

: CHAPTER - II :

BARODA PRANT

KHANDERAO GAEKWAD : 1860 - 1870

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SECTION I

Interests and Problems of Khanderao Gaekwad :

The major problem faced by Khanderao Gaekwad at the time of his accession was a chronic shortage of funds. This problems was caused by several factors as extensive rent-free lands held by the Sardars, the izardars empowered to collect the revenues and the slackness of administration.

As such, the major concern of the ruler was to strengthen his administration, to progressively reclaim rent free lands, to limit the powers of the Sardars, to tighten the revenue organisation, to simplify the revenue system and thus to maximise the revenue of the state and the power of the ruler. However, there were major difficulties that stood in the way of the Gaekwad's smooth securing of his objectives. These were the variety and diversity in the land

revenue system in the Baroda Prant<sup>1</sup>, which made the application of any uniform system difficult; the resistance to change in the social and economic status by the nobility, who had till then held large stretches of land for which they paid a trifling amount to the state<sup>2</sup>; and the legacy of an ill-defined and ill regularised administration which needed much time and energy before it was brought to shape.

Khanderao Gaekwad's tackling of these problems :

To combat these problems, the ruler embarked on a programme of resettlement of the districts, reform of the administrative set up and the recovery of certain rent free lands. In all these areas the state followed the

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1. There were about 12 kinds of assessment systems in the Prant and with all these being present in the talukas, in fact with more than two being present in a village, quite often, created problems of management. They were bhagbatai, izara, udhad, ekakdi, bighoti, Mewasi, holdbandi, Narwa, mulkgiri, Seja, Bhagdari and Miscellaneous Annual Report of Baroda division, 1875-76. D.N. 106 F.N. 628. Central Record Office, Baroda (hence forward C.R.O.)
  2. The lack of resources was felt as 2/3rd of the total area of land in the prant was alienated i.e. it gave the state only partial, and not full rent. In Sinor Taluka for instance, the proportion of alienated to government land was more, which meant that sarkar's in-come was from a small area. File 263/24 Survey settlement Report Sinor Taluka, 1888, Hujur Political Office (H.P.O.) C.R.O.

Survey and Settlement Report to be hence forward S.S.R.

models of the Bombay government. For with the zeal to reform and modernize the state, was the zeal to please the paramount power whose favour he had recently earned by his conduct during the course of the mutiny of 1857.<sup>3</sup>

Measures taken by the Gaekwad :

(i) The work of Survey and settlement which introduced cash assessment or bighoti in the Baroda prant, undertaken in 1865-86,<sup>4</sup>

(ii) went hand in hand with the removal of the izara system,<sup>5</sup> whereby direct government control and management of the districts was introduced. Direct government management was also introduced in districts hitherto managed privately.<sup>6</sup>

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3. The fact of the Gaekwad's informing the British government of his actions and his measures regarding administrative reconstruction bears out the point made, in that it indicates the degree to which he was conscious of his doings conforming with British patterns and developments. Letter from Maharaja Khanderao to Sir Henry Batal Edward Frier, Governor of Bombay dated 16 May 1862. Daftar Number (hence forward) (D.N.) general-69. Nishani 1. Ferisht 12. Pudka No.10. C.R.O.
  4. Annual report of Revenue Survey. Prant Dakshin (Baroda) 1865-66 Sar-suba Office, Baroda Prant Suba D.N.24, Pudka No.2. C.R.O.
  5. The izara system was removed from the Dabhoi taluka in 1862; from Sinor in 1865, and from Savli in 1867. File 263/27 SSR Dabhoi Taluka 1888. HPO. CRP. SSR Sinor Taluka op.cit. File 263/26 SSR Jarod (Savli) Taluka 1889. CRO.
  6. Savli Mahal had been under the control of the Nawab of Baroda till 1867, when it was secured under the direct charge of the State. Ibid.

An illustration of survey and settlement - case of Dubhoi taluka :

In fixing the new survey rates, the past bhagbatai rates were taken as the basis of calculation. Accordingly, after the work of measurement in the Dabhoi taluka in 1863-64, a block sum was fixed on the basis of the past realisations.<sup>7</sup> Then the amount leviable from each village was distributed over each holding - the apportionment being made by the people themselves by placing different rates on the different category of soils viz., best, middling and worst. And since the Dubhoi Taluka did not have any marked distinction in the capabilities of soil, the problem of making a rough classification was not too much for the ruler.

This ten years settlement known as 'das wata' continued with certain modifications till 1888.

Further insight into the origin of cash assessment :

While the attainment of conformity with the British system was one reason for the rulers intention of having 'cash' instead of 'kind' assessment, there was another one as well, as illustrated in the case of Varnama tappa of Baroda Taluka,<sup>8</sup> an account of which follows :

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7. S.S. R. Dabhoi, op.cit.

8. Revision settlement Report (RSR) Baroda taluka of Baroda Division, 1914. Book No.5471, CRO. Extract from "Brief Survey of the agricultural condition of Varnama village of Baroda Taluka." pp.3-4.

On account of the bhagbatai system, the settlers of this tappa, viz., the Audich Brahmins and the Patidars were allowed to cultivate land wherever they liked and the land cultivated by one family was not encroached upon by another family. It was on that account that the system of cash payment came into vogue, to make up perhaps, the loss due to the land which remained uncultivated.

Then, as a result of various circumstances it was found that much land remained uncultivated, and patches of cultivated land were small and scattered. To remedy this, an enterprising wahiwatdar, Pragdas Vasandas Amin of Wadu of Padra Taluka was allowed to reallocate lands. Agreements were taken by leaders of four parties agreeing to hand over the lands in their possessions to government, and the wahiwatdar in his turn agreed to give each party as much land as was required. The object of taking the agreement was to be able to give the lands of one party to another which would not have been possible in its absence. The advantages secured in reallocation were firstly, that each one got land of equal quality and secondly, that easy protection of standing crops was secured by a clear-cut division of land of each party.

However, even with the abolition of bhagbatai and introduction of the survey system in the Varnama tappa in

1864, the government was not prepared to deal with individual Khatedars as was the practice in British territory. But advantage was taken of the survey system to find out the area and income from a particular holding and to ensure that the leaders of the village were held responsible for it and a sort of 'Kothlisantha' was fixed. That is, the sarkar undertook to pay from its treasury, a sum representing the value of the alienated land that it recovered.

The work of reallocating land in the Varnama village which lasted for a year, was not completed, and in fact remained incomplete till the 20th century. Nevertheless bighoti rates were introduced in the talukas of Jarod, Sinor,<sup>9</sup> Petlad and Baroda.

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9. The idea of the range of demand can be had from the rates fixed in Sinor taluka which remained as such till the expiry of the settlement, S.S.R. Sinor Taluka, op.cit., p.81, H.P.O. C.R.O.

Note : Only certain villages taken as example :

<u>Villages</u>	<u>Kumbha (area)</u>	<u>Rate per Kumbha</u>
Dariapur	222-49	Varied from Rs.19-0-0 to 2-0-0 (in 10 category of soils)
Jhanjad	793-61	Varies from Rs.18-0-0 to 6-10-0 (in 7 category of soils)
Phofalia	725-5	Varied from Rs.23-0-0 to 12-0-0 (in 3 categories)
Damnagar	262-92	Varied from Rs.15-0-0 to 2-0-0 (in 3 categories)
Chhanwada	291-12	Varied from Rs.9-0-0 to 3-5-5 (in 5 categories)
Tersa	404-19	Varied from Rs.1-5-40 to (1 cat.)
Akoti		Not classified and rated.
Karnoli		-do-

(iii) Barkhali operations : The third significant measure of the state, which was also his most controversial one, was as regards alienated lands - a measure that became a means of securing better revenues by limiting the exemptions of land tax.

By the mid 1860s, these rent free holdings had increased very greatly making the state feel the pressure with limited resources at its disposal. Khanderao Gaekwad, knowing full well about this pressure, launched upon his programme of resuming the unauthorised holdings.

Thus by the government notification of 1864, all barkhali lands i.e. those held on accounts of service or personal regards, were required to pay for "two and four annas" i.e. 12½% to 25% in the rupee as per the income of those lands. Further, those who held mortgaged land after 1827, were made to relinquish their claims for it.<sup>10</sup> In fact, in this regard, there was a notification in 1861, whereby the mortgaging of land was forbidden. For, to avoid payment of land tax, the landholders were mortgaging their lands, and this, the government wanted to control.<sup>11</sup>

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10. Hujur Order dated Chaitra 1864. D.N.I. Fershit No.10. Pudka No.4. Nishani 4. Inam Committee Daftar, 1849-1875, C.R.O.

11. Notification to Kamavisdars, Jamadars, Patels, Majumdars and the people in general, dated 1861. Ibid. No.1339, Fadnis Office.

The criterion for resumption was inability or failure of the claimant to prove the validity of the claim by a sanad or any other document concerning the grant. Secondly, the state used a larger measure for the measurement of government land and a shorter one for alienated land. In this way the excess or 'vadharo' of a barkhali holding was transferred to government's account.<sup>12</sup>

Thus 72%; 51.3% and 90.5% of the total land area was claimed or recovered under sarkari land in the mahal of Salad in the villages of Bhimpur, and in Valasan respectively.

The controversy referred to, as regards the barkhali measures of the state, was mostly on this account, and can be well appreciated in that light.

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12. The government measure was of 13 hands and the barkhali of 12. This, therefore, considered the difference as excess which was reclaimed by the sarkar.

- (a) Thus in the tappa of Salad of Baroda Prant 1415 Kumbhas came under government and 547 under barkhali category, on the total land area of 1963 kumbhas.
- (b) To the village of Bhimpur in tape salad the measure gave 189 Kumbhas to sarkar and 178 to barkhali on the total land area of 3681.
- (c) The village of Valasan in sape Sarang had, thereby, 5241 Kumbhas of government and 547 as barkhali on the total land area of 5789.

The above are examples from the Annual Report Revenue Survey. Prant Dakshin 1865-66, Sarsuba Office, Baroda Prant, D.N.24, Pudka No.C.R.O.

Nature of the deal:

In these barkhali transactions the religious and service endowments received favourable treatment (viz., those of fakirs, brahmins, Patels, and Desais). Less favourable deals were made to the others as 'vechania and gherania' (i.e. lands sold and mortgaged).<sup>13</sup> Finally those vechania and gherania lands held after 1827, or acquired since then were completely recovered.

Further, lands granted by village officers viz., Patels, were subject to investigation by the Inam Committee, only after which were the grants to be continued as before, and they were to pay two and four annas as the case was.

An illustration of resumption of Barkhali is in the case of the Dhumela villages of Jarod, in 1868.<sup>14</sup> These villages, it may be noted, were generally granted to a Military Officer for his maintenance, or to defray a particular expense. For instance Asoj, in Jarod taluka had been granted to the killedar to enable him to keep a palki. Such villages, moreover, were desired on account of the supplies of milk, grass and firewood.

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13. The religious and service grants were charged two annas in the rupee and the others were charged 4 annas. Item Nos. II and III. D.N.I. Feright No.10. Pudka 4. Nishani 4. Inam Committee Daftar, 1. C.R.O. op.cit.

14. S.S. Report Jarod Taluka op.cit. H.R.O. C.R.O.

(iv) Administrative measures : Part of the malady of poor finances of state revenues lay in the irregular appropriation of funds, and the inefficient administration. This the state sought to improve.

The measures at administrative reconstruction were (1) the separation of police department from the revenue, and the formulation of rules for the guidance of the former, (2) the restriction of the Mamlatdar's judicial powers, (3) the improvement of the military department and (4) the construction of a new railway line at Dabhoi.<sup>15</sup>

If the improved treasury or the better financial condition of the state is to be the criterion of success of Khanderao Gaekwad's measures, than, no doubt, the Gaekwad did succeed, for the survey and settlement of the Baroda Prant benefited the state in particular. As a result the Khalsa land area increased, as seen in the case of Salad, Bhimpur and U/lasan.<sup>16</sup>

Not only the new settlement, but the successive enhancements made, added to the state's resources. Thus in Baroda

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15. Letter from Maharaja to the Governor of Bombay dated 16 May 1862. File D.N. 1 general Daftar 69. Nishani 1. Ferisht 12 Pudka 10. C.R.O.

16. Cf. Foot Note 12 of Chap. II.

taluka the income increased from Rs.125,0000 in 1864 to Rs. 1466373 in 1869 to Rs.1499177 in 1870; in Petlad taluka the income increased from Rs. 95,0000 in 1864-65 to Rs.1075908 in 1869 to Rs. 1089214 in 1870; in Sankheda taluka the increase was from Rs. 1470000 in 1864 to Rs. 147231 in 1869 to Rs. 158542 in 1870; in Dabhoi taluka the increase was from Rs. 44,0000 in 1864 to Rs. 468924 in 1869 to Rs. 479924 in 1870; in Dabhoi taluka according to another document the increase was from Rs.323809 in 1866 to Rs.327294 in 1867 to Rs.331597 in 1868 to Rs. 384870 in 1869; in Sinor taluka it increased from Rs. 32,0000 in 1864 to Rs.3476971 in 1869 to Rs.3676101 in 1870; in Savli taluka (Jarod) it increased from Rs.14000 in 1864 to Rs.175251 in 1869 to 189582 Rs. in 1870; in Tilakwada peta mahal the increase was from Rs. 500 in 1864 to 59718 in 1869 to Rs. 63718 in 1870; in Padra taluka the income was from Rs. 81000 in 1864 to Rs. 753001 in 1869 and in Koral it rose from Rs.63619 in 1866 to Rs. 65799 in 1867 to Rs. 65759 in 1868 to Rs. 77903 in 1869.<sup>17</sup>

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17. Note the files for the respective talukas - (a) Baroda - D.N.I. Pudka I, Ferisht 6 for income of 1864 and D.N.I. Pudka I, Ferisht 4 for income of 1869-70 S.S.O. Jamabandi Branch C.R.O. (b) Petlad - Ibid (c) Sankheda - Ibid (d) Dubhoi Ibid and for figures of other document - D.N. 23, Pudka 2, Ferisht 135/37 dated 1870. S.S.O. Political Branch, (e) Sinor - same as for Baroda taluka (f) Savli - Baroda taluka file op.cit., (g) Tilakwada-Baroda taluka file op.cit. (h) Padra-Baroda taluka op.cit. (i) Koral D.N.23, Pudka 2. Ferisht 135/40 Sar-Suba Political Branch. C.R.O.

The percentage increase in the Baroda taluka was 17.3 during 1863-69, 2.2 during 1869-70; in Petlad it was 13.2 in 1864-68, and 0.7 during 1869-70; in Somkheda it was 1.5 during 1864-69 and 7.6 during 1869-70; in Koral it was 3.1 during 1864-69 and 18.4 during 1869-70. Likewise were there increase in the other talukas whose figures have been cited. In fact in some, the inverse is remarkable.<sup>18</sup>

No doubt, these increases cited, belong to the period of the American civil war, when its impact in India led to a rise in prices and so brought prosperity to the villages. Yet, that they were also a result of the successive enhancements made, is also certain.<sup>19</sup>

18. The percentages have been calculated from the figures given in footnote 17 chap. II, and only certain talukas have been taken as example.

19. In Petlad taluka two successive increases of land revenue were made in the Narwadari villages. In 1865, first of all, the demand of years 1838-1864 of Rs. 63700 was raised by 5 annas in the rupee i.e. by 31%. This increase of 31% the villages were to pay for the next ten years. But once again, during the duration of the settlement, in 1869, Khanderao Gaekwad put a further increment of 2 annas i.e. an increase of 12½% on the sum of 1865.

File No. 263/53 H.P.O. S.S. Report Padra Taluka. Memo of Dewan T. Madhavrao dated 25th May 1875.

(b) In Padra Taluka the following increase was made during the years 1847-1871.

Note : the larger span of these years belongs to Khanderao's rule, hence he has been credited with the increase in the 3 villages cited as examples.

Villages	Revenue 1847	Demand 1871	Increase
Brahmavari	Rs. 3170	Rs. 9375	i.e. More than 3 times
Padra	24474	27828	i.e. 13.7%
Kothwada	755	2014	More than double %

pp. 253-358. File 263/28a S.S.R. Padra taluka, 1888.

With the application of the new revenue system whereby all land was brought to book and the perpetuation of the Khatedar's holding was made conditional to his paying of the stipulated land revenue regularly, it was logical that only so much land as could be maintained and paid for, could be held - the rest had to be given up.

This measure had two significant effects : (1) the land holders who had larger areas than they could maintain under the new system were forced to give up the surplus that they could not pay for. This led, on one hand, to the opening of new Khatas for new grantees, and on the other, to the extended holdings of those who had hitherto had a comparatively lesser area, as portions given up were now available to others who could purchase, and maintain the same.

This feature is illustrated by the increase of Khatedars' in this period seen in Dharmaj village, where the highest percentage growth of Khatedars belongs to the period of Khanderao Gaekwad.<sup>20</sup>

(2) Secondly, the habit of holding more land than could be cultivated, or for which revenue could be paid, was curtailed. For the fact of paying for the area held in the

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20. Refer the table of percentage growth of Khatedars in the villages of Dharmaj in the Sample villave Study of Dharmaj in the Section attached.

new system, the inducement would have been to cultivate as much as possible of the holding so that the high demands could be paid and the family could be maintained.

Thus the wastage of resources in the long run would have been reduced. The settlement in this respect, therefore, was a motivating factor for extension of cultivation and hence a significant one, the other being the prosperity from agriculture in these years.

Both these, were, therefore, the significant factors, that caused some movement as regards increase of holdings and extension of cultivation.

Increased land utilisation within the holding, also affected both individual<sup>21</sup> as well as state income.<sup>22</sup> Thus on the same bigha, the khatedar paid an increased demand in the succeeding years, which explains the increase in cultivated area being charged a higher sum.

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21. Individual income increase is evidenced by the increase in demand and payment made by the khatedars, on the same land area in Dharmaj village. See table of Khatedars' holdings, their plots, and the demand from them in the table of sample study attached.

22. Increased income is evidenced by the increase in revenues seen in foot note 17 chap. II.

In this connection it would not be an over statement to say that in this period larger areas were held than could be cultivated, as land was cheap, and as much social value was attached to it.

The large tracts of cultivable waste throw light on one more aspect. Since agriculture was not remunerative, the demands being high and leaving a margin of bare subsistence, the incentive for extensive cultivation too was absent. So, only that much of a holding was cultivated as maintained the family and paid the government demand. This was a factor limiting the progress in trade and marketing. The absence of surplus production i.e. production beyond the needs of the family, thus was a potent factor affecting the development of trade and marketing in these times.

The absence of food market facilities viz. roads and rail ways which would establish the necessary links with the outside world, also were a significant factor affecting progress in the economic development. For, they made market and trade localised in character and so ineffective in mobilising regular trade and marketing processes. That, in fact, was true of all the Indian villages about the mid 19th century.

Certain other merits of the Gaekwad's measures :

In certain other respects too did the survey operations

and the measures accompanying it prove beneficial.

(i) Removal of bhagbatai and application of bighoti :

The application of bighoti or cash assessment by the removal of assessment in kind or bhagbatai, from most areas, was a significant measure. For with it went the evils or assessment in kind. It was significant specially in the years 1864 and after, when the raiyat could get good returns in cash, so the more produce he had at hand, the more was at his disposal for the market. One can go a step further and say that the success and general acceptance of the bighoti scheme was, because, in this period, when the village economy was being increasingly monetised due to the civil war, it was easier to pay in cash than in kind.

The above process, it may be noted, was rendered more difficult in the bhagbatai system, for, on account of the payment of demand in kind, on account of the various other dues taken in kind, on account of the remuneration to village

23. The evils of bhagbatai are noticed in the case of Varnama tappa of Baroda Taluka. 'Brief Survey of the Agricultural condition of Varnama village of Baroda Taluka'. Revision Settlement Report Baroda Taluka of Baroda Division. Op.cit. p. 2.

In the village, till 1864 end, when bhagbatai was existing and prices of corn were low, of cotton were low, people had to pay Rs.2 per kumbha in addition to the half share which was known as 17 and 15 i.e. government took 17 maunds to 15 taken by people. This cash payment of Rs.2 had to be made to government even if land remained uncultivated not only by the person in possession of land, but in case he left the village, by his nearest relatives.

servants in kind,<sup>24</sup> the cultivator was left with little or nothing at hand to dispose off.

So the introduction of assessment in cash, when cash had value, was a welcome step.<sup>25</sup> While, however, the bighoti system was applied, it did not completely replace bhagbatai in these times. The latter still continued for another decade or so.

(ii) Izara removed from certain areas : Moreover, the removal of the Izara system from those districts where it was abolished, must have been a relief, for as with the bhagbatai system, the removal of the farming system were removed its attendant evils.

Demerits of measures - their flaws : If the measures of the Gaekwad claim merit, they also had certain demerits which could reflect the failures of the ruler in these areas.

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24. Ibid. The system of remunerating village servants, in the bhagbatai system was such that the cultivator was further deprived of a share of produce. The government took for instance, 2 maunds extra for cartage and other charges and shared equally with the people in paying 32 maunds for weighing and distributing muthi among the village servants, vartanias, dheds, Bhangis and even havaldars.

25. This is borne out by the fact that the people of Dubhoi Kasba themselves pressed for the change from bhagbatai and accepted the demand fixed which they themselves distributed to the various occupants of land. S.S.R. Dubhoi taluka 1888. Op.cit.

(i) Problem of Implementation : One flaw of the settlement was that it was not uniformly affected, so that not all the villages were surveyed in the talukas; and almost every taluka had instances of unsurveyed villages.<sup>26</sup>

(ii) Inaccuracy of the Survey and Settlement : Neither did the survey have any pretence to accuracy. In Sankheda taluka for instance, it was reported in later years that though bighoti was fixed and holbandi existed on soils classified, the rates were not proportionate to the quality of soil.<sup>27</sup> And to Kharif crops as cotton, rice, kodra, bajri and sugar-cane no consideration was shown in consideration of the expense involved in their cultivation. The inaccuracy of the survey is to be doubted by another example. In the village of Tersa of Sinor taluka, only one category of rate was fixed, implying that the village had only one variety of soil and no variation. In the Petlad taluka too, it was found that

26. In the Padra taluka for example, the villages not surveyed at all were Ati, Dhabka, Muhammadpur, Sultanpur, Sokhada Khurd. File SS Report, Padra Taluka, 1888. Op.cit.

Note the 2 villages in Sinor Taluka not surveyed at all Cf. Foot note 9 Chp. II. There were others too in the taluka and other talukas as well.

27. Para 33 D.N. 1 Pudka 2, 1874-75. Baroda Prant Suba Office, Jamabandi General, C.R.O.

28. In the Tersa village of Sinor taluka a single rate of Rs.15-4-0 per Kumbha was fixed on 404-19 Kumbhas of land. c.f. footnote 9 Chp. II.

the rates were incommensurate with the quality of soil<sup>29</sup> and so large areas were claimed as barkhali. In general, the same could be said for most villages of the prant.

Besides, rates based on the past bhagbatai realisation were not so reasonable, as the bhagbatai system is itself, had not been fair. Thus, how could these rates, fixed without due consideration to the quality of soil be satisfactory and just ? The very basis of the survey was defective for the new rates were fixed on the exorbitant shares of produce taken in the bhagbatai system in the past.

Finally Khanderao's rates were fixed at a time when prices were high, and as such the rates applied were bound to be high. The table below indicates this.<sup>30</sup>

29. S.S. Petlad, op.cit.

30. Prices : Rs. per maund. for Khanderao Gaekwad's period of rule 1856-1870.

Price in Padra taluka, pp.275-276. S.S.Padra, op.cit.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Bajri</u>	<u>Juar</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Cotton</u>
1856	0-9-0	0-7-0	0-12-9	5-0-0
1857	1-13-3	0-10-6	1-0-0	5-0-0
1858	0-14-9	0-12-9	1-4-0	5-0-0
1859	0-15-0	0-13-0	1-3-0	8-0-0
1960	1-0-0	0-14-6	1-8-0	6-12-0
1961	1-2-0	1-0-0	1-10-0	7-3-0
1962	1-3-0	1-0-9	1-12-0	10-4-0
1963	1-2-0	0-15-3	1-14-0	25-0-0
*1964	2-8-0	2-0-0	3-12-0	27-4-0
*1965	2-10-0	2-1-0	3-8-0	16-4-0
*1966	1-1-0	2-0-0	2-7-0	22-1-0
*1967	1-8-6	1-4-0	1-14-6	11-11-0
1868	1-9-6	1-6-0	2-4-0	10-13-0
1869	1-11-0	1-12-0	2-8-0	14-9-0
1970	1-13-0	1-8-0	2-10-0	16-14-0

\*The years 1864-66 were the years of price rise, owing to effect of American Civil war and boost to Indian agriculture

(contd...)

Further in the village of Jarod surveyed in 1865, the talati entered the amount due from each holder without considering the quality of soil of the area assessed for each khatedar.<sup>31</sup>

(iii) Incomplete removal of Izara : The continued existence of the farming system, particularly so in the poorer areas in the prant, which needed special attention and relief, was a failure of the ruler. In fact these were the areas in which bhagbatai too continued. Certain villages in the Sinor taluka, and the entire Sankheda taluka, continued to suffer from the exactions of the izardars and the evils of bhagbatai till the last quarter of the 19th century.<sup>32</sup> In the areas where the system continued, the evils of oppression

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Price of cotton in Choranda taluka. File 263/23 S.S.  
Choranda Taluka.

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of years</u>	<u>Price (per bhar)</u>
1809-1861	37	Rs. 46
1862-1866	5	Rs. 118
1867-1871	5	Rs. 99.

31. S.S.R. Jarod, op.cit.

32. The Izara system continued in the villages of Maletha, Kharnali and Govindpur in fact the right of collecting half the total produce in Sinor taluka till 1880s. Here the izardars had the right of collecting half the total produce. S.S. Report Sinor Taluka, op.cit.

(contd...)

and extortion were as before.<sup>33</sup>

(iv) No provision for smooth change over : A limitation of the Gaekwad administration is also indicated in the absence of proper implementation of changes introduced, and in the absence of proper provision to ensure the intended change being smooth. This created two problems :

- (1) Misunderstanding of the measure to be applied, and
- (2) Exploitation by the landlords during the transitional period.

(contd...)

In Sankheda taluka the izara system continued in all its villages till 1876. This taluka which was backward from resource point of view as well as inhabitants point of view had the izardars squeezing about 2 lakhs a year as government revenue, besides their own profits which were considerable. The approximate figures of revenue received from izardars were Rs. 150,000 p.a. from villages of Sankheda, Rs. 35,000 from Bahadarpur and Rs. 15,000 from was a tappa. S.S. Report, Sankheda File No.263/40.

Another document evidences the continuance of izara system till 1875. Para 1. Report of Jamabandi of Sankheda, 1876.D.N.R. Ferisht No.4. Baroda Prant supa. Jamabandi Branch, C.R.O.

33. Case of oppression and extortion reported by Sarkamdar of Dakshi Prant to government in Ashada 1867. D.N. 16 Pudka No.3 Ferisht No.2 Sarsuba Office, Baroda Prant Chitnisi, C.R.O.

Thus in the village of Darapura in Padra, the order of the Gaekwad of 1866 for a Khatabandi to be made at the rate of Rs. 11-12-0 per bigha was misunderstood, the impression being that the state was treating narwa lands as khalsa lands.<sup>34</sup> And when, with that faulty understanding, the shares of the villages were debited with the amount of assessment on the land actually held by each narwadar, the latter refused to accept the new arrangement. Instead, they continued to give their dues according to the share of each narwadar and only to the extent of the lump sum formerly fixed for the village which was about Rs. 11-12-0 per kumbha.

In like manner did the inamdar of the village of Ghayaj in Padra taluka take advantage of the transitional period to increase his revenues.<sup>35</sup> When, therefore, the inamdar was required to remove the bhagbatai assessment and fix instead a sum in cash, he raised the demand three times the amount it had been prior to 1860.

Thus, though the new rates, after the settlement, were higher than the previous ones on account of the various bhagbatai cesses having been commuted into cash payments,

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34. S.S.R. Padra Taluka, op.cit.

35. Letter of Ganesh Shastri, Sar Suba. S.S. Report Padra Taluka, op.cit., p.5.

they were also high because the inability of the state to exercise control over the inamdars, had enabled the latter to increase their exactions.

It was in this way that a random increase of Rs. 22 was made in the jamabandi of Ghayaj village, so that the cultivator paying one rupee of cash vero found himself paying Rs. 4-3 per bigha, with an additional sum as salami. Such an increase was made in disregard of the area of land held by the cultivator, or the area actually cultivated.

The system of direct dealing with the individual cultivator thus, does not appear to have been welcome in villages used to a joint responsibility in payment of revenue demand.<sup>36</sup> Resistance, thus was felt in the application of the new survey rates in the narwadari villages.

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36. Ghayaj discussed above was a bhagdari village in which revenue was paid to government by the principal bhagdars, the bhagdars themselves dealing directly with their subtenants. The payment of revenue in the narwadari villages of Petlad and in Darapurain Padra was joint.

In the respect, however, an exception is seen viz. in the Varnama village of Baroda Taluka where joint responsibility of revenue was not accepted and the necessity arose of dividing the village into 4 parts. Revision settlement Report. Baroda Taluka, op.cit., pp. 3-4.

(iv) Rationale of rates unsound : The rationale of fixing different rates for different classes of cultivators<sup>37</sup> does not appear to have been sound. Thus a distinction was made, by fixing higher rates for the better and skilled cultivators viz., kanbis, who could afford to pay them; and of showing special consideration to the poorer class of cultivators viz., the bhils and kolis and allied classes. This appears to be reasonable from considerations of social welfare, but doubtful from economic ones.

The effect was that the margin of profit of the kanbis being reduced, the incentive for increased and better cultivation was also reduced. Whereas the poorer and unskilled classes were not given any incentive to improve their agriculture. Moreover different rates ought to have been fixed for the land classed as 'inferior', instead of letting all classes of cultivators have the same rate.<sup>38</sup>

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37. An illustration of the different rates in Vaghodia village, Jarod Taluka, S.S. Jarod taluka, op.cit., p.14.

<u>Rate per bigha</u>			
<u>Caste</u>	<u>Crops Price</u>	<u>Dry crops</u>	<u>Inferior land</u>
Kanbis, Kollis	Rs. 9-4-0	Rs. 7-8-0	Rs. 3-8-0
Rajputs, Muslims	Rs. 7-8-0	Rs. 6-0-0	Rs. 3.8.0
Bhils, Waghri	Rs. 5-8-0	Rs. 4-8-0	Rs. 3-8-0

38. Cf. Foot Note 37, Chap. II for rates on inferior soil.

Such measures clearly indicate the state's concern more for increasing its revenues by methods it could use, rather than for its interest in welfare of the cultivating classes.

How could the demands be paid :

When the demands were high, how could the cultivators pay them in subsequent years. And secondly, why was there not any significant resistance during the years, 1864-1869 ?

The explanation lies in the circumstance of the American Civil War in these years, with its impact on Indian economy.

During these years, the supply of raw cotton to England and the other European countries from U.S.A. was virtually stopped on account of USA's involvement in the civil war. As a result, Indian cotton captured the European market. There was therefore, a boost to cultivation of cotton in India. And the stimulus given to cotton cultivation, thus affected the cultivation of other agricultural crops in as much as the cultivation of these other crops was restricted. There was, therefore, a marked rise in price of agricultural goods, particularly in that of cotton, resulting in prosperity of the raiyats.

In the Baroda state, too, the cotton areas specially, witnessed a period of prosperity during these years viz.

1864-66. The prices of all agricultural goods in the talukas of the Baroda prant rose<sup>39</sup> and the cultivators were able to earn good profits. The talukas of Dabhoi, Choranda, Jarod, Padra and Sinor which had good natural facilities for cultivation of cotton, experienced unprecedented prosperity. The increasing realisations from Padra taluka indicate both the increasing prosperity seen in the demands having been paid, as well as the ability of the peasants to pay them.<sup>40</sup>

With the inflow of wealth, an improvement in the material condition of the peasants did take place.

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39. Cf. Foot note 30 Chap. II. The taluka of Padra and Choranda. They are illustrative of the fact. Similar was the trend in these years in other talukas too.

Note while the prices were high primarily due to the impetus to trade by civil war, they were also high because of the market imperfections of the period - because of the infrastructure of these districts in these times, for the behaviour of prices has relevance to these two factors as well.

40. The realisation during the years in Padra in terms of actual figures and percentage grew the over the years. The better realisations during these period under consideration are due to the period of prosperity referred to : S.S.Report, Padra Taluka, op.cit., pp.227-28.

1856	Rs. 30824	1860	Rs. 31687	1864	Rs. 38250
1857	Rs. 29955	1861	Rs. 31575	1865	Rs. 38655
1858	Rs. 31551	1862	Rs. 31790	1866	Rs. 38999
1859	Rs. 31652	1863	Rs. 37437		

The growth from 1856-66 was 26.5% of which 4.1% belonged to the period 1862-1866 - i.e. 4 years.

Note : the figures in percentage are calculations from the above given figures. And figures of only 4 villages out of the total of 67 have been taken as example viz., the villages of Padra, Sangma, Bhadrans and Kothamada.

The behaviour of prices was also effected by the increased ability of people to spend.

Peak period of prosperity :

While the peak-period of prosperity were the years 1864 to 1866, the cultivators did enjoy the benefits of the civil war till about 1869. That was so, because the markets captured by Indian villages specially in respect of cotton in Europe, continued in their hands, as it took time for the U.S.A. to regain its lost hold. That is why prosperity lingered for sometime after 1866. Curiously enough for Dubhoi and Koral the peak-period of prosperity was the year 1869 when the proportion of land revenue to the total revenue increased from 3/4th to 82% and 9% in Dubhoi and Koral<sup>41</sup> respectively - both being essentially cotton areas.

Dubhoi benefited specially with the advantage of the new Dubhoi Railway line which connected it with the British Indian railway and thus opened a wide market for the cotton trade. And in the Baroda prant itself there was an increase in income from Rs.227026 in 1864 to Rs.7661796 in 1869 - an increase by three times its original income.

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41. Note the percentages have been calculated from figures in the text of foot note 17 chap. I for Dubhoi and Koral.

Note for Koral figures of land revenue taken from below given document also. D.N. 23. Pudka 2. Ferisht 135/40, 1871, Sar Suba Political Branch.

It was therefore, this short period of prosperity that enabled the cultivators to pay the demands and the Gaekwad to increase them (successively). While contributing to the general prosperity, the impact of the civil war has another significance in that it affected a change in crop pattern. ✓ There was a rush to cultivate cash crops specially cotton. And since profits in these years were good, further investment in cash crop was facilitated. The prosperity, as a result of this feature is seen in the instance of Dubhoi Kasba where the elements of urbanisation are present and clear. That the proportions of people, of wells, of houses were largest in the Kasba evidence the degree of urbanisa- *indicate* tion and indicate the benefits to the Taluka from cotton trade. And since Dubhoi had the advantage of the railway it reaped the largest benefit. Other crops and other areas had relatively less benefit as neither were the areas well connected by roads or railways, nor did the crops fetch so much.

The depression after 1869 :

If the sudden prosperity of the cultivators enabled them to withstand the heavy demands, the inevitable reaction that set in the years that followed 1869 particularly, caused a rapid decline, if not collapse of the short lived material

prosperity. For with the cessation of the civil war in U.S.A. Europe once again returned to its erstwhile source of cotton supply so that India, and the Baroda state in India, lost the market it had gained - at least the intensity and grip it had had earlier. For though the prices fell they did not fall as low as they had been prior to the civil war in U.S.A.<sup>42</sup>

The beginning of the process of decline in economy and impoverishment of the peasantry is to be located in the years after 1866 when prices fell.<sup>43</sup> For in the years that followed, on one hand, were the poor returns of the cultivators from the sale of their produce, and on the other the, continuation of the same high demand<sup>44</sup>, fixed in years of high prices. This hit the peasants hard and drove them to the moneylenders' clutches.

And the fact that the complaints regarding demands were forth-coming in the years when prosperity declined<sup>45</sup> and

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42. Cf. Foot note 30 Chap. II.

43. Cf. Foot note 30 Chap. II.

44. Note the successive increase in demand during the rule of Khanderao in foot note 17 Chap. II.

45. That the demands of the ruler were acceptable to the raiyats in 1865, is illustrated in the case of Koral. Here the matadars accepted the settlement and signed Kabuliyats or agreements to pay the bighoti of Rs.130221 every year for 10 years from 1865-1874.

(contd...)

not earlier proves the point being made. It also explains the difficulties in the operation of the bighoti scheme with its necessity of paying assessment in cash, at a time when money not available on account of the depression. And the continued exaction of the expanded rates, fixed in an age of high prices, but continued at the same level in one of depression, hit the agrarian community hard.

The high price of cotton led Khanderao to experiment with improving the quality of cotton grown in the state. Cotton seeds were imported from Egypt, and then cultivated in the state, Khanderao's interest is also illustrated in that he ordered a report to be made of the outturn of Egyptian cotton in the state.<sup>46</sup>

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Kabuliyat D.N.16. Pudka 2. Ferisht 7, Sar Suba Office, CRP. Note the series of complaints against the assessment fixed, after 1869.

(a) Complaint of disproportionate and multiple rates as well as of extortion of izardars, 1874-75. D.N. 1 Pudka 2. Baroda Prant Suba Jamabandi General, C.R.O.

(b) Application of Kheduts of village Mogri of Petlas Taluka to the Gaekwad in favour of and also their apprehension as regards success of bighoti scheme reduction of rates, dated 19 Sept. 1874. D.N. 6 Ferisht No.18 & 19 Sar Suba Office, Jamabandi branch, Petlad Mahal Darwari file, C.R.O.

(c) The izardars, Patels of a Khangri village of Sadhi complained to Malharrao Gaekwad against the taxation policy of Khanderao and requested him to reduce the 'ankda' or the lump sum that had been fixed for this izara by Khanderao Gaekwad - that the demand fixed in years of high prices was not possible to pay now when the period of prosperity was over, when the prices of agrifultural goods were not as high.

Application dated Chaitra 1874, D.N. 62, Pudka 19, Ferisht 13, Sar Suba Office, Baroda Prant Chitnisi, C.R.O.

46. Letter from Sar Suba to Baroda Mahal Wahiwatdar dated Ashad

(contd..)

(vi) Limitations of Administration :

In respect of improving the state administration too, did the state a serious attempt. However, he was not very successful in tightening up the administrative machinery so there were cases of harassment of all classes of people by the state and its officers.<sup>47</sup> And if that was true in the headquarter's division of the state, it would have been more true for the distant units of the state, specially in these times of poor communication and a not so-well-organised administrative machinery.

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1868. D.N. 25, Pudka No.4/3, Ferisht No.16. Sar Suba Office Baroda Prant Chitnisi, C.R.O.

47. The watchmen of Chora in Sokhada moje was being harassed by the village Patel into doing more services than were required of him. Application dated Phalgun 1867, D.N.27, Pudka 16, Farisht 1. Sar Suba Office, Baroda Prant, Chitnisi.

(b) Application of Dheds Telasha Megha, Kuberkana, and Govindika complaining that the land which was given to them for their services had been reduced by the wahiwardar. D.N. Padka 16. Ferisht 24. Sar suba Office, Baroda Prant Chitnisi, C.R.O.

(c) Application of bhagni Pashala Kuber and Karsan Narsi of moje Kholipur dated Kartik 1868 that the government grant for service of 12 Kumbhas had been reduced by the village officers - the patel and mehta to 10 Kumbhas. D.N. 27, Pudka 27. Ferisht 51. Sarsuba Office, Baroda Prant Chitnisi, C.R.O.

Other indications of a loose administration are the non-payment of dues by the government for services done by staff and servants of the state.<sup>48</sup>

Although the Gaekwad cannot be held responsible for such happenings for he did not, knowingly, and unjustifiably withhold or discontinued dues,<sup>49</sup> he also cannot be exonerated for the failure to exercise proper control over his staff.

(vii) Nature and Method of resuming barkhali lands :

The barkhali operations, or the dealings of the Gaekwad with regard to alienated lands were complex. For while Khanderao Gaekwad was justified in resuming the various unauthorised alienations, the way he did it and imposed

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48. (a) Complaint of a State singer of Sinor named Vedmurti Bapubhat Brahmagiri of nonpayment of his dues despite his several addresses to government dated 12 Chaitra 1867, D.N. 27. Pudka 16. Ferisht 5. Sar suba Office, Baroda Prant, Chitnisi.

(b) Application of Daraji Jagan Dullabha of Moje Dubhoi regarding non-payment of his dues. D.N. 27, Pudka 16. Ferisht 15, Sar Suba Office, Baroda Prant Chitnisi.

49. Note below that on the contrary the Gaekwad gave assurance the continuance of service-grants and dues. Village Servants as Barbar, Potter, actor were remunerated by land grants and by a share of the village revenues 'bhik'. There was an assurance from the sarkar in 1869 the effect that such grants were to be continued.

Letter from wahiwatdar Sankheda Taluka to sarsuba dated Magh 1869. D.N. 35. Pudka No.18. Ferisht No.32. Sar Suba Office, Baroda Prant Chitnisi.

enhanced rates on them was unfair. For the state used different measures for the measuring of khalsa and barkhali land, instead of using one standard measure which would give each category of land advantage or disadvantage.

The method of having a smaller measure for barkhali land has already been stated.<sup>50</sup>

Moreover, though Khanderao Gaekwad, settled these lands on the pattern of the Bombay Government, unlike the Bombay government settlement there was no attempt to survey or classify the soils.<sup>51</sup> The Gaekwad actually collected the tax for three years through a special agency. Thereafter, he withdrew that special agency and charged the new revenue department, that had been created for the purpose of fixing assessments, with barkhali operations. This work, the revenue department failed to do, being already overburdened with survey and settlement work. So, neither was the measure justifiable, nor was practical.

However, in two respects his barkhali operations did benefit the state. (1) Till such time a proper inquiry into these settlements was made, the state enjoyed the revenues

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50. Cf. Foot note 12 Chap. II.

51. Progress report of Elliot Survey and Settlement Commissioner to Dewan. Dated 1893 of the settlement Department Book No.463, p.6. C.R.O.

from these lands as fixed by Khanderao Gaekwad and (2) For the subsequent barkhali inquiries in the 1880s and after, the information collected, provided the base for investigation and settlement.

Impact of these measures on economy and the conditions that resulted :

The taxation policy of the state and the inefficiency in administration had a damaging effect upon the economy of the state during the years 1866 and 1874. For the former, not regulated by the requirement of the State, had poor rationale and was unjust. Such taxes, therefore, that were beyond the people's capacity to pay, could not but lead to impoverishment and indebtedness. And the inefficiency and slackness in administration caused the harassment of cultivators both by officers and contractors.

The damage, at the state and individual level, in actual terms can be seen by the arrears that accumulated in later years,<sup>52</sup> and secondly by the basic resources of

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52. The arrears of revenue written off and the indebtedness reported in the different regions.

Divisions:

(1) Agricultural indebtedness reported for Petlad taluka File, S.S. Report Petlad, Taluka, op.cit.

(2) In Baroda taluka too indebtedness reported. Instances of sales and most gaps of land in group I village of Itola, and in Group III villages of Jetalpur, Koili, Savad, Chhani, Baroli.

Then part of the arrears of the period 1881-87 in Baroda taluka, are attributed to the period of Khanderao Gaekwad when the process began or gained momentum. S.S.R. Baroda taluka, op.cit. pp.50-51, statement I.

(contd...)

the cultivators viz. agricultural stock and implements, houses, irrigation facilities<sup>53</sup>, that were notably inadequate.

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1881	54954	1885	4190
1882	15508	1886	1452
1883	10004	1887	547
1884	6549		

(3) Indebtedness reported in 1890s in Choranda taluka. Here arrears worth Rs.74714 were written in 1876. S.S.Report Choranda, op.cit.

(4) Arrears written at Padra Taluka, S.S.Report Padra Taluka, op.cit., pp.240.

1876	5535	1881	155
1877	5706	1882	152
1878	6612	1883	138
1879	6372	1884	-
1880	3079	1885	870

In Darapura village of Padra taluka, the disputed arrears from 1870-1887 were Rs.309-0, S.S.Report Padra Taluka, op.cit., p.32.

(5) In the taluka of Sankheda too, the over assessment of Khanderao's period had ruined the people, it was reported in S.S.Report Padra Taluka, op.cit.

(6) Poor conditions reported and arrears written off were : Appendix VII, pp.44-45, File 263/25, 1892, S.S.Report, Tilakwada.

1877	--	1881	82
1878	39	1882	175
1879	553	1883	-
1880	82		

(7) In the taluka of Jarod indebtedness reported in 1889 and the arrears written off upto 1887 Rs.1728-3-12 in 1887. Rs.1212749. S.S.Report Jarod, op.cit. The village of Waghodia in 1880s showed unmistakable signs of impoverishment.

(8) Poor conditions and indebtedness in Dabhoi taluka reported in 1888. S.S.Report Dubhoi taluka, op.cit.

(9) In the taluka of Sinor arrears from 1872-1875 were Rs.16818 and from 1876-1887 were Rs.74037. S.S.R.Sinor Taluka, op.cit.

53. Note these assets would be discussed with the help of statistical evidence when the respective talukas and villages are taken up for discussion subsequently.

Effect of the ruler's measures in Petlad Taluka :

With the division and sub-division of property over the years, the narwa land was being split up into increasing uneconomic holdings, and the area of majmum land from which were paid the revenues of the village jointly by the khatedars, too was reduced.<sup>54</sup> Such fragmentation reduced the capacity of the peasant to pay the requisite revenue i.e. the Khatedars had less land than was necessary for maintenance of the family, much less for the payment of government demand.

When in these circumstances, the Gaekwad went on successively increasing the rates as he did in 1865, 1866 and 1869,<sup>55</sup> the burdened raiyats were driven to indebtedness. The burden was felt more severely for two reasons. One that the distribution of property followed no equitable system whereby the various inheritors may get an almost equal or fair extent of good arable land, and two, the survey of the Gaekwad itself was inaccurate and hence the rates disproportionate to the quality of the soil.

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54. Note the increase of Khatedars both sarkari and barkhali during this period in the sample village study of Dharmaj village in the table of attached section.

55. Jamabandi settlement report of Petlad Taluka, op.cit. p.10. Foot note 17 and 19 of Chap. II and for complaints against the rates, foot note 45 Chap. II. Mogari village, Narwadars.

The narwadari system necessitated the revision of revenue from time to time according to the increasing and decreasing capabilities of villages with the succeeding division of shares. That would have made the burden on the Narwadars and the peta bhagdars proportionate. But as that was not so, as explained in the preceeding para, deterioration in the economic condition of the narwadars set in. For Khanderao Gaekwad's enhancements, in disregard of the quality of soil and disregard of the proportions in the new division or share, adversely affected condition of economy. In short, the action or inaction of state, did much injustice to the individual khatedar and rendered successful working of the narwadri system difficult.

The difficulties of the cultivators were intensified after 1866, when the prices of agricultural goods fell and the cultivators got poor returns for their goods. It was then that unable to pay the government demand that continued to be high, they, contrived debts.

How then was it possible to freely go in for the cultivation of tobacco that needed so much of investment.<sup>56</sup>

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56. The cost of rearing young tobacco plants was about Rs.60 and the value of the crop was Rs.90 per maund. The cost of rearing was thus divided - labour got half by contract; the landlord had to provide the manure and pay Rs.45/- per labour; Rs.12 per manure Rs.3 for water bag; Rs.6 to government and Rs.24 for himself. On an average one bigha produced 10-15 maunds of tobacco and each bigha needed 5.35 carts of manure per bigha. Ibid.

Though its cultivation was more profitable,<sup>57</sup> the extensive cultivation of tobacco was somewhat restricted by the lack of capital at hand. The high demands of the state, having a thin margin of capital at hand, thus affected the cultivation pattern in a way, as well.

Another disturbing feature in the working of the Narwadari system was as follows : A peta bhagdar was at liberty to transfer his share of land to another peta bhagdar by sale or by mortgage. It is evident that on the face of it, when the land was thus transferred, the peta-bhagdars also transferred the corresponding share of tax to government as well as the corresponding share of profit from the majmums. These three acts should have gone together with absolute equality. In the early days of the life of the Narwadari village that was achieved with some success, but later on i.e. in 1860s, and 1870s, which were the years of lax administration, in the absence of proper registration of holdings, it became difficult to keep track of how much each had to pay, and so inequalities occurred in procedures of transfers. The action and inaction of the state again, therefore, was responsible for the weakening and unsuccessful

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57. Average cost of production and value of other crops, pp.5, S.S.R. Petlad, op.cit.

<u>Crops</u>	<u>Cost</u>	<u>Outturn</u>
Juar	Rs.10	Rs.16
Wheat	Rs.12	Rs.20

working of the narwa system, as government as well as individual interests were affected.

Similar was the case in the Seja tenure<sup>58</sup> in the Petlad taluka.

Effect in other area :

The measures of Khanderao Gaekwad, affected adversely the economy of other talukas as well. It is interesting and revealing, that almost all the talukas of the Baroda division, in fact of the entire state, were reported to show signs of impoverishment and indebtedness.

In Jarod Taluka :

Savli mahal of the Jarod taluka, for instance, even after the resumption under direct government in 1867, did not improve<sup>59</sup>. In the Dhumala villages of the taluka, too, no tangible gain for the raiyat was had after the resumption<sup>60</sup>. What really happened was that the taxes that were earlier not going to the sarkar, now, under direct management,

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58. Seja tenure was like the narwatenure. In this the holding was not according to a bhag but according to the area possessed. A seja tenure was not such a close knit business as a narva tenure. File Ibid.

59. S.S. Report Jarod Taluka, op.cit.

60. Ibid.

did. The losers were the inamdars and earlier managers of revenue, the beneficiary was the state - the condition of the cultivators itself not changing materially.<sup>61</sup>

In Sankheda taluka :

Conditions in the poor taluka of Sankheda, were worse, for here, it may be recalled, the system was allowed to continue till 1876. The rigours of the system coupled with the high demands noted earlier, had reduced the cultivators to conditions of gross poverty. So that their material condition too in those times was poor.<sup>62</sup> The inhabitants of

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61. The assets at the disposal of the people in indicates their material condition. In the 20 villages of the mahal, having a total population of 19055 people in 1870, there were only 27 wells and 12 tanks. How much irrigation was possible, and how much bagayat cultivation there was is anybody's guess. Further, with such few wells it is natural that the prices for hiring them too would have been high. That sugarcane cultivation was scarce, becomes clear, in these circumstances.

In quite a few villages of Savli (Jarod) there were no wells at all viz., in Samaliya, Paladi, Sorpura, Kadachhada, Ujalpur.

Then, the number of houses for the total population were 4347. How many were housed can also be guessed !

D.N.23, Pudka No.2, Ferisht 135/21, 1870, Sarsuba Political branch. Also note the arrears in foot note 52 Chap. II.

62. In Sankheda taluka, condition is poor in 1870s. In its Peta Mahal of Tilakwada, for instance in a population of 4036, the houses were 1175 and wells only 4 for the 33 villages. No doubt the rivers Narbada, Hena, and Bavadi did irrigate the lands, they were not in these times, canalised to irrigate the interior.

File : Statement of information of Tilakwada 1870, D.N. 23, Pudka 2. Ferisht 135/47. Sar suba Political Branch, Also see arrears of Tilakwada, foot note 52 Chap. II.

Damoli who were Rajputs, were over a period of years, viz., by 1890s, reduced to such poverty that they could not be distinguished from the backward people viz., the Dhankas<sup>63</sup>. Their poverty, in the 1890s, was to be seen in their living standards viz., the mud houses, the ragged clothe and the selling of their cattle to feed themselves. For a long time they endured, but about the 189s, when their patience must have been tried, to the extreme, they started moving upto Chota Udeypur. That course appears to be understandable from the point of view of this lot, who in any case had no stake in the system, so could move about. Moreover, when the neighbouring British districts offered better prospects, with lower rates upon the land, emigration for them was the best alternative. Emigration from the richer talukas, would, however, have been somewhat uncommon, for the cultivators in possession of better quality arable land would have been less inclined to leave, and so stayed back and endured.

Likewise, the conditions in other talukas as Dubhoi, Baroda, Choranda, Sinor, Padra, Koral, which had better resources on the whole, were bad in these times<sup>64</sup> as well

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63. S.S.R. Sankheda Taluka, op.cit.

64. (a) Dubhoi taluka, In 1870, in a population of 31532 in the 55 villages, including the Kasba of Dubhoi, the wells were 560, of which 413 were in the Kasbo itself, the rest in the 54 villages. And there were so unequally distributed that certain villages as Navapane, Vasai, Navilpur, Peragpur, Sudiapur, and Kerali Navaparn had no well and

as later.<sup>65</sup>

Other factors affecting economy :

The impact of the state's measures inconsequence of the ineffectiveness of measures the inefficiency of administration and its taxation policy induces one to fix the responsibility of the conditions that followed, on the ruler himself. They were the result of his acts of omission and commission. But there were other factors too which operated on economy and affected economy.

In the analysis and inquiry into the causes and results of the condition that ensured in the prant, therefore, it

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In Paragpur with a population of 100 the wells were nil. The total number of houses were 8023 of which 3247 were in Dubhoi Kasba and the rest 4776 in the 54 villages. And of the total of 31532 people, 11047 were in Dubhoi Kasba then rest in the other villages.

Thus 35% of the population, 40.4% of the houses and 73.7% of wells were located in the Kasbo itself. The villages by and large therefore, which needed better facilities, as economy was based on them, were worst off in this taluka.

D.N.23, Pudka 2, Ferisht 135/49 Sar suba Political Branch, (note the percentages have been calculated on basis of statistics given.)

(b) In Koral, amidst a population of 5484, the wells were only 23; and houses 1245. It is obvious that only the Kanbis were well off. D.N.23, Pudka 2, Ferisht 135/40. Statement of Koral 1870, Sar suba Political branch, C.R.O.

(c) See arrears of Sinor, Padra, and Baroda Taluka in foot note 65.

65. Conditions of agricultural indebtedness among all classes of cultivators was observed in 1880s and 1890 in the talukas of Baroda, Dubhoi, Choranda, Petlad, Sankheda, Sinor and others. Refer in foot note 52 Chap. II.

is necessary to review these factors as well. They were

(i) the potentialities of the community (ii) natural (iii) seasons. And though potentialities and natural resources, basically remain the same, it is a fact of human psychology, that given better treatment and better incentives; the motivation for increased output as regards human energies, as regards improvement in general, is <sup>e</sup> decidedly greater. And this, on these lines was lacking, and so in this respect Khanderao Gaekw Gaekwad failed - in fact he made a positive contribution to the set-back of the economy.

Natural Resources : Soils and Climate :

The soils and climate of the division was such as provided for good and poor jarayat and bagayat crops. These talukas of the Baroda division having rich black soil and fairly dry climate, were good cotton areas; those where soils, with irrigation produced tobacco and rice, were rich tobacco and rice areas, whilst the remaining were dry crop areas growing bajri, juar and wheat. The cotton, tobacco and rice areas were economically more sound as they were the commercial crops (tobacco and cotton only), whereas rice produced in surplus also was remunerative. The other areas growing bajri and juar were the poorer areas having a subsistence economy.

Cotton : The rich cotton growing areas of the Baroda division were the talukas of Padra, Dubhoi, Choranda, Jarod, Sinor and Baroda. In Padra,<sup>66</sup> cotton was the main cash crop with bajri, juar, wheat and tobacco following. The Dubhoi taluka, the most central taluka of the division also was a rich cotton growing area. Here 2/3rd of the land revenue came from cotton.<sup>67</sup>

The markets of the Dubhoi cotton were Bombay and Baroda, The Choranda taluka having one of the best black soils in Gujarat, was another important cotton growing area of the division.<sup>68</sup> In the Baroda taluka the three district agricultural portions were Kahnām, Chorasi and Vankal. Of these Kahnām, though not having the superior black soil, was the cotton growing tract of the taluka. Here cotton was grown in rotation with rice.<sup>69</sup> In the Sinor taluka too, large areas

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66. Area in bighas under different crops. S.S.Report, Padra Taluka, op.cit. pp.317-322.

Note : though the figures are for year 1887, it is to be assumed, that not many changes having been affected since 1860s, the proportion or ratio of area of crops was not very different.

<u>Cotton</u>	<u>Bajri</u>	<u>Juar</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Tobacco</u>
15731	15820	6356	3132	1527

67. Dubhoi, op.cit.

68. S.S.R. Choranda Taluka, op.cit.

69. S.S.R. Baroda taluka, op.cit.

were cultivated under cotton<sup>70</sup>.

Rice : The good rice-growing areas of the taluka were Jarod, Dubhoi, Baroda and Sinor. In Jarod, and Dubhoi, prosperity or economy depended mainly on rice cultivation, The Jarod taluka, specially, with its facilities of light sandy (gorat) and black soils were specially suited for the irrigated rice crop. Rice which occupied about 1/2 of the area under cultivation<sup>71</sup>, was produced in surplus and sent to the local market towns of Savli and Waghodia for local trade and to the city of Baroda for its disposal beyond. A good amount of rice was also grown in Dubhoi where it ranked next in importance to cotton. The principal market for rice and in fact other agricultural goods as bajri and juar was the town of Baroda, though the well populated town of Dubhoi had good local trade. The proximity of Baroda, however, deprived Dubhoi of the importance which it would otherwise have had as a market town. In fact almost the whole of the surplus produce of the northern portion of the taluka was sent to Baroda for disposal. In the taluka of Baroda, rice was grown in the Kahnani and Chorasi tracts of the taluka.

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70. Areas under different crops in Sinor. S.S. Report, Sinor Taluka, op.cit., pp.68-72.

Note: Though the figures are for 1888, the ratio of area of crops, not having changed much, was almost the same in 1860s.

	<u>Cotton</u>	<u>Bajri</u>	<u>Wheat</u>	<u>Juar</u>	<u>Tobacco</u>	<u>Sugar</u>	<u>Danger</u>
						<u>cane</u>	<u>(rice)</u>
Bighas	11827	2764	500	2461	114	129	11712

71. S.S.R. Jarod Taluka, op.cit.

Tobacco : The richest taluka of the Baroda division was the taluka of Petlad where economy was based on tobacco cultivation.<sup>72</sup> Two varieties of tobacco were grown here - the irrigated variety called 'pit' and the tobacco raised on dry soil called 'Koral'. The tobacco crop which was the pride of Petlad was exported to Aden, to Kachh Bhuj to Kathiawar, to the markets of Nadiad, Borsad and Cambay. The villages of Petlad that produced good tobacco were Maneja, Malataj, and Petlad, though the variety grown in the villages of Malav, Kaloli, Thaledi, Changa, Bandhani and Dharmaj, was more famous. The best tobacco villages in the peta mahal of Siswa were Bhadrans, and Bahadrana. Some tobacco was also grown in Sinor taluka.

Bajri, Juar, Wheat :

Bajri, juar, wheat, while occupying large areas of the central division, were not remunerative as cash crops, and were grown for local consumption mostly. In Padra, and Choranda, bajri and juar ranked next to cotton, in Jarod and Dubhoi they ranked next to rice and in Petlad taluka, next to tobacco. In Baroda taluka, the Vankal tracts made up of

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72. Crops in Petlad taluka and inits petamahals of Siswa, p.3. S.S.Petlad, op.cit.

	<u>cotton</u>	<u>Bajri</u>	<u>Juar</u>	<u>Tobacco</u>	<u>Wheat</u>
Petlad (bighas)	3397	28254	149182	21738	23118
Siswa (bighas)	2254	17145	5003	3641	329

the tappas of Sokhda, Kyali, and Bhaili grew bajri. Wheat was also grown in Sinor.

Other crops : The other crops cultivated in the division, being next to the staple crops and hence of secondary importance were opium, sugarcane, vegetables, Kesumbi, Kodra, and dangar. Kesumbi (sunflower) was a red dye which was not a remunerative crop, but it helped to manure the soil for the following year. It was commonly grown in Petlad. Opium cultivation was popular in the mid 19th century but owing to the restrictions imposed upon its cultivation later on account of British fiscal policy, its cultivation diminished. Sugarcane cultivation too was not popular - perhaps on account of the risks its cultivation involved and the capital needed at hand. Kodra and dangar were mostly grown as admixtures with cotton and rice.

Railways : The importance of railways in the development and emergence of modern economy was great. Marx too stated that the railway was the forerunner of modern industry in India. And though in India, its construction was primarily to meet the raw-material and market requirements of British industries, (note relation to cotton), it had long lasting beneficial effects in Indian economy too viz., it broke the isolation of villages, created a national economy and

revolutionised trade, products, equalised prices and provided occupation.<sup>73</sup>

Potentialities of Communities - as they affected economy :

It may not sound fair to attribute the backwardness or advancement of a region to peculiarities of communities, but it is true all the same. For it was generally observed, that those areas, having larger proportions of skilled, cultivators viz., Kanbis, were better cultivated and were more developed in terms of utilization of resources, than those areas where the unskilled cultivators viz., Kolis, predominated. That was also because the former applied themselves more than the latter. This also explains the concentration of Kanbis in the better or richer agricultural tracts, for they took over areas which were more productive.

In this connection we would first take up the taluka of Sankheda in the Baroda division, for this is an outstanding examples of a backward region dominated by the poorer class of cultivators.<sup>74</sup> Its peta mahal of Tilakwada too presented the same picture.<sup>75</sup> The people who predominated

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73. A.R.Desai, Social Background of Indian Nationalism, 'Modern Means of Transport and rise of Indian Nationalism'.

74. S.S.Report, Sankheda taluka, op.cit.

75. S.S.Report, Tilakwada Peta mahal, op.cit.

here were the Dhankas, Dublas, Bhils, Naekas and Kolis.

In addition to being unskilled as well as indolent they were addicts of liquor, tobacco and toddy and were content with their conditions of subsistence or bare subsistence economy. Ignorant and careless as they were, they got steeped in debts - an indebtedness from which they could not recover - getting deeper in debt in the process.

The Sankheda taluka had hardly any Kanbis who could, with better application, have developed the taluka to some extent. Here the Kanbis i.e. the Lewa Patidars were in majority only in 8 villages; and Rajputs were in majority in 3 villages. In Sankheda and Bahadurpur towns itself, the Banias outnumbered the others, their business being obviously profitable, but the population of the other 127 villages of the taluka was mainly composed of the backward classes mentioned above. Thus, despite the cotton, timber and mohwra, which formed the principal articles of trade, the economy of the taluka remained under-developed.

On the other hand, the talukas inhabited mostly by the better class of cultivators viz., the Kanbis viz., Choranda, Dubhoi, Jarod, show better development. In the taluka of Baroda too, the Patidars were in majority<sup>76</sup>. In the taluka

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76. Out of the total of 97 villages in the taluka, 69 were Patidar, 10 Rajputs, 19 Kolis, 2 Bohra, 1 Brahmin and 1 Muslim. The proportion of Patidars holding land was 41% while the remaining was distributed among the other castes. S.S.Report Baroda taluka, op.cit.

Note: Though the statistics are for 1890s, the proportion or ratio in 1890s was not much different, since conditions had not changed substantially since then.

of Sinor too, out of the 3399 bighas of government cultivated land, 2021 were under patidars and 1378 under Kolis. It was also found that most of the lands in the talukas were under the Kanbis, whereas the holdings of the Kolis were smaller.<sup>77</sup>

Next to the Kanbis were the Rajputs who were mediocre as regards skill in agriculture, and so came next in prosperity to the Kanbis.

Conclusion :

In the ultimate analysis therefore, the facts that stand out are that during the period of Khanderao Gaekwad, the years of prosperity were the years of the American Civil War; that the process of decay set in after 1869, that the years of worst economy were from 1869 to about 1875 when relief was afforded and that the peasants worst of were the poorer ones. Not only were the conditions of the poorer classes poor, but those of the Khalsa or government lands worse, in comparison with the cultivators of barkhali operations, squeeze the Khalsa land cultivators only, his claims upon them being complete. After the survey and settlement, these lands too paid the higher demands. In fact,

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77. Cf. Footnote 76 Chap. II, illustrates the point.

one can credit Khanderao with the realisation of where the shoe pinched, and so recover the dues from the rent free holdings.

Of course, that does not mean that the Kheduts of alienated lands would have been any better. For the partial or no payment of revenue from holders of these lands implied no obligation on them to lighten the burden on their Kheduts. On the contrary they could have taken advantage of the situation to enjoy the benefits of less to pay to sarkar and more to take from the peasant in their estates. The real condition of barkhali lands, and peasants therein, the relation between the two viz. the landlord and the tenant - peasant, therefore, is only possible to ascertain by a detailed investigation into such holdings. But with the general knowledge of the kind of exploitation that exists in a feudal set up, it would not be an error of judgement to assume that conditions for the Kheduts about the mid 19th century in barkhali lands were not much better or worse than those of their counterparts in Sarkari lands.

One more point that can be made about this period is that on account of the general insecurity and uncertainty, ✓ tenancy would not have been popular, for the conditions in which tenancy would do well were absent. When and if the

Gaekwad did not give the necessary security and stability and ensure that rents were fair, the incentive to invest in the rented holding would be lacking in the tenant, which instead would make the holding less remunerative conditions in these times, therefore, were by and large, poor.

And the measure that hit the peasant hardest was that of high demand, continued in years of the economic depression. And herein lies the clue to the origin of economic stagnation. For by payment of these demands (1) the cultivator was left with a marginal profit - a profit that allowed him the level of subsistence economy (2) as a consequence, he had to borrow from the moneylender and (3) to mortgage and sell his land.<sup>78</sup>

Thus, capital, the potent factor or necessity of a developing economy, was lacking and this explains why economy could not develop. For without capital, investment for extension of agricultural enterprise or its improvement

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78. Note the land transfer records of sale and mortgage deeds in this period not available, as they were private records of the money lenders. But the fact that there were conditions of stress and strain for the peasants, is indicated in the government order regarding sale or mortgage of land. Thus by the Notification of 1861 it was ordered that no land be given or taken in mortgage, and that any breach of the same was to be penalised by payment of fine, or the resumption of the holdings. Notification to Kamavisdars, Jamadars, Patils, Majumdars and people in general of 1861. D.N. 1, Ferisht 10, Pudka No.4, Nishani 1, General Inam Committee daftar, op.cit.

was not possible. And so conditions remained, by and large, unchanged for at least the next two decades.<sup>79</sup>

Without the profit motive therefore, the farmer's motivation in the direction of improvement was lacking, for he knew his earnings would benefit the sarkar and the money-lender and not him. On the whole, uncertainties of the time and insecurity that was felt on account of successive enhancements as well as seasons, proper planning would have been inhibited and cultivators would have hesitated to extend their agricultural operations with vigour, enthusiasm and confidence.

Legacy to Successor :

The legacy that Khanderao Gaekwad left to his successor was, a bundle of complaints from the agricultural classes; the seeds of deterioration in economy; and large sums of arrears. And it was these arrears that annoyed the next ruler whose attitude towards the cultivators stiffened, under the impression that the non-payment of government demand was deliberate and so unjustified. In this way the non-payment of dues, which was taken as an act of defiance by Malharro Gaekwad, was a situation that would have been prevented had the demands of this regime been reasonable. The expectations, therefore, of the next ruler would not have been so high, nor the severities so strong.

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79. Drastic reductions in demand came in after 1886, when the first proper and scientific survey settlement was affected.

SECTION IIMALHARRAO GAEKWAD : 1870-1875

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Expectations of people from Malharrao Gaekwad :

In the light of the legacy left for the succeeding ruler, it is not surprising that Malharrao Gaekwad faced a series of complaints against the assessment in the prant and an uphill task by way of redeeming the situation.<sup>80</sup> It is also not surprising that the people had expectations from the Gaekwad, of reductions in demand and relief from its pressure after the political change-over. And it is fully justified that the complainants addressed their grievances to the new ruler specially as the expiry of the ten years settlement of the previous ruler fell in the rule of Malharrao Gaekwad, and they had endured it long enough.

Disappointment for the people :

Although initially it did seem that the Gaekwad responded to their wishes,<sup>81</sup> his later measures proved

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80. For complaints against assessment in the time of Malharrao Gaekwad refer foot note 45 Chap. II.

81. Circular dated Jeshta 1871 of Sar Suba, to the effect that increased rates not be taken from the Kheduts. D.N.72, Pudka 25, Ferisht 36, Sarsuba Baroda Prant, Chitnisi, C.R.O.

otherwise.<sup>82</sup> For with the kind of administration and nepotism practised by the new ruler, it was clear that there was no lasting and proper redress for the people.

While there had been complaints from Petlad against the enhancements in revenue made by Malharrao, there were also complaints from Dubhoi.<sup>83</sup> And it was then that the raiyats appealed to the Agent to the Governor General and asked that the old bhagbatai system be reverted too. The Agent to the Governor General, thus intervened and the 4th instalment of 25% was not taken; and the cultivators were allowed to pay it in kind.

Conditions Worse under Malharrao :

In fact, conditions worsened during the period 1870-74, when favouritism, and corruption were rampant and insecurity, inefficiency, exploitation and misrule were the order of the day.

Uncertainty and insecurity of tenure :

Insecurity, uncertainty and the corruption of the administration are indicated in the case of Malharrao's arbitrary withdrawal of a contract from an izardar and of

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82. In the village of Sevasi for instance, where even though a Kabuliyat had been signed and an agreement for a fixed sum to be taken as government dues, made, Malharrao's administration raised the rates from Rs. 9 per Kumbha to Rs. 9-12-0 in 1873. Hence the application by Patel Haribhai and others requesting for reduction. D.N. 63, Pudka Nil, sarsuba office, Baroda Prant Chitnisi, C.R.O.

83. Complaints of raiyats of Dubhoi reference in letter dated  
(contd...)

his handing it to another because of the additional sum offered to him.<sup>84</sup>

Thus though the system was an evil in itself, and much can be said against it, there is no denying that the ruler aggravated the evils already present in the system.

For when a contract under state pressure, was made to terminate prematurely, what security would the contractor have and what motivation was there for investment in improvement in his district ? In fact, for his own survival and for the maintenance of his family, he would extort more from the peasant, so that his maintenance is assured after an untimely retirement. And that was what was happening to the detriment of the cultivator's interest.

In the document cited as an illustration of the insecurity of izardars and the irresponsible behaviour on the part of the sarkar two facts become clear :

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7-7-75. File 263/82, H.P.O. Regarding complaints of the people of Dubhoi.

84. The izardar Laxmidas Patel of Dhamoli appealed to government not to consider changing the contract made by him in favour of another who offered Rs.1000 more. Application dated Kartik 1874. D.N. 20, Pudka 5, Ferisht 12, Sar suba Office, Baroda Prant, Chitnisi, C.R.O.

- (i) The irregularities of the government as seen in the sum demanded, which could be seen in the light of a bribe.
- (ii) The harassment of the izardars themselves, by the state.

The whole story, therefore, seems to be one of harassment, beginning from the top viz., the ruler, and going down the ladder to the middleman, who escaped it by shifting his burden to the peasant who was at the bottom of the ladder but, the base of the whole economic structure. His ruination, thus spelt the ruination of state economy as well.

Evidence of Poor Administration :

Added to that, was the incompetence and ineffectiveness of administration which failed to check the action of its officers in taking the law in their own hands.<sup>85</sup> The enhancement of rates in the poor and backward village of Amroli was thus not only harassment but criminal. Not only did the administration lack efficiency but it was also wanting in a system where powers of the different officers were defined. And so it was seen that the wahiwardar who actually was supposed to work under the direction of the

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85. Application of bhils of Amroli of Tilakwada Peta mahal of Sankheda taluka. These bhils viz., Jora Kamkla, Teja Khed, Jita Raju, Chhagan Bhakan, Sitaram and others complained that the government demand of Rs. 15-16 per hal (plough) had been raised by the new wahiwardar to Rs. 20, 30, 75, 90 and 100, per hal (plough). D.N. 70, Pudka 4, Farisht 15, Sarsuba Office, Baroda Prant Chitnisi, C.R.O.

Sar Suba was the virtual ruler of the taluka where he exercised the revenue, criminal, civil and police jurisdiction<sup>86</sup>. In this way the will of every government servant was practically law<sup>87</sup>. And though there were rules and regulations for the guidance of officers, they were not really applied to the conduct of business. The absence of security, the misrule and corruption, which were the order of the day resulted in the conspicuous historical event in Indian history viz., the deposition of Malharrao by the British. ✓

Rates Existing in Different Villages :

Some idea of the variety of rates existing at the beginning of Malharrao's career can be had from the statistics of certain villages<sup>88</sup>.

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86. Report by Suba of Baroda Division, Raoji Vithal Poonekar of 1875-76 dated 6 June, 1876. Poonekar had been Suba since 22nd Jan. 1875. D.N. 106, File No.628, C.R.O.

87. Ibid.

88. Note the variety of rates in the Baroda Taluka :

- (1) In the village of Sadra of Mahaser Mahal of the taluka, the incidence of land tax per kumbha was Rs.9. Jamabandi of Moje Sadra, tape Mehasar, Pargana Baroda, 1871, D.N.56, Ferisht 30, Sar suba office, Baroda Prant., C.R.O.
- (2) In the village of Amla of Mahal Latipur, the land tax per kumba was Rs.10.9. Ferisht No.30, File Ibid.
- (3) In the village of Khanpur of Sevasi Mahal, it was Rs.8. Ferisht No.32, File, Ibid.
- (4) In the village of Muval the rate was Rs.10.8 statistics of 1872. Ferisht No.33. File Ibid.
- (5) In another village whose name is not clear, it was Rs.9.7. Ferisht No.34 File

Note: The figures cited have been calculated from the statistics of Jamabandi income and land area under cultivation found in the village records of the respective villages.

Effect of such rates and the enhancements in general :

The continuance of the oppression of peasants under the high demands, without any abatement in them worsened the economy of the times. And the general effect of it was (1) the high proportion of land claimed as rent free to avoid payment of such demand<sup>89</sup> and (2) the large extents or the proportions of cultivable waste.<sup>90</sup>

Since the bulk of population in these times was dependent for a living, on agriculture, and as land revenue covered 3/4th of the total revenue, it was the cultivators who suffered and with them, the economy of the state.<sup>91</sup>

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89. (a) In the village of Utia of Kurai Mahal of the Baroda Taluka, well above 1/4 was claimed as rent free. Mere the percentage of Khalsa (Sarkari) land was 65 and barkhali or alienated 35. Tharavband Moje Utia, Sape Kurai, Pargana, Baroda, D.N.70, Pudka 3, Ferisht 13, 1873. Sarsuba Office Baroda Prant, Chitnisi.

(b) In Dubhoi Taluka too over 1/4 of the total area had been alienated so that 33% of the land was barkhali. D.N. 78, Jarif Kotavali in 1873 of Mahal Dubhoi Baroda Prant Chitnisi and D.N.1 Pudka 3, 1875. Jamabandi Branch, Baroda Prant Suba.

Note : the percentages have been calculated from the states in the respective documents.

90. Dubhoi taluka about 29% of the government land lay uncultivated in 1873 which increased to 48% in 1874. And the fact that 20% of the waste was like to be cultivated indicates the extent or degree of cultivable waste on account of the damaging policies of taxation.

Note: These have been calculated from documents in Foot Note 89 (b).

91. State income of Dubhoi decreased from Rs.410514-7-6 in 1873 to Rs.308847-15-6 in 1874. File, Ibid.

The full resources of the state not being utilised even though labour was in abundance<sup>92</sup> and cheap indicate the faulty, in fact damaging nature of the ruler's policies. Agriculture evidently was not as profitable as it could have been, so the level of economy too remained in the main unchanged, and the assets poor.<sup>93</sup>

92. In village of Ruvad for instance, 35% of the households were of Rajputs, 5% of Brahmins, 2% of Muslims; 2% of Vantias; 8% of village artisans and 44% of those of Harijans and tribed who could be used as labour.

Note: These percentages have been calculated from the statistics in the document cited below: D.N.78. Ferisht No.9, Statement of Rupad 1874-75, Sar Suba Office, Baroda Prant Chitnisi, C.R.O. - the also gets an idea of the caste structure and its proportion in the village.

93. Assets of certain villages and talukas.

(a) The lack of capital is indicated by the investment, which is seen in the assets at the disposal of a household in the below given talukas.

	Dubhoi	Tilakwada (1876)	Sankheda
Average member per house	3.9	4.0	4.4.
Average number of ploughs	0.3	0.3	0.4
Average number of caste	0.1	0.0	0.1
Average number of caste	2.4	3.2	4.8

D.N.5, Annual report 1876 the sarsuba office, Jamabandi Branch, C.R.O.

Note: Thous the figures are of 1876, significant changes in figures in one year after Malharao's administration are not expected specially in a pre-modern society of 1870 in a princely state in India.

(b) In Sarsvani village the average number per house wer 3: the average number of plough per house were 0.3, the average 0.3; the average numberof carts per household was 0.1 and the wells were 6 for the 400 households in the village. D.N. 70, Pudka 3, Khatabandi of Moje Sarasvani, Sarsuba Office, Baroda Prant, Chitnisi, C.R.O.

Note: The figures are calculations on the basis of statistics available of total population; houses, carts, ploughs, wells of the village.

(c) Similarly in the village of Ruvad, the average number of people per household was 4:8, the average number of ploughs per household was 0.8 and the wells were 10, catering to 140 households in all. D.N.78, F.N.9, statement of village of Rupod 1874-75, sar suba office, Baroda Prant, Chitnisi.

Note: The figures are calculations on statistics of the village in the document cited.

The Gaekwad's attitude of favouritism of the nobility and the landed classes is indicated in his withdrawal of the Inam Committee tax imposed by his predecessor. By that he pacified any one section of the society viz., the barkhali land holders,<sup>94</sup> whereas the cultivator's lot was neglected.

British Pressure and the Ministry of Dadabhai :

The symptoms of maladministration and poor economy, came to the notice of the British when raiyats appeared before the Inquiry Commission of 1873, and complained. Thus the new Ministry of Dadabhai was introduced to the state. Dadabhai Naoroji, the Dewan, at once effected reductions and so relieved the cultivators.<sup>95</sup>

Achievements of Dadabhai : The achievements of Dadabhai's Ministry were (1) the relief given to the raiyats and so pacification of their woes, and (2) the recovery of cultivable waste and the extension of cultivated areas in consequence.<sup>96</sup>

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94. Progress report of settlement Dept., op.cit.

95. The state demand from land decreased from Rs.3520-4-0 in 1873 to Rs.2585-11-6 in 1874. D.N.70, Pudka 3, Khatabandi of Moje Sarasvani village, Sarsuba Office, Baroda Prant Chitnisi.

96. In Dubhoi Taluka the cultivated area increased during the year 1874-75, by 2308 bighas. D.N.1, Pudka No.3, Jamabandi of Dakshini Prant Suba for pargana Dubhoi of Baroda Prant Suba Office.

Even so, it was not expected that at one stroke and in so short a time, the dewan should or could do wonders. Moreover, the Ministry having resigned, its impact could not be long lasting.<sup>97</sup> It may be pointed out that the dewan was pressurised by the Gaekwad into making few reductions so that in Dubhoi for instance, revenue was taken at 12 annas out of 16 annas. The cultivators then appealed to the British and secured reductions in 1875. Till then they remained unpacified.

Conditions in Malharrao time :

Conditions in the time of Malharrao Gaekwad, therefore worsened. Thus, much waste land was reported in Sankheda Taluka, in Bahadurpur, and the condition of the Bhils and Dhankas in Tilakwada was very poor.<sup>98</sup>

The stress and strain in society are also to be judged from the incidence of crime. Thus in 1875, when Malharrao's rule ended out of the total cases of crime viz., 4082, maximum were those of theft viz., 859 (of grain etc.) cattle lifting 96; extortion 3, misappropriation of property of others, bribes 67; and false weights 27.<sup>99</sup>

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97. In Koral taluka 19.8% of culturable waste did exist in 1875. D.N. 78. About Jamabandi and taxes of Koral. Sar suba office Baroda Prant Chitnisi.

98. R.P. Masani, op.cit.  
Annual Report by Suba, 1875-76, D.N.106, D.N.628, C.R.O.

99. Annual report of Baroda Prant Suba, 1875-76, D.N. 106, F.N. 628, C.R.O.

No doubt, there was evidence in 1875 of good trade and marketing centres, and trade and marketing activities<sup>100</sup>, but that, it has to be recalled, was due to the long lasting effects of the U.S.A. civil war on economy, which enabled the state to establish trade links with the national and international markets.

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100. Padra, Dubhoi, Sinor were some of the prominent marketing centres of the Prant. Padra thus referred to as being a large commercial town, Dubhoi, being a terminus of the branch railway, had much export and import activity, the chief commodities exported from Dubhoi being cotton and Mohowda. The Dubhoi taluka itself had ginning factories - three at Dubhoi, one at Karwan and 2 at Mundala. Sinor taluka too had a ginning factory at Avakhul. Annual report by Suba of Baroda division Maoji Vithal 1875-76, D.N. 106, F.N. 6, C.R.O.

Also : Some of the other markets were at Kavisa, Sundwaimata Ansuiyamata, Harni, Bechraji, Akota whilst for local need weekly markets were there, larger ones were held 6 monthly.