

CHAPTER XI: AMRELI PRANT :Khanderrao Gaekwad : 1860-1870SECTION - IProblems and Policy of Ruler :

The programme and policy of the state, regarding the introduction of bighoti and the removal of izara held good for the Amreli division as well. Here, however, on account of certain factors, the emphasis was more on problems of management of the districts, than on other problems.

These factors, which made the problems more difficult from those seen in the other divisions, were, firstly, the distance of the division - being over two hundred miles from the state headquarters,¹ the greater intermixture with the British and other territories, and the presence of a turbulent class of people, specially in Okhamandal.

On account of all this, it was difficult to control the ✓

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1. Amreli taluka was 200 miles away from Baroda and its peta mahal of Bhimkatta was 120 miles away. Dhari was 25 miles further from Amreli; Kodinar was 80 miles south of Amreli; Damnagar was 20 miles away from Amreli; Okhamandal was 160 miles from Amreli.

Annual Report of prant, 1877-78, DN 7; Pudka 3; Masar Suba Office, Jamabandi branch.

districts and so the officers were lax. Thus in 1845² and again in 1867 there were complaints against the state's manager of the Amreli districts regarding the delay in payment of revenue as well as the oppressive exactions made by him from the cultivator.³ In 1865 too, there had been a complaint of non-compliance of orders given.

On account of these problems in administration⁴ the state suffered financial losses.⁵

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2. Letter from Political Agent Kathiawar to Acting 1st Asstt. Political Commissioner for Gujarat and resident in-charge Baroda dated 8 Jan. 1875. p.1, Daftar 56; File 261, Kathiawar Revenue (1845-50).
 3. Letter from Asstt. Resident Amreli to Resident Baroda dated 8 July, 1867, p.390. Daftar 58, File 296, Amreli, 1872-74, Vol. IX.
 4. Anderson to Wallace dated 19th Sept. 1865, Daftar 56, File 292, Amreli, 1865, Vol. IV.
 5. The managers of the division prior to 1864 had been corrupt. For instance, Raghunathrao, the manager, had been in connivance with Desai Sawji Lalla in misusing the state revenues in 1863. Letter of Asst. Resident in charge of Amreli mahals to Resident, Col. Wallace dated 10th May 1865, Annual Report of Kathiawar, Ferisht No.11D No.4, Kathiawar General Daftar 1616, CRO.

Note below the marked increase in revenue in 1864, once better management was installed, Ibid.

<u>Talukas</u>	<u>1862</u>	<u>1863</u>	<u>1864</u>
Amreli		40.9%	145.1
Dhari		32.4	150.3
Damnagar		72.4	89.7
Kodinar		30.7	51.3
Total		41.4	116.0%

Note: The percentages have been calculated from the statistics in the given file.

The other areas where the state expected to affect reforms, as those seen in the other divisions, were regarding the land revenue system. For these purposes - in order to apprise himself of the situation, the Gaekwad himself toured the districts in the 1860s.⁶

Measures of the Government :

The first measure taken by the ruler was as regards the administrative officers.

The managers at Amreli were changed, and from 1864 onwards the division came under better control of the state when managers were sent to it directly from headquarters⁷. The managers that came in succession were Ganpatrao Mahajan who replaced Raghunathrao in 1864; followed by Babaji Raghunath in 1866; followed by Balwantdeo in 1867-68 and the efficient Maoji Hirji in 1860⁸. The other reform, a general one, was to separate the revenue, police and judicial functions in revenue administration. Simultaneously, a code was formulated for each department.

The state sanctioned the formation of a body of police of 300 men which the Asst. Resident, Amreli, Major Anderson had to organise⁹.

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6. Letter from Resident Baroda to Asstt. Resident Amreli, dated 6 March 1862, pp. 24-25, DN 58, File 290, 1861-64, Vol. XIII.
7. Report of Elliot dated March 1884. On the 13 Khalsa villages of Damnagar. Book No. 5556, CRD.

(ii) Survey and Settlement :

Though the ruler intended to survey the districts in 1865¹⁰, simultaneously with the survey operations in the other division, he was unable to do so then, so that survey work in the Amreli division was done only in 1868¹¹.

No doubt, the problems of introducing bighoti, after survey, were many in the division. First of all, in a district, which in any case was poor and had a majority of the backward classes, cash assessment was not possible.

Assessment in cash implies a modern economy, a monetization which was not the circumstance in a division, where cash assessment was quite unfamiliar¹².

And if conditions were adverse, such as they were in 1865, the success of a bighoti scheme was even more remote,

8. Maoji Hirji, who had been manager under dewan Gopal Rao Mairal was in fact given a gift in an assami (land grant) for the services to the state in the context of safeguarding the Gaekwad interests. Annual Report, Asst. Resident dated the 10 May 1865, Farisht No. 11D, No.4, General Daftar 1616, CRO.
9. p. 42, DN 58, File 290, Amreli, 1861-68, Vol. II.
10. Hujur Order dated Kartik 15, 1865, DN 1, Pudka 1, Ferisht 2. Hujur Orders, Sar Suba Office, Amreli Prant Chitnisi.
11. DN 6, File 2, Amreli Prant Suba, Jamabandi Branch, CRO.
12. Note in the list of villages given in the document, not one was having a bighoti village. Dehjada patrak (list) Amreli Prant, 1875-76, Form 1, Namuna 1; Pudka 1, Amreli Prant Suba.

for the cultivators would tend to keep the grain and pay off the demand by borrowing from the moneylender. That would lead them to indebtedness and growing impoverishment.

That is why bighoti could not be introduced and bhaghatai and other systems of assessment continued in the division for a long time¹³.

(iii) Enhancement of demand :

Whether survey work could be carried on and whether new revenue systems could be introduced or not, was not really the concern of the state in this division, for reasons discussed above. The ruler was interested in improving the finances of the state, which he did manage to do during the period of his rule so that one sees almost a consistent trend of increase in land revenue during the years of his rule¹⁴.

13. In 1874-75, the percentage of villages under different systems of assessment was as follows : Bhaghatai 62.4%; bhagdari 4.2% Izara 4.2%; and bighoti 0%. Bighoti was introduced only in the mid 1880s. DN 1, Pudka 15; Annual Report 1874-75, Dehgada Patrak of Amreli prant.

These percentages have been calculated from the statistics in the file.

14. Note : That various documents show the increase in land revenue pointing to the successive increase in demand.

(a) Revenues from Damnagar taluka. File 263/36a, Survey and Settlement Report, Damnagar taluka, 1885, HPO, CRO.

%age growth of revenue : 1863 = --- 1864 = 91.9%

(b) Revenues in Amreli - growth during the years. S. Report of Amreli taluka. Book No.5550, CRO. p. 32, for figures of 1853-63 and p.38 for figures of 1864-72. The increase in average revenues in these two periods was of 161.1%.

Note : also the figures of the 5 tappas of Amreli.

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Average Total of years.

Average of Yrs.	Vankia	Jalia	Haveli	Devlia	Varsad
1853-63	34225	32406	27819	21272	31742
1864	122905	120813	112560	89834	11640
1865	64779	62365	51684	43971	56044
1866	102269	97146	84175	70772	92000
1867	92280	84118	60332	63142	85798
1868	77211	72581	49638	60871	63894
1869	80126	60325	51667	18888	50027
1870	120614	126072	86505	76815	90421

File 263/41, S.S. Report Amreli Taluka, 1885, HPO.

(c) Kodinar. Statement showing the total annual revenues from the villages of Kodinar during the rule of Khaderao

	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870
Rs.	81927	96838		112389		159343		170680		182061
				174030		168275		167727		
%		18.2		16.2	54.8	-8.4	5.6	71.4	-1.7	8.5

S.S. Report Kodinar taluka 1885 - Book No. 5550, pp. 36-37.

Also note : Survey and Settlement Kodinar taluka, Book No. 5550, p. 12. Note : The incidence of high and unbalanced taxation on the bhagila villages. These villages paid 69% of the average receipt, which is a high percentage, throughout the next 24 years, whereas the Udhad villages paid 31%.

Revenues paid by bhagila and udhad villages :

Years	Bhagila villages (28)	Udhad villages (29)
1861	58647	23200
1862	70323	26515
1863	81922	30467
1864	127633	46397
1865	112388	46955
1866	120978	47291
1867	118014	52666
1868	110974	58087
1869	123974	56413
1870	139437	57243

(d) Also see below the increase in income in the prant and in talukas during the period the income being as per the demand made.

Growth/fall of income in per cent.

	1861	1862	1864	1869	1870
In prant		5.9	225	-40	17.1
Amreli		7.7			
Damnagar		0.4			
Kodinar		6.8			

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(iv) Removal of Izara :

Izara system was abolished from Damnagar taluka in 1864 when direct government management was assumed¹⁵. It was also abolished in certain other areas¹⁶.

Discussion of Measures :(i) Regarding survey :

The survey operations in the Amreli division do not seem to have been carried out efficiently or honestly, for a resurvey of the districts was suggested¹⁷.

The incorrect entries made by Patels and clerks would have given losses to the state, specially as regards the entry of barkhali lands, as was alleged¹⁸. That certainly exposes the handicaps to effective management on account of distance from headquarters.

Note : The percentages have been calculated from the statistics in the documents cited below :

1. Statements of Income for 1864, DN 1; Pudka 1; Ferisht 6; Sar suba Office, Jamabandi Branch.
- 2- Statement of Income for 1869 and 1870, DN 2, Pudka 1; Ferisht 4, Sar suba Office, Jamabandi Branch.
15. Report of Elliot dated March 1884 on the 13 Khalsa villages of Damnagar Book No.5556, S.S.Report. p. 16.
16. Evidence of only 4.2% of villages being under izara tenure indicate the izara operations. Dehzada Patrak, 1874-75, DN 1, Pudka 15; CRO.
17. Letter from wahiwardar of Amreli taluka to Sarsuba dated Ashadh 4; 1869, DN 3, Pudka 8, Ferisht 3, Jarifa Mapni 1869, Sarsuba Office, Amreli Prant, Chitnisi, CRO.
18. Ibid. Moreover, the survey was very incomplete and no boundary marks were made with the result that great difficulty was experienced in determining the lawful ownerships of various fields. Administration Report of Okhamandal, 1876-77, Chap. II, File 361/5.

(ii) Inability to introduce bighoti and abolish bhagbatai assessment completely :

The continuance of bhagbatai system of assessment in most parts of the prant¹⁹ meant the continuation of the evils inherent in the system, so that the cultivators still sustained losses. The one evil that hit the cultivator was the various cesses levied in the system, whereby the peasant was deprived even more, of the produce of his field²⁰. And since the bhagbatai system existed in more than half the

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19. Bhagbatai system continued in the prant till mid 1880s when the 1st proper settlement was introduced by Elliot.
 20. Shares taken from the cultivator under bhagbatai system in the taluka of Damnagar, File No.263/36a op.cit. Survey and Settelement, Damnagar Taluka.

<u>Crops</u>	<u>Shares taken</u>
Bajri-Juar	: 1/3 of crop and other levies as Havaldari etc.
Wheat	: 1/6 of crop and other levies as Havaldari etc.
*Cotton	: After reduction of 1/4 for labour; 1/3 of the remainder and otherlevies taken.
Tobacco	: 1/3 of crop.
Sugarcane	: Rs. 25 per bighas.

* The cultivator of Damnagar and Chavand tappa had to pay a jakat tax. Only then was he at liberty to sell or send his cotton to Bhavnagar.

In Kodinar taluka, the 'vajai bhag' on government share was 1/4 on bagayat or irrigated crop and 1/3 on dry crop. As a rule, two shares to the maund were deducted from cotton for 'vasvaiya' or labour, and after the government share had been separated from the cultivator's portion, 1/4 share to the maund was withdrawn as 'tolamni' or weighing expenses. Then in 26 villages of Kodinar, the talati babat was of 1/4 of a sher of cotton per maund; and havaldari of 1/4 of a sher per maund.

villages of the prant²¹, it can be asserted that the larger section of people suffered from the flaws of the system.

The point is that from its finances, why did the government, not maintain servants necessary in the functioning of the system ? On the contrary, it continued the old system of remunerating village officers allowing them tax exemptions and giving them a small amount from the cultivator's produce.

(iii) As regards remuneration of village Servants :

If the state was not very successful in its work of survey and settlement and in wholly replacing the bhagbatai system by the bighoti, it was because of certain problems inherent in the system itself. For in a division where cash assessment did not exist generally, the assets of the state too were mostly in terms of kind. Certain areas had 'udhad' system of assessment which was only a rough bighoti where by assessment was made roughly in a lump sum. Then in Damnagar existed the 'Santi vero' a cash assessment on the bigha. But none was extensive nor accurate. It was in kind, therefore, that the state could make remunerations.

21. In 1874-75, 62.4% of the 312 villages of the prant were having the bhagbatai system. The percentage has been calculated from the statistics of the prant in the following document.

Dehzada Patra, 1874-75, DN 1, Pudka, 15; Amreli Prant Suba, Jamabandi Branch.

In these circumstances, therefore, it was good that the state while continuing the old system of assessment, also continued the old methods of payment - the two having inter-connection and being a part of the same system.

In the Amreli division, therefore, the village officers enjoyed the shares which became their "haks" or "claims". These "haks" were called "dasturs". It was on grounds of these haks that the village officers paid less revenue, the understanding being that the share was kept back as a reward or remuneration for the function he performed.

In Amreli taluka, thus, the talati paid to the state $\frac{1}{4}$ of his dry crop, whereas the ordinary cultivators paid $\frac{1}{3}$ ²². In addition they enjoyed inami lands for which they paid only a trifling salami. ✓

The village servants in Siyanagar Peta of Damnagar taluka were remunerated in like manner²³.

22. File 263/41, op.cit.

23. S.S. Siyanagar, peta Taluka Damnagar and Library Book No.5556, op. cit. p. 18.

Payers of Revenue	Dry crop	Wet crop	Irrigated cotton
Cultivators	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{4\frac{1}{2}}$	$\frac{1}{3}$
Revenue Patels			
Pasiatas and Talatis	$\frac{1}{3}$	$\frac{1}{5\frac{1}{2}}$	$\frac{1}{3}$
Mukhi	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{5\frac{1}{2}}$	$\frac{1}{4}$

In Okhamandal taluka the Patels were exempted one sati per every ten sati for payment of land revenue²⁴. In some cases here, one to two sati were exempted for every village. ✓

The whole fault of the system lay in the cultivator having to bear the burden of the maintenance of the administrative machinery at the village level. For the share was taken from the produce that remained for him, after the government had taken its own demand. Why should the peasant be made to pay ?

And any merit the bhagbatai system did have, viz., of laying an equal burden on the different crops and selling heavily or lightly as per the outturn in the particular year, - was done away with by the state levying the special cess on cotton in the mid 1860s, and thus upsetting the balance in the system. To that end the state is held responsible.

(iv) Regarding abolition of izara tenure :

Since the state did not successfully abolish izara from all the villages, its evils did continue in the villages where the tenure continued. In these villages, the izardars

24. Letter from wahiwardar of Okhamandal to Sarsuba dated Jeshta, 1865, regarding survey. DN 1, Pudka 2; Ferisht 1; Sarsuba Office, Amreli Prant Chitnisi, CRO.

taking advantage of the distance from the capital, continued to take irregular exactions in the large shares they took²⁵.

In Kodinar taluka, where izara continued till 1871, these evils too continued²⁶.

Conditions were better in the areas where izara was removed, and some improvement was visible²⁷.

(v) Continuance of other tenures :

The inability of the state to resettle the districts and to revise the land revenue systems saw the continuation of certain other systems which were not scientific and which affected adversely the interest of the peasants.

These were the udhad²⁸, Komwar²⁹, and holbandi systems³⁰.

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25. (a) The Asstt. Resident, Amreli reported in 1866, that the evils of farming system continued as izara system continued. Letter from Asstt. Resident in-charge, Amreli to Resident, Baroda dated 25 May 1866, p.342, DN 58, File 296, Amreli, Vol.IX.
- (b) An Example of Shares taken during 1853-1863 by the izardars of Darnagar taluka, p.40, File 263/36a, op.cit.
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|--------|--|
| Bajari | - 16 maunds per khalsi deducted for labour than 1/4 given to government. |
| Juar | - (same as per bajri) |
| Rice | - 5 monds deducted for labour than 1/6 given to government. |
| Wheat | - (same as for rice) |
26. S.S. Report, Kodinar taluka, 1885, Book No.5550, op.cit.
27. Letter from Asst. Resident to Colphayre, Resident, dated 1st May 1874. Report on Amreli Mahals. pp.401, DN 58, File 296, Amreli (1872-74).
28. In Idhad villages, cash assessment was paid only and their assessment was roughly fixed - one even rate being imposed on rough deshi bigha, irrespective of quality of soil. This was an unequal and inscientific assessment. Book No. 5550, op.cit.

Allied to the system of assessment was the method of collection made in certain villages of the taluka³¹. In Damnagar taluka, for instance, certain villages which paid a *Santi vero* or assessment in cash on the bigha, were made to give in their dues in November. And in November it was not possible for the cultivator to pay his dues, as the kharif crops not being ready for market, could not be sold. And if he did not pay the dues, he lost the produce stored in the state's store house, the "khalla". In these circumstances - with no capital, at land and with no possibility of getting capital on account of not being able to sell his crop, the cultivator had no alternative but to borrow from the money-lender. In this continued, process he got increasingly indebted. As the rate of interest on the loan was high³², the debts too became heavy.

29. The holbandi and komwar systems existed in the poor regions
30. of Okhamandal. Holbandi was a rough estimate of assessment which laid unequal burden. And Komwar rates were poor in rationale for where the discrimination was made between the skilled and unskilled cultivators, in favour of the poor and unskilled, the incentive for good and hard work among the skilled cultivators was bound to be reduced.

Notes on Okhamandal, Ferisht No.2, DN 34, SS Report Okhamandal, 1885, Book No. 5550, CRO.

31. File 263/36a, op.cit.

32. The money lenders rate of interest on the loan advanced was 2% per month and for every seer the "Khedut" borrowed he had to pay back seer and a half. File 263/36A, op.cit.

How and why the Demands could be paid :

If the cultivators paid the high dues in these adverse circumstances, it was because of prosperity as a result of the impact of the civil war which led to a price rise and so improved prospects in agriculture³³. No doubt, there were also other reasons for price rise in the division (1) the poor infra structure i.e. the poor connections and communications in the districts on account of which the talukas became more isolated. Because of this isolation goods could not move about as freely, which naturally could have reduced or equalised rates. (2) the other reason was the assessment in kind whereby grain was distributed and did not reach the market in an appreciable quantum. This was a kind of artificial price rise.

In these years of high prices the state put an additional ✓ cess on cotton³⁴. This was designed to defray the expenses (with a certain margin of profit) of certain gins which the staff intended to set up so that cotton was pressed before being exported - the beneficiary in each case being the state. Even so the people could pay the demands³⁵.

33. For prices refer prices in Appendix-A attached at the end of Chapter.

34. The additional cess the 'Ru-Mehsul' and 'Tolamni' or weighing expenses. File 263/36a, op.cit.

35. Note : for instance, the figures of revenue returns in the Dhari taluka. The collections are best for the years 1864 and 1865, which were the peak years of prosperity.

Nature of Impact of Civil War :

The impact of the war was not felt as significantly as it had been in the talukas of Baroda and Kadi prant.

And the fall in revenues by 40% from 1864-69 is good evidence of that. For these years were years of markedly good prospects as seen in the case of Baroda and Kadi divisions, and the fall of revenues in this period in Amreli, implied that the impact was not so significant. That is why a consistent increase in revenues is not noticed.³⁶

That may have been for the following two or three reasons :

(1) The Amreli division, while growing cotton surely, was not essentially a cotton growing prant³⁷ and neither were its soils very productive³⁸.

1861	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870
14	13	12	2	2	8	4	6	3	9

(The low numbers denote best returns and high numbers denote poor or worst returns), pp.80, Survey & Settlement Report, Dhari taluka, 1885. File 263/35.)

36. Note: The fluctuation in revenues in foot note 14 Chap.XI.

37. The chief crops reported for Amreli taluka were bajri, juar, udad; mag, wheat, gram, sugarcane.
In Dhari, the chief crops were bajri, juar, mag, tal, cotton, kamod, wheat, gram sugarcane.
In Kodinar the chief crops were bajri, juar, mag, adad, cotton, gra, sugarcane.
In Damnagar the chief crops were bajri, juar, kamod, mag, adad, tal, cotton, wheat, gram.
Annual report of prant 1877-78, DN 7, Pudka 3; Sar Suba Office, Jamabandi branch.

38. (Next page)

(2) The division being poorly connected with the rest of the Gaekwad territories in Gujarat, did not provide the facility of transport of goods and contact with the British Indian market, and

(3) the bhagbatai and other revenue systems did not facilitate the movement of goods from the cultivator to the market and from market to market, both within and without the prant confines.

And since a significant amount of cash could not flow into the division in these times, the success of a bighoti scheme with its basis on cash, was remote.

Effect of the Measures and Circumstances of the Period :

(1) Impact on Crop Pattern : On account of the continuation of the additional cess on cotton in the years in which the prices fell i.e. after the period of impact was over, there was a notable change in the crop pattern i.e. in bagayat

38. In Amreli Taluka of the 87.4% of cultivable land; good quality land was 43.6%; middling 29.6% and poor 26.6%. Statement from taluka 1862, DN3; FN 7; Amreli Prant Suba, Jamabandi Branch.

(b) In Dhari of the 87.9% cultivable goods quality land was 37.2%; medium 29.6%; poor 32.9%.

(c) In Damnagar of the 89.0% of cultivable good land was 42%; medium 33.5% and poor 24.3%, *ibid.*

(d) In Kodinar Taluka of the cultivable land good land was 39.8%; medium 36.6% and poor 23.5%, *ibid.*

Note : All these percentages have been calculated from the statistics in the particular document.

and jirayat cultivation. Cotton cultivators suffered most as they had to pay the extra demand at a time when the returns from sale of cotton were low³⁹. Moreover, in the bhagbatai system of assessment the cotton cultivator parted with a share of the produce and paid the additional cess as well. In this system of assessment, therefore, the cultivator who grew cotton exclusively paid more to government than a wheat grower. The surrender of these shares of produce, while being too large for the raiyats in years of high prices proved heavy when the days of good returns were over. When, therefore, one crop, cotton, came to be more heavily taxed than the wet crops, the villages in which the latter could be grown, turned their attention to irrigation as much as possible to avoid the heavy demand that fell on cotton. However, the villages in which cotton alone could be grown and in which the scope for bagayat cultivation was absent, the raiyats had no choice but to cultivate more and more of that crop to be able to pay the shares of revenue, - getting poorer in the process.

Case of Amreli :

The change in the crop pattern was noticed in the years that followed. This change is to be seen in the switching

39. Refer to prices in Appendix A attached at the end of this chapter.

over to bagayat cultivation wherever possible. ✓ Accompanied by this process was the corresponding decrease in the areas under cotton cultivation in certain villages, and the increase in cotton cultivation in certain other villages. The figures of 1873-1884 compared with that of 1863-1872 show how the villages produced more or less of jarayat and bagayat crops⁴⁰.

The tappas of Jalia and Devlia were essentially cotton growing areas having little scope for switching over to bagayat cultivation. So, these tappas extended their cotton cultivation and thus continued to give to the state more revenues because of the additional cess that continued even in the years when demand and prices fell⁴¹.

40. File 263/41, op.cit. Survey and Settlement, Amreli Taluka. The villages of producing + (more) or - (Less) in 1873-1884 as compared with figures of 1864-1872.

Jirayat or pure cotton villages		Bagayat villages	
Malila	-387	Medi	+1686
Chandia	-1700	Tarwada	-1151
Sajiwadar	- 702	Vakia	+ 364
Karichad	-1354	Babapur	+ 289
Devrajia	+756	Gavadka	- 201
Total loss	-3387	Total gain	+ 987

41. Refer Appendix A for prices.

The increase in yield in cotton owing to the increase in cotton cultivation is seen in other villages⁴² of the taluka too and indicate the obvious spread of cotton crops. However, the raiyats suffered under the pressure of the additional cess. This pressure felt by the raiyats of the tappas of Vankia and Devlia can be illustrated by the fact that they had relatively little scope for bagayat cultivation that would have given an alternative to the raiyats and relieved them from the payment of the extra demand. Out of the eleven villages of the Vankia tappa only four had scope for bagayat cultivation and Devlia of all the tappas of the Amreli taluka, gave the least revenue from the bagayat cultivation of wheat and most from the cultivation of cotton. Nevertheless it was these few bagayat villages of Vakia, Babapur and Medi that prevented the Vankia tappa from being ruined. This point is further illustrated by the statistics of the years 1873-74 as compared with those of 1864-72 that indicate

42. Increase in yield of cotton.

Years	Villages									
	Vankia		Sajiawadar		Babapur		Devrajia		Karachia	
	Mds.	Rs.	Mds.	Rs.	Mds.	Rs.	Mds.	Rs.	Mds.	Rs.
1864	436	9831	541	11752	258	5820	212	4782	603	13572
1870	1186	12532	1119	11670	671	6860	649	6862	1128	11972
1874	1766	11481	1708	60040	776	5176	732	4789	1197	8286
1877	1155	6642	685	3960	687	3895	419	2441	452	2614
1884	1434	8787	1063	6514	748	4638	538	3237	1104	6877

Mds = maunds; Rs. = Rupees

how each village produced more or less of bagayat and jirayat crop⁴³. The raiyats of the tappa of Varsad grew more cotton, the tappa provided greater scope for cotton cultivation than for the cultivation of wheat and Kamod and paid the high demand on it. One thing however is clear, that cotton being more remunerative, was grown despite the high demand, even where there was facility for cultivation of other crops.

Likewise was crop pattern affected in the villages of Damnagar, Dhari and Kodinar talukas during the rise and fall of prices of agricultural goods, on account of the state's policy of taxation.

The figures given below state the sums derived from the cultivation of the different crops, indicating thereby the significance of the tappas of the taluka as payers of revenue and in respect of the type of cultivation undertaken⁴⁴.

43. Refer footnote 40 Chap. XI.

44. Tappas	Crops		
	Wheat Rs.	Kamod Rs.	Cotton Rs.
Vankia	2954	342	26148
Jalia	6365	1630	14712
Haveli	2246	439	13091
Varsad	3860	688	10016
Devlia	1616	183	18457

Notè : We these figures one can understand how the various tappas must have fared in the change of crop pattern.

Fortunately during the period of Khanderao Gaekwad there was land that could be recovered and tilled⁴⁵. This was another factor that helped the raiyats of the tappas of Jalia and Vankia specially, to maintain themselves in years of difficulty.

In this way the extention of cotton cultivation did make the Amreli division an exporter of cotton. Bajri too was exported. These were the long term effects of the measures and circumstances of the period. The centre of export, no doubt, was Kodinar⁴⁶.

(ii) Impact on conditions of people in Damnagar : The conditions of poverty and impoverishment in the 1880s⁴⁷ were the long term results of the process of decay set in motion during the period of Khanderao Gaekwad and specially after the civil war.

That a taluka where wells had a special significance, should have only thirty wells⁴⁸ shows the severe lack of capital at the hands of the cultivators to invest in assets that were necessary for their business and its development.

45. Refer footnote 38 Chap. XI for percentage of cultivable land.

46. Annual Report, 1877-78 of Amreli Prant. DN 7; Pudka 3; Sarsuba Office, Jamabandi Branch, CRO.

47. Report of Elliot, Survey & Settlement Commissioner to Vinayak Kirtane, Acting Dewan. March 1884 on the 13 Khalsa Villages of Damnagar. Book No. 5556, op. cit.

48. Statements of Damnagar 1871. DN 23; Pudka 2. Ferisht 135/13. Sarsuba Political Branch, CRO. The statistics of house and population from Statement of Damnagar 1871, DN 23, Pudka 2; Ferisht 135/13, Sarsuba Political Branch, CRO.

Moreover, for a population of 13493⁴⁹, the houses were 4452 giving an average of 3.0 members per house. Obviously only the Kanbis would have been well housed.

Conditions in the Siyangar peta mahal of Damnagar were no better, in fact, appear to have been worse. For here the soils were salty and the wells absent. People had to bring water from the nearby villages⁵⁰. This peta mahal had 820 houses in a population of 4613, giving an average of 5.6 members per house. The wells in the peta mahal were, moreover only nine⁵¹.

The lack of funds evident from the assets, the high cost of production⁵², and the risks involved in cultivation owing to vicissitudes of seasons, affected the cultivating habits of the cultivator. To combat - these three disadvantages it became the general practice of cultivators, in Damnagar specially, to possess a piece of irrigated as well as dry crop land. The risk of concentrating on either of the cash crops, cotton and sugarcane, was great. And the one crop, the cultivation of which was inhibited because of the factors referred to, was sugarcane, which was a remunerative cash crop.

49. Ibid, Ferisht 135/26.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid.

52. (On next page)

Foot Note 52 : Cost of Production, Outturn, and value of chief crops. File 263/36a, SS Damnagar, 1886
HPO, CRD.

	Wheat	Cotton	Sugar- cane	Rice	Bajri	Juar	Gram	Tal	Mag	Udad
No. of times the soil is ploughed.	5	2	8	-	-	-	5	-	-	-
Cost of ploughing per bigha (Rs.)	5	2	8	-	-	-	5	-	-	-
No. of times the soils 8-10 days is watered	14	-	100	20	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cost of watering per bigha (Rs.)	14	-	45	9	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cart loads of Manure per bigha (Rs.)	10	-	18	8	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cost of manure per bighas (Rs.)	1-14-0	-	3-8-0	1-6-0	-	-	-	-	-	-
No. of times weeding is done	-	1	7	3	-	-	-	3	-	-
Cost of weeding per bigha	-	0-6-0	2-8-0	1-1-0	-	-	-	1-0-0	-	-
Quantity of seeds per bigha	4 maunds (Ms)	6seers	1000 pieces	3 Ms	2seers	5seers	1½Ms	3/4seer	3seer	3seer
Cart load of seeds per bigha	1-12-0	2-0	2-0	0-8-0	0-1-0	1-9-0	4-0-0	0-0-6	0-7-6	0-2-0
Cost of cutting crop	3-8-0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ginning per bigha	-	6-6-0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total cost per bigha	15-8-0	2-14-6	79-0-0	11-4-0	1-0-0	1-9-0	5-4-0	0-1-6	1-6-0	0-2-0
Quantity of produce per bigha	24 Ms	1M	45Ms	13½	3½	5	4½	3Ms	3Ms	½Ms
Value of produce per bigha (Rs.)	33	0-9-7	168	20	4-13-0	5-10	4-8-0	1-11-7	1-11-0	0-8-6
What remains for cultivator after removing cost (Rs.)	17-8-0	6-1-6	89-0-0	8-2-0	4-12-0	5-8-3	1oss	0-5-6	0-10-6	0-6-0

Note : The cost of production per bigha is high but it includes the cultivators labour.

A Note on the Cultivating Pattern in Damnagar :

A note on the cultivating habits and system⁵³ is pertinent for it enables us to appreciate the problems and practices of the cultivators.

Though in Damnagar, there was irrigated land, it was not that there was true bagayat land for no land was irrigated every year. The irrigated lands fell in 3 categories

- (1) lands which could be irrigated every other year and which produced jirayat in alternate years.
- (2) Lands which could be irrigated every 5th year or so
- (3) land which could be irrigated only after long intervals of 12 to 15 years.

In the 1st category of land, rotation of crops was followed - the rotation being wheat, cotton, juar or bajri, and after the last crop, land was left fallow. Wheat was sown in cold weather.

The rotation of crops in good jirayat was 1 kapas; 2 bajri; 3 juar. If chana or gram was grown in the cold weather, the land was allowed to remain fallow during the succeeding rains. Afterwards, bajri or juar was sown, but not kapas.

The cotton grown in Damnagar was of 2 varieties (1) Lallio which was worth Rs. 150 a khalsi and (2) vagadio found

53. File 263/36, op.cit.

in Ambardi and Chavan and worth Rs. 200 a khalsi.

It is no wonder therefore, that large tracts of land lay waste in later years⁵⁴. The losses to the state are indicated by the reduced revenues after 1865⁵⁵.

Conditions in Amreli Taluka :

The raiyats of the Amreli taluka too were ruined gradually, though conditions here did not deteriorate as much as in Damnagar, as the Amreli tappas were economically stronger. And that is why the revenues did not fall so low in years after the period of prosperity was over in 1866⁵⁶.

It may be noted that the assets of the taluka too were better in that it had 400 wells. Here the houses were 7468 for a population of 31501 giving an average of 4.2 per house and that meant that more were housed in the taluke⁵⁷. Nevertheless the large stretches of cultivable waste in proportion to the total area, and the areas relinquished, indicate the

54. Out of the total area of land i.e. 27120 bighas, 6202 bighas was i.e. 22.8% waste, File 263/36b S. Settlement Damnagar taluka, 1885, HPO, CRO.

55. Refer foot note 14 Chap. XI item (a) for figures of Damnagar.

56. Refer footnote 14 Chap. XI for figures of revenue of Amreli taluka.

57. Statement of Amreli taluka, DN 23, Pudka 2; Ferisht 135/14, Sar Suba Political branch, CRO.

damage done to the economy of the Amreli villages in due course of time⁵⁸.

Situation in Kodinar taluka :

The unbalanced and high assessment in the Kodinar taluka, that persisted in years of difficulty after 1866⁵⁹ produced similar impoverished conditions here as well. The peasants suffered specially in this taluka as the izara system being unremoved, evils of the system continued till 1871. The high demands charged on the bhagila villages for the next 24 years⁶⁰ ruined the economy of these villages, whereas it was these villages, with good facilities of soil and water, that could have been further developed and strengthened. And in effect

58. Note: The areas in the villages of Amreli taluka, File 263/41, op. cit. HR, CRO.

Tappas	Total area in bighas	T.Uncultivable waste	Total cultivable land	Cultivable waste	Bagkhali
Vankia	49773-19	4430-6	45343-13	6816(13.6%)	7949
Jalia	63277-10	7488-3	54965-8	1204(1.9%)	12131
Haveli	465544-19	5743-3	40801-16	3089(6.6%)	7218-7
Devliya	33920-6	2312-16	31607-20	2747(8%)	6952-4
Varsad	50652-1	4207-17	46444-13	2136(4.2%)	1159-6

Note: The percentages of culturable waste - on basis of statistics given.

59. Note: The high demands that continued in Kodinar Taluka after 1866. Foot note 14 Chap XI, Item c. Almost half the villages paid high demands.

60. Refer footnote 14 Chap. XI, for figures in Kodinar taluka.

it was the bagayat land of the bhagila villages that was being charged more, so the large bagayat areas suffered more⁶¹.

Such policies of unequal and high taxation produced the inevitable result of large tracts of culturable waste⁶² particularly in a taluka where the predominant cultivators were the lazy Karadias and Ahirs. Not only was this cultivable waste found near the hills and poor, out-of-the-way places, but in the most central and adaptable villages on which too high a pressure had been brought to bear⁶³.

It would be apt to quote here the observations of the survey and settlement commissioner in 1885. "It is certain that the present state of things in Kodinar is not the result of an unkind climate or barren soil. Within a radius of 3 miles from the centre of Kodinar Kasba are to be found old

61. Note : The large irrigated or bagayat areas in Kodinar, Book 5550, op.cit. p. 16.

<u>Villages</u>	<u>Dry crop bighas</u>	<u>Irrigated bighas</u>
Kodinar	750	1462
Chauvannikhan	640	365
Chhasa	1716	824
Devalia	1605	1040
Panadar	804	408
Pipali	384	626

62. Note : The area of culturable waste in Kodinar taluka, Survey & Settlement Report, Kodinar taluka dated 24 Nov. 1885; Book No.5550, op.cit. pp. 52-53.

T.Villages	57
Uncultivable waste	47774
Cultivated land	87678
Cultivable waste	31229
Barkhali	14730
Total Area	181411

63. S.S. Report Kodinar taluka, 1885, File 263/37, HPO.

wells still in perfect repair, which for solidity and magnificance and profusion cannot be equalled by the wells of any tract in the state. I have visited. They are evidences of a higher style of agriculture than now exists - of enterprise which is at present quenched and of the splendid stone quarries which are to be found in the taluke⁶⁴. It is quite right therefore, to attribute the conditions of the 1880s to the period of Khanderao Gaekwad to a large extent, if not completely. The process of decay began in these years of 1860-70 and continued with momentum in the succeeding rule of Malharrao Gaekwad.

Situation in Dhari Taluka :

Similar processes and indications of an impoverished peasantry are to be seen in the Dhari taluka as well. In this taluka again it was the taxation policy of bagayat land that had affected the growth of wet crop cultivation⁶⁵. And the failure of the state to realise the significance of wells in the hilly tracts and to charge high rates from irrigated crops, were indeed notable errors of omission on the part of the ruler in these times.

64. Survey & Settlement Commissioner, File Ibid.

65. Effects of policy of taxation had been to gradually increase the dry crop areas and underutilize the potential bagayat areas. Hence the larger figures for dry crop areas noticed in 1880s, SS Dhari Taluka, 1886, Book No.5550, op.cit. p. 55. In Bhagbatai villages of the cultivated dry area was 12076-18 bighas and 1196-7 wet area. In udhad villages too the dry crop area was 12190-0 and wet crop area was 149-15-0.

The effects of the policies of the state are also indicated by the rise and fall in the growth and decline of certain villages that could not stand the strain in these times. They were the villages of Jarsingda whose economy broke down in 1864, but it revived in 1875; and Dabhalia whose economy broke down during the years 1866-69 and got revived in 1878⁶⁶.

They are also to be seen in the large extents of cultivable waste that accumulated by the 1880s⁶⁷, in consequence of the inability of the Khatadars to maintain their holdings. The poor material of the people - for the taluka had only 20 wells. Moreover, the number of houses were 7977 for a population of 28236⁶⁸.

Finally the immediate effect indicating the condition of stress and strain for raiyats, is to be seen in the poor returns or collections made by the state after 1866⁶⁹.

66. File 263/35 op.cit.

67. Areas of land and culturable waste, pp.54-57, op.cit.

Total area	4411855
Unculturable waste	136491-14-0
Cultivable land	275363
Cultivated	145078-0
Culturable waste	10060-19
Barkhali	51639-65

68. DN 23; Pudka 2; Ferisht 135/19, Sar suba Political Branch.

69. Refer foot note 35 Chap. XI for collections of Dhari.

Analysis of factors responsible for conditions :

Certain factors figure prominently in the analysis of the factors responsible for the conditions that existed.

Among them were the action and inaction of the ruler. ✓
 And while reference has been already made to the taxation policy, it is to be added here, in this context, that the taxation in non-agricultural areas⁷⁰ too indirectly affected the progress of economic development.

Thus the injurious affect on market is seen in the case of the market of Damnagar being slowly extinguished on account of the Mapu or sales tax imposed in Chavand tappa in 1868. Barlier, Lathi, Galiadhar, Lilia, Mandwa, Gadholi and other villages had made Damnagar thier market town. Over the years Lathi captured from Damnagar the significance of a market town. Whereas the Bhavnagar custom was 1%, in Damnagar on cotton and silk thread, on cotton and silk cloth; on gold; on oil; on timber from Bhavnagar was 3%; on cattle it was 2%; on ghee 4 annas for maund; on cotton 2 annas 6 paisa per maund, on cotton seeds Rs.3, 2 annas per maund; import of wool and cotton, 2 annas and 6 paisa per maund. Cotton was thus taxed both, when imported and exported.

70. The non-agricultural taxes were the water tax on inami lands; the mapu a tax on measurement at the Khalla (i.e. share house); a tax on produce after it had been sold to the merchant on when it was exported. In all there were 48 items of taxes. And often it so happened that the cultivator of Damnagar was taxed twice or thrice on the same goods. File 263/36a op.cit.

These taxes weighed heavily on the cultivator. He paid 2% to government when he purchased any cattle; and Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 when he bought a leather "Koss" both of which were necessary for cultivation. Again the timber he used for his house was taxed and yet the house when built could not belong to him. The whole system was unfair and seemed to have been calculated for the sole benefit of the state.

The other instance of gross injustice as regards taxation was the imposition of the additional charges placed on cotton in order to meet the expenses of gins, which in fact were not in existence for more than a year.

In Amreli taluka the taxes that proved burdensome to the cultivators were the taxes on sale of produce in government gardens at Amreli; the interest charged on arrears of revenue, a tax on sale of cotton dry wood and on fruit trees.

The given geographical conditions were another significant factor affecting economic change in the state. The potentialities of soil and climate in general were average⁷¹. Areas of good productive soil were intervened with patches of poor soils. And this kind of diversity was specially true of Dhari

71. Note: The percentage areas of culturable land and of the different categories of land. Footnote 14 Chap. XI, and so the kind of crops in footnote 47 Chap. XI.

and Kodinar talukas which in addition had hills and forested tracts. As regards climate, the division on the whole did suffer disadvantages of unpredictable poor seasons.

The potentialities of the class of cultivators also did influence the course of development. For instance it is not a coincidence that the talukas of Dāmnagar and Amreli - where the better class i.e. skilled cultivators, were in greater numbers - show better development. On the other hand talukas Kodinar, Okhamandal and Dhari were showing relatively poorer development.

Poor communications, too stood in the way of progress in economic condition. For trade and marketing were directly affected by it.

While all the above given factors influenced the course of economic development, the one to be given priority among them, appears to be the role of the ruler. It was his policy and altitude from time to time that affected the course of development. Thus the taxation policy of the state figures prominently among the causes of the conditions that existed.

For trade and marketing processes to flourish, what is needed at hand, is capital and surplus goods - both of which are interconnected. The policies as well as land revenue systems of the time were such that they left very little

available to the market, for the market to develop, and left negligible funds at the hands of the cultivators for the cultivators to invest.

To recapitulate, the bhagbatai system of assessment with its division of shares left the cultivator with little to sustain himself for a year - least of all, to sell. And the high demands, again left the cultivator with just about a marginal sum - which was not really profit but a subsistence sum on the contrary were had the cultivators being driven to borrowing and getting increasingly indebted. With lack of surplus produce, therefore, and with lack of funds at hand, how could investment in agriculture or any other business be carried on ?

The beneficiary in these circumstances was the moneylender ✓ to whom most of the standing crop was disposed in payment of demand and in payment of debts. It was not only capital that was borrowed - seeds too were borrowed, and the principle of interest that applied to money, was applied to borrowed seed and grain as well. The situation, therefore, was that the cultivator toiled and produced but lost it all (except for the marginal subsistence amount) to the moneylender. The frustration and demoralization among the cultivating classes can well be imagined.

Market economy and industrial development would not have been affected had the moneylenders invested their earnings in productive business where, perhaps, the dependents of the cultivator could have been engaged. But it must be recalled that industrialisation, if not nil, had just begun - so adequate alternatives too did not exist. What the moneylenders did, therefore, was to use their earnings fair or foul to enhance their business of merely advancing money, grain and seeds and not in any other productive way. Institutions for advancing loans to cultivators, were absent in these times, except for the few banking firms. Some of the prominent bankers at this time were Mairal and Hari Bhakti. There were several minor ones as well, a host of these money-lending families engaged in the business of advancing loans which patronised only the big landlords, sardars and the state, the institution of the sahuakar thrived.

In these circumstances, therefore, economic development in any direction was not possible and so the conditions as referred to ensued. Herein also, lie the reasons for the continuation of old modes of cultivation, old implements and techniques of cultivation. What did result were the increasing stretches of cultivable waste and a dampened enthusiasm and morale of the cultivators.

A Distinctive Feature of the Division :

There is one factor that gives a possible insight to the indifference of the state in the Amreli division.

There were certain villages of the Damnagar, Dhari and Amreli talukas in which the state was a co-sharer with others, in the income from these villages - so called "co-shared villages". The revenues of these villages were shared between the Government, the girasias and the charans, each having a certain fixed portion. This in fact, was a system or an arrangement that had grown up in the unstable or insecure times of establishment of the Gaekwad rule in Gujarat, in the distant districts of Kathiawar. By it, peace was bought by assigning to the turbulent party a certain portion of the village revenues for the maintenance of that party - the sum being called "grass" or giras. From Kathiawar, therefore, it is obvious that the Gaekwad sarkar did not get much revenue on account of these various distributed shares, specially when there were also alienated lands⁷². The government, therefore, not having much pecuniary interest in the Amreli division, - the main interest being that of keeping the territories intact, - neglected these districts.

72. In 1862, the percentage of giras land was 14.3% in Amreli taluka. Statement of Amreli 1862, DN 3; FN 7, Amreli Prant Suba.

(b) In Damnagar the giras land was 10.9%. Ibid.

(c) In Dhari the giras land was 13.6%, ibid.

An account of these villages (co-shared village in Damnagar Taluka) :

In the taluka of Damnagar the co-shared villages were Khijadia and the villages in the tappa of Siyanagar peta mahal.

Siyanagar, Peta Mahal :

The Siyanagar Peta mahal was a set of 6 villages where revenues were shared by the Sircar, Girasias and charans. The shares in the bhagbatai system were 59% for government and 41% by the girasias and the charans. Thus from the revenue point of view, the 6 villages of the peta mahal were not of much importance to the Gaekwad⁷³. In certain villages of the Mahal, the shares of revenue were two, i.e. government and the girasias who were the original proprietors of the village holding a sanad; and in some instances the shares were three as earlier stated. The revenues were collected in kind and with insignificant exception, the sum was converted into money the sharers being paid in money.

73. Note: Though the following figures are for 1873-1884, they give an idea of the proportion and kind of shares, which must not have changed much from the time of Khanderao Gaekwad, and

so could be shown to indicate the nature and distribution of revenues. Book No.555, op.cit. pp. 14-17.

Average receipts of part twelve years 1873-1884 showing the produce of the country and what went to the ruler.

Actual Administration of Shares in Siyanagar Peta Mahal :

In the distribution of shares in the villages of Siyanagar, the cultivator's share was put aside first and then the government took 1/4th or about Rs. 800 of the remainder, i.e. the share that represented the santivero paid to government by the girassia. In Siyanagar village the revenues were collected by the government and not by the girassia.

In the village of Italia the share accruing to the government was 1/3rd and to the girassia 2/3. Here the government collected the revenue in kind, and paid it too, in kind.

In the villages of Navagam and Shahpur the share of government was 1/2, and 1/2 went to the girassia, excepting

73. contd..

<u>Villages & Shares</u>	<u>Total land</u> Rs.	<u>Miscellaneous</u> Rs.	<u>Total revenue</u> Rs.
<u>Siyanagar</u>	4915-7-10	173-11-4	5089-3-2
Govt. Share	4175-9-5	173-11-4	4349-4-9
Girassias share	739-14-5	-	739-14-5
Charanas share	-	-	-
<u>Shahpur</u>	6048-1-0	119-4-8	6167-15-8
Govt. share	3128-0-2	60-0-8	3488-0-10
Girassias share	2920-0-10	59-14-0	2679-14-10
<u>Mewassa</u>	2226-4-1	33-15-4	2260-3-5
Govt. share	778-1-11	11-5-2	1084-7-1
Girassias	910-4-1	11-5-1	726-9-2
Charans share	537-14-1	11-5-1	449-3-2
<u>Ratanpur</u>	4175-11-10	64-0-0	4239-11-10
Govt. share	1441-7-7	21-8-0	1697-15-9
Girassias	1654-15-7	21-4-0	1541-3-7
Charans	1079-4-8	21-4-0	1000-8-8

in some lands where the entire revenue went to the girassia and the government, depending on the ownership right and the share division therein. Here again all the taxes were collected by the state who paid $1/2$ the proceeds to the girassia.

The sharers in the villages of Ratanpur and Mewassa were three, being government, girassia and charans. Here the government and the girassias got $1/3$ of the revenues in kind plus a little more, and the charans got $1/3$ after certain deduction.

how derived

Disadvantages to Girassias in the System : It is to be observed that despite the ratio of shares in the villages of the Siyanagar peta, the government enjoyed a prominent position by virtue of being the overlord as seen in the part it took in collecting and distributing the revenues. The girassias on the other hand, despite having ownership rights and large shares, suffered disadvantages in the system. The first disadvantage to the girassia in the bhagbatai system was that he could not dispose of his produce till after the government share had been cleared out of the Khalla. The loss to the Girassia on this account was from the deterioration in the quality of the grain in storage.

Secondly, it is to be observed that while the government got its fixed share apportioned to it, the girassia

had to pay something over and above the santi vero fixed. In the village of Italia for instance, before girassia was paid its 2/3 share, Rs. 200 were deducted for vero; Rs. 5 for Mehta Pagdi; Rs. 5 for Kazi dasturi; Rs. 24 for dhobi - or in all Rs. 234 of which Rs. 205 went to the government, Rs. 5 to the kazi and Rs. 24 to the girassia⁷⁴. In other words the girassia lost Rs. 132 out of his 2/3 share.

In this way it is to be anticipated that the girassias must have been a discontented lot during these times.

Share in Khijadia: Khijadia was again a girassia village of the Siyanagar tappa in which 2/3 went to the government and 1/3 to the girassia⁷⁴. Here too the landlord rights were enjoyed by the Gaekwad state. The sharers in the 3 villages of Sakhpur, Ganeshgad and Rupavati were government and girassia both getting almost an equal share of the most important tax⁷⁶.

74. File 263/366, op.cit. Dannagar Taluka, HPO, CRO.

75. Note: The figures are for 1875-1884 but they indicate the proportion that went to the sharers in the village, and as much change did not take place from the time of Khanderao Gaekwad, the figures are useful in indicating the nature and distribution of revenues of the 1860s.

Average receipts of 1873-1884 for Khijadia village.
File No.263/36b op.cit. p. 279, HPO. CRO.

	<u>Govt. share</u>	<u>Girassias share</u>	<u>Total</u>
Khijadia village	Rs. 2434	Rs. 669	Rs.3103
i.e. 78% to government and 22% to the girassias.			

76. (on next page)

Shares in Dhari taluka : In the Dhari taluka too the revenues were shared between the government and girassias. The girassias, for instance, had a share in the revenues of the bhagdari village of Dalkhania. In the case of another village Chacha, the girassias had a share in the total revenues of Dalkhania i.e. of a sum of Rs. 837, the girassia's share was of Rs. 271 i.e. a 32% share.

In this way it is to be seen that the Gaekwad state did not enjoy full revenues from certain villages of the Amreli division.

Okhamandal districts - its peculiarities and Problems:

The isolated district of Okhamandal in the north-west had certain peculiarities and problems of a distinct nature so it has to be dealt with separately.

Okhamandal's importance to the state was not from the point of revenue, but for historical reasons. It was a significant religious centre where revenues in the main came not from land but from pilgrimage and other duties.

The problem in the district was not of organising its revenues but of managing and controlling the waghers and other cognate tribes who were a turbulent class and had

76. Book No. 5550, op. cit. CRO. p. 7.

Taxes	Govt. share		Girassias share	
	Land	Misc.	Land.	Misc.
Mapai zero	250	363	252	368
Jinsi	4374	-	5923	-
Ruman	4864	-	4351	-
Sugarcane	407	---	308	-
Bham	28	69	24	56
Pinjar	-	17	-	12

caused many disturbances. Though the combined forces of the Gaekwad and the British had put down the Wagher rebellion in 1859 and made them surrender their arms and their rent free lands⁷⁷, they revolted once again the very next year⁷⁸.

Policy and Measures Regarding Waghers :

The main problem in Okhamandal, therefore, was to get ✓ the tribes accustomed to a peaceful life by giving them the best and most generous facilities for agriculture. The statement of Wallace illustrates well the adoption of such a policy. He wrote to Lt. Barton, "... You are aware that I have more at heart the addition of the Waghers to agricultural industry than the exaction of rent from them ... that you will consider the land tax they pay rather as a fund out of which advances on good security may be made to them for the purchase of seed, corn and cattle and for their plough than as a source of revenue for the state..."⁷⁹.

77. It may be noted as regards rent free lands, that the waghers of village Dhrewad had not joined the rebels in 1859, so their lands were not resumed. Memorandum on certain question relating to waghers and the cognate tribes of Okhamandal, 1901, Book No.254, p.75.

78. DN 23; File 1, Hujur Order file, Ferisht 4/49, Amreli Prant Chitnisi, Sar suba Office.

79. Letter of Col. Wallace to Lft. Barton dated 30th March 1860, Book No.254, op. cit. p. 64.

Measures :

(1) Providing for Mixture in Population : According the arrangement made in 1861 was that the Kanbi population was mixed with the Wagher population both as a check against future uprising and for the waghers to pick up good cultivating habits from the Kanbis. And the proportion of various classes in Okhamandal in 1860⁸⁰ indicates the object in view by enuciators of the new policy and the possibilities anticipated from the proportions in population.

(2) Administrative Measures : For the management of these classes a rasti Patel was appointed for the non-Wagher population and a havildar for the Wagher⁸¹. Later on, i.e. once they had settled down somewhat, the havildar was replaced by a Wagher Patel.

(3) New Revenue arrangements : The Bhaghatai assessment and various kinds of tenure as Kaltana. Komwar, Holbandi were replaced in 1862 by the simple cash assessment on a Sathi,⁸² (measure of land) and only two tenures - bhagbatai and salam⁸³ were retained.

80. Population in 1860, ibid, p.2.

Waghers	22.7%
Wadhels-Rajputs	2.7%
Cognate tribes	--
Rest of population of Kanbis and others =	74.5%
Total =	(12003)

Note: The percentages have been calculated from the statistics in the file.

81. Notes: Administration of Okhamandal, by B.U.Desai, 1932, DN 34; Ferisht No.2, CRO.

Problems in Survey operations and the application of Bighoti :

Owing to the peculiar problems of the district, survey operations could not be carried on, and it was only in 1868, that something was done in that regard.⁸⁴ Then too, it was reported and an appeal was made that the survey was not accurate and that it be revised.⁸⁵

Some of these problems in the way of effective survey of land and the application of bighoti were (1) there was no demarcation of land on basis of kumbha or bigha⁸⁶, could be used for identification of a holding with the owner. (2) There was no regulation regarding holding. Thus in some villages some land belonged to the cultivators and some to waghers regardless of any rule or system.

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82. Letter from Wahiwatdar of Okhamandal to Sarsuba, dated Jeshta, 1865, Regarding Survey, DN 1, Pudka 2; Ferisht 1; Sarsuba Office, Amreli Prant Chitnisi, CRO.
83. Bhog was the full assessment to be taken from the Kanbis and Salami was the nominal amount taken from the Wagher population. Notes: On Administration of Okhamandal by B.V.Desava, 1932, DN 34, Ferisht 2; CRO.
84. Endorsement dated 19 April, 1884, Report of Wahiwatdar of Okhamandal Krishnaji Bhikaji, DN 6, File 2; Amreli Prant Suba Jamabandi Branch.
85. Appeal made to Malharrao Gaekwad letter no.2746 of 1872, DN 42; Pudka 1; Ferisht 56, from Baroda Resident to Sarsuba Office, Political Branch, CRO.
86. Letter from Wahiwatdar of Okhamandal to Sar suba dated Jeshta 1865, regarding survey. DN 1, Pudka 2; Ferisht 1; Sarsuba Office, Amreli Prant Chitnisi, CRO.

If, therefore, there was Wagher land lying fallow, a Kanbi or Rajput could cultivate it and vice-versa.

(3) Till 1860, the Waghers and Sindhis had no 'dasta' or land revenue to pay, and there would be problems of making them conform to the new system of paying it and finally

(4) there was harassment from the barvatia elements i.e. plunderers of the survey officers, so work could not progress. That is why the assessment on sathi was continued, and incentives for them to take to cultivation were also given.

Terms for Waghers : The most favourable terms were made for the Waghers in order to get them settled to a peaceful and organised life. Though after the rebellion, the waghers lost the right of complete exemption of assessment light rates were imposed upon them⁸⁷ and an agreement was entered upon by which the Waghers were to enjoy the lands at the rates fixed provided they behaved themselves, and caused no disturbances and committed no offences. These rates were half of what were fixed for the other cultivators; but the same was necessary to induce them to give up their habits of idleness, and plundering. The rates of 1860 fixed by Lt. Barton, though light, were cancelled by Col. Wallace who gave them instead, Sanads of rent free lands for cultivation. The conditions fixed were (1) loyalty to His Highness (2) no robberies or disturbances (3) Payment of Re. 1/- a year for each sathi

87. Rates fixed by Lt. Barton were Rs. 6-8 per sathi (48 bighas) for jirayat Rs. 2 per season bagayat Rs. 5 per md of goor - the which was the bazaar price for sugarcane, Book No. 254, op.cit. p. 63.

of land (4) restriction to mortgage and sale of Salami land and (5) no asylum to thieves. The sanads were granted in perpetuity provided the nazarana was paid by each successor and the Waghers were informed regarding the granting of such sanads. Incentives for increasing their holdings were also given by Cal. Wallace, provided the claimant for increasing the holding proved he had done something worthwhile. Thus an indirect check on the moves and activities of the Waghers was kept by the conditions imposed, and at the same time facilities provided for the development of the community and the district.

The success of the measure is to be seen in the increase and request for lands by Waghers, for cultivation⁸⁸. The fact that in the mid 1860s, the British and the Durbar agreed to have a fresh arrangement regarding the assessment of lands held by Waghers⁸⁹ also proves that the Waghers had settled down and their economy improved. This fresh arrangement contemplated, was a sliding scale of assessment from 1865 on the extra lands that the Waghers wished to cultivate. This scale which had higher rates was 1/4 of full assessment for

88. In 1871 Capt. Scott reported that those Waghers who had had only 20-30 bighas as begged to have their allotment increased to a full sathi. In 1872, 560 sanads granting more lands to Waghers were issued.

89. Ibid. p. 67.

the first two years; $1/2$ for the next two years; $3/4$ for the next two years following, and full assessment from the seventh year. The quality of land granted at a quit rent of one rupee per sathi ranged from a minimum of one sathi to $3\frac{1}{2}$...⁹⁰. Note, these terms did seem fair enough, and were justified in that the government had a right to take more revenues once conditions of the raiyats improved. The manner in which the enhancement was to be made shows the enlightenment of the administration in enabling its people to stabilize their economy slowly. No doubt these terms were hard for those whose lands were less than a sathi i.e. 48 bighas, for they would not be able to maintain those lands under the new assessment contemplated.

A Sanad was drawn up by Lt. Scott regarding these terms and issued to the Waghers and Rajputs in the three villages of Goriali, Rajpura, and Sandesar. More sanads of this kind could not be issued on account of the absence of survey.

Other considerations shown to Waghers : To encourage agricultural pursuits and get the waghirs settled, not only were lands given to them for cultivation at very nominal rates, but in 1860 and again in 1867, when the rains had failed in Okhamandal, the Waghers were allowed to go to Kathiawar to graze their cattle, on furnishing security for good behaviour. Relief works too were sanctioned by the Darbar in these years

to give them employment. In 1868 tagavi was given to cultivators for maintenance, for wells, and for buying cattle⁹¹.

The result of all these measures was that no disturbance or offence of consequence was heard of during this period in Okhamandal, as the annual administration reports of the period testify⁹². Moreover the growth in income from Okhamandal by 38.8% from 1864-69 was a result of the growth of agricultural enterprise in the district⁹³. Thus as far as the efforts of the state in organising the Waghers of Okhamandal are concerned, its efforts were noteworthy. The turbulent classes got settled and the economy of the district too improved in the process.

91. Letter from Wahiwatdar to for suba dated Ashwin 1, 1868 DN 2; Pudka 1; Ferisht 31 (enclosure) sarsuba Office Amreli Prant prant chitnisi, CRO and letter from wahiwatdar to sarsuba dated Ashad 12, 1868. Ferisht 33/1, Sarsuba Office, Amreli, Prant Chitnisi.

92. Various letters :
 (a) Secretary to Resident dated 17 March 1862, p.113, File Ibid.
 (b) Col. Wallace in 1862, p. 113, File Ibid.
 (c) Lt. William Scott in 1868, p. 114. Ibid.

93. Note the percentage has been calculated from the statistics of 1864 in DN1, Pudka 1, Ferisht 6; and of 1869 from DN 2; Pudka 1, Ferisht 4. Sarsuba Office, Jamabandi branch.

SECTION IIMALHARRAO GAEKWAD : 1870 - 75Problems of Malharrao's Regime :

The difficulties of the peasants increased in the period of Malharrao, owing (1) to the fall in prices after 1869⁹⁴ and (2) the increased mismanagement, maladministration and corruption in the state's administration in this period. In this respect the situation worsened during this period for appointment of izardars and offices were made to favourites who themselves never managed their estates but left them to others. Inefficiency and corruption⁹⁵ were therefore rife in these circumstances.

94. Prices : See Appendix A at the end of this Chapter.

95. Reflection of regime from the below given cases.

(a) State revenues were depended, by false enteries having been made in the account book by izardar Sayajvadar of Amreli taluka.

Letter from Wahiwatdar Amreli taluka to Sarsuba dated Sravan 14; 1871, DN 4; Pudka 14; Ferisht 5, Sarsuba Office Amreli Prant Chitnisi.

(b) The government officers in Kodinar Taluka were making inaccurate assessment by incorrect evaluation of crop. Thus if the crop was 8 annas in a Re, they assessed it as Rs.12; if it was 12 annas then it was assessed as Re.1 - the poorer classes were seriously affected in this way. A request was therefore made that market rates be considered at the time of fixing assessment, so that there would be no harassment and no oppression in payment of demand. An application to the above effect Chaitra 4, 1871, was made in Kodinar by about 12 person.

(c) There was case of harassment of cultivators in recovery of demand, despite the hardships of the cultivator's due to lowest in 1870, instead of concern being made in demand. In fact the government took taxes which were non-existent, Ibid.

contd..

Though the Gaekwad did show signs of response to the problems of the peasant⁹⁶ offered no real remedy, so that high rates still continued being 1/3 of produce of dry land 1/5 of irrigated land and 1/6 of sugarcane⁹⁷.

Failing to get remedy, the cultivators approached the British and complained against the high demands and the assessment. And it was under British pressure that the Gaekwad issued orders regarding harassment of cultivators⁹⁸.

It was when the Gaekwad still did not affect reductions, that a crisis was precipitated, the result of which was the

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- (d) In 1813, a report was made against a Wahiwatdar who was corrupt. Letter from Resident at Amreli dated 11-8-1873, DN 42; Pudka 1; Ferisht 2; Sarsuba Office, Political Branch.
- (e) The Wahiwatdar of Amreli taluka in 1873, Hansraj Mowjee, was reported to the corrupt and was later suspended by Dadabhai Naoroji the Dewan. In this place Rao Bahadur Appaji Ramchandrar was appointed and after him came Keshavdas Ramchandrar as the Suba of Amreli division. Report of Amreli by Maghe Administration Report (1875-1902) File 314/4, HPO, CRO.
96. The Gaekwad accepted the request of government officers to give remissions as there had been no rain. Letter from Sarsuba to Wahiwatdar dated Bhadrapad 2; 1872, DN 6; Pudka 4; Ferisht 1; 1873. Sarsuba Office, Amreli Prant Chitnisi, CRO.
97. Letter from Asstt. Resident to Resident Col. Phayre dated 1st May 1894. Report 1873 on Amreli Mahals, p. 401, DN 58, F.N 296, Amreli (1872-74), Vol. IX.
98. In 1873, Malharrao instructed his officers not to harass when collecting revenues and also not to take 'Vetha bigar' i.e. forced village service or bribe -making all these offences penal. Letter from Wahiwatdar of Okhamandal dated 12, Phalgun 1873, to sarsuba informing that he had issued the Jahirnama (notification) as per his instructions. DN 6; Pudka 11; Kirkol, 1873. Ferisht 40, Sarsuba Office, Amreli, Prant Chitnisi, CRO.

introduction of the Dadabhai Ministry which did the needful⁹⁹.

Owing to pressure from the Gaekwad, the dewan could not give substantial relief¹⁰⁰. And the good work begun by Dadabhai Naoroji was arrested by his resignation in 1874.

The years of 1874-75 were of political issues mainly, during which time the problems of administration and agrarian references were kept in abeyance.

Conditions, therefore, continued to remain bad and economy - the same viz. of subsistence level. The people were, therefore, just able to feed and cloth themselves and had hardly any money left for ornaments¹⁰¹.

99. The reduction in demand in the prant, during the Ministry of Dadabhai was of 9.9% from the demand of 1870, viz., under Khanderao.

Note: The percentage has been calculated from the statistics of 1874-75, in the following document : Annual report of prant 1875, DN 107; File 632, CRO and the statistics of 1870 from DN 2, Pudka 1; Ferisht 4, Sarsuba Office, Jamahandi branch.

100. That the reduction was not substantial is to be seen that the realisable revenue demand of Rs.1092010. This meant that the reduction ought to have been of 14% and not 9%. Calculations of percentage from files, Ibid.

101. Report of 1873-78, on Amreli Mahals, DN 58, FW 296, Amreli (1872-74), Vol. IX. p. 401.