

## **Land Tenures, Agrarian Relations and Institutional Transition: British Impact on the Land Revenue Structure in the Bahawalpur State**

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### **Abstract**

*The land tenures became a subject to be studied in India under the colonial period. In the princely India context, land tenures were also recognized when the property status was acknowledged under the influence of colonial institutions. According to the newly adopted land tenure system, the mode of rights in land and its classification was substantially a necessary segment not only for the assessment of land revenue demand but also for the registration of land ownership, for the protection of land rights and for the fixation of rent and charges. This paper documents the dramatic transformation in land system under the colonial impact and examines the process by which it came about in the Bahawalpur State. Being an agrarian based region, there was a close relation in the tenures and socio-economic settings. This research traces that how the Agency rule in the State brought changes in the agrarian relations and property status. This paper is mainly based on published and unpublished official reports.*

**Key Word:** Land Revenue, property, ownership Rights, peasantry, Development.

### **Introduction**

Land revenue is an essential segment of income in any properly established system of an agrarian based government. In a country like India where 70% of population was associated with agriculture, land revenue had always been considered a part of the natural order of society from the time immemorial.<sup>1</sup> The tenures of land actually referred to the official arrangements for collecting the land revenue from village communities. The old patterns of agrarian relations in this

agricultural based society were followed by customary practices.<sup>2</sup> However, their systematic recognition seems to be appear in the historical chronicles, when statistical data was recorded in the colonial period.

In the modern history of India, Sher Shah Suri (1540-1545) was the first emperor who formed an indigenous scheme of land revenue. His regulations provided the grounds for a tentative revenue plan to the rulers who followed him. During the reign of Jallal-ud-Din Akbar (1556-1605), his Finance Minister Todarmul initiated a comprehensive system of revenue assessment and collection through the *zamindar* class who was non-hereditary. Those *zamindars* were merely collectors and were under the direct control of central government while settlement of land was dealt with each *raiyat*.<sup>3</sup>

This system remained in practical working in the all parts of India in the subsequent Mughal period. With some modifications, this pattern formed the foundation of the institutions that worked under the British rule over India. However, a novelty was that the British brought a structure of land tenures and created individual ownership rights in agricultural land.<sup>4</sup> This newly adopted system was prevailing in the all British territories. In regard to the princely India, the native states had their separate administrative and revenue setup, yet the basic features were those from the Mughal period. With the ownership rights by the British, different tenures of land organized, developed and legally registered all over the country though were based on the local environs of the concerned area.

### **Land Tenure System in the British India**

On the eve of East India Company (hereafter EIC), land revenue became a matter of great concern as it was the largest source of income. The basic principal of British land revenue policy in India was to adopt a moderate rate and to earn more revenue. Therefore, in the politics of colonial revenue administration, village, *mauza* or *chakk* occupied a central place. The tenures of land became basis of the colonial socio-economic and property order. This new institution was based on the individual ownership rights in the soil and registration of land-holding that was depended upon the infrastructure of

judicial codes and establishment. However, the British reconcile the new ownership structure with the existing customary patterns and three tenure forms of village communities emerged; *zamindari*, *mahalwari* and *raiyyatwari*.

The British granted large tracts of land on permanent *zamindari* settlement commenced from Bengal in 1793 and the land tax was permanently fixed.<sup>5</sup> The *zamindars* were in fact revenue collectors and had ownership rights. However, the other territories under this tenure were different from the Bengal case and commonly identified with the communal land rights. Particularly, this tenure had a single owner but actually was divided among many co-sharers and the tax was not fixed. Anyhow, this tenure was the pioneer of ownership rights in India.<sup>6</sup>

In *mahalwari* settlement, whether an individual or group of cultivators controlled the land but the middleman was responsible for the payment of land revenue. Actually, *mahalwari* system was introduced by passing the regulation VII of 1822, which latter modified with some lenient outlook by passing the regulation XI of 1833.<sup>7</sup> The *raiyyatwari* system was launched in 1802 by Sir Thomas Munro. This tenure held direct relations with government and each individual held separate holdings with ownership rights or inheritance laws. Table 1 posits an overview of the division of areas under all three settlements in British India. The last two tenures had no fixed rate of revenue. Further, the customary organization of land rights in all three cases varied from one region to another.

Table 1: Area Percentage under Different Tenures of Land in British India

Tenures of Land	%	Territories
Permanent Zamindari	19	Bengal, Behar, Orissa, and Banaras.
Mahalwari	30	UP, Central Provinces, Punjab and Oudh
Raiyyatwari	51	Bombay, Madras and Sind.

Total	100%
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**Source:** Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India* (New Delhi, Orient Longman, 2004), 85-95.

### **The Bahawalpur State: From *Jagir* to the Princely State**

During the disintegration of the Mughal dynasty, many territories were slipping away from the control of the central government and petty chiefs emerged as native ruler particularly in the Rajputana region. The government established an administrative hierarchy and the Mughal governor awarded the *jagir* of *Choudarri* to the chief of Daudputra Abbasid with the chief motive of restoring and monitoring the revenue from these areas. However, the land tax was not fixed because the nature of this *jagir* was originally in form of a grant awarded in return of the military services of Daudputras for Mughal rule. The Daudputras gradually developed their *jagir* into a State by annexing the surrounding areas under their control and paid a large amount in form of tribute to the Mughals and afterwards to the Afghan ruler. The amount of this tribute was almost 10% of its revenue.<sup>8</sup> In a way, the Nawab was himself a *jagirdar* of the Mughals.

Gradually, a revenue structure emerged with shallow features. Revenue was collected in two ways: first was the direct collection from the cultivators in those abodes, which were under the complete control of the Nawabs like Allahbad, Derawar and Bahawalpur. In these areas, the holdings were sub-divided among cultivators to whom rent was collected. In the other areas where tribal chiefs had founded separate principalities over their estates, they were independent in their financial matters and usually received a high pitch of revenue and had *zamindari* system of tenure.<sup>9</sup> It was also the emergence of intermediates in the State that sustained until 1806, when the Nawab Bahawal Khan II (1772-1809) had annexed all independent estates and established his authority over the entire State. He reorganized the administration by dividing the State into four *kardaris*, which were originally the revenue units.<sup>10</sup> Now, all the areas in the State had an equal ratio of State demand varied from 25% to 17% of the gross produce.<sup>11</sup>

The significant aspect of native rule was that the State revenue demand was dependent on the conditions of soil and irrigation because both elements varied from place to place all over the State. These patterns were established by a long customary practice not by any constitutional manner. Land revenue was assessed according to the capacity of land. The customary method of assessing and collecting the land revenue was *batai* (sharecropping) for grain crops.<sup>12</sup> However, the State share in indigo that was grown in the State on a large scale, was always collected in kind. During the reign of Nawab Bahawal Khan III, the revenue was collected partially in *batai* and partially in cash for non-grain crops. The cash payments were realized generally when season was favourable and crops were abundant.<sup>13</sup> This system with several loopholes remained in practice until the establishment of the Council of Regency. The Agency was a political settlement by the Government of India to run the administration of those princely States where the present ruler died and the Prince was minor.

### **Institutional Transition and Land System in the Bahawalpur State**

Under the auspices of the Agency in 1866, the colonial institutes and laws of British India were promulgated in the State. The Agency professed the scientific base of land revenue structure and imposed a comprehensive system of property rights over the native land system through their own customs and laws relating with lands. Simultaneously, land revenue structure began to take a specific form. All the patterns of British Punjab were adopted in the native State. The political administrative division was recognized as revenue division.

A Revenue Department (*Mushiraat e Mal*) was setup under the head of Land Administration. Patwari and Girdawar-Qanungo were the most significant officials introduced in the land system.<sup>14</sup> The government added some more functionaries to strengthen the revenue administration all over in Punjab: the hereditary office of *lumberdar* and to higher office of *zaildar*.<sup>15</sup> Both functionaries were appointed to assist the *tehsildar* in the revenue matters and to police in criminal proceedings.<sup>16</sup> The

*lumberdar* occupied important position in the system and he was allowed to retain the charge of five rupees and, latter, five acres of rent-free grant.<sup>17</sup> His appointment was always made among the leading men of peasant proprietors. Therefore, Hamza Alvi called him the holder of a quasi-political office, not the servant of the State.<sup>18</sup>

The reorganization of the State administration by Political Agent and Supritendent, Colonel I. J. H. Grey (1871-1879 and 1899-1908), in 1877 gave a considerable impetus to the revenue system and introduced the post of Revenue Minister, a rank equal to the Commissioner of a Division in Punjab. The jurisdiction of the Revenue Minister in the State comprised of the departments of Land Revenue, Settlements, Domain Lands and Studs while the Police became a separated department.<sup>19</sup> In the following years, there was further time-to-time up gradation in the administrative setup of the State.

### **Peasants and the Ownership Rights**

In the princely India context, the native ruler was the sole proprietor and fountainhead of all rights over land within his state. He frequently granted the possession of land to the other people of different tribes in order to cultivate it. The subjects were supposed to obtain their land in obligation of military and other services while *zamindars* in return for their possession paid appropriate revenue to the State.<sup>20</sup> The first owners were free from the obligations of land revenue for some specific years. Vast majority of the population was dependent on agriculture for their livelihood but without having the right of individual ownership.

In the Bahawalpur State, the ultimate authority over the land ownership belonged to the native ruler as well. The land rights of village communities were fully acknowledged and recorded with same practice as in the British India but the discretion of the native ruler was dominant. The crown land was composed of both cultivated and uncultivated categories. Nevertheless, large tracts were still unoccupied therefore, there was great scope for the extension of cultivated area. In fact the State territory was divided into two physical regions: the eastern part and the western part. In the eastern part, population existed only on the strip of Sutlej while remaining area comprised on

desert. The western part was populated with village communities existed from the old times and were dependent on irrigated agriculture fed by the combined waters of Sutlej, Chenab and Indus.

Under the newly adopted administrative setup, the proprietorship of the peasants was maintained in the State. The ownership rights in the State were confined to the irrigated land. A *zamindar* when given the status of proprietor of the land had complete rights to transfer, sale, and mortgage of their land at will. In Cholistan deserted area, in the case of rainfall, the land was available on lease or with proprietary rights under wasteland rules. Moreover, customary rights had been established to certain water tanks and grazing grounds.<sup>21</sup> In the proprietary areas of the State, the boundary of each village was demarcated and holdings were divided into fields of a *bigha* or an acre.<sup>22</sup> This was a necessary element to register the rights over each plot of land in order to fix the responsibility for the payment of revenue as well as for the accurate collection of revenue demand.

The custom was unwritten law and ruled stronger. The Shariah law was practiced in some instances but the traditions ruled over law, and inheritance law was not followed in the early Abbasid period in the State. Only male offspring were entitled to receive the land. However, there was no any law to deprive the female offspring from property inheritance but there was will or *haq*. On the introduction of civil courts, people adopted the legal way to transfer the property back to male offspring from the female ones. Though, examples also existed where female offspring were given their right.

The property status was established through a variety of documents showing in the table 2. The documentation of agricultural statistics and records of land rights was a novel in the economic history of the State and was deeply linked with the tenure rights. All the area was surveyed and ownership rights were defined and recorded. Peasants had legal rights over land, they cultivated. In the formative phase of this new system, 35831 owners were entered on the rent roll of the State. Out of those, 20954 were self-cultivating proprietors and 14877 were

non-cultivating owners.<sup>23</sup> Thus this agrarian region appeared to be a land of self peasants and each paid his revenue as a whole or as a part.<sup>24</sup>

Further, in the villages, both cultivated and uncultivated land was measured and the land over which ownership right were not established was the joint property of villagers and classified as *shamlat e deh* (common land). The ownership of common land vested in the State. The records of rights were maintained in Urdu and its verification by Settlement Officer was a compulsory undertaking.<sup>25</sup> The land revenue was to be realized every year but *jamabandi* was *cheharsala* (four years).<sup>26</sup>

A substantial development introduced in the administrative set up of the State was that a separate department of Director of Land Record was created with the staff of one *misal khawahan* and two *muharars*. Its particular obligation was to maintain the records of land rights with all the supplements while the revenue and settlement department became a separate body.<sup>27</sup> With the mapping of land, the lineage of the landowners was also mapped through the recording of genealogies, which became a vital part of every settlement record. Genealogies were in fact used to trace the village proprietors to a single ancestor or group of ancestors who had originally occupied the land and founded the village. All the following papers of the land rights were reviewed and updated on the eve of each land settlement.

Table 2: Documents of the Records of Land Rights

Shajra kishwar	Field map of State property
Preliminary robkar	Land records containing the time period of documentation
Shajra e nasab	Genealogical table along with the details and types of land tenures
<i>Wajib-ul-arz</i>	village administration papers
<i>Jamabandi</i>	Record of titles held an index of field number, ownership and tenancy details of each holding, and the details of revenue and rent for each field.
Khatuni	Detail of each landowner and each holding



Khasra girdawari	List of fields, name of owner and tenants, area and types of land and crops growing in each harvest together with the changes occurred in ownership or in rent.
<i>Qistbandi</i>	Preparing the land revenue roll, which contained the progress and lapse of assignments, alluvium and diluvium details and map of changes, occurred during the year.

**Source:** *Gazetteer of the Bahawalpur State 1904*, 313-314.

### **Tenures of Land in the Bahawalpur State**

The villages in the State were recorded under the different forms of tenures as was the custom in other parts of India. This had developed under the influence of historical, cultural and economic factors of native rule. The distribution of villages in the State was that of four kinds: *zamindari*, *pattidari*, *bhaiwal/bhaichara* and lease tenure. The first three characteristics were not only the expression of land rights but also were the methods of revenue collection and existed with some modification in the all rural Punjab as well. The last one was a constant feature in the land administration of the State because there was an abundance of unoccupied virgin land that was to be leased out to the cultivators on easy terms and conditions.

#### ***Zamindari* Tenure**

The *zamindari* tenure in the State was connected with the members of ruling tribe, the State officers and a few religious persons, who were existed in the older villages. They held large tracts of land and dominated over the majority of cultivators, who had limited rights being the tenants. Nevertheless, the rulers of the State never allowed land ownership power to the other chiefs of Abbasid tribe to that extent where they could pose a threat to them. Therefore, *zamindari* villages of old areas in the State were not typical of the arrangements existed in the rest of India rather this tenure was similar to the village based *mahalwari* pattern of the British Punjab. There was neither intermediate nor fixation of demand. It concerned with the single ownership of a village or a group of villages, which was

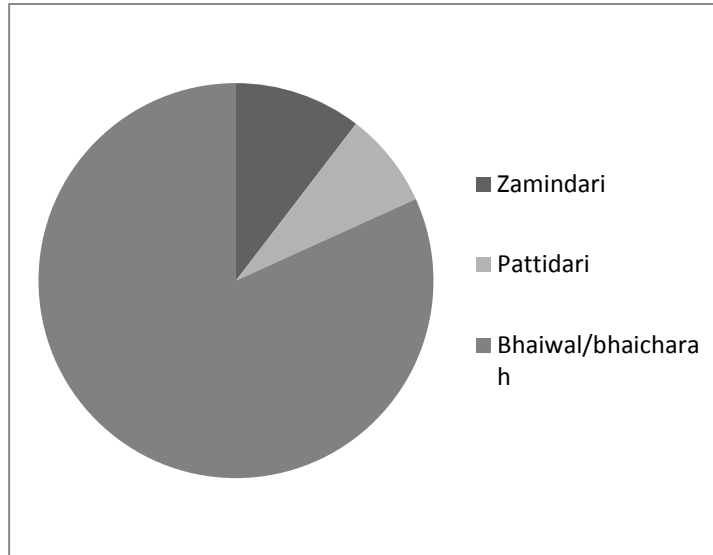
assessed as a whole but *jama* was divided among many co-sharers.

At the onset of the Agency period, the *zamindari* tenure was also granted in the newly established areas of Cholistan, mainly in Minchinabad and Khairpur *tehsils*. These villages belonged to the Sikh and Marwari Bishnoi settlers who received vast estates of land under single ownership or in the name of a group, to be subsequently allocated to many cultivators.<sup>28</sup> Actually, they exercised this joint tenure like their home villages in Punjab, where the *zamindari* system was well established and the proprietors jointly paid revenue.<sup>29</sup> In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, there were only 105 villages under the *zamindari* tenure in the State. The proprietor was responsible for payment of revenue to the State by collecting it from his co-sharers in proportion to the land held and cultivated by each.<sup>30</sup> With the ancestral fraction this tenure used to be subdivided from generation to generation.

#### ***Pattidari* Tenure**

*Pattidari* was a more distribution of the *mahalwari* villages of British India. The villages were divided into several *pattis* or sections by individual proprietors. The property rights and tax obligations were also vested in the individual peasants. This tenure existed in old cultivated areas of the State, where right to land was generally inherited. Under this tenure, 49 villages were linked to perfect or ancestral *pattidari* tenure and 30 villages held imperfect or customary tenure. Latter, the newly settled areas in Minchinabad district were brought under this pattern because shares in land were large and number of shareholders was small. Gradually, ancestral fractioning led to the increase in the number of owners. The following graph presents the whole picture of the proportionate of land tenures.

Figure 1: Proportion of Tenures in the Bahawalpur State



**Source:** *Gazetteer of the Bahawalpur State 1904*, 292-293.

#### ***Bhaiwali Tenure***

The most common form of tenure was *Bhaiwal* or *Bhaycharah* that was very much like to the individual-based *raiayatwari* system of Northern India. The shares kept by plough and wells were more common while pastures were a village's common property. Eight hundred and twenty five villages were under *bhaiwal* form in old areas. In Cholistan, almost all villages held this tenure.<sup>31</sup> The peasants under the *bhaiwali* tenure were directly responsible for the payment of land tax. Each individual held his separate holding under ownership rights or inheritance laws. This was a marked shift from possession to the ownership of property. Actually, the agricultural yields were overwhelmingly organized by the individual efforts of cultivating peasants who traditionally controlled the land. In the third decade of twentieth century, 53% of the cultivated area belonged to small owners.<sup>32</sup> In fact, variation in the nature of soil, which was patchy and shortage of water were leading factors to handle the independent smallholdings in the State.

The peasants on *bhaiwali* were mostly the small owners who cultivating their land intensively. The average size of their holding varied three to four acres in the western part and ten to

twenty-seven acres in the eastern portion. This minute share was mainly due to the inheritance practices under Shariah law.<sup>33</sup> An average cultivator who owned one pair of bullocks for plough held 5 to 7 acres of cultivated land. The small peasants were independent in maintaining control over their production for subsistence needs and were more punctual in paying revenue than the big *zamindars* that were used to indulge in the unnecessary delays.

### **Lease Tenure**

In this tenure, the land was granted for tillage by the State on lease with different conditions of payment. A tenant or occupier of the State was responsible for paying land rent as well as land revenue. The grant of land on lease had always been encouraged in the State to the locals and the outsiders and was a constant segment in the land system of the State.

The British Agency, with its new scientific approach, not only maintained all those leases but also granted further leases. The 26 land grants were already existed as a legacy of the native regimes in the eastern part where Ford canal was the first irrigation settlement introduced in the limited *barani* areas of the State.

However, a systematic attempt to lease out the state's land was made during the incumbency of Colonel Grey. He formulated a cohesive set of rules for colonists on specific conditions locally called *Ahsani* terms. In this phase, a *Sanad-e-Ahsan* was awarded to the settlers for ten years. The wastelands in Cholistan were leased out at one *anna* per *bigha*.<sup>34</sup> The complete ownership rights were awarded on the completion of the specific period. In 1908, the new rules were reframed had a lenient outlook in order to attract more strata of peasantry from Punjab. The term of the lease was reduced from ten to five years to improve the land as early as possible. Furthermore, the previous condition of importing tenants from outside the State was removed and the lessee was required to arrange the tenants on his own. Another relaxation was in the revenue assessment. Now only the cropped area was to be assessed in place of the entire leased area, as was the case earlier.<sup>35</sup> In Cholistan area of Minchinabad district, the leases were granted without

measurement and records of rights until 1910-11, when this territory was first settled.

The next phase of the land leasing policy began during the 2<sup>nd</sup> regular settlement in Minichinabad district. There were 109,000 *bighas* of cultivable land available in Cholistan on Eastern Sadqia canal. According to the new policy, land would lease out through auction.<sup>36</sup> Actually, the purpose of auction policy was to get more income in order to finance the expenditure on canal maintenance. In this phase, the Cholistan *Uttar* area was settled for habitation for the first time and local owners of adjoining lands were largely considered for the grant of land. This attempt made good strides because of the regular and systematic process followed on the lines of Punjab canal colonies. So far about 85,000 acres have been distributed and there are provisions for large tracts in the Eastern Sadqia canal to be used in this way. The grantee must reside on the land and cultivate it personally. However, the lease policy took a systematic form on the commencement of the Sutlej Valley canals.

### **Impact of Institutional Transition**

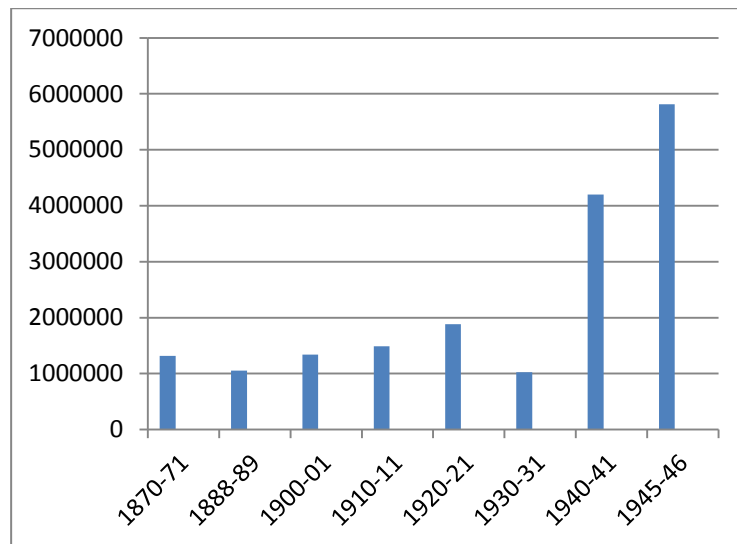
Establishing the property status became the triggers of agrarian development. This institutional environment, overall, brought optimum financial benefits for the State and was conducive to enhance the development-oriented attitude of the peasantry. Security of land rights was imperative to the subsistence agriculture, extension of cultivated area and food security. The land settlements and records of rights were the major planks of new system. The rights over land were acknowledged and land tenures were organized in the rural areas.

Apart from the traditional leniency of the princely India that was dominant because its persistence was a political necessity for the Nawab, this policy was generated to ensure a long-term increase in fiscal demand. The typology of village groups was developed into three units. The major land holding unit of traditional village society in Bahawalpur was *bhaiwali* tenure. It was the most common system used to collect revenue from

peasants directly and almost all the *bhaiwali* villages got the status of proprietors.

On the other side, new system brought comforts to the subjects and the records of rights rendered a valuable public service. Despite the large rent-free grants, the land revenue was increased. The following figure presents the rapid ratio of increased land revenue. There was 441.67% increase in the revenue in the period overviewed in the table. Nevertheless, there were certain years of less recovery of demand mostly on behalf of some internal factors like calamities of flood and draught, scarcity of water and locust blight.

Figure 2: Increased Ratio of Land Revenue.



**Sources:** Extracted from i. Punjab States Gazetteers: Vol. XXXVI B. Bahawalpur State, Statistical Table, 1935

ii. Annual Administration Report of the Bahawalpur State for the concerned Years.

## Conclusion

The tenure rights were deeply linked with the land revenue administration and rent structure. Before the Agency regime, there existed differing classes of rights in land that were distinguished by customary practice. The land was

cultivated as a possession but rights of peasants were limited, which also influenced the overall performance of the peasants. The British Agency in fact, was the foundational juncture of institutional framework in native India. By the new land system under colonial institutions, the cultivated area increased and ensuring more funds. Improvements in the basic structure of ownership were accomplished. All the villages were territorially mapped and village community had legal recognition. The peasantry had vital understanding about the fixed boundaries of their property, and about the nature of their rights and obligations. Moreover, with the establishment of rights in land, the communal restriction on the sale and transfer of land were removed. In some cases however, by the practice of inheritance law or by the sale of land, *zamindars* went down to the small proprietors while small cultivators became owners of large lands by successive acquisition.

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- <sup>2</sup> The village communities in the State consisted of four essential strata; big landholders or rural nobility with large holdings; small peasants with subsistence level holdings; landless labour or tenants and village menials.
- <sup>3</sup> Radharoman Mukherjee, *Occupancy Rights: its History and Incidents, together with an Introduction Dealing with Land Tenure in Ancient India* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1919), 42.
- <sup>4</sup> S.S. Thornburn, *Punjab in Peace and War* (Edinburg: W. Blackwood, 1904), 229.
- <sup>5</sup> Thomas H. Metcalf, The Struggle over Land Tenures in India, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 3, May 1962, 295. See also B. H. Baden Powell, *Land systems of British India*, Vol. I. (London: oxford, 1894),400.
- <sup>6</sup> W. Crook, *The North-Western Provinces of India: their History, Ethnology, and Administration* (London: Methuen & Co, 1897), 301.
- <sup>7</sup> Eric Stokes, *The Cambridge Economic History of India* (Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopdhyay, 1960), 48-49.
- <sup>8</sup> Mountstuart Elphinston, *An Account of the Kingdom Of Caubul, and its dependencies, in Persia, Tartary and India: Comprising a view of the Afghan Nation, and a History of the Dooraunee Monarchy* (London: Richard Bentley, 1972), 233-234.
- <sup>9</sup> Most of the towns and villages were established in the period between 1727 -1773. In 1737, the Daudputras occupied Derawar fort and Bahawal Khan I was recognized the formal head of his tribe. See Jan Muhammad Pirjani, *Tarikh Khandan-e-Daudputra (Bindur Abbasian: 1941)* 313-315.
- <sup>10</sup> Ibid, 186.
- <sup>11</sup> Punjab Records, Book 107, Lieutenant R. Leech, *Commercial Information Regarding Bahawal Khan's Territory*, 396. See also Andrew D Cruz, *Political Relations existing between the British Government and Native States and Chiefs subject to the Government of the North Western Provinces* (London: 1862), 94.
- <sup>12</sup> The division before threshing was named *batai* or *ghalla bakhshi* and after threshing, was called *lang batai*. On standing crops divided by demarcation of fields was *khet batai*. See Jagdesh Narayan Sarkar, *Mughal Polity* (Delhi: Idarah-i-Adabiyar-i-Delli, 2009), 262.
- <sup>13</sup> Captain Wade's Letter written to the Government of India in the Secret Department: 25 September 1937, *On the Trade of Bahawalpur by Mohan Lal*, 166
- <sup>14</sup> *Sadiq-ul-Akhbar* 1<sup>st</sup> April, 1874.
- <sup>15</sup> H. G. Trevaskis, *An Economic History of Punjab (1890-1925)* Vol. II, (Gurgaon: Vintage,1989)185.



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- <sup>16</sup> *Annual Administration Report Bahawalpur 70-71*, 5. However, revenue and police, both branches of land administration worked in close cooperation with each other.
- <sup>17</sup> Ian John Stone Kerr, *The Punjab Province and the Lahore District, 1849-1872: A Case Study British Colonial Rule and Social Change in India*, Vol II (University of Minnesota, 1975), 284.
- <sup>18</sup> Hamza Alvi, Rural Elites and Agricultural Development in Pakistan. *Pakistan Economic and Social Review*, Vol. 14, No 1/4, 204.
- <sup>19</sup> *Proceedings of Political Department February 1879: Administration of the Bahawalpur State*, 99-103,145.
- <sup>20</sup> The term *zamindar* was a main part of the land system in India. This was commonly used in the chronicles of the state for an average landowner not for big landlords as applied in the other parts of the country and the profession of cultivation called *zamindara*. For the comprehensive study of land tenures in Indian perspective see George Campbell, *The Tenures of Land in India*, edit. *System of Land Tenures in Various Countries*, A Series of Essays Published under the Sanction of the Cobden Club, (London: Macmillan, 1870).
- <sup>21</sup> In Cholistan, old communities were thinly scattered, were mostly cattle breeders and makers of *sajji* or carries of traffic in Rajputana and Bahawalpur. See, *Gazetteer of the Bahawalpur State 1904*, 293.
- <sup>22</sup> The Government of Punjab, *Annual Administration Report of Bahawalpur for the year of 1974-75* (Lahore: 1975), 4.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, 2.
- <sup>24</sup> *Annual Administration Report of Bahawalpur* , 1873-74, 7.
- <sup>25</sup> *Gazetteer of the Bahawalpur State 1904*, 314.
- <sup>26</sup> *Annual Administration Report of Bahawalpur 1900-1901*, 30.
- <sup>27</sup> *Annual Administration Report of Bahawalpur 1919-20*, 49.
- <sup>28</sup> *Annual Administration Report of Bahawalpur 1873-74*, 7.
- <sup>29</sup> Himadri Banerjee, *Agrarian Society of the Punjab: 1849-1901* (Delhi: Manohar, 1982), 77.
- <sup>30</sup> *Gazetteer of the Bahawalpur State 1904*, 293.
- <sup>31</sup> *Ibid*, 259.
- <sup>32</sup> The Government of Bahawalpur, *Report of the Sutlej Valley Project Inquiry Committee* (Lahore: 1932), 44.
- <sup>33</sup> *Gazetteer of the Bahawalpur State 1904*, 293.
- <sup>34</sup> *Proceedings of Political Department December 1871: Wastelands in Bahawalpur*, 1112.
- <sup>35</sup> *Annual Administration Report 1908-9*, 8.
- <sup>36</sup> File: 222-II, 1929. Official Letter from Office of Political Agent Phulkian States and Bahawalpur dated 1-4-1912, no. 24/ 699.