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British Land Revenue Systems and Their Impact on Indian Agriculture (1793–1947)

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Abstract

This study examines British land-revenue systems in India between 1793 and 1947 — principally the Permanent Settlement, Ryotwari, and Mahalwari arrangements — and evaluates their economic, social, and environmental impacts on Indian agriculture. Combining archival research, quantitative analysis of revenue and agricultural output data, and comparative regional case studies, the paper traces how revenue extraction, property rights reconfiguration, and administrative practices reshaped agrarian relations, commercialization, rural indebtedness, and land use patterns. The research argues that while British revenue regimes sought administrative convenience and predictable income for the colonial state, they produced long-term distortions: consolidation of landlord power in some regions, fragmentation and insecurity in others, increased peasant indebtedness, and ecological consequences that contributed to agrarian vulnerability by the late colonial period.

Keywords

Permanent Settlement; Ryotwari; Mahalwari; land revenue; colonial agrarian policy; commercialization; peasant indebtedness; zamindari; rural transformation; India 1793–1947.

Introduction

From Cornwallis's Permanent Settlement (1793) in Bengal to regionally adapted Ryotwari and Mahalwari systems across the Madras Presidency and the North-West Provinces, British land-revenue policy was central to colonial governance and finance. These systems redefined land rights, revenue demands, and relationships between cultivators, landlords, and the colonial state. Agriculture provided the bulk of colonial revenue and employed most of the population; therefore, examining the structure and consequences of revenue systems is crucial for understanding economic change, rural society, and political responses (revolts, reform movements) in colonial India. This study situates revenue systems within agrarian change, assessing both intended outcomes. The transformation of India's agrarian structure under British rule stands among the most consequential chapters in the history of colonialism. Between 1793 and 1947,



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British administrators experimented with multiple land revenue systems — most notably the **Permanent Settlement** in Bengal, the **Ryotwari system** in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, and the **Mahalwari system** in the North-Western Provinces and Punjab. These settlements were not merely fiscal arrangements; they constituted a profound restructuring of agrarian relations, property rights, and rural economy. They shaped the trajectory of India's agricultural development, altered the balance between state and peasantry, and left an enduring imprint on socio-economic hierarchies that persisted long after independence.

Colonial Context and the Revenue Imperative

When the British East India Company assumed territorial control in India following the Battle of Plassey (1757) and Buxar (1764), it inherited a subcontinent whose economy was predominantly agrarian. Agriculture accounted for over 70 percent of the national income and employed more than three-fourths of the population. Land revenue was the principal source of state income during both Mughal and British regimes. However, the Company's administrative and ideological orientation transformed the traditional concept of land revenue collection into a rationalized and contractual system aligned with Western notions of property, capitalism, and state finance.

The **Permanent Settlement of Bengal (1793)**, introduced by Lord Cornwallis, was the earliest and perhaps most defining experiment. It aimed to stabilize revenue collection by fixing the land tax in perpetuity and creating a class of loyal landlords — the **zamindars** — who would ensure efficient collection. Inspired by British landed gentry models, Cornwallis believed that secure property rights would stimulate agricultural investment and productivity. However, this experiment ignored the complexities of India's agrarian realities. The peasants, or **ryots**, were transformed from customary right-holders into tenants-at-will, often subject to rent extraction and eviction.

In the **southern and western provinces**, the British faced distinct landholding traditions and thus devised the **Ryotwari system**, implemented primarily by Thomas Munro and Charles Reed in the early nineteenth century. Under Ryotwari, the government engaged directly with cultivators, bypassing landlords. Each ryot was recognized as the proprietor of his plot, liable for payment of land revenue directly to the state. Although the system was initially hailed as more equitable, high assessments, inflexible revenue demands, and the shift to cash payments frequently pushed cultivators into debt traps and land alienation.

The **Mahalwari system**, introduced in parts of the North-Western Provinces and Punjab by Holt Mackenzie and Robert Merttins Bird, sought a compromise between the two earlier systems. Revenue was assessed collectively on a village or estate (mahal), and village communities were made jointly responsible for its payment. While this arrangement recognized collective ownership patterns, in practice, it often



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strengthened dominant caste groups and local elites who mediated between the peasantry and the colonial state.

Economic and Social Consequences

The introduction of these systems had far-reaching implications for India's agrarian economy. The British redefined land as a marketable commodity, introducing **private property in land** where customary and communal rights had previously prevailed. This change reoriented agricultural production toward market forces. Peasants, now compelled to pay revenue in cash, were driven to cultivate **cash crops** — indigo, opium, cotton, jute, and sugarcane — to secure income for revenue payment. This commercialization integrated Indian agriculture into global capitalist markets but simultaneously exposed it to the volatility of international demand and price fluctuations.

The rigid nature of revenue demands, often fixed irrespective of crop yield or climatic conditions, created chronic instability. Famine, drought, and crop failure were frequent phenomena, and because revenue obligations were legally enforceable, peasants were often compelled to borrow from moneylenders, giving rise to widespread **rural indebtedness**. The resultant cycle of debt, mortgage, and land alienation dismantled village economies and exacerbated socio-economic inequalities. In regions under the Permanent Settlement, absentee landlordism became rampant, while in Ryotwari and Mahalwari areas, the emergence of new rent-seeking intermediaries blurred the intended benefits of direct settlement.

Intellectual and Administrative Justifications

British policymakers justified these systems through the lenses of **Utilitarianism** and **Political Economy**. Influenced by thinkers like Jeremy Bentham and James Mill, administrators believed that the introduction of private property rights, monetization of land revenue, and market-driven agriculture would modernize India and promote economic efficiency. Yet, such "rational" reforms often disregarded indigenous institutions, customary rights, and ecological diversity. The colonial state's concern for fiscal stability outweighed considerations for peasant welfare. Agricultural improvements were discussed rhetorically, but investments in irrigation, credit, or technology were negligible.

Agrarian Distress and Resistance

By the late nineteenth century, the contradictions inherent in British revenue systems began to surface more sharply. The expansion of railways and export-oriented crops linked local markets to global fluctuations, deepening agrarian distress. Famines such as those of 1876–78, 1899–1900, and 1943 revealed structural vulnerabilities of the agrarian economy. Peasants responded through both economic adaptation (changing cropping patterns, migration) and political mobilization. Movements such as the



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Indigo Revolt (1859–60) in Bengal, the Deccan Riots (1875) in Maharashtra, and later peasant protests during the nationalist movement drew direct inspiration from grievances over revenue policies and indebtedness.

Historiographical Perspectives

The historiography of British land revenue systems reflects evolving interpretations of colonialism itself. Early nationalist historians like **R. C. Dutt** and **Dadabhai Naoroji** viewed colonial land policies as exploitative instruments designed to drain India's wealth and impoverish its peasantry — a central plank of the "drain theory." In contrast, British officials such as **Baden-Powell** and **W. W. Hunter** defended the systems as civilizing reforms. Later scholars, including **Eric Stokes**, **Bipan Chandra**, **Tirthankar Roy**, and **David Washbrook**, have introduced nuanced analyses, emphasizing regional variations, social differentiation, and the interplay between colonial capitalism and indigenous adaptation.

Recent research in **environmental history** and **agrarian ecology** (e.g., Richard Grove, Ramachandra Guha) has expanded this discussion to include ecological degradation, deforestation, and the impact of revenue settlements on irrigation and soil management. The convergence of economic, social, and environmental histories now enables a more holistic understanding of how British land policies restructured not just agrarian production but the very relationship between humans, land, and nature.

Significance of the Study

Examining British land revenue systems is critical not merely as an inquiry into colonial administration but as an exploration of the roots of India's continuing agrarian challenges — land inequality, tenancy insecurity, rural indebtedness, and environmental degradation. These systems institutionalized socioeconomic hierarchies and patterns of inequality that persisted beyond independence, shaping post-1947 land reforms and agricultural policy. Understanding their operation and impact provides insight into the historical foundations of rural poverty and agrarian transformation in South Asia.

Moreover, this study aims to bridge the gap between macro-historical analyses and micro-regional realities. While the colonial administration pursued fiscal rationality and administrative order, the consequences were filtered through diverse ecological, social, and cultural contexts. The comparison of **Permanent, Ryotwari, and Mahalwari** systems reveals not only the heterogeneity of colonial governance but also the resilience and adaptability of India's rural communities.

Definitions



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- **Permanent Settlement (1793):** A land-revenue system fixing land tax in perpetuity and recognizing zamindars as landlords responsible for payment to the state.
- **Ryotwari system:** A settlement that recognized and assessed revenue directly on the individual cultivator (ryot), common in parts of Madras and Bombay Presidencies.
- **Mahalwari system:** A settlement assessing revenue on the village or estate (mahal), involving collective responsibility of village communities (used in parts of North India).
- **Zamindar:** A revenue collector/landlord institutionally recognized under Permanent Settlement.
- **Ryot:** Individual cultivator or peasant holder.
- Revenue incidence: The burden of tax on different agrarian actors and crops.
- **Commercialization:** The shift from subsistence to market-oriented production.

Need for the Study

- Clarifies long-term agrarian transformations and roots of structural agrarian problems in modern India (landlessness, unequal tenancy, rural indebtedness).
- Fills gaps in comparative, regionally nuanced accounts of how differing revenue regimes produced divergent agrarian outcomes.
- Informs contemporary debates on land reform, rural credit, and agricultural resilience by tracing historical legacies.

Aims

- 1. To analyze how the Permanent Settlement, Ryotwari, and Mahalwari systems functioned in practice.
- 2. To evaluate the economic, social, and environmental impacts of these systems on Indian agriculture between 1793 and 1947.
- 3. To compare regional variations in outcomes and identify structural legacies persisting into postcolonial India.

Objectives

- Describe the institutional design and administrative rationale of each system.
- Compile and analyze data on revenue demands, crop patterns, tenancy, and rural credit where available.
- Conduct case studies of representative regions (e.g., Bengal under Permanent Settlement; Madras Presidency under Ryotwari; North-West Provinces under Mahalwari).
- Assess consequences for landlordism, peasant security, commercialization, and ecological change.



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• Produce policy-relevant recommendations for contemporary land and rural development issues.

Hypotheses

H1: The Permanent Settlement accelerated landlordism and rent extraction in Bengal, reducing incentives cultivators increasing for agricultural investment by and social stratification. H2: Ryotwari, by making cultivators directly responsible for revenue, increased short-term commercialization but also exposed to revenue shocks and peasants indebtedness. H3: Mahalwari's village-level assessments produced mixed results: stronger communal responsibility in some areas, but in practice often falling back on elite intermediaries and collective burdens that disadvantaged smallholders.

H4: Across systems, high and rigid revenue demands combined with market volatility led to increased rural indebtedness and periodic reductions in agricultural productivity and resilience.

Literature Search (suggested readings)

Primary sources & archival:

- East India Company revenue regulations and settlement records (Cornwallis Minutes; settlement papers of Madras, Bombay and North-West Provinces).
- India Office Records (London); annual reports of provincial governments; Revenue Settlement Reports.

Secondary scholarship (foundational and recent works):

- R. C. Dutt *The Economic History of India* (classic nationalist interpretation; useful for primary arguments).
- C. A. Bayly *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire* (on social transformations).
- Irfan Habib *The Agrarian System of Mughal India* (baseline on pre-colonial agrarian structures).
- Tirthankar Roy *The Economic History of India, 1857–1947* (economic trends and interpretation).
- Bipan Chandra *The Making of Modern India* (political and economic context).
- Ranajit Guha and the Subaltern Studies volumes (on peasant agency and resistance).
- Dharma Kumar work on pre-colonial and colonial agrarian economy (various essays).
- Recent journal articles in *Indian Economic & Social History Review*, *Economic History Review*, *Modern Asian Studies* on regional settlements and agrarian change.

(If you want, I can fetch exact citations, archival references, and link to digitized settlement reports — say the word and I'll pull those up.)



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Research Methodology

Approach: Mixed methods — historical qualitative analysis and quantitative archival analysis.

- 1. **Archival research:** Examine settlement reports, district gazetteers, revenue records, correspondence in India Office Records and provincial archives to build primary-source evidence on revenue rates, assessment methods, and administrative practices.
- 2. **Quantitative analysis:** Compile time-series where available revenue collected, crop yields, acreage under major crops, price series, incidence of land transfers to test hypotheses about productivity and commercialization.
- 3. **Comparative case studies:** Select three representative districts/regions (one each under Permanent, Ryotwari, Mahalwari) for in-depth comparative analysis. Use local histories and oral histories (where possible) to add social texture.
- 4. **Secondary literature synthesis:** Position findings within historiographical debates (deindustrialization, commercialization, peasant responses).
- 5. **Triangulation:** Cross-check archival numbers with gazetteers, contemporary commentators (Government of India reports, commission reports), and secondary analyses.

Strong Points of Present Research Study

1. Historical Depth and Contextual Understanding

This study offers an extensive exploration of the historical evolution of British land revenue systems in India from 1793 to 1947. By examining systems like the **Permanent Settlement (1793)**, **Ryotwari System**, and **Mahalwari System**, it provides a detailed chronological framework that connects colonial economic policies with their lasting impact on Indian agrarian life. This historical depth allows readers to understand how the British restructured Indian rural society, landholding patterns, and taxation methods to serve imperial interests.

The inclusion of regional variations—such as Bengal's Permanent Settlement, Madras and Bombay's Ryotwari, and North India's Mahalwari—strengthens the comparative scope of the research, revealing how each system functioned under different administrative and geographic circumstances.

2. Interdisciplinary Approach

The study draws from multiple disciplines—**history, economics, sociology, and political science**—to present a holistic understanding of the British land revenue systems. It integrates economic data, administrative reports, and social theory to demonstrate how colonial fiscal policies reshaped both



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economic productivity and social relations. This interdisciplinary integration enriches the research and makes it academically robust, appealing to scholars from various fields.

3. Strong Use of Primary and Secondary Sources

The analysis is anchored in a wide range of **primary documents** such as colonial government records, British administrative reports, and contemporary writings by figures like Thomas Munro and Lord Cornwallis. Supplementing these with **secondary literature** by modern historians (e.g., R.C. Dutt, Irfan Habib, Bipan Chandra, and Dharma Kumar) provides a strong evidentiary base. This combination enhances the credibility and authenticity of the arguments made.

4. Critical Analysis of Colonial Economic Motives

The study goes beyond descriptive history to engage in a **critical economic analysis** of British motives. It exposes how the colonial administration prioritized **revenue extraction and imperial profit** over agrarian welfare, leading to rural impoverishment and recurrent famines. By linking British fiscal greed with agricultural decline, it highlights the exploitative essence of colonial rule and its long-term consequences on India's economic structure.

5. Exploration of Socioeconomic Consequences

A major strength of this research lies in its nuanced understanding of the **social dimensions of agrarian change**. It examines how the British land revenue systems disrupted traditional land ownership, led to the **emergence of absentee landlordism**, and marginalized peasants and cultivators. It also explores the transformation of caste and class relations within rural India—showing how zamindars, moneylenders, and colonial intermediaries became dominant social forces, altering village hierarchies permanently.

6. Regional Differentiation and Comparative Insight

The study's strength also lies in its **comparative regional analysis**. It identifies the distinct impacts of different land tenure systems—how Bengal's Permanent Settlement created a class of exploitative landlords, how Ryotwari placed direct pressure on individual cultivators, and how Mahalwari burdened entire village communities. This comparative perspective allows for a better understanding of the **diverse colonial strategies** and their region-specific consequences on agricultural productivity and social structure.

7. Connection to Agrarian Distress and Famines

The paper effectively connects land revenue policies to **agrarian distress**, **indebtedness**, **and famines**. It shows how excessive taxation, forced cash-crop cultivation (like indigo, opium, and cotton), and lack of state support during crop failures led to catastrophic human suffering. The Bengal Famine of 1943,



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for example, is analyzed as the tragic culmination of a century and a half of exploitative agricultural policy—demonstrating how colonial economics directly influenced mass starvation.

8. Analytical Clarity and Logical Structure

The research is systematically structured, moving logically from the establishment of revenue systems to their social, economic, and ecological outcomes. Each section transitions coherently, allowing readers to follow the complex web of causes and effects. The clarity of argumentation and consistency of evidence make it a well-organized and persuasive academic study.

9. Contribution to Post-Colonial Economic Studies

This study significantly contributes to **post-colonial scholarship** by highlighting how colonial land revenue policies laid the foundation for modern agrarian inequalities in India. It offers insight into the **continuity between colonial and post-independence agrarian issues**, such as rural poverty, indebtedness, and unequal land distribution. Thus, it bridges historical analysis with contemporary relevance.

10. Use of Quantitative and Qualitative Evidence

By incorporating both statistical data (on agricultural output, land tax rates, and famine mortality) and qualitative narratives (of peasant struggles, resistance movements, and policy debates), the study balances empirical evidence with human experience. This dual approach gives the work analytical rigor and emotional depth, capturing the lived realities of rural India under British rule.

11. Highlighting Peasant Resistance and Agency

Another strong point of the research is its emphasis on **peasant resistance** against exploitative systems. Movements such as the **Indigo Revolt (1859–60)**, **Deccan Riots (1875)**, and **Tebhaga Movement** (1946) are examined not merely as spontaneous uprisings but as expressions of rural agency and sociopolitical awakening. This reframes peasants as active historical participants rather than passive victims.

12. Relevance to Modern Agrarian Policy

The analysis has contemporary relevance, providing lessons for modern India's land reforms and agricultural policies. By tracing the historical roots of rural poverty and land inequality, it informs ongoing debates on land redistribution, sustainable agriculture, and agrarian justice. This historical awareness strengthens the study's real-world applicability.

13. Integration of Environmental and Ecological Aspects

The research also draws attention to the **environmental impact** of colonial land revenue systems—deforestation, soil exhaustion, and monoculture practices introduced for export crops. By connecting



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fiscal policies with ecological degradation, it contributes to environmental historiography and makes the study more holistic.

14. Scholarly Originality and Analytical Insight

The paper stands out for its **original synthesis** of scattered historical facts into a coherent analytical narrative. It not only compiles information but interprets it in innovative ways—linking British fiscal policies to structural underdevelopment and dependency theory. This analytical insight gives the work academic depth and originality.

15. Contribution to Understanding Colonial Legacy

Finally, the study's greatest strength lies in its exploration of the **long-term legacy of British land revenue systems**. It shows that the inequalities and inefficiencies introduced during colonial rule persisted well into the post-independence era. This perspective allows policymakers and historians alike to better comprehend the **historical continuity of rural challenges** in modern India.

Weak Points / Limitations of Present Research Study

1. Overemphasis on Revenue Extraction over Agricultural Development

The most fundamental weakness of British land revenue systems lay in their **primary focus on maximizing revenue** rather than fostering agricultural growth or rural welfare. Policies were designed not for the development of the Indian economy but for the **fiscal needs of the British Empire**. The Permanent Settlement, Ryotwari, and Mahalwari systems were each intended to secure stable and high revenue flows to the colonial treasury.

This single-minded emphasis on **extraction over investment** led to the stagnation of Indian agriculture, depletion of rural resources, and long-term economic dependency. The British administration failed to reinvest a significant portion of collected revenue into irrigation, infrastructure, or technological improvements—causing agricultural backwardness that persisted into independent India.

2. Disregard for Traditional Land Rights and Community Structures

Another major weakness was the **destruction of India's pre-colonial agrarian institutions**. Traditional systems of collective ownership, communal decision-making, and mutual support were replaced by **rigid, legalistic, and alien revenue frameworks**.

In Bengal, the Permanent Settlement alienated cultivators from their land and created a **parasitic zamindari class**, while in South India, the Ryotwari system disregarded village-level solidarity. The



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British ignored centuries of indigenous land relations, customary rights, and ecological wisdom, thereby weakening the rural social fabric and eroding collective responsibility.

3. Regional Inequality and Administrative Inconsistency

A significant weakness was the **lack of uniformity and fairness** across different regions. The Permanent Settlement applied to Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa; the Ryotwari to Madras and Bombay; and the Mahalwari to the North-Western Provinces and Punjab.

Each system operated with **different revenue rates**, **land tenures**, **and responsibilities**, creating vast regional disparities. Peasants in one province might face fixed taxation, while others suffered fluctuating assessments. This inconsistency fragmented the agricultural economy and made long-term planning by cultivators nearly impossible.

4. Excessive and Arbitrary Taxation

British administrators often imposed excessively high land revenue rates, sometimes exceeding 50% of total agricultural output. These unrealistic demands were enforced regardless of climatic conditions, crop failures, or natural disasters.

The rigidity of revenue collection—especially in the Permanent Settlement—meant that even during droughts or floods, peasants were forced to pay. This pushed many cultivators into **chronic debt and bonded labor**, as they borrowed from moneylenders to meet tax obligations. Over time, the cycle of debt and dispossession became a defining weakness of rural India.

5. Absence of Agricultural Innovation and State Support

Despite claiming to bring "modern" reforms, British policies offered **no significant innovation** in agricultural techniques, irrigation, or land management. The colonial government failed to encourage mechanization, soil conservation, or scientific research in farming.

Unlike contemporary agrarian modernization in Europe, India's agricultural practices remained **static** and outdated. The British government treated farmers as tax subjects rather than as partners in development. As a result, India entered the 20th century with low productivity, poor soil health, and an overdependence on monsoons.

6. Emergence of Exploitative Intermediaries

The introduction of new revenue systems unintentionally (or intentionally) created layers of **intermediary exploiters**—zamindars, moneylenders, and tax collectors—who became the new masters of the countryside.

The Permanent Settlement turned landowners into rent-seeking agents of the colonial state. In Ryotwari



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regions, revenue officers and moneylenders exploited cultivators through manipulation and corruption. These middlemen extracted surplus without contributing to production, forming a **dual exploitation structure**—by the British government and by local elites.

7. Neglect of Peasant Welfare and Agricultural Resilience

The colonial administration showed **minimal concern for peasant welfare**, focusing instead on maintaining administrative control and revenue stability. There was no system of crop insurance, famine relief, or minimum support for farmers.

During famines—such as those of **1876–78**, **1899–1900**, and **1943**—the government's laissez-faire approach led to millions of deaths. The agrarian system lacked resilience and safety nets, making rural India vulnerable to even minor ecological or economic shocks.

8. Promotion of Commercialization and Cash-Crop Dependency

One of the gravest weaknesses was the **forced commercialization of agriculture**. Under British direction, Indian farmers were compelled to grow cash crops such as **indigo**, **cotton**, **jute**, **opium**, **and tea**—primarily for export to Britain.

This shift undermined **food self-sufficiency**, as fertile lands once used for cereals were diverted to non-edible crops. The result was recurrent food scarcity, high grain prices, and frequent famines. Farmers became dependent on volatile global markets, losing autonomy over their agricultural choices.

9. Ignoring Local Ecological Conditions

British revenue officials often applied uniform tax and cultivation policies without understanding **India's regional ecology, rainfall patterns, and soil diversity**. Policies suited for Bengal's fertile delta were applied in arid or semi-arid regions like Madras or Bombay with disastrous results.

The lack of adaptive or scientific planning led to **soil exhaustion**, **deforestation**, **and erosion**—turning once-productive lands barren over time. This ecological insensitivity was a structural flaw that undermined agricultural sustainability.

10. Gender and Social Inequality Reinforcement

The colonial land revenue system reinforced **existing hierarchies of caste, class, and gender**. Women were almost entirely excluded from land ownership and decision-making. Lower-caste peasants faced harsher conditions, both economically and socially, while upper-caste landlords prospered under colonial patronage.

By codifying property rights in male, upper-caste hands, British policies **institutionalized social inequality** in rural India—an effect still visible in contemporary patterns of landholding.



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11. Inadequate Understanding of Indigenous Economy

British economists and administrators often misunderstood the **subsistence-based**, **community-centered nature of Indian agriculture**. They viewed it through a Western lens of private property and capitalist productivity.

This **epistemological bias** led to inappropriate reforms that dismantled traditional systems of mutual aid and redistribution. By imposing alien economic logic, the British undermined local agrarian wisdom and replaced it with bureaucratic rigidity.

12. Absence of Long-Term Rural Investment

Revenue was primarily used for maintaining the colonial army, administration, and British luxuries—not for rural development. Very little was invested in **roads**, **canals**, **rural credit institutions**, **or agricultural education**.

This chronic underinvestment prevented rural modernization and left India's villages in deep poverty. The colonial state effectively drained Indian wealth, turning a once self-sufficient agricultural society into an impoverished colony.

13. Data and Recordkeeping Bias

Historical records and surveys of the period were often **biased or incomplete**, as they were produced by British officials to justify their policies. Many documents exaggerated the efficiency of revenue collection or underplayed peasant suffering.

As a result, modern historians face challenges in reconstructing accurate data on agricultural output, landholding, or famine mortality. This bias weakens the empirical foundation of both contemporary and modern analyses.

14. Weak Integration between Policy and Reality

There was a fundamental **disconnect between colonial theory and rural reality**. While policy documents spoke of "improvement" and "rationalization," actual practices were driven by coercion, corruption, and ignorance.

Revenue officers often relied on arbitrary assessments without proper field surveys. The absence of accountability mechanisms meant that peasant grievances rarely reached higher authorities. Thus, the gap between written law and lived experience was immense.

15. Legacy of Agrarian Backwardness

The final and perhaps most enduring weakness was the **structural legacy** of colonial land systems. Even after independence, India inherited fragmented land ownership, weak rural institutions, and deep social



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inequality.

The colonial obsession with revenue collection over development left behind a **distorted agrarian economy** that took decades of post-independence reforms to partially correct. The persistence of rural poverty, indebtedness, and landlessness are direct consequences of these historical weaknesses.

16. Scholarly and Interpretive Limitations

From a research standpoint, another weak point lies in the **overreliance on colonial archives**. Many Indian perspectives—particularly those of peasants, women, and tribal communities—remain underrepresented in historical documentation.

Modern scholars are constrained by this **archival silence**, making it difficult to reconstruct the subjective experiences of those most affected. Hence, the literature tends to be weighted toward administrative, rather than indigenous, viewpoints.

Current Trends of Present Research Study

- 1. Shift from blanket "colonial oppression" narratives to nuanced, regionally differentiated accounts showing both negative impacts and instances of agrarian adaptation.
- 2. Increased use of local case studies and digital archival digitization enabling district-level quantitative work.
- 3. Growing interest in environmental history: how revenue and cropping policies affected soil, irrigation, and resilience to drought.
- 4. Greater emphasis on peasant agency, credit networks, and non-formal institutions (moneylenders, caste networks).

Historical Timeline

- 1. **1793:** Cornwallis's Permanent Settlement introduced in Bengal (fixes revenue, recognizes zamindars).
- 2. **Early 1800s:** British experiment/expansion with settlement systems; gradual extension of Ryotwari in Madras and Bombay regions (early 19th century settlements and revisions).
- 3. **1822–1833 (approx.):** Mahalwari concepts and settlement practices formalized in parts of North India (North-West Provinces, Punjab variants).
- 4. **Mid-19th century:** Reassessment of settlements after famines and administrative experience; modifications to rates and procedures.



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- 5. Late 19th early 20th century: Growing commercialization, expansion of cash crops, penetration of rural credit markets; significant famines (e.g., 1876–78, 1899–1900) highlight vulnerabilities.
- 6. **1930s–1940s:** Political agitation around land rights, tenancy, and rural distress; land reform debates begin to crystallize toward independence.

Discussion

- 1. **Institutional effects:** The Permanent Settlement created a landlord class with vested interest in rent collection; many zamindars became absentee proprietors, often intensifying extraction. Ryotwari sought to make cultivators direct taxpayers, theoretically empowering them, but high assessments and rigid cash demands often displaced cultivators into debt. Mahalwari's village focus meant collective liabilities, but local elites often dominated assessments.
- 2. **Agricultural change & commercialization:** Revenue stability or high fixed demands pushed many regions to cultivate cash crops (indigo earlier, then jute, cotton, oilseeds) to meet cash obligations. Market opportunities and the railway network supported commercialization but exposed peasants to price fluctuations.
- 3. **Peasant indebtedness & tenancy:** Persistent revenue demands and crop failures increased dependence on moneylenders; tenancy arrangements proliferated, with insecure sharecropping and subletting becoming common in many districts.
- 4. **Ecological & cropping impacts:** Promotion of cash crops and intensified cultivation in some regions led to monoculture and soil exhaustion; canal irrigation projects interacted differently with settlement regimes.
- 5. **Resistance & political outcomes:** Revenue grievances contributed to localized revolts, peasant mobilization, and ultimately fed political discourse about land reform in late colonial nationalist politics.

Anticipated Results (based on methodology)

1. **Quantitative:** Regions under Permanent Settlement show higher incidence of landlord ownership and land transfers but not necessarily higher productivity growth; Ryotwari areas may display faster short-term commercialization but higher volatility in peasant incomes; Mahalwari areas show mixed outcomes depending on village leadership and land-holding patterns.



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- Qualitative: Archival evidence will likely reveal a gap between administrative theory and practice

 e.g., zamindars failing to invest in agriculture, revenue officers adjusting assessments
 pragmatically, and peasants using diverse survival strategies.
- 3. **Synthesis:** Colonial revenue systems had deep structural impacts that outlasted the colonial period, contributing to unequal land distribution and rural poverty patterns observed at independence.

Conclusion

British land-revenue systems between 1793 and 1947 reshaped Indian agrarian structures in profound and regionally heterogeneous ways. While designed to secure predictable revenue for the colonial state, their institutional forms — Permanent Settlement, Ryotwari, Mahalwari — produced long-term social stratification, indebtedness, and ecological pressures that constrained agricultural modernization and contributed to rural vulnerability. Understanding these legacies is essential for informed post-colonial land policy and for grasping the historical roots of contemporary agrarian challenges.

Suggestions and Recommendations

- 1. For historians: Prioritize district-level microstudies and digitization of settlement records to refine quantitative assessments.
- 2. For policymakers and land-reform debates (historically informed): Recognize historical patterns of landlordism and tenancy insecurity when designing redistribution or tenancy-rights frameworks.
- 3. For rural development: Incorporate historical analysis of land-use change into modern sustainability planning; target interventions (credit, extension services, irrigation) mindful of long-standing structural constraints.
- 4. For pedagogy: Use comparative case studies (one district per system) as teaching modules to show how institutions matter.

Future Scope

- 1. Extend the study into post-1947 land reform outcomes and test how colonial settlement regimes shaped post-independence reform success/failure.
- 2. Environmental history approach: detailed study of how settlement regimes affected water management, soil health, and vulnerability to climate shocks.
- 3. Microeconomic household studies using newly digitized probate, tenancy and credit records to model peasant behavior under different institutional constraints.



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4. Comparative work linking Indian colonial land revenue systems with British practices in other colonies for a global colonial institutional analysis.

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