarat. Barbosa comments on Rander/'Ranel' in the following words:

Ranel is a good town of the Moors, built of very pretty houses and squares. It is a rich and agreeable place, because the Moors of the town trade with Malacca, Bengal, Tawasery (Tenasserim), Pegu, Martaban and Sumatra, in all sorts of spices, drugs, silk, musk, benzoin and porcelain. They possess very large and fine ship and those who wish Chinese articles will find them there very completely. The Moors of this place are white, and well dressed, and very rich. They have pretty wives, and in the furniture of their houses have china-vases of many kinds, kept in glass cupboards well arranged. Their women are not secluded like those of their moors, but go about the city in the daytime attending to their business with their faces uncovered as in our parts.³⁷⁷

During the sixteenth century, it was a fortified town of six thousand houses and is referred to as 'Reyner' by the Portuguese general, Antonio de Sylvera. This town suffered due to the attacks of the Portuguese who put it on fire. The residents ran away in 1530 and the Portuguese plundered the town. The wealth thus obtained enriched them copiously.³⁷⁸ In this war Rander declined and was overpowered by Surat. *Ain-i-Akbari* refers to it as a port that was dependent on Surat during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.³⁷⁹ The seventeenth and eighteenth century register it as a pleasant town with good houses, good gardens and friendly people.³⁸⁰ Because of this reason, the traders settled first in

³⁷⁴ GBP, *Surat and Broach*, p. 299.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁶ Reinaud's Fragments, p.112 in *Ibid.*, and *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 262 and *Supplement of Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, p. 214.

³⁷⁷ Stanley's Barbosa, p. 67. Also see GBP, *Surat and Broach*, pp. 299 - 300.

³⁷⁸ Faria, in Kerr, VI., p. 220. Also see GBP, *Surat and Broach*, p. 300.

³⁷⁹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, pp. 249-50.

³⁸⁰ Kerr, VIII, 276 in GBP, *Surat and Broach*, p. 300.

Rander followed by Surat.³⁸¹ In 1666, Thevenot records it as a town, "to have been falling into ruins" and yet "the Dutch still kept up a depot at Rander."³⁸² In 1774, Rander is described as a town of pretty large size and had since then continued to be a place of some trade.³⁸³ The total population of the town in 1872 was 10,280 inhabitants out of which 3,868 or 37.62 per cent were Muslims.³⁸⁴ The 'Nayatas' ceased to have any importance at Rander and were represented by only one or two families living in very depressing circumstances. Their place as traders had been taken over by *Bohoras* of the Sunni sect. The Muslim *Bohoras* traded westwards with Mauritius and eastwards with Rangoon, Moolmein, Siam, and Singapore.³⁸⁵ The municipality at Rander was established in 1868.³⁸⁶ It had an average income of about Rs. 13,800 in 1874-75 and Rs. 20,000 during 1891-1901.³⁸⁷ A Bridge was constructed on Tapti that connected Rander with Surat in 1877.³⁸⁸ In the year 1873-74, there were five government schools in Rander with an average attendance of 158 pupils (out of 237 on the rolls) or 1.53 percent of the total population of the town.³⁸⁹ Of these, one was an English school; two (one for boys and one for girls) were vernacular schools; one was an evening school and one Urdu school.³⁹⁰ By the end of nineteenth century, the town had a dispensary, an English school with 47 pupils and 6 vernacular schools.³⁹¹ Out of these, 5 were meant for boys and one for girls. These had 517 boys and 95 girls respectively.³⁹² The average cost per pupil in the English school was a little over Rs. 50 and in rest of the schools it varied from Rs. 5 to Rs. 17.³⁹³ Besides the

³⁸¹ Thevenot, V, 68 in GBP, *Surat and Broach*, p. 300.

³⁸² *Ibid.*

³⁸³ Stavorinus, III, p. 181 in GBP, *Surat and Broach*, p. 300.

³⁸⁴ GBP, *Surat and Broach*, p. 300.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁶ IGI, Vol. XXI, 1908, p. 211.

³⁸⁷ GBP, *Surat and Broach*, p. 300 and IGI, Vol. XXI, 1908, p. 211.

³⁸⁸ GBP, *Surat and Broach*, p. 300.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁹¹ IGI, Vol. XXI, 1908, p. 211.

³⁹² IGI, Vol. XXI, 1908, p. 211.

³⁹³ GBP, *Surat and Broach*, p. 257.

government schools in Rander, four schools were maintained at the expense of private individuals where Arabic and Urdu was taught.³⁹⁴

Bulsar: Bulsar is recorded as *taluka* headquarters of the same name, a port town and a medium size town during the nineteenth century. However, it had a glorious past that refers to it as *pargana* headquarters, a port town and a town of significance during the seventeenth and eighteenth century.³⁹⁵ Before constructing Bulsar's historical past during the nineteenth century, it is pertinent to give an idea about its location and its geographical surroundings. Bulsar/Valsad is located between 20° 28' N latitude and 72° 58' E longitudes on the estuary of the navigable River Auranga.³⁹⁶ It had close proximity to seacoast that gave it healthy climate.³⁹⁷ Rivers and streams abundantly watered the entire Bulsar *taluka*. Its importance during the nineteenth century lies in its location along the B. B. & I. C. Railway that made the distance between Bulsar-Surat and Bulsar-Bombay as 40 miles and 115 miles respectively.³⁹⁸ The Municipality of Bulsar came into existence in 1855.³⁹⁹ The income of the municipality during 1874-75 was Rs. 19,320 that got increased to Rs. 29,000 during 1891-1901.⁴⁰⁰ The taxation on an average per head in 1873-74 amounted to Rs. 1-11-4.⁴⁰¹ Besides the ordinary sub-divisional revenue and police offices, the town was provided with a subordinate judge's court, a post office and a dispensary.⁴⁰² The town of Bulsar in 1873-74 was provided with seven government schools with an average attendance of 320 pupils (out of 458 on the rolls) or 2.82 percent of total population.⁴⁰³ Of these schools, one was an English school; one Urdu school; one evening school and four (two for boys and two for girls) vernacular or Gujarati schools.⁴⁰⁴ The average yearly cost per pupil was about Rs. 43 in the English and

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁵ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 249 & 262 and *Supplement of Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, p. 214.

³⁹⁶ *GBP, Surat and Broach*, p. 297.

³⁹⁷ *IGI*, Vol. IX, 1908, p. 67.

³⁹⁸ *GBP, Surat and Broach*, p. 297.

³⁹⁹ *IGI*, Vol. IX, 1908, p. 67.

⁴⁰⁰ *GBP, Surat and Broach*, p. 297 and *IGI*, Vol. IX, 1908, p. 67.

⁴⁰¹ *GBP, Surat and Broach*, p. 297.

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

in the rest of the schools it varied from Rs. 3 to 14.⁴⁰⁵ The situation in terms of number of schools further improved in 1901 as the town contained two English schools, of which one was a high school attended by 101 boys and 159 girls. It had also 9 vernacular schools—6 for boys and 3 for girls—attended respectively by 412 boys and 219 girls.⁴⁰⁶

According to the census of 1872, Bulsar had 11,313 inhabitants.⁴⁰⁷ Out of this population, 8,349 were Hindus, 2,212 Muslims, 738 *Parsees* and 14 Christians. Majority of the Hindus were *Anavla Brahmans*, *Vanias*, and *Khatris*⁴⁰⁸ whereas a large number of Muslims belonged to *Tais*⁴⁰⁹ who were engaged chiefly in cloth weaving. The *Parsees*⁴¹⁰ were timber-merchants, shopkeepers, cultivators, and private servants. They monopolized the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks. The number of the inhabitants increased to 12,857 in 1901.⁴¹¹

Bulsar was well placed for trade both by sea and by land. The details of sea trade of Bulsar are as follows:⁴¹²

Years	Export in Rs.	Import in Rs.
1849-50	5,61,210	1,27,130
1871-72	10,55,070	4,80,610
1874-75	8,49,050	7,86,370
1903-04	7,50,000	4,50,000

The export and import details show the declining trend during the second half of the nineteenth century. This was due to shift of trade to Bombay as a result of the opening of railway route. The railway returns however show an increase in the traffic at Bulsar. The total tonnage of goods taken to and from the station rose from 4,150 in 1868 to 4,288 in 1874 and the number of passengers from 91,042 to 101,014 respectively.⁴¹³ The chief import items were piece goods, tobacco, wheat, fish and sugar while the exports consisted of timber, grain,

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁶ IGI, Vol. IX, 1908, p. 67.

⁴⁰⁷ GBP, *Surat and Broach*, p. 297.

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁹ IGI, Vol. IX, 1908, p. 67.

⁴¹⁰ GBP, *Surat and Broach*, p. 297.

⁴¹¹ IGI, Vol. IX, 1908, p. 67.

⁴¹² GBP, *Surat and Broach*, p. 297 and IGI, Vol. IX, 1908, p. 67.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*

molasses, oil, firewood, and tiles.⁴¹⁴ Timber trade for Bulsar was the staple trade. The timber was brought from the Dang forests and was exported by sea to Dholera, Bhavnagar and other ports of Kathiawar.⁴¹⁵ Bulsar is recorded for the manufacture of cotton cloth used for wearing apparel and for making sails and silk for women's robes. It is also recorded for the manufacture of bricks, tiles and pottery that had good market not only in the markets of Surat district but elsewhere as well.⁴¹⁶

As far as local trade and communication network is concerned, one gets information from the *Survey Settlement Reports* that the roads were constructed during the second half of the nineteenth century. Bulsar *taluka* had one high road that ran between Bulsar and Dharampur in the direction of Khandesh. Several branch roads reached Balda-Pardi and from Bulsar Railway station to Tithal—a sanatorium town of Bulsar *taluka*; Dharsana to Dungri and Dungri to Untri and Bulsar to village Chanwai.⁴¹⁷ As already stated above that Bulsar was the chief market town for its agrarian surplus, it had access to Bilimora and Dungri markets as well. The merchants from Gujarat and Khandesh used to visit the grain markets for direct purchase of coarse sugar.⁴¹⁸ Bulsar markets exported to Khandesh coarse sugar and salt manufactured at government pans at Magod and Churvada.⁴¹⁹ The salt was carried to the interiors of Gujarat by the *banjaras* on pack bullocks.⁴²⁰ Bulsar also registered pilgrim towns. These were Gorgani, Bhadeli and Ghudoie where the annual fairs were held that generated hectic economic activity.⁴²¹

Pardi: Located at 21° 21' N latitude and 72° 59' E longitudes, Pardi finds reference as a headquarter town of the Pardi *taluka*.⁴²² It was a town with 1,162 houses in 1872 and had 4,545 inhabitants and public offices of sub-divisional

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁷ RSS, *Bulsar Taluka*, pp. 3 & 45-46.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*

⁴²² GBP, *Surat and Broach*, p. 298.

revenue officer, a police office, a post office and a dispensary.⁴²³ Pardi *taluka* was rich in terms of communication network with two railway stations: Pardi and Vapi.⁴²⁴ Vapi was also known as Daman Road station.⁴²⁵ In 1870, in addition to Pardi a passenger station at Motiwara station also came into existence. This passenger station catered to the needs of *Parsee* worshippers who used to visit their pilgrim place at Udware/Udwada.⁴²⁶ Besides the rail route, Pardi *taluka* also had a good road network of metalled, bridged and unmade roads consisting of the following roads: a good metalled road ran between Pardi Station and Nasik; an unmetalled road connecting Pardi *qasba* with Bulsar crossed the rocky bed of the river Par by a bridge built by the Irish; Pardi to Bugwara; Pardi to Daman and Vapi to Dunga.⁴²⁷ Further improvement in communication network was introduced in the post-1871 period through the metalling of roads and construction of bridges over the big *nalas* and river crossings. Lady Motlabai Wadia, who was famous for magnificence, constructed a new road in 1896. This road connected Udwada station with the village settlement Udwada, the landing place of the first *Parsee* refugee in India and the home of chief fire temple. Besides the rail and road route, Pardi had ports at Umarsari and Udwada. Umarsari was a convenient port on the Par River. It was approachable at spring tides by boats of 54 tons burden whereas Udwada was located on the mouth of Kolak River and allowed the entry of vessels of 66 tons in the late nineteenth century. A survey of market places in the contemporary sources suggests that Pardi was a potent market town as well. It had 3,951 inhabitants in 1872 who principally belonged to mercantile and money lending classes. They traded in rice, timber, salt and grain.⁴²⁸ Rice and sugar were the chief produce that were available in the local market and also had a demand in the various *talukas* of Gujarat. Besides Pardi, the other potent market for Pardi *talukas* produce was the

⁴²³ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁴ *RSS, Pardi Taluka*, p. 38.

⁴²⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁶ The *Parsees* had their chief fire temple at this place. *Ibid.*

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*

Bulsar market.⁴²⁹ Weekly market places were other centres where tremendous amount of trade was done in grains particularly in rice and *Kodra*. These places were Lakhmapur, Chibad-Kutch, Panch Amba, and Bugwara.⁴³⁰ Besides the grain trade, timber trade also did a lucrative business. The timber and bamboo wood brought from Dharampur forests, were exported from the mouth of river Kolak to Bhavnagar and babul firewood to Bombay.⁴³¹

The Dang Estate: The Dang Estate was a country tract in the Surat Political Agency, Bombay. It covered an area of 800 square miles that was bounded on the north by Baroda State; on the south by Nasik district and the Surguna State; on the east by Khandesh and Nasik districts and the Baroda State and on the west by the Bansda State in Surat Agency, the Baroda State and Nasik district.⁴³² This tract extended between 20° 22' to 21° 05' N latitude and from 73°28' to 73° 52' E longitudes and was divided into 15 petty-estates/sub-divisions that were ruled by Bhil chiefs, who were independent of each other except in matters of warfare.⁴³³ These estates were covered by unbroken forest and were completely hilly. River Ambika, Purna, Khapri, Girra and its tributaries flowed through its deep ravines and reached Surat district. The description of the Dang country tract clearly suggests that the possibility of having any urban settlement was almost none during the nineteenth century. However, because of timber trade and forest produce transaction within the Dang territory and sometimes outside, certain points at the headquarters of the petty estates must have been created that would have developed as village towns. An attempt is made here to identify them on basis of their functional role. The petty estates that find mention in our sources are Amala, Avchar, Chinchli, Derbhavati, Gudhe, Gadhvi, Jhari Gharkhadi, Kekat Kadupada, Kirli, Palavahir, Pimpladevi, Pimpri, Shivbara, Vadhivan and Wasurna. Among these Amala, Derbhavati, Gadhvi,

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*

⁴³² *IGI*, Vol. XI, p. 145.

⁴³³ The *GBP, Khandesh*, Vol XII, p. 597 provides the list of 15 Dangs for the year 1880 whereas the *IGI*, Vol. XI, p. 147 refers to 14 Dangs for the year 1908; that means there were some administrative adjustments during the period of 28 years. The area got increased from 800 to 999 Sq. miles.

Pimpri and Wasurna appear to be more significant than the others as their chiefs were designated as *Rajas* and there is a possibility that periodical markets were held when some activity was carried out on these occasions. *Banjaras* and the *Parsee* traders who were mostly outsiders carried out the trade activity. Finally, it can be stated that the Dang territory did not evidence growth of any urban settlement. Amala, Derbhavati, Gadhvi, Pimpri and Wasurna can be very cautiously treated as village towns. The details of the sub-divisions the Dang territory for the last quarter of nineteenth century is as follows:

TABLE 8

Name of Estate	Area in sq. miles.	Villages	Population, 1881/1901	Estimated gross revenue in Rs. 1881/1901
Gadhvi/Garvi	300	53	3,250/4,682	5,000/ 6,500
Amala	200	46	4,700/3,222	3,000/ 3,200
Derbhavati	170	44	3,000/3,199	3,700/ 4,300
Vasurna/ Wasurna	200	42	4,519/2,373	2,300/3,200
Pimpri	100	43	4,045/2,284	3,120/ 4,400
Kirli	12	09	815/ 386	490/700
Shivbara	12	09	250/ 141	430/600
Chinchli	22	25	800/1,291	720/800
Kekat- Kadupada	-	-	100/ -	160/-
Avachar	08	06	280/268	170/300
Pimpladevi	04	02	100/132	110/ 250
Vadhavan	09	02	110/129	240/ 250
Palasvahir	08	03	300/142	240/350
Dudhe	-	-	115/-	90/-
Zari Gharkhadi	09	03	210/168	50/ 250
Total	800	269	22,594/18,634	19,820/25,000

Source: GBP, *Khandesh*, Vol. XII, pp. 597 & 604-06 and IGI, Vol. XI, p. 147.

At the close of the nineteenth and in the beginning of the twentieth century, certain developments were initiated for the administrative purposes. Hence, Ahwa developed as the headquarters of this forest country. The *Imperial Gazetteer of India* published in 1908 reveals the details, which are illustrated as follows:⁴³⁴

The administration of justice, civil and criminal, in the Dangs is vested in the Collector of Surat as *ex-officio* Political Agent, capital sentences being referred for the confirmation of

⁴³⁴ IGI, Vol. XI, pp. 147- 48.

government. The Divisional Forest Officer as Assistant Political Agent, and the *Diwan* exercise first and second-class magisterial powers respectively. Petty cases are settled by the Rajas and Naiks themselves, each in his own jurisdiction, the punishments inflicted being chiefly fines in money and cattle. None of the chiefs possesses a *sanad*/ authorizing adoption, and the succession in all cases follows the rule of primogeniture. The whole area of the Dangs is leased to Government for an indefinite term, but the lease may be relinquished at any time on giving six months notice. Since the control of the Dangs was given to Surat, many improvements have been effected. They are now being gradually opened out and settled by Government. Cart-roads are being constructed, and serviceable buildings and wells for the use of the forest and other subordinate officials have been erected in all directions. Roads more or less suitable for cart traffic connect the principal places. Ahwa, a plateau about 1,600 feet above the sea, near the centre of the Dangs, has been selected as the headquarters of the *Diwan*, Hospital, Assistant, police, excise officials, and of a Range forest officer and several forest subordinates. Mesketri and Waghai, two important outlets, are the headquarters of the North and south Dangs Rangers respectively. There are post offices at Ahwa and Waghai. A dispensary and a small school have been opened at Ahwa, where liquor distillery has also been established to supply the eleven liquor shops situated in different parts of the Dangs.

Small Urban Centres of the Native States

Rajpipla State is recorded as one of the largest native states in the Rewakantha Agency.⁴³⁵ It had seven *talukas*: Nandod, Panetha, Bhalod, Jhaghadia, Rajpipla, Thava and Rupnagar.⁴³⁶ As noted earlier, it could not evidence rich urban environment due to a vast forest tract. However, the *taluka* headquarters did evidence some activities that qualify them as urban settlements of middle and small size category. Rajpeepla and Nandod qualify for being the medium size urban settlements because of demographic, administrative and trade aspects whereas the rest can be placed under small towns category either because of transaction in agrarian surplus in their markets or because of the availability of natural endowments or their importance in being the pilgrim centre in their neighbourhood. A brief profile of a few of these settlements with their development stages and trade networks is constructed in the forthcoming paragraphs.

Rajpipla: During the nineteenth century, this town emerged as headquarters of the Rajpipla State by taking over the *Juna Pipla*.⁴³⁷ The site of the *Juna Pipla* finds mention in *Ain-i-Akbari* as well as *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*. It was located in the *sarkar*

⁴³⁵ GBP, *Rewakantha and Surat States*, p. 91.

⁴³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 2 & 97.

⁴³⁷ *Memoir on the Rajpeepla State*, SRBG, Vol. XXIII, p. 264 and GBP, *Rewakantha and Surat States*, p. 91.

Nandod of *Suba* Gujarat/Ahemdabad.⁴³⁸ *Juna* Pipla remained the state's headquarter till 1820 under Rajpipla Chiefs, who belonged to the Rajput clan.⁴³⁹ It was located on a spur of the Devsatra hill. After 1820, this site that enjoyed the facilities of being the state capital got reduced to a mere village with very less Bhil population and largely inaccessible due to the difficult tract.⁴⁴⁰ Not even local trade activity is referred to at this site.⁴⁴¹ The New Rajpipla site houses two fortified structures that had palatial and other residential buildings.⁴⁴² These structures were highly protected and could be used during attacks. The probability of a small periodic market for necessary commodities cannot be denied but one cannot comment on it in the absence of any evidence.

Nandod: It is recorded as the chief town of Rajpipla state, which has historical significance.⁴⁴³ Nandod was the headquarters of the *sarkar* Nandod⁴⁴⁴ in the sixteenth and seventeenth century and *pargana* headquarters in the Mahikantha of the eighteenth century.⁴⁴⁵ It is located between 21° 55' N latitude and 73° 43' E longitudes in a rich natural environment with thick mangroves, gardens and accessibility to river Karjan.⁴⁴⁶ Nandod was only 32 miles away from Surat in the northeast direction.⁴⁴⁷ Nandod is reported as a well-constructed town with straight Street running from north to south direction, three storied brick and cemented houses, which were covered by gaudy paintings on the front gates, richly carved balconies and overhanging woodworks.⁴⁴⁸ The main street mentioned above reached the palace. It was repaired and broadened in 1868.⁴⁴⁹ The Nandod palace was the centre of attraction in the town and the street evidenced hectic activity. As far as its market is concerned, these were

⁴³⁸ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 259 and *Supplement of Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, p. 224.

⁴³⁹ *GBP, Rewakantha and Surat States*, pp. 166-67.

⁴⁴⁰ *Memoir on the Rajpeepla State, SRBG, XXIII*, p. 264.

⁴⁴¹ *Ibid.*, and *GBP, Rewakantha and Surat States*, p. 167.

⁴⁴² *GBP, Rewakantha and Surat States*, p. 167.

⁴⁴³ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 259 and *Supplement of Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, p. 224.

⁴⁴⁴ *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), II, p. 259.

⁴⁴⁵ *Supplement of Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, p. 224.

⁴⁴⁶ *GBP, Rewakantha and Surat States*, pp. 165-66.

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

permanent in nature.⁴⁵⁰ The commodities that were available in these markets were vegetables, well supplied with English piece goods, embroidered robes, brocades, coarse country cloth, grocery, spices, tobacco, opium, glass bangles, children's toys, sweetmeats and hot pieces of fried meat, *kababs*.⁴⁵¹ The trade was mostly local and the import articles were hardware, groceries and cloth whereas exports were agricultural produce, honey, wax, wood, and bamboos.⁴⁵² Nandod is mentioned in 1855 as celebrated for its cutlery, sword-belts, and *sambar* skin pouches.⁴⁵³ Among the manufactures of this place were country cloth, *dungri* and cotton tape/*pati* woven by local weavers.⁴⁵⁴

Dev Mogra,⁴⁵⁵ Jeyor,⁴⁵⁶ Mokhdi Ghanta,⁴⁵⁷ Mota Saja,⁴⁵⁸ Sanjala⁴⁵⁹ and Limodra/Nimodra⁴⁶⁰ find reference as pilgrim centres in the Rajpipla State. Hindus revered these places. The rulers of the Gaekwad State extended support by giving generous grants to the Rajpipla State from time to time.⁴⁶¹ The annual fairs and fairs on festival occasions provided them with brisk trade activity. For instance, in Jeyor a few *Bohra* confectioners, betel-leaf sellers and grocers opened stalls and sold goods worth Rs. 50 to Rs.700 daily.⁴⁶² Mokhdi Ghanta traded in sweetmeats, food and items of daily need.⁴⁶³ In Mota Saja, the *Bohra* confectioners, brasiers, cloth sellers and grocers did business of Rs. 2,500 on the fair occasions.⁴⁶⁴ In Sanjala sweetmeat makers, grain parchers and others made business between Rs. 50-Rs. 100 daily ⁴⁶⁵ and in Limodra the trade was done in grains that yielded Rs. 50 to Rs. 60 daily.⁴⁶⁶ Limodra is also referred to as a town where cornelians were available. This village town traces the existence of

⁴⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*

⁴⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁴ *Memoir on the Rajpeepla State, SRBG, Vol. XXIII, p. 318.*

⁴⁵⁵ *GBP, Rewakantha and Surat States, p. 161.*

⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

⁴⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 161.

⁴⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

cornelian mines.⁴⁶⁷ The importance and extraction of the cornelian mines had already been discussed in Chapters I and III.

Rampur: Rampur traces its existence as a small town since the nineteenth century planned on modern lines with regular broad centre street and other secondary and tertiary streets.⁴⁶⁸ This place had a permanent market and public offices like a jail, state offices and a hospital.⁴⁶⁹ During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the number of merchants sharply increased as its inhabitants who made lofty houses in this small town of relative significance.⁴⁷⁰ In 1872, its population amounted to 2,284 inhabitants.⁴⁷¹

Ratanpur: Located between 21° 24' N latitude and 73° 26' E longitudes in the Rupnagar *taluka* of Rajpipla,⁴⁷² Ratanpur stands on the top of one of a series of small rounded hills i.e. about fourteen miles above Broach.⁴⁷³ This town has historical importance because the Marathas won over Babis completely in 1705.⁴⁷⁴ Moreover, it is famous for its cornelian-mining site located in other village town Limodra/Nimodra. In the pre-1850 period, the burning of cornelian was done only at Limodra but in the post-1850 period, the burning work was started at Sultanpur and Rampur as well.⁴⁷⁵ Ratanpur is also significant for both Hindu and Muslim population as it traces the existence of Makhan Devi and tomb of Bawa Ghor.⁴⁷⁶ Both the shrines received annual grants for their upkeep by the Rajpipla chiefs.⁴⁷⁷

Bansda State: Located between 20° 42' and 20° 56' N latitudes and 73° 18' and 73° 34' E longitudes with an area of 215 square miles⁴⁷⁸ Bansda State was bounded on the west by the Surat district; on the north by the State of Baroda; on

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

⁴⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷² *Ibid.*

⁴⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 167-68.

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁸ JGI, Vol. VI, 1908, p. 403.

the east by the Dang States and on the south by the State of Dharampur.⁴⁷⁹ Bansda State remained under the control of the Political Agent of Surat in Bombay Presidency. The region occupied by the Bansda State remained mostly covered with thick forest and hence traces of urban life do not find existence except some infrastructural facilities that were developed during the last quarter of the nineteenth century in the capital of this Princely/Native State. This place is well known as Bansda and is recorded as the chief town of the Bansda State whereas the rest of the settlements were rural centres. The infrastructural facilities included a dispensary, schools, a post office and a permanent market place.⁴⁸⁰ A dispensary was opened in 1877 at Bansda. In the first year 2,557 patients attended it, in the second year by 3,304 and in the third year by 4,550 patients. The chief complaints of the patients were fever, bowel complaints and skin infections. In 1878-79, as many as 866 children were vaccinated against 1,082 in 1877-78. As far as education was concerned, the Bansda town and its neighbourhood saw the opening of 6 schools of which 4 had their own buildings. The details of these schools are as follows: "In 1875-76, when the State came under British management, there was only one vernacular school in the town of Bansda. In 1878, there were five boys' schools with an attendance of 212 pupils, of whom 185 were of the upper, *ujali*, and sixty-three of the lower, *kali*, classes. In 1879 a girls' school was started with an attendance of thirty pupils. Four of the six schools are provided with buildings".⁴⁸¹ Bansda town evidenced further growth during the last decade of the nineteenth century in terms of some urban life such as installation of water tanks, construction of roads and plantation of road trees, rest houses/*dharmshalas*, a jail, work houses for engineering department, a record office, a distillery, a veterinary hospital, stables, municipal stores, servant quarters, civil and criminal courts, etc.⁴⁸² The town mainly traded in the agrarian surplus and *mahura* flowers. These remained the export items. Out of the *mahura* flower, *toddy* was prepared which was the chief source of

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁰ GBP, *Rewakantha and Surat States*, p. 253.

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸² *Administration Report on the Bansda State For the Year 1897-98*, pp. 12-13 & 24-27.

income. Though no factory or mill is reported at Bansda, oil was pressed out of *mahura* seeds through wooden presses of country make. The semi-skilled artisans of the town made bamboo baskets, fans, winnowing instruments and mats of bamboos for local consumption. As noted earlier that Bansda was the chief town of the state, the weekly markets/*hatwaras* were held in most of the villages. These became remarkable on the occasion of festivals. A remarkable fair market was held at Unai, another border village town between the Baroda State and the Bansda state. The description of Bansda qualifies it as an administrative small town with some economic activity. As far as its population is concerned, it showed signs of growth in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The details of population and inhabitants are as follows. In 1872, it had some 2,321 inhabitants that got increased to 3,003 inhabitants during 1897-98.⁴⁸³ After Bansda, Unai is referred to as a village town that has already been discussed as the small village town of the Vyara *taluka*.

Dharampur State: Located between 20° 31' N latitude and 73° 15' E longitudes, Dharampur State had an estimated area of about 800 sq. miles. It was bounded on the north by the Chikhli *taluka* of the Surat district and the State of Bansda; on the east by the Peint and Surgana States; on the south by Peint, Daman and Thana; and, on the west by Bulsar and Pardi *talukas* of Surat district. Like any other Native States, one does not find reference to any large urban settlement in this State also. Dharampur State finds reference to its existence as a *sarkar* Ramnagar, a tribute-paying *Sarkar* of the *Mutasaddi* of Surat in the eighteenth century.⁴⁸⁴ The State's connection with the British was established in 1803 through the Treaty of Bassein.⁴⁸⁵ During the nineteenth century, it is recorded as a small state under the supervision of the Political Agent of Surat. It traces the existence of its headquarters at Dharampur that can be placed in small town category due to certain infrastructural facilities, public offices and local market network. Among the infrastructural facilities was the dispensary, schools, lightening of streets, creation of water facilities, made road between Dharampur

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁴⁸⁴ *Supplement of Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, pp. 219 - 220.

⁴⁸⁵ *GBP, Rewakantha and Surat States*, p. 256.

and Bulsar and Peint and Chival, the palace and well-built houses during the third quarter of the nineteenth century.⁴⁸⁶ There were three schools at Dharampur—one for girls and two for boys. One was an Anglo-vernacular school in which English was taught up to the fifth standard.⁴⁸⁷ The last quarter of the nineteenth century further evidenced the extension of these facilities that included construction and repair works on roads to Bulsar, Tiskari, Avdha, Amba, public and *darbari* buildings and the jail.⁴⁸⁸ Dharampur town had some 3,233 inhabitants in 1872 that got increased to 4,775 in 1899-1900.⁴⁸⁹ The population figures for the town Dharampur suggest growth during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Besides Dharampur, the other places that can be placed in the category of small towns during the nineteenth century were Arnai, Nagar, Panikhadak and Pangarbari. These places had fair markets as well as periodic markets in the Dharampur State and as a result recorded some economic activity.⁴⁹⁰

Sachin State: Sachin State⁴⁹¹ also does not find reference as either a large or medium size urban settlement. The small towns that find reference in the contemporary sources are Sachin, Dumas and Bhimpor.

Sachin was the capital of the State of Sachin. Its importance lay in being the administrative centre with little trade of local level in agrarian produce and goods needed for daily consumption.⁴⁹² Being the administrative headquarters, it housed the Nawab's palace, gardens, five schools, a dispensary and a post office at the end of 1880.⁴⁹³ The schools in the State proved quite helpful as the

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

⁴⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁸ *Administration Reports of the Dharampur State for the Dharampur State for the Year 1899-1900*, p. 13.

⁴⁸⁹ *GBP, Rewakantha and Surat States*, p. 257 & *Administration Reports on the Dharampur State for the Year 1899-1900*, pp. 31 & 41.

⁴⁹⁰ *GBP, Rewakantha and Surat States*, p. 257.

⁴⁹¹ 'Sachin State is located in the Surat Political Agency, Bombay. The villages constituting the State are much scattered, some of them being surrounded by British territory, and others by portion of the Baroda State. Sachin may, however, roughly speaking, be said to lie within the limits of the British district of Surat'. *IGI*, Vol. XXI, 1908, pp. 344-45.

⁴⁹² *GBP, Rewakantha and Surat States*, pp. 258-59.

⁴⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 264-65.

Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency provides the details of literacy in the State.⁴⁹⁴ The dispensary was opened in 1878. In the same year, some 1,775 out-door and three in-door patients visited the dispensary for treatment of diseases like malaria fever, liver and skin infections and as many as 409 persons were vaccinated.⁴⁹⁵ The facilities got increased by the end of the nineteenth century. For instance, the number of schools got raised to 19, a jail was opened and construction and repair work of roads was undertaken.⁴⁹⁶

Dumas and Bhimpur were the other places that can be categorized as village towns for functional reasons. Dumas was visited by Europeans and was well known as a resort and Bhimpur was locally popular as a pilgrim centre. Both the places had periodic markets that generated some economic activity on the occasions of fairs and festivals.

After the brief profile of the urban settlements, an attempt is made on the basis of 1901 *Census Reports* regarding the urban situation in the South Gujarat territory. It is illustrated in tabular form that will help in estimating the urban scenario along with the classification and categorization on functional basis.

TABLE 9
Urban Scenario in South Gujarat in 1901

District/Talukas/States	Urban Centres/ Towns	Occupied Houses in 1901	Population 1901
Sinor Taluka	Sinor	1,504	5,186
Tilakwada Peta	Tilakwada	426	1,693
Navsari Taluka	Navsari	4,231	21,451
Gandevi Taluka	Gandevi Bilimora	2,315	10,620
Vyara Taluka	Vyara	1,303	6,117
Songadh Taluka	Songadh	607	2,533
Kamrej Taluka	Kamrej	1,128	4,407

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁶ *Administration Report on the Sachin State for the Year 1897-98*, pp. 16-17.

<i>Amod Taluka</i>	Amod	1,124	4,375
<i>Ankleshwar Taluka</i>	Ankleshwar	2,480	10,225
<i>Hansot Peta</i>	Hansot	897	3,925
<i>Broach Taluka</i>	Broach	7,566	42,896
<i>Jambusar Taluka</i>	Jambusar	2,810	10,181
<i>Olpad Taluka</i>	Olpad	793	3,275
<i>Mandvi Taluka</i>	Mandvi	929	4,142
<i>Bardoli Taluka</i>	Bardoli	1,078	5,172
<i>Chikhli Taluka</i>	Chikhli	951	4,440
<i>Chorasi Taluka</i>	Surat & Chorasi	24,816	1,29,784
<i>Bulsar Taluka</i>	Bulsar	2,718	12,857
<i>Pardi Taluka</i>	Pardi	1,086	5,483
<i>Rajpipla</i>	Rajpipla & Nandod	2,968	11,236
<i>Bansda</i>	Bansda	758	3,760
<i>Dharampur</i>	Dharampur	1,368	6,344
Total	25	63,856	3,10,102

Source: *Census of India, 1901, Vol. XV, Baroda, Pt. III, Provincial Tables, Baroda State, Baroda, 1902, pp. 2- 3* and *Census of India 1901, Vol. IX-B, Bombay, Pt. III, Provincial Tables, Bombay, 1902, pp. 2-3 & 12-13.*

Table 9 reveals the urban scenario in South Gujarat with twenty-five towns on the basis of population figures. Population figures qualify them into large middle and small towns. The large towns are two in number: Surat and Broach. There are eight middle size towns: Sinor, Navsari, Gandevi, Bilimora, Ankleshwar, Bulsar, Kamrej, Hansot and Jambusar. The rest fifteen are the small towns. These small towns can further be classified into their sub types on the basis of their functionality. This is exemplified in Table 10.

TABLE 10
Urban Scenario in South Gujarat in 1800-1900

<i>Talukas/ States</i>	<i>Adminis- trative Towns</i>	<i>Market Towns</i>	<i>Railway Station Towns</i>	<i>Village Towns</i>	<i>Pilgrim Towns</i>	<i>Port Towns</i>
Sinor	Sinor	-	Tain	-	-	-
Tilakwada <i>Peta</i>	Tilakwada	Tilakwada & Amroli	-	Amroli	-	-
Navsari	Navsari	Vesma, Borsi & Sisodra	Maroli	Vesma, Borsi & Sisodra	-	Navsari
Gandevi	Gandevi	Ajarai	-	Balesar & Ajarai	-	Gandevi
Songadh	Songadh	Songadh	Songadh	Rupgadh & Salehr	-	-
Vajpur <i>Peta</i>	Vajpur	Navapur,	-	Vajpur, Navapur Umarpada	-	-
Vyara	Vyara	Vyara	Vyara	Unai, Umrat & Narad- ganga	Unai, Umrat & Narad- ganga	-
Mahuva	Mahuva	Mahuva, Kankaria, Vehval, Valvada, & Karchalia	-	Kankaria, Vehval, Valvada, & Karchalia	-	-
Velachha	Velachha	Mangrol	-	Mangrol, Hathuran, Kosamba, Nani Naroli & Libodra	-	-
Vakal <i>Peta</i>	Vakal	Kosmba, Khat, Choknada & Sutkheda	-	Kosmba, Khat Chokdi & Bardipada	-	-
Kamrej	Kamrej	Timba, Kadodra Kathor & Gala	Kamrej	Timba, Kadodra Kathor & Gala	-	-
Palsana	Palsana	-	-	-	-	-
Amod	Amod	Amod	-	-	-	-
Ankleshwar	Ankleshwar	-	Panoli, Elav & Bhatta	-	-	-
Hansot <i>Peta</i>	Hansot	-	-	-	-	-
Wagra	Wagra	-	-	-	-	Dahej & Gandhar
Jambusar	Jambusar	Kavi, Dehgam & Tankari	-	Gajera, Kanwa, Vedach & Devjagam	Kanwa, Vedach & Devjagam	Dehgam & Tankari

Broach	Broach	-	Palej	Bawa Rustam, Bhadbhut, Karod & Sukaltirth	Bawa Rustam Bhadbhut, Karod & Sukaltirth	-
Olpad	Olpad	Olpad	Kim & Saen	Kudrama, Kudiana, Bhatta & Vadoli		Bhagva & Suwali/ Swally
Mandvi	Mandvi	Mandvi, Bodhan, Devgadhi, Tarkeshwar and Sarkui	-	Devgadh & Sarkui	Dharampor	-
Bardoli	Bardoli	Bardoli <i>qasba</i> , Sarbhon, Kadod, Mota, Vankaner, Valod	-	Sarbhon, Kadod, Mota, Vankaner, Valod	-	-
Jalalpur	Jalalpur	Jalalpur Abrama, At, Sisodra, Supa, Astgam, Satem & Munsad	-	Abrama, At, Sisodra, Supa, Astgam, Satem & Munsad	-	-
Chikhli	Chikhli	Chikhli	-	-	-	-
Chorasi	Rander	Rander	Rander	-	-	Rander
Bulsar	Bulsar	Bulsar	Bulsar	Tithal	Gorgam, Bhadel & Ghudole	Bulsar
Pardi	Pardi	Pardi	Pardi, Vapi, Motiwara & Udwada	Lakhmapur, Chibad-Kutch, Panch Amba & Bugwara	Udwada	Umarsari and Udwada
Dang	Dang	-	-	Amala, Derbhavati, Gadhvi, Pimpri and Wasuma	-	
Rajpipla	Rajpipla	Rampur & Sagbara/ Sakbara	-	Old Rajpipla Limodra/ Nimodra, Sagbara, Jhaghadia Avidha, Dumat,	DevMogra, Jeyor, Mokhdi Ghanta, Mota Saja, Sanjala and Limodra/ Nimodra	-

				Vegalpur, Dev Mogra, Jeyor, Mokhdi Ghanta, Mota Saja, Sanjala, Panetha, Bhalod, Thava, Rampur & Rupnagar		
Bansda	Bansda	Bansda	-	Unai,	Unai,	-
Dharampur	Dharampur	Dharampur	-	Arnai, Nagar, Panikhadak and Pangarbari	-	-
Sachin	Sachin	Sachin	Vedchha	Bhimpur and Dumas	Bhimpur	-

Finally, one can conclude from the foregoing discussion on the urban scenario of South Gujarat that it had both inland and port towns. Out of inland towns two were the large urban settlements of city category, eight were middle urban settlements/towns and around hundred small urban settlements/small towns that belonged to sub-categories like administrative, market, railway station towns, a sanatorium town, village towns and pilgrim sites. Among the port towns two belonged to *bandar* categories and 12 to *bara* category.