

CHAPTER V: KADI PRANT :Khanderao Gaekwad : 1860-1870

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SECTION IProblems and Policy of the Ruler :

The main issues before Khanderao Gaekwad in the context of economic and administrative reconstruction were the variety and diversity present in the land revenue system, ✓ and the lack of resources that the ruler felt, which affected the finances of the state.

The policies of the ruler were influenced by these two major problems. Hence, with a view to improve the state's finances, the ruler set about to remove the izara system, and institute direct government management in those districts; to survey land and resettle the revenue demand; and to resume alienated lands in the Kadi Prant. In fact, all three activities went almost hand in hand - for it was with the survey and settlement that new rates were applied, izara was removed and berkhali land resumed, as well as made to pay the revised sum fixed.

Measures of Gaekwad :

(1) Survey and Settlement : A survey and settlement of the Kadi Prant was effected during the years 1864-66<sup>1</sup>. And according to the survey details of land viz., such as total government land area; total barkhali land area; area cultivated in government land, and cultivable waste area - were noted<sup>2</sup>.

Cash rates or bighoti applied : Along with the fixation of new rates the application of assessment in cash instead of in kind, was made in most areas, so that income from bighoti increased from 67% in the prant in 1865 to 74% in 1866<sup>3</sup>. A further extension of the bighoti system took place during the rule so that by 1875-76 over 50% of the villages in certain talukas were having assessment in cash and over 80% of the income in these talukas was from

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1. In 1864, in Patan Taluka, 88 villages were surveyed; in Kadi 68; in Vijapur 19, in Visnagar 1; in Kheralu 6; In 1866, in Patanone more was surveyed; in Kadi 26 more; in Vijapur 4 more.

Figures are from the Jarif Prant Mapni Office, D.N.11, Pudka 5; Ferisht 5/1. Sar suba Office, Kadi Prant Chitnisi, C.R.O. And the figures of 1865-66 from Jarif Mapni office, D.N.11, Pudka 2, Fensht 1/1 C.R.O.

2. Ibid.
3. Paragna and Taluka Statistics 1865-66, D.N.2, Pudka 2. Ferisht 23. Sarsuba Office, Kadi Prant Chitnisi, C.R.O.

bighoti<sup>4</sup>.

Successive Enhancements in revenue demand :

The successive enhancements in revenue demand made by the ruler in almost all the taluka<sup>5</sup>, clearly indicate the intentions and interest of the Gaekwad viz., of improving the state finances, such as, has been referred to in the beginning.

4. Moreover, by 1875-76, the income from bighoti increased further because of the increase in bighoti paying villages.

<u>Talukas</u>	<u>Villages</u>	<u>Bighoti income</u>
Vijapur	43.2%	66.5%
Kheralu	42.8%	81.3%
Visnagar	82.8%	95.3%
Vadnagar	76.00%	91.3%

These percentages have been calculated from the statistics in the following document : Annual report 1875-76, D. by Uttar Prant Naib Suba of Mahals, Paras 4 and 8. D.N. 56, File No.1, Sarsuba Office, Kadi Prant, Chitnisi, C.R.O.

5. Also see growth of land revenue demand in Table II, Chap.VII, Section II Aithor village; the high average payment per khatedar in Table I, Chap.VII op.cit. Aithor.
- (b) The high percentage contribution to total tax revenue individual khatedars in Khanderao's period in comparison with the percentage contribution in later periods in table III of Paloli, Chap. VII, Section II.
- (c) In Vadanagar taluka the growth of income according to the increase made was of 8.5% during 1864-1869 and 7.6% from 1869 to 1870.
- (d) In Vijapur the growth was of 15% during the years 1864-70.
- (e) In Patan the growth was of 5% during 1864-1869.

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The survey and settlement, therefore, was a pretext for raising the state revenues.

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(f) In Visnagar it increased by 13.2% during 1864-69 and by an additional 22.3% during 1869 and 1870.

(g) In Attarsumbha the growth in government dues was of 93.2% during 1864-1869. In Dehgam of 10.3% during 1864-69 and of an additional 3.7% growth during 1869-70.

Note: The above percentages have been calculated from the statistics of land revenue demand in the respective year in the documents cited below: Figures of 1864 from D.N.1, Pudka 1; Ferisht 6; and the figures of 1869-70 from D.N.2, Pudka 1; Ferisht 4, Sarsuba Office, Jamabandi, C.R.O.

Also see below more instances of increase in state income from the increase in demand, from in other documents,

(a) The increase in Kheralu of 6.7% during 1866-67; 5.7% during 1867-68 and an additional 1.3% during 1868-69, the entire increase during the period being of 13.7%. Statement of Kheralu of filedate 1871. D.N. 23; Pudka 2; Ferisht 135/32 Sarsuba Office Political Branch, C.R.O.

(b) In Patan, according to another document, cited below, the growth in income was of 2.3% from 1867-68; 12.4% from 1868-69; and 0.3% from 1869-70 i.e. the entire increase being of 15%. Statement of Patan Taluka dated 1870. D.N. 23, Pudka 2; Farisht 135/36, Sarsuba Political Branch, C.R.O.

(c) In Visnagar the increase in land revenue was of 0.5% during 1867-68; and additional 0.3% from 1868-69. File Ibid. Ferisht 135/46.

The overall increase in the prant in State revenues after the survey was of 2.3% in jamabandi income; 1.3% in izara income the net income increase after village expenditure being 2.1% during the year 1864-1866.

Annual report 1866 dated 3 Ashad, 1866; D.N. 8; Pudka 20; Ferisht 4, by Uttar Prant Sar Kamdar to Sarsuba Kadi Prant Chitnisi.

Note : The percentage have been calculated from statistics of land revenue in the above site.

The above give an idea of the kind of rates existing.

(2) Removal of Izara and Institution of Direct Government:

Management : The removal of the Izara system was another activity and measure of Khanderao. Thus, the farming system was got rid of from certain portions in the talukas of Dehgam, Harij peta mahal and Sidhpur in 1864; in Visnagar in 1866; in Patan and Kalol in 1867; Mehsana in 1867; and in Vadavli taluka in 1869<sup>11</sup>. Izara was also abolished from Vijapur taluka about this time.

Like-wise, direct government management was introduced to the taluka of Kheralu in 1869<sup>12</sup>. This taluka had, since 1786 been under the military control of Jamdar Jaminmian. Khanderao Gaekwad resumed it for better control and management. In Izara days, the exploitation of cultivators in a

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9. Refer Table III of Paloli village sample study, Chap. VII, op. cit.
10. The figure has been calculated from the statistics available in the document cited.  
D.N. 23; Pudka 2; Ferisht 135/45, 1870, Visnagar Statistics.
11. Files Survey and Settlement Reports of Dehgam taluka, File 263/38, 1873-94. Harij mahal 263/39, 1894; Sidhpur taluka 263/42, 1891; Visnagar taluka 263/33, 1894-95; Patan 263/46, 1887; Mehsana 263/54 1894-95; Vadavali 263/51; 1896-97, HPO, Kalol Jamabandi Settlement Report 1896-97. Book No.5416.
12. File 263/32 1894. H.P.O.

military controlled district is seen by the increases made in land revenue. This increase was from Rs. 10,000 to Rs. 40,000 per annum during the years 1866-1869.

(3) Resumption of Barkhali Land : Kadi Prant had by far the largest trades of alienated lands so that inmost of the talukas of this prant, about half of the total areas was claimed as rent free<sup>13</sup>.

Realising the effect of this, the Bombay Presidency, set about resuming these lands. An inquiry was floated as regards barkhali holdings and in the Nibandha of 1864, it was declared that lands enjoyed as rent free sixty years

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13. (a) In 1864-65 the percentage of barkhali land area in Visnagar was 53.3% whereas as government area was 47.6%.  
 (b) In Vijapur, the barkhali land was 49.1% and government 50.8%.  
 (c) In Kheralu the barkhali area was 52.9% and government 47%.  
 (d) In Kadi the barkhali area was 36.8% and government 63.1%.  
 (e) In Patan the barkhali area was 29.7% and government 29.7%.

Note : The percentages have been calculated from the statistics in the following document : D.N.11; Pudka 5; Ferisht 5/1, About Jarif Mapni, 1864-65, Sarsuba Office, Kadi Prant Chitnisi.

Also see below the proportion of barkhali to government in Attarsumbha, D.N.8, Pudka 20, Ferisht. Annual Report of Attarsumbha by Uttar Prant Revenue Sar Kamdar to Baroda suba dated Magh 4, 1866, Para 13. The percentage is a calculation from statistics in the file barkhali land. 54.7% to government 45.2%.

prior to 1827, alone were considered legal rent free lands. The others, acquired subsequent to that year, being declared illegal, were resumed. The Gherania and Vechania lands which had cropped up after 1827, were, therefore, considered illegal and were among the lands resumed in 1864-66<sup>14</sup>. Thus the settlement was favourable to both parties viz., State and the landholder; and if in most of the cases, as seen, the gains accrued to the state, it was only fair, for those alienations had been unauthorised. The further reduction of barkhali land area, after the settlement of 1866<sup>15</sup>,

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14. Note the fall in percentage area of karkhali with the corresponding increase in government land area.
- (a) In Patan the barkhali land was 13.6% of total land and government land was 86.34.
  - (b) In Vijapur barkhali land was 42.6% and government was 57.2%.
  - (c) The settlement in Kadi taluka, however, went in favour of barkhali land where proportion increased to 42.6% and government feel to 57.3% from the previous year.

The percentages calculated from statistics of below given file : Annual Report 1865-66, Statement of land revenue Survey by Stall of Uttar Prant, Jarif Mapni Office Kadi Prant Chitnisi.

15. Note areas of barkhali land in the Kadi division in 1890s. It is to be noted that these figures are after some resumptions as that took place after the inquiry in 1886, and so do not represent the entire lot.
- (a) Kheralu, pp.61-64, Appendix Vol. V, Book No.5420, out of the area of 166155, 36653 was i.e. 22% Barkhali.
  - (b) In Kadi pp.35-38, Appendix IX Book 5435. out of the total area of 43989 bighas; 32445 i.e. 73.7% barkhali. Total area = 139139; barkhali 16520 i.e. 11.8%.

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illustrates the fact, for that was the first proper settlement and that too by a party not involved in the affair, viz., a British Officer.

Thus the inquiry initiated in 1863 assumed good shape by 1869 and continued till 1872. In 1871, the sarkar had decided that the inquiry should proceed, that security be taken and that holders of alienated lands be permitted to collect their crops. In 1872, however, the programme was discontinued and taken up only in 1880s.

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(d) In Vijapur pp.3-4, Appendix VI, Book 5290. 1886. Total area = 201809; barkhali = 67268 i.e. 33.3%.

(e) Visnagar, pp.3. File 263/33.

(f) In Dehgam, pp.54-55, Appendix VI, File 263/30, op.cit. Total area = 241329; barkhali 52136 : i.e. 21.6%.

(g) In Atarsumbha, pp.58-59, Appendix VI, File Ibid. total area = 77055; barkhali = 7609 i.e. 9.8%.

(h) In Patan, p. 56. Appendix III, File 263/96 op.cit. Total area = 335263; barkhali = 24563. i.e. 7.2%

(i) In Sidhpur, p.5, File 263/42, op.cit. Total area = 246402; barkhali = 53777, i.e. 21.8%.

(j) In Vadavali pp.38-39, File 263/51 op.cit. Total area = 27379; barkhali 2.7447 i.e. 10.0%.

(k) In Kalol, pp.35-36, Book No.5416, op.cit. The total area = 245458 and barkhali = 43812, i.e. 17.8%.

Note :The percentages have been calculated from the figures in the respective files.

(4) Reorganisation of Administration: Some idea of the reconstruction of administrative machinery wrought by an increase in staff strength, is to be had by the increase in village expenditure by 0.4%<sup>16</sup>. While the figure does evidence a positive measure, it is not significant and indicates the meagre action taken by the Gaekwad in this regard, at least in the Kadi prant. No doubt, as the figure is only for years 1864-66, it cannot be established conclusively that there was no further action that direction.

A discussion of the measures :

(a) Regarding Survey : Though the survey of the entire prant was a part of the programme of the ruler to extend it throughout the territories, there were many villages that were left unsurveyed<sup>17</sup>.

The effect of it was that the high and disproportionate (1) rates of earlier times continued (not that the rates of survey were any lighter).

(2) More important, in the unsurveyed villages, the extent of holdings, the revenues therefrom, and other details pertaining to a holding, could not be put on record, on account

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16. Annual report dated Ashada 1866. Submitted by Uttar Prant Sar Kamdar to Sarsuba Office, Kadi Prant Chitnisi. CRO, D.N.8; Pudka, 20; Ferisht 4, Sar Suba Office, CRO.

17. Cf. Foot Note 1 Chap. V, only certain villages are surveyed.

of which losses of revenue did accrue to the state and also to the individual khatedar, who, in the absence of a written account of holding, could be better exploited, and (3) the advantages of assessment in cash would not have been had in the unsurveyed areas - cash assessment being applied only after survey and in the new settlement.

(b) Regarding Settlement : The settlement made of lacked uniformity, and displayed poor rationale and inaccuracy - in short, it lacked a proper system as its basis. For while the sarkari lands were more carefully surveyed and classified, the barkhali lands were only superficially dealt with. Nor was the classification of government land very accurate, for there was no accepted measure of fixing the rates. For, on some occasions it was as per caste of the cultivator, on some it was per soil, and on some on the type of crop grown.

In some villages of Patan and Attarsumbha for instance, the Kheduts paid on the crop grown and not as per outturn<sup>18</sup>. Further, that the survey was not fair and went to serve the interest of the sarkar is indicated in the case of the wahiwatdar including waste and poor land as cultivable, that is, the cultivator was made to pay for what he did not cultivate<sup>19</sup>. And the categories, by and large, were only

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18. D.N.72, Pudkas 25. Ferisht 68. Report dated Chaitra 1874, on the land revenue system of the previous 10 years, Sar Suba Office, Baroda Prant Chitnisi, CRO.

19. Ibid.

three - awal, doyam and soyam in order of merit with rates fixed accordingly<sup>20</sup>.

The poor rationale of the settlement is to be seen in the distinction maintained in rates, on the basis of communities, viz., the "Kumwar system". While, from a social point of view, it can be justified and considered feasible, in its practical application it was damaging. For it lowered, if not killed the incentive of the better class of cultivators to improve and extend their agricultural operations.

According to the "Kumwar system", the industrious and skilled cultivators, the kanbis were charged double and treble the rates charged on the ignorant and indolent Kolis, Rabaris and Thakardas. That was true for those communities in Patan and Sidhpur<sup>21</sup>. In the latter the suba, Balwantrao Yeshwant took half in the bhagbatai assessment from the Kanbis, whereas the turbulent Thakardas paid two shares and kept three<sup>22</sup>.

No doubt, one more point in favour of such a differentiation was that the low rates on the troublesome classes kept them quiet. But what a price the state must have paid in affecting the morale of the Kanbis. It is, therefore, hard to defend a scheme which seemed to offer a premium to ignorance and indolence.

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20. File 263/38, op. cit.

21. File 263/46, op.cit.

22. Ibid, Sidhpur Taluka.

The worst feature of the settlement, was, however, the high demands fixed, and the enhancements made subsequently. They reveal the true motives of the Gaekwad, which were not to collect revenues according to field classification as much as to take a fourth more than the old lump sum paid to government. And in order to arrive at that 1/4th increase on the old figure, Balwantrao Yeshwant, the suba of the division raised or lowered the demand from one class to the other.

Why the Cultivators could pay the High Demands :

The question then that comes to mind is how could the cultivators pay those demands and not resist.

And the ability of the Kheduts, to pay the demands as well as the absence in this period of any significant peasant uprising, are due to the marked rise in prices during the years 1864-69, due to the impact in India, of the American civil war<sup>23</sup>.

23. An illustration of price rise in the period specified in Sidhpur taluka, S.S. Report Sidhpur, op.cit. pp. 14-15.

Years	Bajri	Juar	Wheat	Rice	Cotton	Poppy
1860	10-0-0	11-0-0	16-0-0	17-0-0	84-8-0	16-0-0
1861	13-0-0	11-8-0	16-12-0	22-0-0	79-0-0	"
1862	13-0-0	13-0-0	18-0-0	29-0-0	106-0-0	20-0-0
1863	20-8-0	20-0-0	"	25-0-0	194-0-0	17-0-0
1864	25-0-0	16-0-0	31-0-0	26-0-0	248-0-0	18-0-0
1865	32-0-0	24-0-0	37-0-0	36-0-0		28-0-0
1866	20-0-0	16-0-0	26-0-0	28-0-0		30-0-0
1867	12-12-0	11-4-0	21-0-0	30-0-0		29-0-0
1868	16-0-0	14-8-0	22-0-0	31-0-0		26-4-0

Note : see the prices in the table attached at the end of this Section.

The impact of the civil war in India, was the boost to cotton cultivation - the spread of cultivation of cotton in the cotton areas, and a rise in the price of cotton specially, as well as other agricultural goods. The impetus to cotton cultivation gave a boost to the growth of indigenous textile industry so that Patan specially developed into a well known centre for weaving in silk and cotton. The dyeing industry too grew in Kadi. These were some of the areas that benefited from the impact of the civil war in the Kadi Prant.<sup>24</sup> And with the growth of these textile centres trade also increased.<sup>25</sup>

Thus the impact of the civil war was long lasting, for the market that Indian cotton got in the international market was retained so that the years that followed saw the growth of industries connected with textile. Thus in early 1880s, there were in Kadi and Atarsumba factories for colouring cloth and weaving centres in Patan. It was the good returns that the cultivators got in these years that enabled them to pay the demand. In these years, with the rush for cultivation, agriculture being profitable, the value of land increased. And this can be seen in the higher income from izaras or the better deals made by the sarkar at auctions in 1865.<sup>26</sup>

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24. Annual Administration Report, 1879-80. D.N.108, F.N.633, of Kadi Prant, CRO.

25. Ibid, F.N. 634, of 1875-76, CRO.

26. (next page)

Years of Prosperity : During the years 1864-69, therefore, the cultivators saw prosperity, owing to the appreciable rise in price of food grains. While the richer cultivators benefited more, having larger holdings and more to sell, the smaller ones and also the common man must have suffered from the high prices. And that is indicated in the sarkar's attempt to control prices by disallowing the sale of goods outside the poor Taluka of Dehgam. Whilst the action of the sarkar may have been averse to<sup>27</sup> economic theories of free trade, it did safeguard the larger interest of the people. No doubt, the interest of the merchants-grain dealers - would also have been affected by government action.

After 1869, however, prosperity waned as rapidly as it had increased<sup>28</sup>; owing to the steep fall in prices. One

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26. The increase in income from izara during 1864-65 of 1.3%.  
Note: The percentage has been calculated from the below cited file : Annual Report, Ashada 1866, submitted by Uttar Prant Sar Kamdar to Sarsuba, Baroda. D.N. 8, Pudka 20; Ferisht 4, Sarsuba Office, Kadi Prant Chitnisi.

27. Letter from Wahiwatdar Dehgam to Sarsuba dated Pusha 1864, informing him that the orders issued by him had been carried out and accordingly the sale of foodgrain outside the taluka barring Baroda, had been forbidden. The Mehtas and Talatis of Dehgam had been directed accordingly. D.N. 1, Pudka 15, 1864. Ferisht 30; Sar Suba Office, Kadi Prant Chitnisi, CRO.

28. Note the Sudden fall in income of state in the talukas after 1869.

(a) In Kadi Taluka there was in fact a consistent fall in income during the years. It fell by 10.2% from 1864-1869 and for by 5% during 1869-1870.

can imagine, therefore, the impact of a fall in prices, on a class of people of whose income came from land<sup>29</sup>; and the extent of the suffering as the majority, in these times, were the agricultural classes. The fall of individual income meant the fall of state income as well. But the State did not suffer much less, for it continued to levy its high demands despite the fact that the cultivators got poor returns. And it was the raiyat who suffered from increasing impoverishment due to increasing indebtedness on account of having to pay the demand in hard times. It was then, being driven to a point when they were unable to pay, that complaints against assessment poured in from the raiyats<sup>30</sup>. The various charges made against Khanderao's settlement were (1) that jarif had not been done properly (2) classification was incorrect (3) bighoti was based on the caste of the cultivator i.e. the komwar rates (4) neither was

28. Contd..

(b) In Kheralu it fell from Rs.206347 in 1869 to Rs.206256 in 1870.

(c) In Patan it fell by 2.3% during 1869-70.

(d) In Attarsumba it fell by 5.5% during 1869-70.

D.N. 2; Pudka 1; Ferisht 4, Sarsuba Office, Jamabandi Branch, CRO.

29. Note that in Kheralu 79.4% in 1869 of the total income came from land; in Patan 76.3% in 1870.

These have been calculated from the figures of income, land and total in the respective talukas in foot note 5 Chap. V.

30. Report by the Wahiwatdar of Kadi mahal about the 10 years bighoti settlement dated Chaitra 1874, D.N.72, Pudka 25; Ferisht 68 Sar Suba Office, Baroda Prant Chitnisis, CRO.

settlement uniform (5) more detail in classification needed (6) finally that the bighoti assessment was fixed at a time when the rates were high and so most of the time they were at variance with the intrinsic value of the soil.

Regarding the prosperity in the Kadi prant as an impact of the civil war it is to be indicated that this prant, not being essentially a cotton growing area, did not benefit as much as did the villages of the Baroda prant. And that is why a consistent fall in revenues during the entire period of prosperity i.e. 1864-69, is seen in Kadi taluka<sup>31</sup>, the economy of which depended mostly upon tobacco - a non-food crop and a crop with not the same value as cotton in these times.

Regarding the feature of price rise referred to, it is to be added that apart from the impact of the civil war in India, there was the feature of movement of agricultural goods from one taluka to the other that also affected the trend of prices<sup>32</sup>.

There is a relationship between the two features referred to in the fore-going paragraph. For with the impetus given to cotton cultivation, the area of other crops must

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31. Note the fall in income from Kadi taluka in foot note 28 Chap. V.

32. Refer foot note 27 Chap. V, export of food grain from Dehgam.

have been reduced, so that these areas would have imported the food requirements from other talukas which explains the movement of agricultural goods. And these being times of poor communication, and imperfections in markets, the prices tended to rise even more.

(e) Regarding Izara : In continuation of the discussion of Khanderao's measures regarding izara operations, it can also be said that the measure was not uniformly affected, so that it continued in quite a few areas till 1875<sup>33</sup>.

Liberty has been taken in assuming that since in these times, a proper administrative machinery was still in the making, the Gaekwad had to depend on the old institution of izaras for collection of revenue and for the running of other aspects of administration viz., criminal and civil justice, which the izardar's performed. That is why it could not be abolished completely - a reasoning which applies to the other divisions as well.

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33. In 1875-76, the income from izaras was to be tune of 33.4% in Vijapur; 18.6% in Kheralu; 4.6% in Visnagar and 8.6 in Vadnagar.

These percentages have been calculated from the documents cited below : Annual report 1875-76; D.N. 56; No.1, by Uttar Prant Naib suba, para 8.

Note: The income is the combined income of izara and other non-bighoti villages, and not of izara alone. But even so it gives evidence of the existence of izara system, and hence the information has been used.

An Appraisal of the Izara Institution : While much is to be criticized in the institution of izaras, the system does not deserve only discredit. For there are instances of (1) the economy of a district having improved under an izardar and (2) but for the objectionable interference of the sarkar in the term of the contract, the institution would have done better.

Regarding the first, the village of Dhalva of Matar Mahal of Kadi prant which was on its way to ruin, was revitalised, and repopulated under an izara contract - so much so that another contractor wished to share the village in auction under his own charge<sup>34</sup>.

The objectionable interference of the sarkar in the premature termination of the contract, which caused insecurity to the izardar is also indicated in the same document<sup>35</sup>. For the fact that the sarkar entertained such applications is enough proof of the charge made against the Gaekwad regime.

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34. Application of an izardar Patel Dharamdas Baji of Kadi to his highness stating how the village of Dhalva had become prosperous, when once it was desolate, so much so that the village was coveted by another contractor Desai Amotha Narayan who was attempting to secure it even before the expiry of the term of contract by paying a higher sum to the sarkar.

Application dated Jeshta 1865 to His Highness, D.N.2, Pudka 4; 1865; Ferisht 5, Sar suba Office, Kadi Prant Chitnisi, CRO.

35. Ibid.

In the particular case cited, the izardars whose term ended prematurely, had to borrow from the moneylender to pay off the difference in the sum fixed. This meant, for the izardar, an additional burden of interest to pay on the principal sum to the moneylender. It was commendable, that the sarkar in this case did pay the difference as well as the interest - but whether he did that in other cases is anybody's guess.

(d) Regarding Administration : Whilst the reconstruction of administration on modern lines was under-taken by the Gaekwad, the opposition of the administrative staff, so common in a feudal society, still existed. There was thus harassment of the cultivators by the wahiwatdar, who auctioned the cattle of the kheduts in the recovery of dues. Whether such action flowed from the sarkar's orders, is not certain, but the incident is certainly a reflection on the regime<sup>36</sup>. And when such things happened in times of difficulty as they did in this case the plight of the raiyat can well be imagined. For the cultivators faced the usual untoward circumstances faced by agriculturists all over India

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36. Application to His Highness by the Matadar and Patels of Patan stating the calamities that occurred in 1870, hence their problem be considered sympathetically.

Application dated 1870, D.N. 39; Pudka 9; Ferisht 1; Sar Suba Office, Kadi Prant Chitnisi, CRO.

in general in these times, viz., damage from untimely rain in 1868; heavy rain in 1869; and locusts in 1870. Moreover, in the years 1869 and after, there was a fall in prices when the returns were not good. Then the floods of 1869 were another unfortunate circumstance in the prant. These floods damaged drainage and soil and extended the area of Khar (salt land). Patan and Harij suffered the worst effects of the floods. The sarkar, therefore, cannot be excused, even if it was a matter of recovery of dues from the subjects.

And at a time when the Khedut had to struggle between little and no rain; excessive rain and other incidental and historical circumstances, he was coerced into paying demands that were, in addition, unreasonable. Far from giving relief, the cultivator was being squeezed. It was no wonder, therefore, that he was driven to poor conditions of extreme poverty, indebtedness and an economy of subsistence - from which it took him years to recover.

(e) Regarding Barkhali Operations : Regarding the measures as regards barkhali settlement, it is to be said that the sarkar was justified to the extent of resuming the unauthorised alienations in the interest of the state. But a closer examination of the facts shows that the interest of the State, inas much as welfare of its people is concerned was not

served. For the Gaekwad, with the increased area of land from where he got better revenues, did not lessen the demand; in fact, he raised it in general. The real difference being that the area of taxation was extended with the resumed berkhali lands coming under the fold of Khalsa of Government land.

And regarding survey and settlement, proper survey and settlement was least afforded to these lands.

Effect of Policies and Measures of the sarkar in these times and the Conditions that Resulted :

The effect of the high demands - the disproportionate rates and the continuance of evils of the old institutions - combined to damage seriously the economy of the villages. And in the villages, whilst all the agriculturists were affected, the poorer ones were affected more acutely. The one beneficiary that can be singled out as having enjoyed good prospects, was the moneylender. And this institution of the moneylender who advanced loans to society continued in the state till the beginnings of institutional borrowing in the late 19th and 20th centuries.

Evidences of poverty, and of indebtedness : Evidence of the poverty and indebtedness referred to is to be seen in the statistics of the cultivable waste<sup>37</sup> that existed, and the

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37. Note the negative growth in government cultivated area during the years 1864-66 in the talukas of Patan; Kadi, and Vijapur. In fact, there is a decline in government cultivated area.

assets at the disposal of the cultivator viz., the agricultural stock and implements at hand<sup>38</sup>.

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38. contd.

(a) In Patan the cultivated area declined by 20.4%; and the cultivable waste increased by 94%;

(b) In Kadi the government cultivated area declined by 42.8% whereas the decrease in cultivable waste was only 7.5%.

(c) In Vijapur the cultivated area decreased by 61.8%. Also note the percentages of cultivated land and cultivable waste, to the total land areas in other talukas.

(a) In Visnagar in 1864-65, the government land under cultivation was 77.5% and cultivable waste 22.4%.

(b) In Kheralu 55.5% cultivated and 44.4 cultivable waste.

Note the percentages of above have been calculated from the

Statistics available in the following documents.

(1) Annual Report, 1864-65, Jarif Mapni Office, DN 11; Pudka 5; Ferisht 1/1 Sarasuba Office, Kadi Prant Chitnisi.

(2) Annual Report of 1865-66, Ibid, DN 11; Pudka 2; Ferisht 1/1.

Also see the percentages in the other talukas.

In Attarsumba in 1866 the government cultivated area was 63%; and cultivable waste 21.7% - note the decrease from the proportions in 1863 which were 74.3% for cultivated - due to the impact of civil war.

Note: the percentages are from following document : Paras 13 and paras 17. Attarsumba Statistics, dated 1866. D.N.8; Pudka 20; Ferisht 2, Annual Report by Sar Kamdar dated 4 Magh, 1866.

38. (a) In Attarsumba in 1871, for the total population of 8435 in its 7 villages the houses were 1309 i.e. average members per house being 1.10% and the total number of wells 8. The distribution of the latter so uneven that two villages having a population of 575 and 194 in Mandwa and Bhailakui respectively, the wells were nil.

Figures calculated from statistics of the file DN 23: Pudka 2; Ferisht 135/28 Sarsuba Political Branch.

contd..

The figures of the extent of cultivable waste are instructive. They indicate, in addition, the degree of the impact of the American civil war. The Kadi Prant in general did not benefit in a significant way from the impact of the war, because this prant was not essentially a cotton growing area, and so, the extension of cultivators of other crops was

38. contd.

(b) In Kheralu, in 1870, for the total population 14957 in the villages the houses were 4.7; the average member per house being 4.7 and wells 13. Moreover, the distribution of wells was to uneven that three villages of Sudhia, Vithoda and Dabhad having a population of 2449; 848 and 1228 respectively had only one well each.

Figures calculated from Statistics in file DN 23; Pudka 2; Ferisht 135/31.

(c) In Visnagar for the average population of 3500, the wells were only 32 and the average member perhouse was 2.6. File DN 23; Pudka 2; Ferisht 135/45, 1970 CR① .

(d) In Wadnagar the 25 villages, with a population of 24083 the houses were 5650 so that the average member per house was 4.2; and the distribution of wells so poor that some villages i.e. Bahadarpur with a population of 1500 and houses 300, had no well. Molipur with a population of 461 and houses 129 had no well; Chanpa with 170 people and 27 houses had no well and there were other of such like too. And of the population the Kasbo had 62% of houses it had 61% and wells 50%.

Figures calculated from DN 23; Pudka 2; Ferisht 135/12.

Note: The families being large in these times, the majority, it can be assumed went without houses.

not as meaningful as it was not as remunerative as cotton.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, the restriction that the Gaekwad government imposed in the cultivation of poppy<sup>40</sup>, for which the prant did have natural facility, restricted the extent of cultivation - which in turn prevented the raiyats from reaping the benefits from tobacco and opium. No doubt, this restriction had been affected under the pressure of the paramount power, This indicates one area wherein the Baroda government policies of British fiscal policies during the period. The earliest opium arrangements arrived at by the Gaekwad and the British government date to the arrangement of 1820<sup>41</sup>. The object of it was to establish one system of opium management throughout British and Foreign Gujarat, and to secure to either government the whole of the revenue derived from its home consumption of opium. The Gaekwads, however, paid little interest to the opium arrangements; enforced no restrictions on its trade and instead farmed out the revenue to kamdars who fixed duty at a rate which brought its selling price to about one half of the British government opium. This farming

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39. Note the fall in income from tobacco or black soil. It fell by 11% from 1864 to 1865.

Note: the figures calculated from below cited file.

Attarsumba statistics, 1866. DN 8, Pudka 20, Ferisht 2; Annual Report by Uttarprant Revenue Sarkamdar to Sarsuba Baroda dated Magh 4, 1866.

40. Khanderao Gaekwad ordered that in Patan taluka, Bajri, wheat, rice be grown instead of opium, prior to the cultivation of poppy. Report by the Wahiwatdar of Kadi Mahal dated Chaitra 1874, DN 22; Pudka 25; Ferisht 68, Sarsuba Office, Baroda Prant Chitnisi, CR Q

41. Notes by Mr. Pritchard dated 17 October, 1873. File 249/1, 1823. Opium File HPO, CRO.

with its evils of little or no control, resulted in contra-  
band traffic so as to damage British opium interests. The  
British government in 1820 had not anticipated that local  
production of opium would increase so much that the increase  
by 1873 would be of about 1745 chests grown in Mahals of  
Patan and Kadi which were brought annually to the scales at  
Ahmedabad for export to China. The Gaekwad derived nearly  
the whole of his opium revenue from a duty of Rs. 135 per  
chest of opium taken for export.

As the export of opium from Baroda territory was opposed  
to the spirit the treaty, the British Government felt justi-  
fied in putting an end to it and to revising the arrangement  
of 1820. But it was only in the 1880s, when the opium intere-  
sts of the British government deemed to be seriously threat-  
ened that they took action to control its cultivation in  
Gaekwad territories.

Thus, it is not surprising that in these circumstances,  
the cultivators emigrated to the neighbouring British district.  
Thus, if poor conditions were observed in the 1880s and the  
1890s<sup>42</sup>, despite recoupment and economic development having  
taken place, it would not be an exaggeration to imagine that  
the conditions during the 1860s and the 1870s were wretched.

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42. Note: The same is reported in all the settlement reports  
of 1880s and 1890s.

For it is in these latter times that the origin of distress and decline in economy are to be placed.

Another significant effect of the high demands :

Whilst the policies of the ruler led to conditions of impoverishment of a certain class of people who could not escape them, they also led to widespread alienations. For the only way to avoid paying the unjust demands was the claiming of lands as rent free.

Activities of Tax evasion (1) Mortgages :

In the Kadi division the Gherania tenure<sup>43</sup> had cropped up as a means of tax evasion. Here the right of government to fully tax the best villages and best lands in the northern talukas had been mortgaged or sold away by the Patels, to their benefit, and to a lesser degree to that of the izardars and district officers, but to the lasting detriment of government interests<sup>44</sup>. These self-constituted agents of government often mortgaged and sold lands to meet<sup>t</sup> the heavy demands of the revenue farmers, and that had gone on since 1827 till the reign of Khanderao Gaekwad when the practice of mortgaging lands by Patels was declared illegal. The illicit procedure

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43. Other rent free tenures were gherania or adanya which were lands mortgaged or sold by Patels on account of non-payment of government dues.

44. The Gherania tenure existed chiefly in the Northern talukas and the Vechania in the southern.

of the Patels had seriously injured the financial interests of the government as the amount fixed as mortgage was often much below the real value of the mortgage, so the government lost vast sums. Having paid the fixed trifling sums on the mortgage the Patels used to levy fresh sums on their own, threatening to transfer the mortgages to new parties if the fresh sum was not agreed upon. In case of the transfer of mortgaged land to new parties, new enhanced rates were fixed. These fresh sums went to the pockets of the Patels and not to government. In other words the Patels treated such lands as had once been mortgaged, as their own property as a means of raising money whenever they could. In many cases the Patels mortgaged the lands to themselves or their relatives which left the way open to fraud. Thus, in such transactions, the Patels acted as dishonest agents in not redeeming the mortgages but in continuing them - the losers being the government, not themselves.

Once the lands had been mortgaged in the Gherania tenure and could not be taxed, the state secured revenues by raising the taxes on the remaining area, to make up for the losses occasioned by the alienation of the best fields in the villages. By this process many lands in the Kadi division were lost to government<sup>45</sup>.

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45. In the Peta Mahal of Atarsumbha only 1/2 the number of villages were govt., 17% alinations in Patan; in Sidhpur taluka the richest, in the division, every 3rd or 4th field of cultivable land was partially or entirely free from taxation.

(2) Claims for Service lands : Another means of avoiding or putting up with the high taxes of the 1860s, was the device of claiming land for service as happened in the Vadnagar taluka. It was a device that profited the poor turbulent classes who by service, hoped to prevent the cultivators from encroaching on all the area of the villages in which they became at once proprietors. When the government did not tax the service land, the latter acquired market value which increased from year to year, and provident cultivators and capitalists got its proprietorship. The service lands paid only a Salami, and not full rental.

(3) Tahakub-baki cases : Owners of lands declared by government as Khalsa, had refused to pay revenues in consequence of which arrears had mounted up. But as neither the government recorded the evidences as to the validity of claims, nor did the owners have evidence, the latter could evade payment of revenues, and arrears continued to accumulate in their accounts. These arrears were known as the 'Tahakub-baki' - cases in Kheralu taluka the 'Tahakub-baki' cases were many, on account of the large number of alienations that had taken place in this nemnook of Jaminmiah Jamadar.

More reasons for the conditions that ensued : It has already been seen how the conditions that resulted in the division during these times as well as in later years, were largely due to the policies and measures of Khanderao Gaekwad.

There are however, other factors as well which contributed their bit. And these factors are (1) predominance of a particular class of cultivators in a region and (2) natural resources. While in a sense both these factors can be taken as constant factors in any situation - potentialities of a community and natural resources both not being subject to change, they may also not be considered as constant factors. For with good incentives a community can be motivated to apply itself better and so change its inherent characteristic of indolence or industry as the case may be. Similarly, land too, with irrigation and manure can be made more productive.

But these factors i.e. incentives and investment in manure and wells being almost absent in this period, agriculture was not a remunerative industry and so instead of improving, it deteriorated over the years and subsequently led to the conditions that resulted.

The interplay of these two becomes more clear on looking at the talukas a little more closely.

Better class of talukas : The economy of the talukas of Sidhpur, Vadavali, Kadi, Mehsana and Visnagar was relatively better, than that of the talukas of Dehgam, Harij Mahal Patan and Kheralu. That was because of two main reasons : (a) These talukas had a larger percentage of Kanbis (b) the natural resources were better.

(a) Communities and their role : Prosperity of the talukas to a certain extent depended upon the kind of raiyats that predominated in the district. Accordingly, it was seen that where the Kanbis, who were industrious and skilled peasants, predominated, cultivation and yield were decidedly better. Next to Kanbis were the Rajputs. The Kolis, Thakardas and Rabaris were of course, the worst cultivators, and the poor conditions of the regions where they predominated were the result of the activity or inactivity of these people.

Kanbis : The Kanbis who were skilled agriculturists were in majority in tappas of Sidhpur and Unjha; Vadavali, Kadi, Mehsana, Visnagar and Patan. The relative prosperity of these talukas could be correlated to the predominance of the Kanbis, Rajputs and Momans there.

(2) Natural resources - Sidhpur Taluka : These talukas were moreover richer in natural resources. The soils of the talukas of Sidhpur, Vadavali, Kadi, Mehsana, and Visnagar were conducive to cultivation. In the Sidhpur taluka the soil throughout was gorat which was good for Kharif crops. The principal paying crops of the taluka were Bajri, Opium, wheat Castor oil seeds and linseed. Of these, bajri occupied the largest area in the Sidhpur taluka, with juar following it. The latter, was however, locally consumed and not exported. Cereals and pulses were grown on poor exhausted land as they required less labour.

The chief irrigated crops in the taluka were wheat, opium, grain and barley - the first two being produced by the well-to-do cultivators and the others by the poorer ones. The Southern villages of the taluka, inhabited mostly by Kanbis, had the most irrigated fields whereas in the Kakosi tappa villages, inhabited by Thakardas and Kolis, irrigation was less.

Unjha was an important town of the Sidhpur taluka from the agricultural point of view as its population of cultivators was large. The correlation of agricultural communities to the prosperity of a region thus becomes clear.

Vadavali taluka : The soil in Vadavali was good for jarayat and bagayat cultivation. The chief crops here were bajri, juar, rapeseed, cotton and wheat - the larger areas being under the cultivation of bajri and juar. The taluka produced enough for its consumption as well as for export. On the whole, however, agriculture though the mainstay of the people, was not a profitable profession on account of the soils being impregnated with salt and on account of the insufficiency of natural drainage. The absence of markets indicate absence of trade activities. The tradition in this taluka, as for example in the villages of Chanasma, Vadavali, Mundhara and Dhinoj, was that the people went about the taluka to buy the produce of the fields.

Kadi : The chief crops of Kadi taluka were bajri, rice, cotton, juar, wheat and barley. The chief market of Kadi taluka was Kadi village itself, but the people also went to Kalol and Viramgar.

Mehsana : Both bagayat and jarayat cultivation was carried on in the taluka of Mehsana, the crops being Bajri, juar and wheat in order of priority.

Visnagar : The condition of agrarian economy in Visnagar was reasonably good. The main crops were bajri, juar, rice, wheat and cotton. The chief market of Visnagar taluka was the town of Visnagar.

Poorer talukas of Kadi Division : The lack of adequate number of skilled cultivators in the talukas of Dehgam, Patan, Kheralu, and Harij mahal explain the insignificant development of these areas, which in addition had poor natural resources.

Role of agricultural communities : On the other hand the significant factor accounting for the poor condition of the talukas was the presence or predominance of a certain class of raiyats - the kolis, Thakardas, and Rabaris. The proportion of these people in the talukas of Dehgam, Patan, Kheralu and in the Mahals of Atarsumbha and Harij was greater to that of the Kanbis and Rajputs.

Kolis, Thakardas, Rabaris : These people were not only unskilled and indifferent cultivators, but their activities were positively harmful to the neighbouring agriculturists. In fact, regions within ten miles of their habitation suffered from their nocturnal attacks on crops and cattle. The Kolis of Mahikantha around Dehgam taluka committed thefts of produce from Gaekwadi villages.<sup>46</sup> In the Patan taluka too, where they abounded, they were a nuisance.

Not only were the Kolis, Rabaris and Thakardas poor neighbours, but they were also poor agriculturists. They neither toiled with the soil, nor cultivated the better variety of food grains. These characteristics are well indicated by the fact that they neither manured soils with a view to increasing production nor cultivated the better class of food grains. In fact, they cultivated only the poor grassy crop that needed less labour, fore-thought and expense. To a great extent, they themselves were responsible for their half starved condition for the greater part of the year.

Conditions of these classes of peasants were thus poor. Being lazy, and given to intoxicants, they never worked hard and so existed in almost abject poverty - being poorly housed and clothed. On account of their condition and habits, the sahukar did not lend them money on security of crop either,

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46. File 263/38. Op.cit.

for a great deal of the alienated land they held for Chakariat was mortgaged. The problem of these classes, of their indebtedness, could be understood in the light of Khanderao's high rates as well. Although the assessment on these people was lower, it was still high for them in their condition to pay the same.

Natural resources of the Poorer Talukas : The Gorat, inferior black soils, and the large extents of Khar (soil with salt) made agriculture difficult in the talukas of Dehgam, Kheralu, Patan and in the Mahal of Harij.

Harij Mahal : Among these, Harij Mahal was the worst off, as the soils there were strongly impregnated with salt, and cultivation, poor in consequence. The Khar in Patan and in fact in the better taluka of Vadavali too, had restricted the area available for cultivation. In general, the crops were thin and stunted and the percentage of bajri, juar low, and that of wheat and cotton poor. In fact, the quality of the latter crops was poor, and so the returns for the raiyats could not have been good.

Dehgam : The talukas of Dehgam, Kheralu and Patan, where there was mostly Gorat soil - soil that did well with irrigation, - were poor, as its greater proportion of Kolis, Rabaris, were poor agriculturists for whom no special or undue consideration was shown. The major crop of these talukas was bajri and juar .

In Dehgam and in its peta mahal of Atarsumbha the chief crops were bajri, math, juar, and rice in order of priority, with pulses and oil seeds following. Though there were 9 rivers here, not a single one with the exception of Khari was useful for irrigation. Whatever industrial trade there was, was with the printers and dyers, and the chief markets for the taluka and its mahal were Ahmedabad.

Patan : The taluka of Patan which had relatively less of Khar, grew dry crops such as bajri, juar, cotton, pulses and oilseeds. Bagayat cultivation was insignificant on account of poor irrigational facilities. The bagayat crops were wheat and opium.

Kheralu Kheralu - Vadnagar : In Kheralu and its peta mahal of Vadnagar too, there was cultivation of dry crops, and bagayat cultivation was comparatively insignificant on account of poor irrigation facilities.

On the whole, however, on account of poor soils, agriculture never flourished as such; the absence of or lack of irrigation facilities show that there was scope for better bagayat cultivation.

(3) Poor Communication : Poor communications too, must have been a factor in the slack trade activities. It must be mentioned here that although railways had been introduced during the period of Khanderao Gaekwad, as far as the Kadi

division is concerned, they came in only in 1877. The Kalol taluka was another taluka having poor resources and large proportions of poorer class of people. The soils of the taluka were both light and sandy black soil producing chiefly wheat, barley, juar, castor oil seeds, rape seeds, and bajri.

While the population was mostly mixed in the southern part, the Hindu and Muslim Mewasis predominated. And being lazy and troublesome, they did not really apply themselves to agriculture.

Assessment of conditions of the various classes in time of Khanderao Gaekwad 1860-1870 :

The study of the Kadi division during the time of Khanderao Gaekwad indicates that on the whole, agrarian economy was not strong and the cultivators were hard pressed. Whatever process of change there was, was towards deterioration, for the agriculturists at least. The class of people who participated in the economy of the villages were the three types of peasants (1) Kanbis (2) Rajputs (3) Kolis, Thakardas, Rabaris, and the moneylender. With the exception of the last category, who participated in agrarian economy, the others were hard pressed and lived in difficult conditions.

Kanbis : The Kanbis, despite their hard work and their skills in agriculture, were better off than the poorer class of cultivators but their prosperity was only superficial. They

were mostly indebted to the moneylenders and so the profits of their labours went to pay off debts and various commitments. These debts were incurred for various reasons (1) on account of the capital borrowed to invest in agricultural pursuits viz., irrigation, manure (2) on account of the payment of high demands of the Gaekwad sarkar in the 1860s (3) on account of the extravagant ceremonial expenditure and habits that social obligations entailed upon them and (4) to make up for the losses caused by the excess or lack of rain, and by the damaging activities of the Kolis, Rabaris and Thakardas. This last factor is certainly true for those talukas of the Kadi division where the Kolis, Rabaris and Thakardas were in the majority.

Thus in talukas where bajri and juar (non-commercial crops) were the main crops; where soils on the whole were poor, and where other odds were unfavourable, even the most hardworking cultivators could not do very much. This is true of the Kadi division where all these elements were present. In fact, the relative prosperity of the talukas of Sidhpur, Vadavali, Kadi, Mehsana, Visnagar and Patan was due mostly to the application of the Kanbis.

Kolis : The poverty of the Kolis and their hardpressed condition on account of the high taxes has already been seen. It

would suffice here to say that the lot of these peasants during the period of Khanderao was bad, and slowly their conditions worsened.

Moneylenders : The money lenders who also participated in the village economy were conspicuously the most prosperous people. Since there was no system or facility of institutional borrowing i.e. borrowing from banks or other government agencies in the Baroda State during the time, the moneylenders had the monopoly of lending money. It is also precisely this reason which made the institution of moneylending not only survive, but flourish throughout the 19th century, despite the complaints and protests of their clients. ✓

It was not only the peasant who depended on them, but also the Gaekwad sarkar. The latter counted on the sahuakar for the payment of revenues, for the moneylenders used to take the responsibility of paying the government dues on behalf of the cultivators. For this he received a fixed allowance called "padgar".<sup>47</sup>

The monopoly that the moneylenders had, of advancing loans and standing as security for payment of government dues by the cultivators, enabled them to take advantage and even cheat the cultivators in the transactions made. Many a time, the sahuakar took from the Kanbis the produce of the

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47. Sar Suba's Memo dated 23rd April 1891. File 263/42, op.cit.

filed as security for repayment of his loans. They thus became owners of the better part of the years crop and the produce of the fields was very much at their command to bargain with. In the process the raiyat got increasingly indebted. As far as the Kolis are concerned, it has already been mentioned how they benefitted least from the moneylenders who did not advance loans to them.

Traders : Finally there were the trading classes who did business in trades such as weaving, pottery making, dyeing, and smiths. It is difficult to say how flourishing their trade was, specially as communications were poor and taxes high.

The social economic changes that took place in these times were that, barring the short duration of period 1864-69, conditions for the agriculturists worsened and they were driven to indebtedness. The figures of land transfer by sale and mortgage for this period are not available, but judging from the conditions of distress, it could safely be assumed that sales and mortgages took place, the poorer classes losing land to the richer ones and specially to the moneylender.

And that the merchant class prospered is indicated somewhat by the symptoms of urbanisation one sees in the case of Attarsumba Kasha<sup>48</sup>. Thus evidence of prosperity is to be

48. Refer statistics on Attarsumba in foot note 38 Chap.V.

seen only among a small section of society and a fraction of the prant - i.e. the urban centres such as the taluka headquarters.

And it was the absence of incentives for agricultural development; the nature of holdings<sup>49</sup> and the poverty that existed that inhibited the progress in economy - in material prospects. The legacy that Khanderao left to his successor, therefore, was a lot of arrears, and a bundle of complaints from a struggling people.

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49. Fragmentation of holdings into small units which were really not conducive for good agriculture and agricultural prospects is to be seen in Table III/of Paloli village statistics. Chap. VII

Table on Prices in Kadi Division during the Period of  
Khanderao Gaekwad.

Years	Rice (Good)	Rice (coarse)	Bajri	Juar	Wheat
<b>(A) PRICES IN KHERALU TALUKA (SHERS PER RUPEE)</b>					
1866	10	14½	26	30	25
1868	9	13	35	35	32½
1869	9	13	33	39	23
1871	9	15	24	25	-
<b>(B) IN DEHGAM TALUKA</b>					
1866			18		18(g) 12(p)
g = Good; p = Poor quality.					
<b>(C) IN DEHGAM KASBA</b>					
1868	12		25	20	17
<b>(D) IN VISNAGAR TALUKA</b>					
1868	9	-	33½	35	24(g) 29(p)
1869	-	4	26(g) 29(p)	29	19(g) 18(p)
1871	10	3	23(g) 24(p)	24	16(g) 20(p)
<b>(E) IN VADNAGAR TALUKA (PER MOUND RATES)</b>					
1868	4-0-0 3-8-0 0-14-0	Tobacco 1-0-0	1-2-0	Cotton 8-8-0	1-10-0(g) 1-5-0(p)
1868	3-8-0 3-0-0 2-8-0	48 sher for 1-0-0	1-2-0	9-0-0	1-12-0(g) 1-12-0(p)
<b>(F) PRICES IN VIJAPUR TALUKA (PER MOUND)</b>					
1868	Bajri 1-4-0	Wheat 1-4-0	Juar 1-3-0	Rice 3-6-0	Rice(Kamod) 4-8-0

1866	Price in DN 8/1, Pudka 21/4, Ferisht 23/5
1868	-do- -do- 2/1
1869	-do- -do- 16/2
1871	35 24 14

Prices for Dehgam for 1866.

D.N. 8/1, Pudka 21/4, Ferisht 24/2.

Price for Dehgam Kasba

D.N.17, Pudka 24; Ferisht 1/3.

Prices of Visnagar

1868 - DN 17, Pudka 24; Ferisht 3/1

1869 - DN 23; Pudka 23; Ferisht 17

1871 - DN 35, Pudka 24; Ferisht 13.

Prices for Vadnagar :

1868 - DN 17; Pudka 24; Ferisht 4/1 (Ashwin Months)

1868 - DN 23; Pudka 23; Ferisht 15 (Jeshta Months)

Prices in Vijapur DN 17; Pudka 24; Ferisht 5.

the advantage taken during the period of political change in 1870 is to be seen in the instance of Desai Raghubhai of Kadi withholding the payment of dues in 1870-71 which was Rs. 551-1-19<sup>51</sup>.

The fact that their hopes were belied is indicated in the complaints made against Malharrao's administration itself, and of the continuance of complaints till 1874<sup>52</sup>. In fact the revenues increased from the times of Khanderao, as seen in Patana Taluka, by 21.2% from 1868 to 1874 and 59.7% in Dehgam from 1864-74<sup>53</sup>. Not only did Malharrao not affect any change and redress the situation, but he took no notice of the emigrations that took place from Visnagar, and gave the emigrants no promise or assurance<sup>54</sup>.

Moreover, it was not that the Gaekwad was not aware of all that was happening, that he did not act, for there is evidence of useful suggestions being made by the village

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51. Letter of Wahiwatdar of Kadi to Sarsuba, dated Magh 1873, D.N. 44, Pudka 21; Ferisht 90.1873 Sursuba Kadi Prant Chitnisi, CRO.

52. Note the complaints in footnote 50 Chap.V and also see below:  
Report dated Chaitra 1874, by Kadi Mahal Wahiwatdar complaining about the bighoti, and no change having been made. D.N.72, Pudka 75, Ferisht 68, Sarsuba Office, Kadi Prant Chitnisi, CRO.

53. Figures calculated from files 263/38 op.cit. File 263/46, op.cit. Patan. Note: though the figures belong to period of Khanderao Gaekwad, Malharrao Gaekwad also contributed to the increase.

54. Refer complaint from Visnagar in foot note 50 Chap. V.

officers to the sirkar.<sup>55</sup> The ruler as a matter of fact was himself apathetic indifferent and a worthless personality.

Nature of Administration : The administration of Malharrao was oppressive, inefficient and corrupt and there is no lack of evidence in the prant of all these features.<sup>56</sup> With inactive taluka heads and uncontrolled village accountants, there was all the scope for exploitation and harassment of the cultivator and corruption of the officials.

A clue into the mal administration and the mismanagement that went on, as well as into the reasons for it, is to be had in the irregular payment of remuneration to village

55. While the ruler already knew cultivators problems from the grievances consistently addressed to him, there were officer's too who appraised him of the situation.

The Wahiwatdar of Kadi Mahal for instance made several suggestions :

(1) that there was an unreasonable variation in Khanderao's measure of land measurement so that a readjustment in the bighas needed to be made (2) that land should be fixed according to quality of soil (3) that auction be made of grass of waste land (4) that the poor quality lands entered in Khatedar's holding as culturable be deleted from that category (5) that bighoti be fixed on crop of land and (6) that salaries of patels, Mehtas and others be increased.

56. That the revenue service was far from efficient and in fact had much scope for exploitation, mismanagement is to be seen in that the wahiwatdar - the head of the talukas were not enjoined to go into the villages to ascertain the problems of cultivators, and neither did the Mehtas check the village accounts.

Para 25 of Annual Report of 1875-76 Uttar Prant Nails Suba of Visnagar, Vadnagar, Kheralu and Vijapur. D.N.56, FN 1; Sar suba Office, Kadi Prant Chitnisi, CRO.

servants so that the damage accrued, fell on the peasant<sup>57</sup>.

Such corruption and inefficiency are features common to all pre-modern societies where recruitment on basis of merit of serviced, is not the criterion of selection. In the prant too, therefore, it was acquaintance and friendship that mattered and hence the officers were neither knowledgeable, impartial nor honest by and large. And that is why there was an inaccurate and unreasonable fixation of revenue demands<sup>58</sup> and also, harassment and oppression.

Administrative Measure : One significant change made by Malharrao Gaekwad in the administrative system, was as regards the payment to Patels<sup>59</sup>. The practice of paying their Salaries in land allotments in certain villages was stopped. In this way the patel's direct connection with land and land revenue was severed.

Another measure of the Gaekwad, was that in some cases teachers too were remunerated by land grants on rent basis. That the society and state were pre-modern, can be judged by this.

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57. For instance, the Chokidar or village watchman who had not been paid his salary was not doing his duty of guarding the crops so that their were instances of theft.

Report dated Chaitra 1874. By Kadi Mahal Wahiwatdar, D.N. 72, Pudka 25, Ferisht 68. Sar Suba Office, Kadi Prant Chitnisi, CRO.

58. Ibid.

59. Ibid.

Effect of the Inaction of the Gaekwad on Condition :

The fact that the Gaekwad did not, on his own<sup>60</sup> take effective steps to relieve the cultivators, told ultimately upon their economic condition. For under the pressure of an oppressive and harsh<sup>61</sup> regime, the cultivators had no alternative but to incur debts from the moneylender, and so get more and more indebted and impoverished over the years. For while many emigrated<sup>62</sup> to the neighbouring British villages, to avoid the high demands, the entire population could not and did not, and those who remained were well nighsqueezed.

It was the poor classes therefore, who left and among them the small landholders. The better class of cultivators who were also the bigger landlords, having a stake

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60. He did not take initiative on his own, so that ultimately on account of British pressure, subsequent to the result of their inquiries into the affairs of the State in 1873, the Ministry of Dadabhai Naoroji was brought in and this ministry effected reduction and relieved the Kheduts thereby.

61. The harshness and inconsideration of the administration are indicated in the measures of the officers on non-payment of dues. Their property was auctioned. D.N.44; Pudka 21; Perisht 90, 1873. Sarsuba Office, Kadi Prant Chitnisi, CRO.

62. Note the reference to emigration from Visnagar in foot note 50. Also see below : The village of Jalabordi in Dehgam Taluka, a village of the poor class of cultivators, had become deserted due to the people having emigrated. Letter from Wahiwatdar of Dehgam taluka dated Chaitra 1873 regarding the desertion of the district. D.N.43; Pudka 2, Ferisht No.6, Abadi Prajada 1873.

in the system stayed and became increasingly impoverished. This affected the inclination and motivation to better and more work - which in its turn affected their economy as well as that of the state.

The general poverty indicated in the scarce assets at hand was a potent factor in affecting crop pattern, techniques of cultivation, and investment in agricultural enterprise. The absence of capital is reflected in the lack of the one asset and necessity in cultivation viz. wells for irrigation<sup>63</sup>. For wells were not only necessary for bagayat cultivation but a dire necessity in a monsoon climate where rain was seasonal as well as temperamental. In these circumstances the agricultural occupation was not as remunerative - but being the main means of livelihood existing and in the absence of alternatives by way of industries, the people continued in it, living in almost the same level of existence from year to year.

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63. For number of wells to the population see foot note 38 Chap. V.