

**CHAPTER V**  
**SOCIAL COMPONENTS OF**  
**SOUTH GUJARAT**

## **SOCIAL COMPONENTS OF SOUTH GUJARAT**

Based on the preliminary observations of the social components of the South Gujarat territory in Part V of Chapter I,<sup>1</sup> it can be suggested that the society in South Gujarat under investigation remained *dualistic* in character during the late eighteenth and nineteenth century (**my emphasis**). On one plane, it was fragmented, war-oriented, clan-organized and contented for its location in sanskritised social hierarchy. It was relatively integrated and developed organized systems in socio-economic functionality on the other plane. As a result of the dualistic process there emerged variety of social groups. Such social groups operated simultaneously in socio-economic arena and religious realm. These groups can be classified into cultivators, artisans, traders, service class, ruling authority, etc. on occupational basis and community wise into Hindu, Muslim, *Parsee*, Christian and others. Both groups maintained inter-personal and intra-personal networking for survival and co-existence. The reason for the above stated preliminary observation can be seen in the process of integrative political and economic structure that emerged in time and space in the territory under investigation.

This chapter attempts to understand the aforesaid dualistic character in the light of rural and urban setting in the South Gujarat territory. Further, it also draws the comparison of the society in South Gujarat between rural and urban setting. The argument in the discussion is based on the information available from the travelers' accounts, memoirs, indigenous literature, *Gazetteers*, *Survey Settlement Reports* and Documents pertaining to *Faujdari* and *Diwani Adalats*. This Chapter is constructed with the help of three sections: the first section informs of the existing classes, communities and castes in the South Gujarat region; the second provides the demographic

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<sup>1</sup> See Table 10, 11 & 12 of Chapter I.

profile of the various *talukas* in rural and urban category and the third section traces the networks, inter- and intra-relationships and transformations among the various classes, communities and castes.

Before describing the class, community and caste categories during the nineteenth century an idea of the pre nineteenth century Gujarat in general and South Gujarat in particular is mandatory. Neera Desai in her valuable work discusses the social structure of Gujarat, which was based on traditional principles sanctioned by religion.<sup>2</sup> The chief characteristics of the Gujarati society then were ascribed/hereditary nature of caste, patriarchy, joint family system, less weightage to individual and predominance of supernatural and sacred values. In this section of the book, she does not throw light on the other communities like Muslims, *Parsees*, Christians, etc. that leave Gujarat's social canvas incomplete during the pre-nineteenth century period. One can construct the pre-nineteenth century scenario with the help of the contemporary sources. The first accurate information about the inhabitants of Gujarat is available in *arazi*/statistics of "The Twelve *Subas* of Gujarat" in *Ain-i-Akbari*. Table 10 of Chapter I provides the details of the *zamindar* castes located in the South Gujarat sub region for the period c. 1595.<sup>3</sup> It indicates the

<sup>2</sup> Neera Desai, 'Gujarati Society on the Eve of British Rule', in *Social Change in Gujarat*, Bombay, 1978, pp. 1-79.

<sup>3</sup> *Ain-i-Akbari*, (tr.), Vol. II, 260-62. *Zamindar Castes of South Gujarat during c.1595*

<i>Ain-i-Akbari</i> c.1595	<i>Maha/Pargana</i>	Nineteenth Century South Gujarat	
Rajput	Sinor	Baroda <i>prant</i>	Gaekwad State of
Rajput	Balwarah/ Palsana	Navsari <i>prant</i>	Baroda
Gwalia	Altesar/ Amalsari	Broach District	Bombay Presidency
Rajput	Broach	Broach District	-do-
Rajput,	Kari/Kareli	Broach District	-do-
Barhah/Borah			
Rajput, Garasiah/	Kala/Ghalha	Broach District	-do-
Garasias			
Rajput, Musalman	Maqbulabad	Broach District	-do-
Rajput, Baghela	Hansot	Broach District	-do-
Rajput	Beawarah	Surat District	-do-

presence of Rajputs in both Hindu and Muslim categories, *Bohras*, *Garasias*, *Gwalias*, *Baghela* and Muslims. All these communities remained the cultivators who either did cultivation themselves or got it done by the other cultivators. *Ain* has a limitation in giving us more information about the social groups except indicating their existence. Therefore, for the seventeenth century we have to rely much on the accounts of travellers like De Laet, Pelsaert, Barbosa, Thevenot, Bernier and so on. All of them trace the occupational and traditional character of the Gujarati Society.<sup>4</sup> Occupationally, the Gujarati society was divided mainly into traders, artisans, service, cultivators and aboriginal class besides the ruling class. The late eighteenth century texts like *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*,<sup>5</sup> *Qissa-i-Ghamgin*,<sup>6</sup> and *Majnu'-i-Danish*<sup>7</sup> also substantiate the social structure with similar kind of information. According to these sources, the society was composed of professional categories found in the rural as well as urban areas. For example, cultivators were found in the rural setting; artisans—skilled and semi-skilled—in rural and urban setting; *Mahajans*, *Vanias*, warrior-class/Rajputs, administrative class, nobility, service class, etc. in the rural and urban setting; business class in urban setting and tribal population mainly located in the rural setting who had very limited interaction with the urban settlements. Further, these works also identify the above stated religious communities i.e., Hindu, Muslim, and *Parsee*. At the social level these communities were divided into castes, sub-castes and sects. The caste system among Hindus was very discrete and played a significant role in socio-economic arena since its inception in the early historic period.<sup>8</sup> The Hindu caste system was a development over the

<sup>4</sup> S. Gopal, *Commerce and Crafts in Gujarat*, Delhi, 1975, pp. 218-37.

<sup>5</sup> *Supplement of Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, (tr.), pp. 121-34.

<sup>6</sup> Munshi 'Abbas Ali, *Qissa-i-Ghamgin*, Edited by S. C. Misra, M. S. Univ. of Baroda, 1975, pp. 7-12 (Commentary in English).

<sup>7</sup> *Majnu'-i-Danish*, (tr.), *A History of the Nawabs of Broach*, Delhi, 1985, pp. 163-66.

<sup>8</sup> Susan Bayly, *Caste Society and Politics in India; From the Eighteenth Century to the Modern Age*, Cambridge, 2000 (Indian Edition), pp. 1-63. Also see C. A. Bayly, *Indian Society and the Making British Empire*, Delhi, 1987, pp. 1-44.

*Varna* system. The author of *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*<sup>9</sup> described the castes during the eighteenth century in the following words:

“Hindus are divided into various castes and sects. They are *Brahmins, Shravaks, Kshatryas, Rajputs, Banias, Kaysthas, Kunbis, Goldsmiths, Blacksmiths, Fullers, Oilmakers, Carpenters, Weavers, Tailors, Dyers, Tanners and Dheds....* Every caste in the course of centuries has been subdivided owing to the adoption of certain vicious customs or to some misalliance. Even the *Brahmans* who are considered the noblest of the race and who followed the four Vedas have become divided into different sub castes.... Excommunication is the punishment meted out to the guilty man or woman who is however taken back into the community on making penance and payment.... A description of all the Hindu castes being a difficult task I shall give an account only of the *Brahmans, Shravaks (Jains), Banias, Meshris and Shravaks.*”

Therefore regarding the Hindu caste system, it can be stated that it remained a combination of social hierarchy and the occupational needs that emerged in a region in time and space. In Gujarat, the Hindu castes were divided into two: *Ujaliat* and dark skin like *Ganchi, Gola*, etc.<sup>10</sup> The first category consisted of *Brahmans, Vanias, Khatris, Kaysthas, Kanbis* and a few artisan communities whereas the other category consisted of occupational categories like oil-pressers (*Ghanchi*), rice pounders (*Gola*), etc. The Hindu Caste system as mentioned above was based on hierarchy and had sub-castes within.<sup>11</sup> The probable reasons for the creation of castes and sub-castes were internal conflicts and adjustments, migration from other localities, occupational distinctions and beliefs in different cults. The Muslim, *Parsee* and Christian population were divided into sects/categories. Muslims were mainly divided into *Shias* and *Sunnis*,<sup>12</sup> *Parsees* into *Shehenshahi* and *Kadamu*<sup>13</sup> and Christians into *Methodists, Catholics*, etc.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Supplement of Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, (tr.), pp. 124-25.

<sup>10</sup> Neera Desai, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56; also see, *GPB, Gujarat Population, Hindu*, Vol. IX, pt. I, Bombay, 1901, p. XIV.

<sup>11</sup> For detail discussion on major castes, sub-castes and social system see Neera Desai, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-75. *GPB, Vol IX, Pt. II, Gujarat Population: Musalmans and Parsis*, Bombay, 1899, p. 125.

<sup>12</sup> *GPB, Vol. IX, Pt. II, Gujarat Population: Musalmans and Parsis*, Bombay, 1899, p. 125.

<sup>13</sup> For division of *Parsees* see G. H. Desai, *A Glossary of Caste, Tribes and Races in the Baroda State*, Baroda, 1911, p. 67.

<sup>14</sup> Table 11 in Chapter I.

From the late eighteenth century onwards all the occupational classes observed transformations in the intra- and inter-relationships. These transformations resulted due to the political and economic variations that have been already listed in the earlier chapters of this thesis. The first half of the nineteenth century sources also reveal the similar trend regarding the class and community categories. These sources are *Memoirs* and the *Survey Settlement Correspondences* whereas the sources for the second half of the nineteenth century are copious and unique in the sense they provide number and description of inhabitants in caste and community categories in rural and urban setting. These sources are the *Gazetteers*, *Revised Survey Settlement Reports*, *Census Reports* for the period 1872-1901, *Annual Administration Reports*, Government and Royal Orders, Proceedings of the Judicial Courts, Personal Diaries, Publications from Vernacular Press, etc. Based on these sources, a brief profile of the inhabitants of the South Gujarat territory, details related to transformations, interdependence of the rural and urban populace and their comparison in rural and urban setting are attempted in the forthcoming discussion.

Before the construction of the profile of the social categories of South Gujarat, an understanding of the rural and urban social structure is absolutely pertinent. At the outset, it should be made clear that the rural and urban social structures during the period of study were interdependent and not independent; and secondly the small urban settlements were the replicas of the villages in social relationships, the only varying dimension was their size. People living in the urban settlements maintained strong ties with their native villages in terms of their identities and in the following of the traditions and beliefs.

The rural social structure can be understood through the transformations in the organization and functioning of village communities. The factors that were responsible for the changes in the village social structure

were the introduction of *ryotwari* system for collection of revenue, collection of revenue in cash instead of kind and transformation of land into a commodity/private property that could be sold, bought, mortgaged and partitioned.<sup>15</sup> These resulted into the creation of status groups within the village community. It occurred due to direct relationship between the *ryots*/peasants and the Government Revenue Officers. The direct relationship was the outcome of the various factors that are discussed in the following section.

Firstly, the new land revenue system with its own agency of revenue collection affected the status and role of all traditional revenue collectors as well as administrative groups like chieftains, *girasdars*, *inamdars*, *desais*, *vatandars*, etc.<sup>16</sup> The appointments of village accountants and implementation of British judicial policy gave a blow to the traditional chieftains, *desais*, *vatandars* and others as they faced check on the execution of their power.<sup>17</sup> The revenue officers appointed by the new government like *talatis*, *mamlatdars* and collectors now acquired a new significance that was relatively greater than that in the earlier period.

The second major change that affected the traditional village relationships was the transformation of land into a commodity. This change dealt a blow to the traditional association of ownership of land with agricultural castes. It enabled non-agriculturist groups to penetrate into the heart of village community and thus introducing an outsider into it. This new class acted as investors and penetrated into the property structure of the village community and got organically linked up with land either as new

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<sup>15</sup> Neera Desai, *op.cit.*, pp. 152-160.

<sup>16</sup> 'British revenue policy in Gujarat had weakened the position of *Girasia* chieftain in three main respects. In the first place, from 1811 onwards, the collectors steadily preserved in the task of persuading them to abandon the right to levy their traditional dues upon Government villages and to accept instead a guaranteed payment by government of an equivalent amount from its treasury.' Kenneth Ballachet, *Social Policy and Social Change in Western India, 1817-1850*, London, 1961, p. 166.

<sup>17</sup> Neera Desai, *op.cit.*, pp. 161-164.

proprietors of land or as creditors having a mortgage right over the land and its produce in return for providing the monetary needs of the agriculturists. By demanding revenue in cash, the British compelled the cultivating classes to borrow money from moneylenders and traders, offering their land as security. This happened in case of even *talukdars* and *garasias* in their new role as landed gentry. These classes were further drawn into new monetized urban economy. They needed more and more money for their growing consumption of luxury goods. They also secured money on the basis of the security of their land. The rapid process of sale or mortgage and alienation of land of the cultivating class and its transfer to non-agricultural moneyed classes or to a small section of the rich peasant constituted a qualitatively new development in the rural areas. For instance, in Broach district the cases of land transfer from the agriculturists to the members of the non-cultivating classes were alarming. This has been illustrated in Table 1a.

TABLE 1a  
Land Transfers from Cultivators to Non-Cultivators in Broach District c.  
1867-c.1874

	Seller		Buyer		Excess of Buyers	
	1867	1874	1867	1874	1867	1874
Cultivators	549	1,018	527	890	-22	-128
Non-Cultivators	85	271	107	399	+22	+128

Source: *GBP, Surat and Broach*, pp. 455-56.

Table 1a reveals that the number of transfer cases from cultivators to non-cultivators increased from 22 in 1867 to 128 in 1874. Investigation into the occupational identities<sup>18</sup> of aforesaid buyers and sellers further reveals the trend in 1874 through Table 1b. It clearly shows the moneylenders, traders and servicemen as the potent buyers and sellers of land in Broach district. It establishes the shifts that were taking shape during the second half of the nineteenth century.

<sup>18</sup> *GBP, Surat and Broach*, p. 456.



TABLE 1b  
Occupational Identities Sellers and Buyers of Land in Broach District c. 1874

	Land- holders/ Hereditary Officers	Patel/ Village Headmen	Land- holder with house Business	Service- men	Non-Cultivating				Artisans	Culti- vator	Shep- herd	Govern- ment	
					Law Agent	Doctor	Trader	Money -lender	Religious Devotee				
Culti- vator Seller =1,018	17	01	21	142	-	-	-	-	-	837	-	-	-
Culti- vator Buyer = 890	08	-	08	53	-	-	-	-	-	819	02	-	-
Non- Culti- vating seller =271	-	-	-	-	06	01	17	74	08	-	-	160	-
Non- Culti- vating Buyer =393	-	-	-	-	30	01	88	246	17	-	-	04	-

Source: GBP, *Surat and Broach*, p. 456.

We find similar references in the other sources like *Gazetteers*, *Survey* and *Revised Survey Settlement Reports* for the Native States of Baroda, Rajpipla, Bansda, Dharampur, Sachin and Surat and Broach districts.<sup>19</sup> These references amply bear the fact that the land was passing from cultivating to non-cultivating stratum and from feudal proprietors to money lending and trading classes in South Gujarat. The moneylenders' profile in South Gujarat is as follows:

District/State	Moneylenders
Broach	<i>Vaniyas, Bohras, Brahmins and Kanbis</i>
Surat	<i>Vaniyas, Marwaris, Bohras, Anavol/Bhatela Brahmins and a few Parsees</i>
Navsari Prant	<i>Vaniyas, Parsees, Bohras and Brahmins</i>
Dang	<i>Banjaras and Parsees</i>
Rajpipla	<i>Vaniyas, Banjaras, Charan, Kanbis and Parsees</i>
Dharampur	<i>Parsees, Marwaris and Brahmins</i>
Bansda	<i>Parsees, Marwaris and Brahmins</i>
Sachin	<i>Marwaris and Shravaks</i>

The third major change was in the production/goods supplied to the market and profit in place of production for subsistence.<sup>20</sup> The shift was in the production process as the ready goods from England replaced craftsmen work and the need of cotton in England constantly increased. This had a two-fold impact: on one hand it ruined town handicrafts and forced the ruined artisans to move to villages for employment or to join the towns as mere laborer class and market towns generated demand for raw cotton and other commercial crops on the other. The cultivator in South Gujarat (in *talukas* like

<sup>19</sup> GBP, *Surat and Broach*, pp. 205-06 & 455-57; GBP, *Rewakantha and Surat States*, pp. 250-51, 257, 261-62; See Appendix K, RSS, *Broach Taluka*, 1902, p. 22; RSS, *Anod Taluka*, 1903, p. 15; RSS, *Jambusar Taluka*, 1903, p. 15; RSS, *Vagra Taluka*, 1903, p. 14; RSS, *Olpad Taluka*, 1896, p. 17; RSS, *Mandvi Taluka*, 1904, p. 18; RSS, *Jalalpur Taluka*, 1900, p. 23; RSS, *Chorasi Taluka*, 1897, p. 19; RSS, *Chikhli Taluka*, 1899, p. 34; RSS, *Bardoli Taluka*, 1897, p. 23; RSS, *Bulsar Taluka*, 1900, p. 21 and RSS, *Pardi Taluka*, 1904, p. 19.

<sup>20</sup> D. R. Gadgil, *Industrial Evolution India in Recent Times*, pp. 149-50.

Broach, Bardoli, Surat, Chorasi, etc.) particularly took to cotton production.<sup>21</sup> In other words cotton became the alternative crop for all the cereals in the dry-crop land.<sup>22</sup> In this way the trading classes started penetrating the villages to secure more and more of this commodity for transferring it to the trading centers/market towns like Tilakwada, Amroli, Vesma, Borsi, Sisodra, Ajarai, Songadh, Navapur, Sagbara, Vyara, Mahuva, Kankaria, Vehval, Valvada, Karchalia, Dungri, Mangrol, Kosamba, Khat, Choknada, Sutkheda, Timba, Kadodra, Kathor, Gala, Amod, Kavi, Dehgam, Tankari, Olpad, Rander, Mandvi, Bodhan, Devgad, Tarkeshwar, Sarkui, Bardoli, Sarbhon, Kadod, Mota, Vankaner, Valod, Jalalpur, Abrama, At, Sisodra, Supa, Astgam, Satem, Munsad, Chikhli, Bulsar, Pardi, Rampur, Bansda, Dharampur and Sachin. Not only that, many *taluka* headquarter towns and *qasbas* evidenced the introduction of ginning and pressing machines<sup>23</sup> to clean the bales of cotton in order to be sent to Bombay for transportation to England.<sup>24</sup> Further, the introduction of railways enhanced the demand of agrarian produce in the grain markets. The surplus grain of the villages thus became part of the wider web of market economy. Places that were earlier noted as weekly or fair markets emerged as grain markets as a result of the improved road network during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, which connected them to the market-oriented urban economy. In this way all this contributed to the changes in the r-urban economic associations and transformed the horizontal and vertical mobility in the social realm.

<sup>21</sup> See discussion in Chapter II and Alexander Mackay, *Western India*, pp. 155-72 & 235; *Administration Report of the Cotton Department for the Year 1869-70*, Bombay, 1870, pp. 22-25 & Appendix S (pp.1-13); GBP, *Surat and Broach*, pp. 66-68 & 392-404 and *Annual Report on Cotton for the Presidency for the Year 1881-82*, Bombay, 1882, pp. 1-22.

<sup>22</sup> GBP, *Surat and Broach*, p. 405.

<sup>23</sup> See Appendix G in RSS, *Broach Taluka*, 1902, p. 20; RSS, *Amod Taluka*, 1903, p. 12; RSS, *Jambusar Taluka*, 1903, p. 13; RSS, *Vagra Taluka*, 1903, p. 12; RSS, *Mandvi Taluka*, 1904, p. 16; RSS, *Jalalpur Taluka*, 1900, p. 18; RSS, *Chorasi Taluka*, 1897, p. 16; RSS, *Chikhli Taluka*, 1899, p. 31; RSS, *Bardoli Taluka*, 1897, p. 19; RSS, *Bulsar Taluka*, 1900, p. 19 and RSS, *Pardi Taluka*, 1904, p. 17.

<sup>24</sup> The demand of Indian Cotton increased tremendously during 1861- 64 (American Civil War).

The last noticeable change that occurred in the rural structure during the nineteenth century was related to the positions of the artisan class. In the nineteenth century, the village artisans lost their economic effectiveness due to less demand for handicrafts and payment of revenue in cash to the government. This development drew them to the network of market operations. Further, due to unemployment, commercialization of agriculture and freeing the cultivators from customary local obligations, artisans underwent profound transformations. Now artisans being unemployed took to agriculture and became part of agrarian working class. A section of this artisan class migrated to towns in search of employment opportunities. However, the decreased employment opportunities for the artisans could not help in improving their condition except joining the crowd of urban labour force.<sup>25</sup>

All these economic changes in South Gujarat in the rural area affected the social structure of the village communities to a considerable extent. The caste system did not disappear but the shifts were registered. Instead of predominance of Rajputs or Kshatriya castes, *Vanias* emerged in status and power hierarchy as compared to the 'producing castes'/artisans who lost their previous status. These were simply agricultural labourers during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Thus the village communities in Surat and Broach districts and the Native States at the end of the nineteenth century broadly had the following structure. The rural society was divided into village servants and common villagers that belonged to all castes, sub-castes and communities. Village servants looked after the management of the

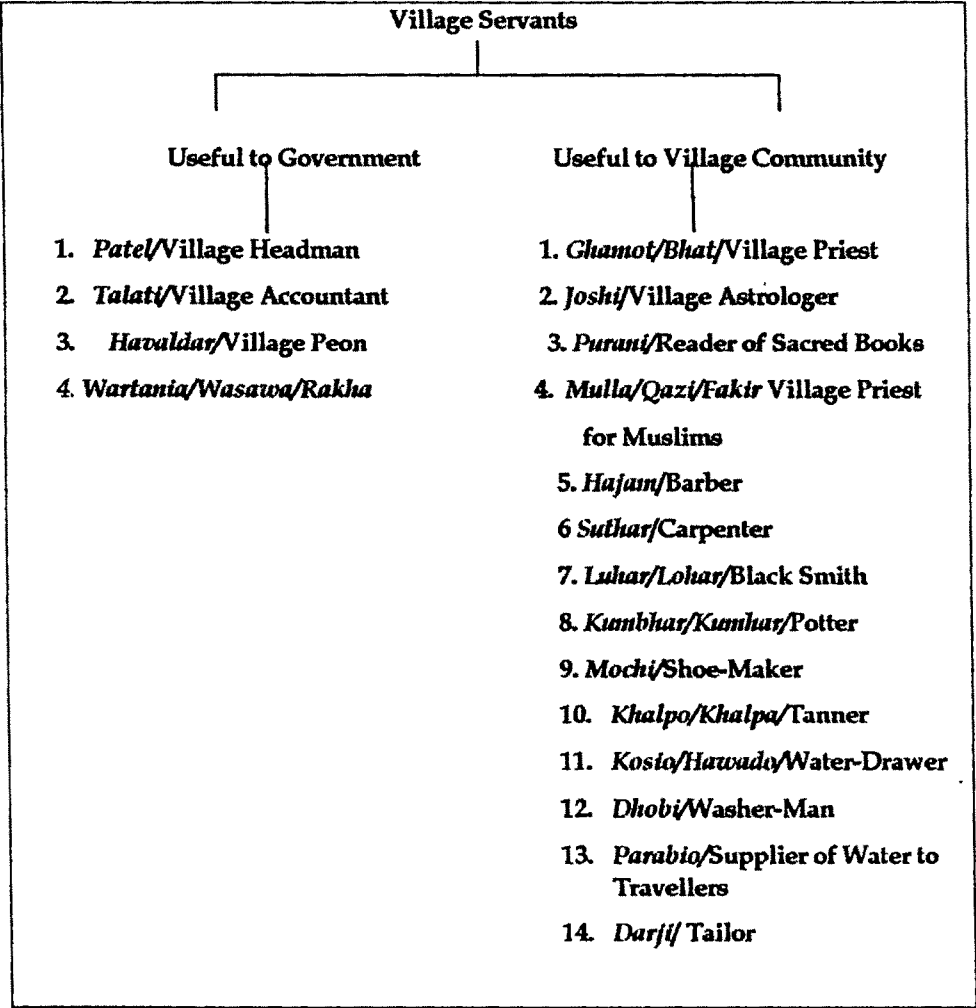
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<sup>25</sup> 'The village today possesses the same equipment of artisans as before. The change then, whatever its nature or extent, has not been revolutionary, but the direction of change is definite. The tendency has not been towards the abolition of the dues and services outright but the customary dues are now playing a much less important part in the income of the artisans than they used to do. The same holds good as regards the plot of land that the hereditary artisans holds. Its importance too has diminished. Again the artisans has become today more ready to migrate. All these are signs of dissolution of bonds which once held the community close together'. D. R. Gadgil, *Industrial Evolution India in Recent Times*, p. 161.

village (See Figure A). These village servants were paid both in cash and kind. The village headman/*patel* and accountant/*talati* however received allowances from the government and the rest of the village servants from the villagers' collective initiatives.

FIGURE A

Village Community in Surat District,<sup>26</sup> Broach District<sup>27</sup> and Baroda State<sup>28</sup>



The urban social structure in South Gujarat during the nineteenth century can be understood on the basis of three paradigms. The first lies in

<sup>26</sup> GBP, *Surat and Broach*, pp. 56-57.

<sup>27</sup> Certain variations existed in case of Broach District. It was probably due to the administrative adjustments during the nineteenth century. *Ibid.*, pp. 381- 88.

<sup>28</sup> In the Baroda State the Navsari *prant* presented a peculiar picture in the Village Community. The Patels were not *matadars*. They were not purely servants appointed by the State. GBP, *Baroda*, pp. 74-75.

the nature of British control and policies; the second is dependent on the responses of the urban settlements that took shape into the changed economic circumstances and the decline of handicraftsmen/artisans in the urban society. However, the nineteenth century also evidences the emergence of new patterns of trade, commerce and factory production that became responsible in strengthening economic growth in medium and small size urban settlements on one hand and new relationships between them and with their feeding rural settlements.

During the nineteenth century, the British control passed through two chief phases. The first concerns the English East India Company, which as a trading company imported spices, cotton goods and silk goods to the markets of Europe including England and yielded a rich profit on every successful expedition. This led to its concentration in particular urban settlements along the coastal line and finally in the establishment of market in the colonies for machine made goods, products and raw materials like cotton for industrial needs in England.

The second phase acquired major shape during the period 1813-1857, when East India Company lost its trading character and became a political instrument of the British Parliament. During this period, the British stressed the creation of markets for their goods and secured supplies of raw stuff. These policies changed the urban *milieu* in South Gujarat completely. Surat and Broach, the two major cities lost their previous economic advantages as the shift was towards Bombay. Bombay by then was the commercial capital or "*urbs prima*"<sup>29</sup> not only in the Western region but also in entire India.<sup>30</sup> Surat became the tributary port of Bombay and direct trade between foreign

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<sup>29</sup> Neera Desai, *op.cit.*, p.182.

<sup>30</sup> The other factors responsible for Bombay's unchallengeable position was introduction of heavy steamships and shortening of the route between Britain and India as a result of opening of Suez Canal. See *Gazetteer of the Bombay City and Island*, Vol II, pp. 160-62.

land and Broach came to a closing stage.<sup>31</sup> The changes in the role played by Surat and Broach in the economy of the region caused the transformations in the small and medium size urban settlements at the level of socio-economic mobility on the horizontal as well as vertical plane. The first transformation in the urban settlements was the migration of trading communities from Surat and Broach to Bombay. Besides these two large size urban settlements, the other settlements that observed the migration towards Bombay were Navsari and Gandevi. More transformation in this direction can be evidenced in the post-1861 period i.e. after the introduction of railways. The mid-nineteenth century middle and small size urban settlements evidenced decline in terms of economic advantages, size of population and regarding their administrative role as quite a few new urban settlements occurred whereas the old ones observed changes in their functional role. Among the new ones were the railway stations that emerged as collection and distribution centres of goods traffic and activated passenger traffic. These also functioned as market towns for the disposal of goods traffic within the sub-region. In this way the villages and *qasbas* got connected along the communication line and initiated the modern process of production. The case of Jumboosar, Broach, Ankleshwar, Navsari, Surat, Bilimora, Gandevi, Bulsar, Mangrol, Palej, Pardi, Maroli, Sachin, Rajpipla, etc. is the best example of aforementioned category of the altered urban settlements in the South Gujarat territory.

The factors that adversely affected the production and sale of handicrafts in the urban settlements were: low demand for the intricate and delicate craft pieces by the British rulers;<sup>32</sup> emergence of new intelligentsia that was the product of English education;<sup>33</sup> fascination for imported cloth;<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Alexander Mackay, *Western India*, p. 241 and GBP, *Surat and Broach*, 423-24.

<sup>32</sup> Shambunath Mayaram, *Khedut Karigarao tatha majoor vegere mahentu loko ne paisa Sangrah karoani jarur une Savings Bank ni Agatya Vishe Nibandh*, 1884, pp. 74 -75 (Gujarati) in Neera Desai, *op.cit.*, p. 188.

<sup>33</sup> D. R. Gadgil, *The Industrial Evolution of India*, pp. 38-39.

British policy of destroying the export market of handicrafts products with a view to encourage the growth of industries in England;<sup>35</sup> discouraging attitude towards shipbuilding industry of Surat that was managed by Wadia *Parsees* so that it could be replaced by British ships;<sup>36</sup> invasion of cheap and more refined products of industries from England<sup>37</sup> and development of factory production<sup>38</sup> in Gujarat.

The positive developments in the urban sector during the nineteenth century started taking shape with commercialization of agriculture, opening of steam power gins and oil presses<sup>39</sup> and railway transportation. This phase of development can be associated with the second half of the nineteenth century when the south Gujarat was in the making of industrial environment.<sup>40</sup> The consequences of this phase are listed in order.<sup>41</sup>

1. Emergence of new mode of production;
2. The new mode of production generated a group of institutions to run and finance the factories;
3. It also created a system of new relationships based on contract between the owners of the factories and the wageworkers;
4. This new mode of production provided the momentum for creating more and more industrialization in those branches of production, which were subsidiary or feeders for the factories. In the textiles industry, for example, dyeing works often came up adjacent to the cotton mills;

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<sup>34</sup> Fawcett, C. G. H., *A Monograph on Dyes and Dyeing in the Bombay Presidency*, 1896, p. 6; Kirit, R. T. F., *Paper Making in the Bombay Presidency - A Monograph*, 1908, p. 3.

<sup>35</sup> G. H. Desai, *Bharuch no Itihas*, p. 280 in Neera Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

<sup>36</sup> Neera Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

<sup>37</sup> D. Buchanan, *The Development of Capitalistic Enterprise in India*, 1934, p. 471.

<sup>38</sup> R. E. Enthoven, *The Cotton Fabrics of the Presidency*, Bombay, 1897, p. 23.

<sup>39</sup> In the districts of Surat, Broach and Ahmedabad there were in all 70 cotton ginning and pressing oil mills. See *Financial and Commercial Statistics for British India* compiled in the Statistical Bureau of the Government of India, 1896, pp. 425-27.

<sup>40</sup> Surat evidenced setting up of paper mill and iron and metal factories. See *Ibid.*, pp. 412 and 438.

<sup>41</sup> Neera Desai, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-203.



5. It led to a mushrooming of joint stock companies;<sup>42</sup>
6. Companies carrying on banking and insurances activities multiplied rapidly;<sup>43</sup>
7. Besides the trading communities those engaged in service sector, labour class and widows showed their interest in the share business;<sup>44</sup>
8. Urge for money gradually increased among all the classes;
9. Emergence of Modern Banking System and realization of the utility of banks;<sup>45</sup>
10. Introduction of uniform currency since 1835 and circulation within South Gujarat;<sup>46</sup>
11. The beginning of indigenous factory production created new economic demands such as *swadeshi*, protection for Indian industries, boycott of foreign goods, etc;
12. The social significance of industrialization lay in the fact that a new class of wealthy industrial owners started acquiring significance in the community.

Unlike, the *mahajans* of pre-British Gujarat, which regulated almost the entire life of their members, including their apprentices and workmen, the factory system initiated a qualitatively new set of relationships between employer and employee and the state. The introduction of the principle of

<sup>42</sup> According to Sir Dinshaw Waccha, 37 crore rupees were paid as premium on shares of a nominal value of 30 crores. Hiralal Parekh, *Arvachin Gujarat ni Rekhadarshan*, pt. II, 1936, p. 74 in Neera Desai, *op.cit*, p. 201.

<sup>43</sup> The author of *Sher ane Sattabaji* gives an exhaustive list of the banks, insurance companies and joint stock companies that emerged during this phase. Some 65 such companies with deposits amounting to Rs. 42 crores, of which Rs. 15 crores were collected on the first and the second calls. Mancherji Kwasji, *Sher ane Sattabaji*, 1867, (Gujarati), pp. 122-23 in Neera Desai, *op.cit*, p. 201.

<sup>44</sup> *Gazetteer of the Bombay City and Islands*, Vol. II, p. 164; Dalpatram, *Dalpatkavya*, pt. I, p. 233; J. B. Peile, *An Account of Talookdars in the Ahmedabad Zilla*, 1867, p. 16 in Neera Desai, *op.cit*, pp. 201-202.

<sup>45</sup> The bank of Bombay was established in 1842. By 1856 both Surat and Broach had the branches of the Bank of Bombay besides Ahmedabad, Dholera, Surat and Wadhwan. See Mayaram Shambhu Nath, Shambunath Mayaram, *Khedut Karigar tatha majoor vegere mahentu loko ne paisa Sangrah karvani jarur ane Savings Bank ni Agatya Vishe Nibandh*, 1884, pp. 28-30 in Neera Desai, *op.cit*, p. 205.

<sup>46</sup> See *Financial and Commercial Statistics for British India compiled in the Statistical Bureau of the Government of India*, 1896, p. 205.

contract between employer and employee based on the recognition of the individuality of the employee was altogether novel in the economic life of Gujarat. This was the principle, which was to have far-reaching consequences in the subsequent development of economic and social relationships of Gujarat. It led to labour legislation and generated numerous current of industrial tensions relating to hours of work, conditions of work, discrimination in employment, etc.

A survey and analysis of the above-mentioned consequential developments in the context of the South Gujarat sub-region<sup>47</sup> reveal that during the nineteenth century the urban area and urban sector could grow only in restricted environment. The restrictions existed as per the requirements of the British and the main beneficiaries were the British and the mercantile class that dared by investing the capital in the emerging industrial units.

The restrictive British policy and new economic developments together created a peculiar phenomenon in which the traditional social components and the modified nascent social components came in competition against each other. The net resultant of this process was modernization leading to the economic and social growth in the next century.

Thus the urban social structure that developed during the nineteenth century had a common basis related to caste and community structure but some variations can be observed as the urban settlements varied in size and functional role. During the nineteenth century almost all the urban settlements evidenced the emergence of municipality that helped in town management. The municipalities in the urban settlements started emerging since the second half of the nineteenth century. *Vahivatadars* managed them.<sup>48</sup> The municipalities had the general and managing committees, which had the dignitaries of the towns of all communities (See Figure B<sup>1</sup> and B<sup>2</sup>) as their

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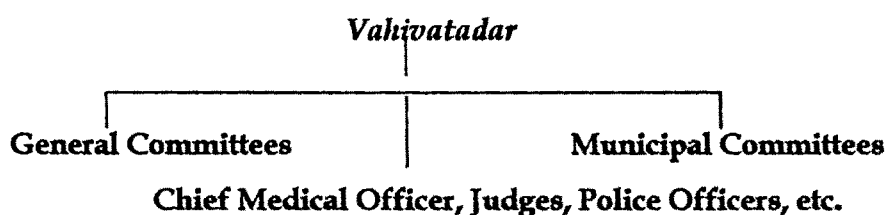
<sup>47</sup> See Chapters III and IV of the thesis.

<sup>48</sup> *Gazetteer of the Baroda State*, Vol. II, p. 237.

members.<sup>49</sup> Almost all the sections of the urban society contributed to the management of municipalities and systematic growth of town. The management structure of municipalities and details of their establishment in some of the prominent urban settlements are as follows:

FIGURE B<sup>1</sup>

## Municipality in the Urban Settlements in South Gujarat c. 1800-c.1900

FIGURE B<sup>2</sup>

## Prominent Municipalities in South Gujarat

District/Native States	Urban Settlement	Year	
		Municipalities	Self- Governing Municipalities
Surat District	Surat	1852	-
	Bulsar	1855	-
	Rander	1868	-
	Mandvi	1868	-
Broach District	Broach	1852	-
	Jambusar	1856	-
Navsari <i>prant</i>	Navsari	1877	1904
	Gandevi	1877	1904
Rajpipla	Nandod	-	1898
Dharampur	Dharampur	1878	1898
Bansda	Bansda	1878	1898

Source: GBP, *Surat and Broach*, pp. 247 & 521; *Gazetteer of the Baroda State*, Vol. II, p. 237. GBP, *Baroda*, pp. 567-68; GBP, *Rewakantha and Surat States*, pp. 253 & 257; *Administration Report on the Rajpipla State for the year 1899-1900* p. 18; *Administration Report on the Dharampur State for the Year 1899-1900*, p. 9 and *Administration Report on the Bansda State for the Year 1897-98*, p. 8.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 238.

## I

Monier Williams<sup>50</sup> wrote about the people of Broach Collectorate that they were divided into Hindu, Muslim and *Parsee* categories. The predominant occupation was agriculture. Besides agriculture, the people were engaged into trading, non-agrarian production and manufacture, menial works, pasturing, secular and religious services. Monier Williams mentions that the *Kanbis* were the potent factor in cultivation followed by *Kolis*, *Maliks*, *Sayeds*, *Sunni Borahs*, *Rajputs*, *Brahmins*, *Parsees*, *Bhats/Bahrots* and *Dhers*. *Kanbis*, *Kolis*, *Maliks*, *Sayeds*, *Sunni Bohras* and *Parsees* tilled the land themselves<sup>51</sup> whereas the *Brahmins* and *Rajputs* got it tilled by others<sup>52</sup> and *Bhats/Bahrots*, *Dhers*, *Bungees/Bhangis* cultivated the *pasaita* land.<sup>53</sup> Besides being the cultivators of their land, the *Kanbis*, *Sunni Bohras*, *Brahmans* and *Rajputs* are recorded as *patels* and *talatis* in their villages.<sup>54</sup> The trading class referred to by Monier Williams is the *Vania*. He registers the importance of the *Vania* in the towns in comparison to the villages. They carried out wholesale and retail trade, acted as money dealers, bankers, and brokers in the towns whereas in the villages their role was limited to lending of money at a high rate of interest to *patels* and cultivators.<sup>55</sup> The *Vanias* are also referred to as hereditary native revenue officers such as *Desais* and *Majumdars* and writers like *Mehtas* other than their role in mercantile community. Monier Williams registers their presence in the towns of Broach and Jambusar in a substantial number where they had houses of large size and contributed to many charitable activities.<sup>56</sup> Besides mentioning categories of people, he refers to government employees, village servants, semi-skilled and skilled

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<sup>50</sup> *Memoir on the Zilla of Baroche*, pp. 42- 48.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 42- 45.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 44- 45.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 45- 47.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 43- 44.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

artisans, menial workers and those associated with religions. The classification made by Monier Williams is attempted in Table 2.

**TABLE 2**  
**Occupational Categories of Monier Williams in Broach District**  
**c.1800-c.1820**

Occupation		Hindu	Muslim	Parsee
Cultivator		Kanbi, Koli, <sup>57</sup> Rajput, Brahmin, Bhat/Bahrot <sup>58</sup> and Dher	Malik, <sup>59</sup> Sayed <sup>60</sup> and Sunni Bohora <sup>61</sup>	Parsee
Trader		Vana	Bohra/Bohora	Parsee
Service	Rural	Desai, Majumdar, Talati, Vaidya, Joshi, Bharote and Burenteea	Akhoon	Not mentioned
	Urban	-	Not mentioned	Not mentioned
Artisan	Rural	Suthar, Luhar, Kumbhar, Soni, Darji and Mochi/Shoe-maker	Mention of weaver is available	Mobed
	Urban	Suthar, Luhar, Kumbhar, Soni, Darji, Mochi/Shoe-maker and Karwa/Kharwa	Karwa/Kharwa	Mobed
Menial Worker & others		Ghaeja/Barber, Kalpa, Bungee, Dhers, Koseea, Purabeea, Gosaeen, Havaladar, Malzuptee and Domestic servant	Fakir and Pir	Not mentioned

Source: *Memour on the Zilla of Baroche*, pp. 42-52 & 57-58.

Similar information about the class and community category finds reference in the *Gazetteers and Settlement Reports* of the *talukas*. Tables 3a-3b, 4a-4b, 5 and 6a-6b help in explaining the profile of class and community categories in the Broach and Surat districts, and the Native States of Dangs, Rajpipla, Dharampur, Bansda and Sachin.

<sup>57</sup> GBP, Vol. IX, Pt. I, *Gujarat Population, Hindus*, Bombay, 1901, pp. 237-251.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 207-214.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, Pt. II, *Gujarat Population, Musalmans and Parsis*, Bombay, 1901, p. 66.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 24-27.

**TABLE 3a**  
**Occupational Categories in Broach District c. 1820-c. 1875**

Occupation	Hindu	Muslim	Parsee
Cultivator	Kanbi, <sup>62</sup> Rajput, Kachhia and Mali	Sunni Bohora and Maliks	As cultivator and Husbandman
Trader/ Mercantile Class	Vania, <sup>63</sup> Gujarati Shrivaks, <sup>64</sup> Marwari Shrivaks, <sup>65</sup> Bhatia, <sup>66</sup> Lohana <sup>67</sup> and Gurjar Vania	Ismaili Shia Bohra, <sup>68</sup> Khoja, <sup>69</sup> Shekzadi <sup>70</sup> and Meman <sup>71</sup>	As ship- owners, toddy seller, mahura flower purchaser and shop keepers
Writer Class	Brahma Kshatri, Kaystha <sup>72</sup> and Prabhu <sup>73</sup>	-	-
Manufacturer	Khatr, <sup>74</sup> Bhuosar, <sup>75</sup> Galiara <sup>76</sup> and Ghanchi <sup>77</sup>	Ghanchi <sup>78</sup> and Bandhara <sup>79</sup>	Liquor and toddy manufacturer
Artisan	Soni, <sup>80</sup> Suthar, <sup>81</sup> Kansara, <sup>82</sup> Kadia <sup>83</sup> , Chunar, <sup>84</sup> Salat, <sup>85</sup> Luhar, <sup>86</sup> Kumbhar <sup>87</sup> and Darji <sup>88</sup>	Tai, <sup>89</sup> Momna, <sup>90</sup> Chippa <sup>91</sup> and Nagori <sup>92</sup>	Weaver

<sup>62</sup> R. E. Enthoven, *The Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, Vol. II, Delhi, 1997, (reprint), pp. 134-155.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 412-442.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 82-98.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 133-145.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 381-384.

<sup>68</sup> GBP, Vol. IX, Pt. II, *Gujarat Population: Musalmans and Parsis*, Bombay, 1901, pp. 24-27.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 36-50.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 50-57.

<sup>72</sup> R. E. Enthoven, *The Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, Vol. II, pp. 184-190.

<sup>73</sup> GBP, Vol. IX, Pt. I, *Gujarat Population: Hindus*, Bombay, 1901, p. 68.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 188-189.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 177-179.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.* p. 181.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 181-183.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, Pt. II, *Gujarat Population: Musalmans and Parsis*, Bombay, 1901, p. 73.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, Pt. I, *Gujarat Population: Hindus*, Bombay, 1901, pp. 197-202.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 202-206.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 186-188.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 186.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 195-97.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 190-192.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 189-190.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 179-181.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, Pt. II, *Gujarat Population: Musalmans and Parsis*, Bombay, 1901, p. 80.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

O T H E R S	Service	In government and other services like village-headman; <i>Talavira</i> <sup>93</sup> and <i>Bhil</i> as watchman	In government and other services like village headman	In government and other services like village headman
	Bard & Actor <sup>94</sup>	<i>Bhat, Gadhvi, Bhutwara and Vyas</i>	-	-
	Labourers class	<i>Koli, Gola, Bhadbuja, Maratha, Purabia, Talavdi, Sagaria, Lodha, Waghri, Rawalia, Pomla and Wansfora</i>	<i>Nagori</i> (cart man)	-
	Domestic Servant	<i>Bhoi, Hajam, Dhobi and Pakhali</i>	Reference to them is found but sect not identified	-
	Menial Worker	<i>Garuda, sweeper and Bhangi</i>	-	-
	Leather Worker	<i>Mochi and Khalpa</i>	-	-
	Fisher & Sailor	<i>Khurwa, Bhoi and Muchhi</i>	-	-
	Shepherd <sup>95</sup>	<i>Bharwad, Rabari and Gadaria</i>	-	-
	Religious personnel	<i>Brahamchari, Wairagi, Gosai, Jogi and Sadhu</i>	<i>Fakir and Peer</i>	-
	Aboriginal	<i>Talavira and Bhil</i> <sup>96</sup>	-	-

Source: GBP, *Surat and Broach*, pp. 372- 379.

**TABLE 3b**  
**Religious Categories in Broach District in c. 1872**

Hindu			Muslim		Parsee		Christian & others
Vaishanava (39.78%)	Shaiva (7.97%)	Shravak or Jain (1.43%)	Shia (1.29%)	Sunni (98.71%)	Shehenshahi (90.23%)	Kadami (0.77%)	Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Native Christian, Episcopalian Wesleyan, Armenian, Baptist, Jew & Sikh
Ramanuja, Valabhchhari, Kabirpanthi & Swami - Narayan	Shankar & Lingayat	- And other Who formed 50.8% of the Hindu	Shia, Daudi, Bohora, Momna & Khoja	-	-	-	

Source: GBP, *Surat and Broach*, p. 379.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

<sup>93</sup> GBP, Vol. IX, Pt. I, *Gujarat Population: Hindus*, Bombay, 1901, pp. 316-318 and G. H. Desai, *A Glossary of Castes, Tribes and Races in the Baroda State*, Baroda, 1911, p. 80.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 207-227.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 264-289.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 294-312.

Table 3a and 3b reveal the occupational classes and reflect on the beliefs of the people in the three primary communities. During the nineteenth century, some of them underwent major changes whereas the others continued with the earlier trends like life style, customs, etc. *Gazetteer of The Bombay Presidency, Surat and Broach* has registered the changes in some of the occupational classes that are discussed in the forthcoming section.

**Cultivators:** *Kanbis* in Broach derive their origin from Kaira district and were mostly cultivators except in a few cases who migrated to urban settlements and took to money lending or some other business. The *Rajputs* come next to *Kanbis* in the cultivator category whereas the *Kachhias* and *Malis*, who also belonged to the same category, grew vegetables and flowering plants. Among Muslims the *Summi Bohras* were the industrious cultivators followed by the *Parsees*.

**Mercantile Classes:** *Vanias* mostly belonged to this occupational class. Besides trade, they took to money lending, government service and sometimes cultivation. *Modh Vanias* were considered as the highest sub-caste in *Vania* category in the Broach district. The district accountant/*Majumdar* of Broach in 1870's belonged to this category whereas the *Gurjar Vanias* in Ankleshwar *taluka* reclaimed the cultivable land in the second half of the nineteenth century.

**Writers Class:** This occupational class had *Brahma-Kshatris*, *Kaysthus* and *Prabhus* who were engaged mostly in government services and were considered trustworthy by the government. Besides the government services, they were also engaged as law pleaders and sometimes as moneylenders.

**Manufacturers:** Most of the people in the manufacturing class were associated with the textile industry as it was the major manufacturing industry in Broach district. To this class belonged *Khatris*, *Bhavsars*, *Galiaras*, *Ganchis* and *Bandharas*. Even after the decline of the textiles in Broach, quite a



few continued with the previous work whereas many worked as labourers in the towns. The condition of the *Bhavsars* was considered good as they were into the printing of *sarees* that could compete with the European cloth.

**Artisan:** Among the artisans those who were skilled were found in both villages as well as towns in the district of Broach. These were *Soni, Suthar, Kansara, Kadia, Chunar, Salat, Luhar, Kumbhar, Darji, Tai, Momna, Chhipa* and *Nagori*.

Besides the above-mentioned occupational classes, there were others who constituted both urban and rural populace. These were the domestic servants engaged in works like sweeping, drawing water, washing clothes, labour, etc. The nature of their work decided their status in the urban as well as the rural society.

James Campbell's *Gazetteers on Hindu, Musalman and Parsee population, Gazetteers of the Bombay Presidency, Surat and Broach, Rewakantha and Surat State, Khandesh, Baroda, Census Reports* and accounts of R. E. Enthoven and G. H. Desai amply bear the quantitative details, description on life style and houses of the rural and urban populace.

In case of Broach the ratio between village and town dwellers on an average was 1:4.<sup>97</sup> The numbers of dwellers in the towns of Broach, Jambusar, Ankleshwar and Amod in 1872 were 36,932; 14,924; 9,414 and 6,125 respectively. These altogether formed only 19.24% of the total population of Broach district in 1872.<sup>98</sup> The wealthy dwellers lived in the fortified structure in case of Broach or in walled structure in towns like Ankleshwar, Jambusar and Amod but the dwellers of Hansot, Gajera, Kavi and other small towns had houses that resembled the village dwellings with the difference in their size. The houses were constructed in quarters and were made secure mostly

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<sup>97</sup> GBP, *Surat and Broach*, p. 380.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

through the surrounding wall either made of mud or unbaked bricks.<sup>99</sup> The best houses were of the mercantile classes in all the urban settlements followed by the government servants, petty shopkeepers and others.<sup>100</sup> In the villages, the dwelling pattern was such that the members of wealthy community and the upper classes had their houses in clusters and were protected either through gates or wall surrounding them whereas the poor and lower classes stayed in the outskirts of the villages.<sup>101</sup> In the villages the house of the shopkeeper was generally the largest and well built.<sup>102</sup>

Table 4a and 4b further sketches the profile of the occupational and religious sects in the Surat district.

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<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*

**TABLE 4 a**  
**Occupational Categories in Surat District c. 1822- c. 1872**

Occupation		Hindu	Muslim	Parsee
Cultivator		Kanbi, Matia Kanbi, <sup>103</sup> Anavala or Bhutela Brahman, Rajput, Kachhia and Muli	Sunni Bohora and Maliks	As Cultivator and Husbandman
Trader/ Mercantile Class		Vania, Gujarati Shrivaks, Marwari Shrivaks, Bhatia, and Lohana	Isma'ili Shua Bohra, Khoja, Shekzada and Meman	As Ship- owners, toddy seller, mahura flower purchaser and shop keepers
Writer Class		Brahma Kshatri, <sup>104</sup> Kaystha and Prabhu	-	-
Manufacturer		Khatrri, Bhavsar, Galiara, Ghanchu <sup>105</sup> and Chippa <sup>106</sup>	Ghanchu <sup>107</sup> and Chippa <sup>108</sup>	Liquor and toddy Manufacturer
Artisan		Soni, Suthar, Kamsar, Kadu, Chunar, Salot, Luhur, Kumbhar and Darji	Tai, Momna, Chuppa and Nagori	Weaver
O T H E R S	Service	In government and other services like village headman; Talavia and Bhil as watchman	In government and other services as messengers and policeman	In government and other services like village headman
	Bard & Actor	Bhat, Charan, Bhawaya and Ghandrap	-	-
	Labourers class	Koli, Gola, Bhadbunja, Bhandari, Gondha, Maratha, Kamalia, Rajbahura, Waghri, Rawalia, Ponla, Oda, Timalia and Wansfora	Nagori (cart man)	-
	Domestic Servant	Hajam, Dhobi and Bhisti	Mention is made to them but sect not identified	-
	Merial Worker	Garuda, Dher-sweeper, Mahar and Bhangi	-	-
	Leather Worker	Mochi (Chanalgur, Dhalgur & Dabgur) and Khulpa	-	-
	Fisher & Sailor	Kharwa, Bhoi and Machhi	-	-
	Shepherd	Bharoad, Rabari and Ahir	-	-
	Religious personnel	Brahmachari, Wairagi, Gosai, Jogi and Sadhu	Fakir and Pir	-
	Aboriginal	Dubla, Dhondia, Chodhra, Naik, Gamin, Bhil, Kukna, Mungela and Kathodia	-	-

Source: GBP, Surat and Broach, pp. 51-55.

<sup>103</sup> Enthoven, *op.cit*, pp. 150-155.

<sup>104</sup> GBP, Vol. IX, Pt. I, Gujarat Population: Hindus, Bombay, 1901, pp. 55-59.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.181-83.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 179.

<sup>107</sup> GBP, Vol. IX, Pt. II, Gujarat Population: Musalmans and Parsis, Bombay, 1901, p. 73.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

**TABLE 4b**  
**Religious Categories in Surat District c. 1872**

Hindu			Muslim		Parsee		Christian & others
Vaishanava (33.45%)	Shaiva (8.75%)	Shravak or Jain (2.09%)	Shia (8.51%)	Sunni (91.49%)	Shehenshahi (93.17%)	Kadami (6.83%)	Roman Catholic, Protestant, Presbyterian, Native Christian, Episcopalian Wesleyan, Armenian, Baptist, Jew and Sikh
Ramanuja, Valabhchari, Kabirpanthi, Madhavchari and Swami - Narayan	Shankar and Lingayat	-  And Others Who formed 55.71% of the Hindus	Shia, Daudi, Bohora, Momna and Khoja	-	-	-	

Source: GBP, *Surat and Broach*, pp. 55-56.

**Cultivators:** Like those in Broach district, *Kanbis* in Surat District did not dominate the other cultivating castes. In terms of wealth and position, they stood next to *Anavala Brahman/Bhatela Brahmans*.<sup>109</sup> Surat district was also different from the British district of Kaira where the division of *Kanbis* was made into *patidars*, as we do not find such segregation among this cultivating caste in Surat district.<sup>110</sup> The *Gazetteer of The Bombay Presidency, Surat and Broach* records them as engaged in money lending, trade, weaving and manufacture of vermilion. The *Kanbis* found in the Jalalpur and Bardoli *talukas* have been identified as *Matia Kanbis*,<sup>111</sup> who were half Hindus and half Muslims. They believed in Islam but followed the Hindu life style and customs. The rest of the cultivating classes in all the communities in Surat district continued with similar life style.

**Mercantile Classes:** The mercantile class in Surat district was mainly composed of the *Vanias*, who had some 16 sub-divisions.<sup>112</sup> Besides *Vanias*, Surat had enormous amount of *Jains/Shravaks, Bhatias and Lohanas*.<sup>113</sup> The

<sup>109</sup> GBP, *Surat and Broach*, p. 52.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, and Enthoven, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 134.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, and Enthoven, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 150.

<sup>112</sup> GBP, *Surat and Broach*, p. 52 and Enthoven, *op.cit.*, Vol III, p. 413.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*

mercantile classes of Surat were into banking and money lending.<sup>114</sup> The banks existing under their leadership can be traced at Surat, Rander and Bulsar during the nineteenth century. Among the moneylender category were the *Shahukars* who operated in the towns as well as in villages.<sup>115</sup> In villages these were called as *kisatia*.<sup>116</sup>

**Writers:** Reference to the writer class who were mainly town dwellers is also found in Surat district. They were mainly in the government services. According to the census of 1872, Surat district had 1,761 *Brahma Kshatris*, *Kaysthas* and *Prabhus* belonging to the writer class. Their number in 1891 increased in Surat city to 1,379 including some 500 or so located in *taluka* headquarters at Bulsar and Rander.<sup>117</sup>

**Manufacturers:** Surat district records *Khatri*, *Bhavsar*, *Galiara*, *Ghanchi* and *Chhipa* as chief manufacturers of textile products. *Ganchis* and *Chhipas* were found in both Hindu and Muslim communities. Their life style was rich and resembled that of the *Vanias*.

**Artisans:** Similar references as in case of Broach district regarding craftsmen and artisans are available in the contemporary sources. These were both skilled and semi-skilled artisans and were found in the towns as well as villages. During the nineteenth century, they faced adverse circumstances due to the changed economic scenario.

**Others:** Besides cultivators, traders, manufacturers and artisans, there were the service classes, labour classes, domestic servants, menial workers, leather workers, fishermen, sailors, shepherds, aboriginals and religious personnel who constituted some of the components of both rural and urban dwellers.

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<sup>114</sup> GBP, *Surat and Broach*, p. 185.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 185-86.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.* p. 186.

<sup>117</sup> GBP, Vol. IX, Pt. I, *Gujarat Population: Hindus*, Bombay, 1901, p. 55.

The percentage of urban dwellers in Surat district amounted to 21.20% in 1872.<sup>118</sup> These dwellers were mostly located in Surat, Rander and Bulsar.<sup>119</sup> Both rural and urban dwellers evidenced horizontal and vertical mobility during the nineteenth century. The horizontal mobility was from Surat to Bombay due to decline of trade and search for employment whereas the vertical mobility was from the villages to *qasbas*/small and medium size towns.<sup>120</sup> For instance, *Parsees* moved from villages to Navsari and further from Navsari to Bombay.<sup>121</sup> The occupational classes that moved from the place of original inhabitation during the nineteenth century were traders, townsmen of the *Vania* and *Shravak* castes, artisans, semi-skilled craftsmen like *dhers*, *Bohora* townsmen and *Parsees*.<sup>122</sup> According to the contemporary sources, there were three types of emigrants who left Surat for Bombay whose details are as follows:<sup>123</sup>

i. those who have established themselves permanently in Bombay and severed their connection with Surat; ii. those who have settled in Bombay, but still look upon Surat as their home, and on all great domestic occasions to celebrate a marriage or to hold a ceremony in honour of the dead, visit Surat and iii. those whose men only live in Bombay and at intervals come to Surat to visit their families. A considerable number of Parsis, some Musalmans, and a few Hindu traders, belong to the first class. But of the Hindus and Musalmans, the greater numbers belong to the second class, keeping up a connection with Surat. Those among whom the men only go to Bombay, leaving their families in Surat, belong to two classes: i, men of good position who are in Bombay, either for their education, in search of employment, or as clerks; and ii, the members of the depressed classes who, engaged in Bombay as servants, find it more convenient to leave their families behind them in Surat. Among Musalmans the trading *Bohoras*, both of the *Sunni* and *Shia* sects, go great distances for purposes of trade. The *Mulla* or *Shia Bohoras* of Surat, leaving their families in Surat, visit, and sometimes settle for several years in, China and Siam. The *Sunni Bohoras* of Rander go westwards as far as Mauritius, and eastwards to Burmah, Siam, Rangoon, and China. Among the seamen there are some, chiefly Musalmans of Rander, who not only go to Siam, Rangoon, and China, but take employment in ships sailing to Europe, and in some cases remain for several months in England.

<sup>118</sup> GBP, *Surat and Broach*, p. 56.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 57- 58.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

The other classes that moved frequently within district and outside it were the *Banjaras* and *Nagoris* who were involved in rural trade and transportation of commodities between the rural and urban settlements.

Table 5 gives the occupational details of the inhabitants of Dangs who generally belonged to the rural stock. Their interaction was limited and it was mainly between villages except the *Banjara* and *Parsee* traders who used to visit the Dangs during the trade seasons.

TABLE 5  
Occupational Categories in Dangs c. 1800 - c.1872

Tribal Population	Occupation
<i>Kumbis</i>	Half settled; wood cutting and labour class
<i>Bhils</i> <sup>124</sup>	Labour Class
<i>Chodhras</i> <sup>125</sup>	Cultivators
<i>Kathodias</i> <sup>126</sup>	Manufacturer of catechu
<i>Konkanas</i> <sup>127</sup> & <i>Varlis</i> <sup>128</sup>	Half settled; gatherer of forest produce, wood cutting and labour class

Sources: *GBP, Khandesh*, Vol. XII, 1880, pp. 600-601.

Table 6 reveals the similar occupational categories in the three major communities of the Native States of South Gujarat. The trading community among the Hindus, Muslims and *Parsees* remained most promising in the Navsari *prant* whereas the villages and towns of the other Native States evidenced less trade activity in comparison to agriculture and production work in the forest belts.

<sup>124</sup> *GBP, Vol. IX, Pt. I, Gujarat Populations: Hindus*, Bombay, 1901, pp. 294 - 312.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 312-313.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 319-320.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 321-323.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 328-329.

TABLE 6: Occupational Categories in Native States c. 1800-c.1872

	Hindu	Muslim	Parsee
Rajpipla	Cultivators: Kanbi, Kolis, Rajputs and Traders: Banjaras and Charans	Cultivators, Traders, Artisans and Others: Mention to them is available	Cultivators, Traders and contractors
Baneda	Capital Class: Marwadi, Shrivaks, & Brahmans; Traders: Marwadis & Brahmans; and Aboriginal and Tribals: Konkani, Kanbis, Chodhras, Dhondias and Gantias	Cultivators, Traders, Artisans and Others: Mention to them is available	Traders and contractors
Dharampur	Cultivators, Traders, Artisans and Others: Mention to them is available. Dublas, Naikas, Dhundias, kathodias, Bhirpis, Agris and Dharlis	Cultivators, Traders, Artisans and Others: Mention to them is available.	Traders and contractors
Sachin	Capital Class: Marwadi & Shrivaks	- Artisans: Tais and Others: fishers, sailors and tile turners	- -

Source: GBP, Baroda, pp. 51-72; GBP, Rawakantha and Surat States, pp. 94- 96 and 246-253, 255-257 and 258-265.



The survey of the census details of the period 1872-1901 helps in giving us an idea about the occupational and community categories during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, which has been illustrated in Tables 7a and 7b.

**TABLE 7a: Community and Caste Category in the South Gujarat during the Last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century.**

Community	Caste	Sub-Caste
<b>Hindu</b>	<i>Brahmin</i>	<i>Audich, Anavala, Bhatela, Chovisa, Kayatia, Khedaval, Khaduryats, Maradha Brahmin, Mevada, Modhs, Nagar, Naandoda, Shrimali and Tapodhan.</i>
	<i>Kshatrya/Rajput</i>	<i>Barad, Bihola, Chavda, Chohan, Dodia, Gohul, Gujar, Makwana, Padhar, Padiar, Parmar, Rana, Rathod, Raval, Sisodia, Sojantria, Solanki, Vadvasia. Vaghela and Vedia.</i>
	<i>Vaishya</i>	<i>Vania, Porvad, Nina, Kadayata, Mevada, Shrimali, Nagar, Jhalora, Lad, Osaval, Umud, Maru, Desaval and Vayada.</i>
	<i>Shudra</i>	<i>Garoda, Bhungi, Mochi, Khalpa and Tirgar.</i>
<b>Muslim</b>	<i>Shia Sunni</i>	<i>Sidi, Syed, Shaikh, Pathan, Meman, Bohora and Makrani. Daudi, Sulaimania, Alia, Zoida, Hajumia, Ismailia and Nazaria.</i>
<b>Parsee</b>	<i>Shehenshahi Kadami</i>	Reference not found
<b>Christians</b>	<i>Roman Catholics Presbyterians, Native Christians, Episcopalians, Wesleyans, Armenia, Baptist</i>	Reference not found
<b>Others</b>	<i>Sikhs, Jews, Etc.</i>	Reference not found

Sources: - Census Report 1901, Vol. XVIII-B, Baroda, Pt. II, pp. 8-12; James Campbell, GBP, Gujarat Population: Hindus, Vol. XI, Pt. I, Bombay, 1901, pp. 3, 55, 69 and 331 and James Campbell, GBP, Gujarat Population: Muslims and Parsis, Vol. IX, Pt. II, Bombay, 1899, pp. 6-90 & 244-45.

**TABLE 7b: Occupational Categories in the Community Categories of South Gujarat During the Last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century**

Religion	Occupation Category	Castes
Hindu	Cultivator	<i>Kachhia, Kanbi, Patel and Rajput</i>
	Craftsmen	<i>Bhavsar, Chunar, Chhipa, Darji, Galiara, Kansara, Kharadis, Kumbhar, Lakhara, Luhar, Mochi, Salat and Soni</i>
	Bard	<i>Bhut and Charan</i>
	Personal Servant	<i>Dhobi and Hajam</i>
	Shepherd	<i>Bharoud and Rabari</i>
	Fish Sailor	<i>Machlu and Bhoi</i>
	Ordinary Business	<i>Bharthari, Gola and Banjara</i>
	Leather works	<i>Dabgar, Khalpa and Mochi</i>
	Miscellaneous	<i>Bajana, Bhadbhuria, Dalvadi, Gola, Kalali, Kandoi, Labana, Odds, Pinjara, Ravalia, Thori, Vaghri and Banjara.</i>
	Tribe	<i>Bhil, Chodhara, Dhanka, Dhuudia, Dubla, Gamit, Gamta, Kathodia, Kokana and Naika</i>
Muslim	Crafts men	<i>Bandhara, Bhadbhuj, Chhipa, Chudivala, Chunara, Chundadigira, Ghanchi, Kaghzis, Kadia, Kasai, Kharadia, Khatkis, Luhara, Maniar, Memon, Multani, Nalbandh, Panjigars, Rangara, Salat, Soni and Tais.</i>
	Trading Communities	<i>Bohora, Alua, Daudi, Dudwala, Jafri, Karalias, Khoja, Memon, Nagoshi and Sabalia</i>
	Landholders	<i>Behlins, Bohora, Kakapuris, Ganeti, Ghermehdis, Kasbats, Makwana, Maliks, Matia Kanbi, Mosalamani, Parmars, Rathors, Samus, Shukhs, Solanki, Sunaras and Tonks.</i>
	Service Class	<i>Behrupla, Bhand, Bhatti, Bhutwaja, Gandhrap, Kamalias, Madari, Mirs, Sipahi, Tashchis and Turki Hajam.</i>
	Labour Class	<i>Banjaras, Chatta, Chharas, Dhuldhoya, Gorkhodia, Kathiara, Machhi, Muli, Mapara, Nagori, Nat, Pakhali, Shushahgars and Thori.</i>

Sources: - GBP, *Gujarat Population: Hindus*, Vol. XI, Pt. I, Bombay, 1901, pp. 3,55,69, 123, 153, 177, 207, 228, 236, 252, 264 and 331 and Campbell, GBP, *Gujarat Population: Musalmans and Parsis*, Vol. IX, Pt. II, Bombay, 1899, pp. 6-90.

## II

As far as demographic data of the South Gujarat territory is concerned, we have rough estimates of cities like Surat and Broach during the late eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century available from sources like *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* or *Majmua-e-Danish*, Account of James Forbes in *Oriental Memoirs* and in H. G. Brigg's *Cities of Gujarashtra*. These sources, however,

do not serve our purpose completely as the information is limited in terms of empirical data. The empirical details regarding the population are extremely helpful in computing the potential of a village or a town and a city; transformations that a society undergoes as a result of shifts in occupations, and beliefs and due to socio- economic and political associations.

The Britishers introduced the system of having census estimates since 1870's in the South Gujarat territory. Based on the Demographic data of the *Census Reports* and other helping information in *Survey and Revised Survey Settlements*, I offer a demographic profile of rural and urban settlements in South Gujarat during the last quarter of the nineteenth century in Table 8a, 8b and 8c. All the three establish increasing trend in population with a few variations.

**TABLE 8a: Population of South Gujarat during 1872-1901.**

District/Native State	Total Population of South Gujarat			
	1872	1881	1891	1901
Surat	1,49,851	1,53,254	1,55,864	1,65,153
Broach	71,547	68,392	72,374	71,602
Dang		25,558	32,747	18,582
Sinor & Tilakwada <i>peta mahal</i> of Baroda <i>prant</i>	-	47,023	48,378	34,745
Navsari Prant	2,41,255	2,87,554	3,19,443	3,00,444
Rajpipla	1,20,036	-	71,771	1,17,175
Bansda	32,154	-	41,373	40,382
Dharampur	74,592	1,01,289	120,498	1,00,430
Sachin	17,103	-	19,337	20,530
<b>Total</b>	<b>7,06,538</b>	<b>6,83,070</b>	<b>8,81,785</b>	<b>8,69,043</b>

Sources: IGI, Baroda, Calcutta, 1908, p. 98; *Census of India*, 1901, Vol. XVIII B, Baroda, Pt. III, pp. 8-9; BPG, *Rewakantha and Surat States*, Vol. VI, Bombay, 1880, pp. 19-21 and GBP, *Surat and Brouch*, pp. 8 & 43.

**TABLE 8b**  
**Population of South Gujarat Territory in the Last Quarter of Nineteenth Century (continue)**

South Gujarat Territory	Total				Male				Female			
	1872	1881	1891	1901	1872	1881	1891	1901	1872	1881	1891	1901
<b>Years</b>												
Baroda Prant	-	39,494	39,073	29,979	-	21,055	20,286	15,750	-	18,439	18,787	14,229
Sinor Taluka	-	7,529	9,305	4,816	-	3,865	4,878	2,441	-	3,364	4,432	2,375
Tilakwada Taluka	-	47,023	48,378	34,795	-	24,920	25,164	18,191	-	21,803	23,219	16,604
<b>Total</b>												
Naveari Prant	-	49,002	53,523	59,875	-	24,264	25,532	28,876	-	21,738	27,991	30,999
Naveari Taluka	-	29,683	32,813	30,920	-	15,090	16,121	15,407	-	14,593	16,692	15,513
Gandevi Taluka	-	32,628	35,483	33,720	-	16,766	18,112	17,263	-	15,862	17,371	16,457
Mahuva Taluka	-	47,947	53,370	44,237	-	24,798	27,331	22,332	-	23,149	26,039	21,905
Vyara Taluka	-	29,922	29,682	28,217	-	15,348	15,282	14,497	-	14,571	14,400	13,720
Songarh Taluka	-	8,210	8,498	6,218	-	4,315	4,495	3,296	-	3,895	4,003	2,922
Vajpur (peta)	-	31,503	25,385	22,567	-	15,929	12,930	11,306	-	15,574	12,455	11,261
Velachha	-	9,778	10,666	7,922	-	5,064	5,481	4,063	-	4,714	5,185	3,859
Vakal (peta)	-	25,967	44,761	41,479	-	13,147	22,723	20,828	-	12,820	22,038	20,651
Kamrej	-	22,909	25,262	25,286	-	11,756	12,906	12,921	-	11,153	12,356	12,365
Palsana	-	287,549	319,443	300,441	-	146,477	160,913	150,789	-	1,38,069	158,530	149,652
<b>Total</b>	241,255				-				-			



TABLE 8c  
Rural and Urban Population in South Gujarat Territory in the Last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century (Continue)

South Gujarat Territory	Area in sq. mile	Townse	Villages	Total Population			Male			Female		
				Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural
Baroda Prant												
Sinor Taluka	139	1	45	29,979	5,186	24,793	15,750	2,611	13,139	14,229	2,575	11,654
Tilakwada Taluka	34	1	32	4,816	1,693	3,123	2,441	837	1,604	2,375	856	1,519
Total	173	2	77	34,795	6,879	27,916	18,191	3,448	14,743	16,604	3,431	13,173
Navsari Prant												
Navsari Taluka	125	1	60	59,875	21,451	38,424	28,876	10,502	18,374	39,999	10,949	20,050
Gandevi Taluka	46	2	28	30,920	10,620	20,300	15,407	5,206	10,201	15,513	5,414	10,099
Mahuva Taluka	143	0	69	33,720	-	33,720	17,263	-	17,263	16,457	-	16,457
Vyara Taluka	360	1	153	44,237	6,117	38,120	22,332	3,263	19,069	21,905	2,854	19,051
Songarh Taluka	344	1	152	28,217	2,533	25,684	14,497	1,421	13,076	13,720	1,112	12,608
Vajpur (peta)	460	0	91	6,218	-	6,218	3,296	-	3,296	2,922	-	2,922
Velachha Taluka	149	0	58	22,567	-	22,567	11,306	-	11,306	11,261	-	11,261
Vakal (peta)	78	0	34	7,922	-	7,922	4,063	-	4,033	3,859	-	3,859
Kannrej Taluka	156	1	75	41,479	4,407	37,072	20,823	2,063	18,765	20,651	2,344	18,307
Palsana Taluka	91	0	52	25,280	-	25,286	12,921	-	12,921	12,365	-	12,365
Total	1952	6	772	300,441	45,128	255,313	150,789	22,455	128,334	149,652	22,673	126,979



Tables' 8a, 8b and 8c reveal that on an average South Gujarat was predominantly an agrarian sub-region, which had 15% to 20% urban dwellers. The rest of the dwellers belonged to the semi-rural and rural category. The approximate percentage of urban and rural dwellers in South Gujarat derived from the above tables is given in Table 9.

**TABLE 9: Percentage Population of Urban and Rural dwellers in South Gujarat in 1901**

District/Native State	Urban Population %	Rural Population %
<i>Sinor Taluka &amp; Tilakwada Peta</i>	19.77=20%	80.23=80%
<i>Navsari Prant</i>	15.02= 15%	84.98=85%
Broach District	24.54=25%	75.45=75%
Surat District	26.87=27%	73.12=73%
Dangs	0%	100%
Rajpipla	9.55=10%	90.45=90%
Bansda	9.31=9%	90.68=91%
Dharampur	6.32=6%	93.68=94%
Sachin	0%	100%

Table 9 reveals that in South Gujarat sub-region, Surat district was the most urbanized district followed by Broach, *Sinor taluka* and *Tilakwada peta*, *Navsari Prant*, Rajpipla and Bansda Native States in terms of regular urban dwellers whereas Dangs and Sachin did not have permanent urban dwellers. In case of small Native States there were visiting urban dwellers or the headquarter towns showed some symbols of being urban. These symbols were not registered in the census of 1901. The reason attributed to it is that it was only in 1911 *Census Reports* that the princely headquarters were taken as urban settlements.

A comparison of Table 9 of the Chapter V and Tables 1 and 8 of chapter IV shows the variations regarding the quantum and classification of the urban settlements on the basis of demographically, figures and the functional roles of the settlements in the South Gujarat sub-region. Demographically there were only 24 urban settlements belonging to cities and town categories and 3,278 rural settlements whereas the functional role qualifies some 100



settlements as urban. These had their sub-categories like *bandar* and *bara* and inland towns. The inland towns were further divided into large, middle and small towns. The small towns again had their sub types under administrative, market, railway station, pilgrimage and village towns. The small and village towns had predominance of semi-urban dwellers that were in the process of becoming urban in the forthcoming century i.e., the twentieth century.

### III

The descriptive and demographic profile of the communities, castes and sects of South Gujarat indicates transformations during the second half of the nineteenth century. These transformations were regarding their economic status, social institutions and, attitudes towards life style, thinking and, of course, in the relationships. The sphere of their activity was restricted to the urban settlements particularly in the large cities like Surat and Broach and marginally in middle size urban settlements like Navsari and Jambusar.<sup>129</sup> The small towns did not register the impact of these changes and these continued largely with the traditional patterns in the social realm.<sup>130</sup>

The caste system among Hindus continued to remain rigid despite the presence of new economic, political and educational forces that generated the process of the making of modern environment. The significant feature that surfaced in the late nineteenth century Gujarat was the emergence of caste organizations<sup>131</sup> and it did touch the South Gujarat urban settlements in particular however we lack data regarding this in relation to medium and small size urban settlements. The caste organizations/associations attempted the reforms in caste practices. The *Shrimali Brahmins* decided not to take bride

<sup>129</sup> See Neera Desai, *op.cit.*, pp. 312-321.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 321-322.

<sup>131</sup> Navalram, *Navalram Granthawali*, pt. II, p. 296 in *Ibid. Gujarat Population: Musalmans and Parsis*, pp. 328 & 358-377. Some of the caste organizations that remained active in Gujarat were Cutch Dasha, Oswal Mandal, Anaval Desai Sabha, Sathodra Samaj, Vadnagar Mandal, Achudiyu Association and Bhatha Association.

price. They also decided to eliminate one dinner and give the money saved from this to the caste funds.<sup>132</sup> Similarly, the Vadnagar *Kanbis* also introduced reforms. These reforms were associated, with caste dinners given after death, second marriage child marriage and collection of educational funds. The region also evidenced the publication of the *Journals* like *Jain Dharma Prakash*, *Audichya Hitechhu*, *Shrimali Shubechhak*, etc. It can therefore be stated comprehensively that in the nineteenth century the caste system did not wiped off but it got transformed into associations and strived hard for preservation of their identities in the social hierarchy through the above stated means of reforms and publication of their views in the *Journal* and seeking support from the caste members.<sup>133</sup> Besides the Caste organizations/associations, Gujarat region also evidenced the emergence of voluntary associations. These voluntary associations were a result of the growth of complex activities that necessitated specialized functioning and an environment for such associations. New polity, emerging industrial economy, nascent education activity and numerous interest groups in the urban settlements of Gujarat created harmonious situation for interaction of castes at the horizontal and vertical plane simultaneously. For instance, the *Mahajan Sabha* that operated in Surat, Broach, Jambusar, Ankleshwar, Navsari, etc. cut across the castes, as it was a multi-caste organization.<sup>134</sup> The *Manav Dharma Sabha* saw the light of the day in 1844 at Surat through the zealous efforts of Durgaram Mehtaji.<sup>135</sup> This organization was a meeting ground for all *Gujaratis*, *Marathis* and *Parsees*. It addressed the issues like humanity, abolition of caste discrimination and encouragement to widow re-marriage, exposition of superstitions and also talked of salt tax and nature of the British rule.<sup>136</sup> Some of the other associations that remained frequently active in

<sup>132</sup> See *Buddhi Prakash*, April, 1869 in Neera Desai, *op.cit.*, p. 328.

<sup>133</sup> Neera Desai, *op.cit.*, pp. 329-330.

<sup>134</sup> Narmad, *Gujarat Sarva Sangrah*, p. 281 in Neera Desai, *op.cit.*, p. 359.

<sup>135</sup> Mahipatram, *Durgacharitra*, p. 11 in Neera Desai, *op.cit.*, p. 361.

<sup>136</sup> Neera Desai, *op.cit.*, pp. 361-62.

South Gujarat urban settlements were Surat Literary Society, *Surat Praja Samaj*, *Sharda Pujak Mandali*, *Surat Gujarati Natak Mandali* and *Parhejgar Mandali* at Surat, *Swadesh Udyam Vardhak Sabha* at Surat and Broach and *Dukh Nivaran Mandali* at Broach.<sup>137</sup> All these associations had members from all the castes and communities. These organizations worked in the eradication of social evils through various means within the Hindu caste system.

*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency* by James M. Campbell on Gujarat Population throws immense light on the Muslim and *Parsee* population.<sup>138</sup> Gujarat had both the foreign and converted elements among the Muslims who contributed in almost all the economic sectors during the nineteenth century, whereas the *Parsees* were not much in large number and unlike Hindus and Muslims were concentrated more in the urban settlements of South Gujarat. Both the communities also did not have social structure like Hindu caste system however had some social problems related to their divisions into sect. This however did not pose any complex problems within or outside their core groups. A brief profile of the two is analyzed in the context of nineteenth century South Gujarat.

It is very difficult to form an approximate notion of the number of the *Parsee* population under the different rulers of the Gujarat region in general and the South Gujarat sub-region in particular during the first half of the nineteenth century. Reference to *Parsees* in the first half of nineteenth century is available in Collectorate and Judiciary records as urban and rural settlers.<sup>139</sup> These records however do not provide exact demographic statistics. The

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 363-374.

<sup>138</sup> GBP, Vol. IX, Pt. II, *Gujarat Population: Musalmans and Parsis*, Bombay, 1901, pp. 1-176 and 193-254.

<sup>139</sup> *Cases Disposed of by the sudder Faujdari Adalat*, 1857, Bombay, 1858, p. 410; Letter from C. J. Davies to Secretary Judicial Department, Bombay, Political Department Proceedings, Maharashtra State Archives, Bombay, 40/1857, f. 29. These documents refer to *Parsee* population located in the villages and small towns of Broach Collectorate. Also see Raj Kumar Hans and A. B. Saxena, 'Community, identity and Contestation, Parsis and Musalmans of Bharuch in 1857', (unpublished paper), Department of History, The M. S. university of Baroda.

obvious reason is that no census was carried out for all these years. However, the earliest *Gazetteers*, *Census Reports*, *Settlement Reports* and *Administrative Reports* refer to their existence in various towns of the South Gujarat region. Therefore we get an idea for the period since 1851 to 1872 and after that in a regular manner. The towns that find mention are Bharuch, Surat, Bansda and Dharampur, Navsari, Udwada, Bulsar, Daman, Pardi, Bilimora, Gandevi, Mahuwa, Songadh, Kamrej, Vyara, Palsana and small towns of Surat and Broach Collectorate.<sup>140</sup> The *Parsees* as stated earlier were mainly the urban settlers and enterprising. They did enhance the urban economy by their activities and contributed to the Gujarati society philanthropically. The known names during the nineteenth century were that of Jamshedji Jijibhoy of Navsari, Jamshedji N. Tata and Pestonji Bomaji Wadia migrated from South Gujarat to Bombay, Dhanjibahi of Surat, etc. for the above stated purpose. Similarly, the Muslims in South Gujarat contributed to the growth of local economy and social up gradation.

In the end, it can be stated that with the political, economic, educational, organizational transformations, the South Gujarat society headed towards new direction that was based on achievement, secularism and legal rational norms.

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<sup>140</sup> GPB, Vol. IX, pt. II, *Gujarat Population: Musalmans and Parsis*, Bombay, 1899, pp. 186-87.