

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The land area of the earth has been estimated at 58 millions square miles. Of these, polar and desert regions contain 7 and 5 millions square miles respectively. About 29 million square miles are considered fertile agricultural land. Therefore, land partakes of the nature of a monopoly of which there can never be an unlimited supply. Land is almost the only asset that improves with use. Unlike other forms of capital, land is not evanescent or subject to wear and tear or depreciation and therefore need not be renewed or replaced. “The relative inexhaustibility of the land”, say Dr. Hsiao Tung Fei, gives the people a relative security. The sense of security can be expressed in many ways: robbers can not take it away; thieves can not steal it; men die but land remains. The incentive to hold land is directly related to the sense of security. According to peasants, the best thing to give one’s children is land. It is the living property. Money will be used up but land never.¹

Since the ancient time, the ‘land’ has been one of the most valuable sources of wealth, and for societies whose wealth is derived from agriculture it is vital that land be utilized up-to its maximum capacity.² All the economists have inclined to treat land as a special kind of property. There is always a peculiar nature of landed property and land ownership has always been separately treated in law. The various tenancy acts in India and similar enactments in other parts of the world seek to control and circumscribe the power of the private owners of agricultural land. There is certain reason for land being treated as a special kind of property.³

Humans have directed their activities towards the resources of the earth since the beginning of existence. The use of land has always been a subject of study in history and other disciplines.

¹ Singh, C. (1947). *Abolition of Zamindari*. Allahabad: Kitabistan. 2-3

² Luther, C. (1981). *Land Reforms in India*. (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis). Sweet Briar College, Virginia. 1

³ Singh, C. (1947). 1-2

Land plays an important role in state, society and individual life. It touches directly or indirectly various dimensions of human's life whether political, social or economic. The history of use of land can be traced from the pre-historical period when human civilization passes through different stages such as hunting, gathering, fishing, domestication of animals, plantation and agriculture. The beginning of agriculture completely transformed human lives because it encouraged them to attach to the land. Consequently, the land became the basis of all political, social and economic activities.

In India, the land was and still is a symbol of power and authority. It has been the most significant among the means of production in the agrarian economy. A person without land is considered as a person of unprivileged class in society. The ownership over land has been determined by a long period of political, social and economic evolution.⁴ For the proper distribution and utilization of land, various land tenures were introduced over the period of time.

Land Tenure: The 'land tenure' means a system/condition according to which land and its resources were shared between state and individual which determined the relationships between them. In other words, land tenure refers to the terms and conditions under which land was held by an individual or the actual tiller of the land. It includes all terms and conditions of possession, control, use and occupancy of land by both the landlord and the tenant. In a wider sense, land tenure signifies much more than the mere ownership rights over the land.

Landed Relationship: The current research uses the term 'landed relationships' on the basis of meaning provided in Oxford dictionary. The 'landed' means owning or consisting of land and 'relationship' means the way in which the state of being connected. In the current research,

⁴ Nand, B. (2009). *Village Communities and Land Tenures in Western India Under Colonial Rule*. Delhi: Manohar Publishers and Distributors. 23

‘landed relationship’ is used to refer the way in which two or more people or things are connected with land. It is used to define the particular type of connection between two or more entities or phenomena in a state or society in some sort of symbiotic relationship with their environment. It is a tool to understand and evaluate human societies and their development in relation to the environment. It is a parameter to define the social and economic mobilities over the period of time.

Landed relationships in regions of Gujarat were defined by land tenures which had evolved since the ancient and medieval periods. These tenures hence had continued with certain modifications during the nineteenth and first half of twentieth centuries. They were finally abolished during the post-independence period. The current research is attempting to explore, analyze and describe the evolution of land tenures from its origin to abolition. It is also attempting to understand the nature of landed relationships due to the changes accrued in the land tenurial system. British Gujarat and Baroda State, the two geo-political administrative divisions of Gujarat, are the target regions of this thesis. These two regions are chosen for the current research due to their historical and geographical potentials.

Gujarat: The present name ‘Gujarat’ was named after the ‘Gujar’ or ‘Gurjara’ tribe.⁵ Historically, the certain territories of Gujarat came under the control of Maurya, Kushan, Saka, Gupta, Maitraka, Gurjara-Pratiharas, Solnaki, Sultanate, Mughal, Maratha and British. During modern period, the territorial divisions of India under British rule were called presidencies (Calcutta, Bombay and Madras) and provinces (North-Western Province and Oudh, Punjab, Central Province, Ajmer and Marwar, Assam, Coorg, Burma, Andaman Islands and Hyderabad). The presidencies were formed in relation to the expansion and consolidation of

⁵ Forbes, A. K. (1924). *Ras Mala: Hindoo Annals of the Province of Goozerat in Western India. Vol. I.* Delhi: Low Price Publications. xxii-xxiii

network of trade and commerce over the period of time. The presidencies or provinces were divided into divisions under the superintendence of a commissioner who was authorized separate territorial charges of group of districts and land revenue matters. For instance, the Bombay Presidency was divided in Northern, Central, Southern and Sindh Divisions during the 19th century.⁶ It is important to note that Gujarat was part of Northern Division of Bombay Presidency. [See Map No. 1] The province of Gujarat included the five districts of Ahmedabad, Kheda, Panchmahals, Bharuch and Surat (British Gujarat) and four districts of Baroda, Kadi, Navsari and Amreli (Baroda State) in the centre. These were mixed with the boundaries of the Mahikantha and Rewakantha States in the east; Rajpipla, Sachin, Bansda and Dharampur in the south; Kathiawar Peninsula with twenty-seven considerable and numerous petty states in the west; the isolated chiefship of Kutch in the north-west; and Palanpur and Radhanpur in the north.⁷

British Gujarat: It has already been mentioned that Gujarat was a part of the Northern Division of Bombay Presidency. During the year 1872-73, the Northern Division was consisted of nine districts of Ahmedabad, Kheda, Panchmahals, Surat, Bharuch, Nasik, Khandesh, Thana and Kolaba.⁸ About 1879, the districts of Nasik and Khandesh had been separated from the Northern Division.⁹ In 1883, the district of Kolaba was transferred to Southern Division and thus Northern Division comprised districts of Ahmedabad, Kheda, Panchmahals, Surat, Bharuch and Thana.¹⁰ In 1892 the portion of Northern Division came under the direct administration of the Government of Bombay comprising the five Collectorates of Ahmedabad,

⁶ Powell, B. H. (1892). *The Land-Systems of British India. Vol. I.* Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 31-34

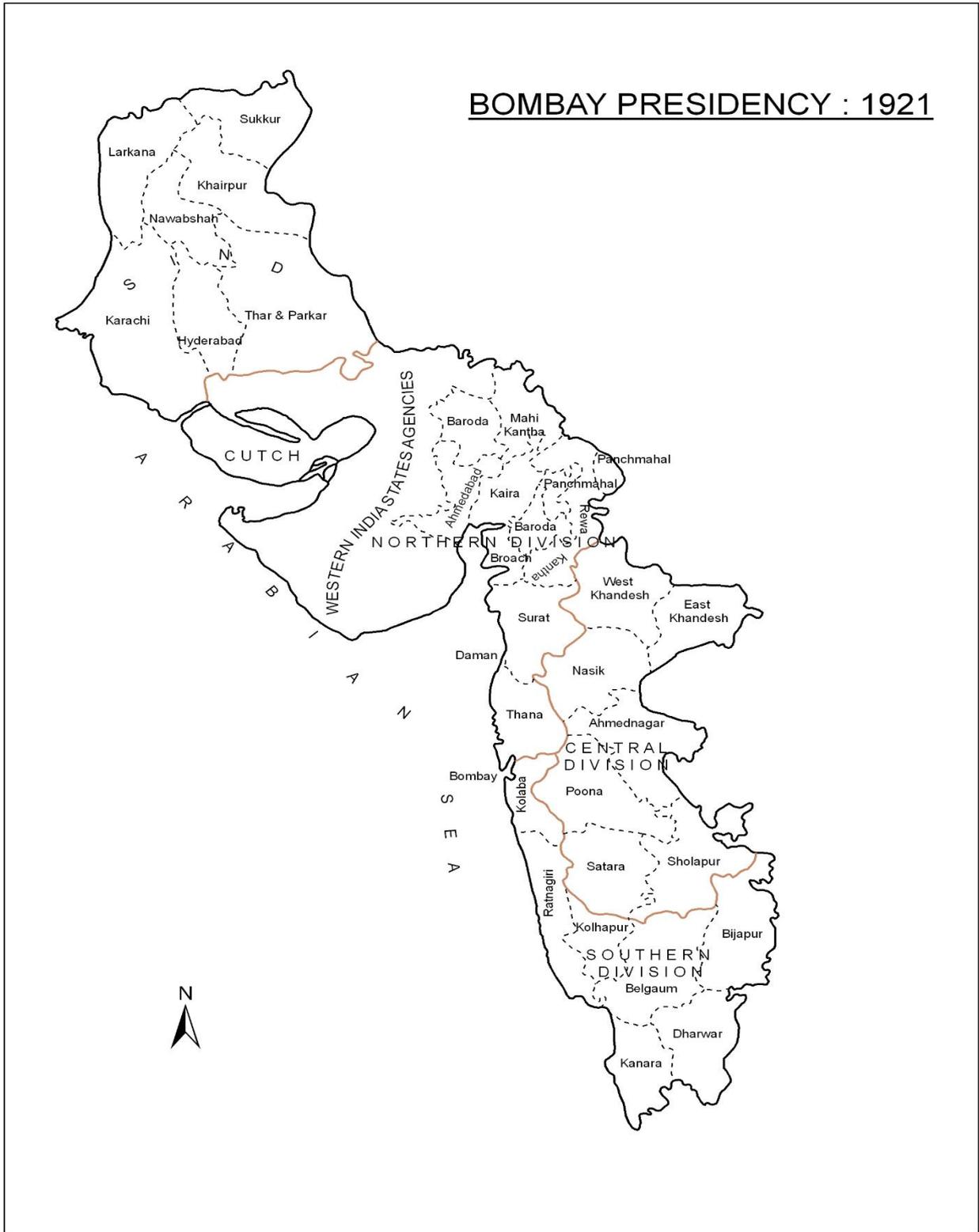
⁷ MSA. (1883), *RABP for the Year 1882-83.* Bombay: The Government Central Press. 8

⁸ MSA. (1874). *GRABP, for the Year 1872-73.* Bombay: The Government Central Press. 75

⁹ MSA. (1880). *RABP for the Year 1879-80.* Bombay: The Government Central Press. 60.

¹⁰ MSA. (1883). *RABP for the Year 1882-83.* 43

Map No. 1



Source: Srinivas, K., Awasthi, A., & Vaidya, M. (2017). *History of Land Revenue Administration in Gujarat (1407 AD to 2017 AD)*. Gujarat: Revenue Department, Government of Gujarat. 224A

Kheda, Panchmahals, Bharuch and Surat which is known as British Gujarat.¹¹ It was about one-third of entire Gujarat.¹²

Baroda State: The Gaekwads, a branch of Maratha Confederacy, defeated the Mughal's army in Gujarat and carved out a kingdom for themselves which came to be known as the Gaekwad State of Baroda or Baroda State. Pilajirao Gaekwad became the first Gaekwad to establish control over Baroda therefore he is considered as the founder of Baroda State.¹³ Baroda State was consisted of four *prants* or divisions, with an additional *prant* of Okhamandal - (i) Baroda (ii) Kadi (iii) Navsari and (iv) Amreli.

Beside British Gujarat and Baroda State, there were Political Agencies established by British in different territories of Gujarat. These were Kathiawar, Kutch, Palanpur, Mahi Kantha and Rewa Kantha Agencies. Thus, the territories of Gujarat during the period from 1800 to 1947, were interspersed under the sovereignty of three major categories of powers viz., British Gujarat, Baroda State and Political Agencies. [See Map No. 2]

Hypothesis: The revenue policies introduced by British Gujarat and Baroda State were unable to effect drastic 'change' in the land tenurial systems and hence had limited impact on landed relationships, showing the traits of 'continuity' in the rural economy.

Objectives of the Current Research:

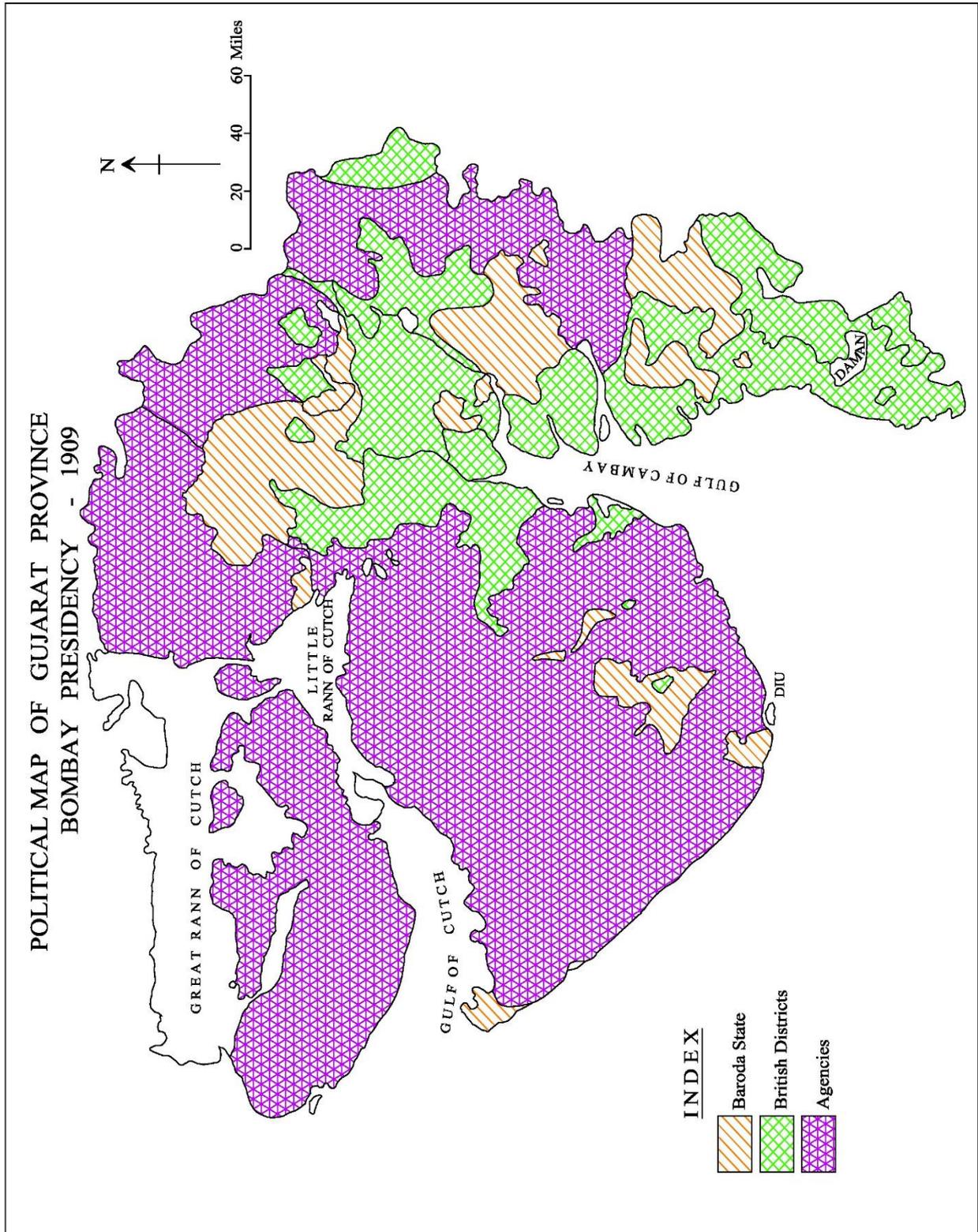
1. To trace evolving land tenures in the region of Gujarat and to examine the landed relationships which were forged between state and village community.

¹¹ Rogers, A. (1892). *The Land Revenue of Bombay: A History of its Administration, Rise and Progress, Vol. I.* London: W H Allen and Co., Limited. 1

¹² Desai, M. B., & Vakil, C. N. (1948). *The Rural Economy of Gujarat.* London: Oxford University Press. 3

¹³ Elliot, F. A. H. (1883). *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Volume VII. Baroda.* Bombay: Government Central Press. 167-168 and Tait, T. S. (1908). *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Baroda.* Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing. 9

Map No. 2



Source: Srinivas, K., Awasthi, A., & Vaidya, M. (2017). 54A, 226A

2. To analyse whether there were any changes in the land tenures because of the state policy that was revised from time to time in British Gujarat and Baroda state or the fact that at the grassroots level there was a continuity in the pre-existing systems.
3. To examine whether there was any change in the landed relationships that had evolved after the introduction of so called new tenurial policies by British Gujarat and Baroda State.
4. To analyse changes which shaped the land administration in the post-independence period in Gujarat.

Review of Literature: In order to achieve the aforementioned objectives, a large number of studies has been carried out which focus on various aspects of the land, peasantry and its administration. The studies on land tenures in Gujarat (British Gujarat and Baroda State) have primarily been descriptive, focusing mainly on the types and features of land tenures. These studies are carried out in specific areas or periods although successful to a large extent in reconstructing the socio-economic history of Gujarat with special reference to the land tenures. The works which primarily deal with the history of land revenue administration in western India are carried out by a number of scholars as discussed below.

Alexander Mackay's book entitled '*Western India; Reports Addressed to the Chambers of Commerce of Manchester, Liverpool, Blackburn, and Glasgow (1853)*' highlights the growth of the Indian cotton trade, the condition of peasants and the system of taxation. Besides, it focuses on various tenures, types of land, village system, peasant's right and relation to the land, assessment of land, methods of revenue collection, administrative hierarchy, corruption of officials and decline of farming class in Gujarat etc.¹⁴

¹⁴ Mackay, A., & Robertson, J. (1853), *Western India; Reports Addressed to the Chambers of Commerce of Manchester, Liverpool, Blackburn, and Glasgow*. London: Nathaniel Cooke, Milford House, Strand.

On the history of land revenue administration under British rule in India, Baden Powell's multiple works trace the genesis and growth of land tenures and joint village system in India. The body of literature provides an intense account of land revenue policies, land tenures, survey and settlement under the British rule. There is also a marginal focus on management of land under local rulers mainly princely states.¹⁵

Alexander Rogers's book entitled '*The Land Revenue of Bombay: A History of its Administration, Rise and Progress* (1892)' in two volumes, gives a comprehensive account of land administration in the Bombay Presidency. The first volume of the book covers the districts of Ahmedabad, Surat, Bharuch, Kheda, Pachmahal, Thana, Kolaba and Khandesh. It provides a background of land administration, several types of land tenures and new surveys and settlements introduced in the districts of British Gujarat.¹⁶ T. R. Desai in his work '*Manual of Land Tenures* (1907)' gives a brief summary of the law relating to the *ryotwari* tenures, *watans* and *saranjams*. Besides, his work includes an extensive description of land revenue codes and acts which introduced over the period of time by the government of Bombay Presidency.¹⁷ R. G. Gordon's work entitled '*The Bombay Survey and Settlement Manual* (1917)' in two volumes deal primarily with certain aspects of survey and settlement from the historical and technical point of view. This book covers the area of Gujarat, Deccan, Konkan and Kanara and include

¹⁵ Powell, B. H. (1882). *A Manual of the Land Revenue Systems and Land Tenures of British India*. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing; Powell, B. H. (1892). Vol. I.; Powell, B. H. (1892). *The Land-Systems of British India. Vol. II*. Delhi: Low Price Publications; Powell, B. H. (1892). *The Land-Systems of British India. Vol. III*. Delhi: Low Price Publications; Powell, B. H. (1899). *The Origin and Growth of Village Communities in India*. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd; Powell, B. H. (1907). *A Short Account of the Land Revenue and its Administration in British India; with a Sketch of the Land Tenures*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press and Powell, B. H. (1907). *Administration of Land Revenue and Tenure in British India*. Delhi: Ess Ess Publications.

¹⁶ Rogers, A. (1892). Vol. I.

¹⁷ Desai, T. R. (1907). *Manual of Land Tenures. Being a Brief Summary of the Law Relating to the Raiatwari Tenures, Watans and Saranjams, with Full Text of Land Revenue Code and the Watan Act*. Bombay: "Mistry Printing Works," Cavel, Kalbadevi.

the extensive account of Original, Revision and Re-Revision Survey and Settlement.¹⁸ However, this book is technical and more useful for those scholars who deal with land revenue administration with focus on survey and settlement especially in the Bombay Presidency.

So far as Baroda State is concerned on the nature of state and administration under Gaekwads of Baroda, G. H. Desai's work '*A Statistical Atlas of the Baroda State (1918)*' provides a statistical account such as geographical features, agriculture, survey settlement of land revenue and financial administration of Baroda State. It discusses the mapping, grouping and assessment of villages under Original, Revision and Re-Revision Survey and Settlement.¹⁹ C. B. Patel also deals with the history of the land revenue administration of Baroda State in his book '*Mulaki Khatano Itihas. Vadodara Rajyano (1920)*'. This book includes the description of the formation and land revenue administration of Baroda State. It primarily includes the description of types and features of land tenures, survey and settlement, miscellaneous revenue, agriculture and local administration in Baroda State.²⁰ H. G. Thakar in his book '*Vadodara Rajyana Mulki Khatanu Bandharan Ane Itihas (1935)*' provides almost the same account of land administration of Baroda State as it was given by C. B. Patel.²¹

Both in British Gujarat and Baroda State, there had been two types of lands viz government and alienated lands. Most of the literature on land revenue administration primarily deals with tenures prevailed on government lands. The work '*Alienation Manual (Containing Information About All Kinds of Inams and Watan) (1921)*' by R. B. Joglekar contains an extensive data of all kind of non-government tenures such as *inams* and *watans*. This work primarily deals with

¹⁸ Gordon, R. G. (1917). *The Bombay Survey and Settlement Manual. Volume I. Part I - Historical*. Bombay: The Government Central Press and Gordon, R. G. (1917). *The Bombay Survey and Settlement Manual. Volume II. Part II. – Technical. Part III. – Appendices*. Bombay: The Government Central Press.

¹⁹ Desai, G. H. (1918). *A Statistical Atlas of the Baroda State*. Bombay: The Times Press.

²⁰ Patel, C. B. (1920). *Mulaki Khatano Itihas. Vadodara Rajyano*. Baroda: Arya Sudharak Press.

²¹ Thakar, H. G. (1935). *Bandharan Ane Itihas*, Baroda: Government Printing Press.

the types and characters of tenures that had prevailed in non-government villages. However, it lacks a connection between government and non-government villages.²²

The '*Administrative System of the Maratha (1923)*' by S. Sen is a comprehensive work on the general Maratha's administrative system including general, revenue and financial, military, navy, civil, police and judicial administration. It focuses on the history of changes and continuity in land administration under the Maratha and the British although isolated itself from land tenures and landed relationships in British Gujarat and Baroda State.²³ Besides, D. R. Gadgil's book '*Bombay Land Revenue System (1928)*' is also confined to technical and legal account more than the historical analysis of land tenures and its impacts on peasantry class in the Bombay Presidency.²⁴

According to D. S. Modak, there was no book written on Bombay land system and village administration up to 1932. Before the given period, the books were written on Indian administration dealing with the powers and duties of ministers, president of councils and high officers but very little was written about *patel* and *kulkarni* who were the most important functionaries in the villages. In his book "*The Bombay Land System and Village Administration (1932)*", D. S. Modak presents general information of the land system and its main principles. The book is divided into six parts which deal primarily with the land system and village administration. The first three parts include the description of the system of assessment and settlement, survey, land records and classification, land tenures, *watan* and main principles of *inam*. The last three parts deal with village administration including subjects of agriculture, holding and tenancy, land revenue code, technical terms and vernacular expressions.²⁵

²² Joglekar, R. N. (1921). *Alienation Manual*. Poona: Rao Bahadur R. N. Joglekar, I. S. O. 203. Kala Howd, Poona City.

²³ Sen, S. (1923). *Administrative System of the Maratha*. Calcutta: K. P. Bagchi & Company

²⁴ Gadgil, D. R. (1928). *Bombay Land Revenue Systems*. (Publication details not available).

²⁵ Modak, D. S. (1932). *The Bombay Land System and Village Administration*. Poona: Oriental Watchman Publishing House.

In the fourth decade of 20th century, much literature was written focusing upon British Gujarat as well as Baroda State. G. C. Mukhtyar and C. N. Vakil's book '*Life and Labour in A South Gujarat Village* (1930)' includes a brief introduction to the rural conditions in British Gujarat. The book primarily deals with geography, history and economic conditions (agriculture, communities, land and its distribution, industry, trade and commerce) in the village of Atgam in Bulsar Taluka of Surat District.²⁶ J. B. Shukla and C. N. Vakil's work entitled '*Life and Labour in A Gujarat Taluka* (1937)' includes the description of geographical features, land and its problems, agricultural labour, capital, wealth, indebtedness and rural problems in Olpad Taluka of Surat District.²⁷

B. V. Desai in his book '*Note on the Administration of Okhamandal* (1932)' briefly discusses the geographical features of Okhamandal followed by its history and administration since the early time. He further deals with the administration of Okhamandal under British and Gaekwad including the description of *waghers* and *salami* land tenure.²⁸ In his work '*Prevention of Fragmentation and Consolidation of Holdings in the Baroda State* (1934)', G. H. Desai provides a collection of legislative measures adopted by Maharaja Sayajirao-III. It usefully describes survey settlement, agriculture, condition of peasants, prevention and fragmentation of holdings of Baroda State.²⁹ The book '*Pragatipanthi Vadodara* (1939)' by V. Pandurang deals with various aspects of state and administration under Gaekwads of Baroda. The book includes few chapters on finance, land revenue, agricultural reforms and their impacts on

²⁶ Mukhtyar, G. C. (1930). *Life and Labour in A South Gujarat Village*. Calcutta: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd.

²⁷ Shukla, J. B., & Vakil, C. N. (1937). *Life and Labour in A Gujarat Taluka*. Calcutta: Longmans, Green and Co.

²⁸ Desai, B. V. (1932). *Note on the Administration of Okhamandal*. Baroda: Baroda State Press.

²⁹ Desai, G. H. (1934). *Prevention of Fragmentation and Consolidation of Holdings in the Baroda State*. Baroda: Baroda State Press.

peasant's condition in Baroda State. The chapter on land revenue focuses on various land tenures prevailed in government and alienated villages of Baroda State.³⁰

The decade of 1940's and 1950's saw the rural economy of Gujarat being discussed by various authors. M. B. Desai and C. N. Vakil's work '*The Rural Economy of Gujarat (1948)*' refers to the districts of Ahmedabad, Kheda, Panchmahals, Bharuch and Surat which formed British Gujarat. The book primarily deals with geographical features, village administration, agriculture, land and its problems, industry, the network of trade and commerce in the districts of British Gujarat.³¹

After the Indian Independence, few books on land revenue administration in Gujarat were written in order to understand its historical background useful for tenancy reforms and legislations. The doctoral thesis entitled '*The Land Revenue Settlement in Gujarat under the British*' of G. D. Patel was a work on land tenure but very elementary. He was appointed as an Officer on Special Duty, Revenue Department, Secretariat, Bombay for work connected with the abolition of land tenures. Therefore, he found the opportunity to access the publications of the Government and other institutions on land tenures and inaccessible records of the Secretariat. After studying works on land tenures by Dandekar and Baden-Powell, he found that these works were too old and sketchy in the treatment of the subject. In fact, up to the independence period, no single book was written that dealt with the historical, administrative, legal and economic aspects of the land tenures of western India. To meet those requirements, G. D. Patel wrote the following books (i) '*Agrarian Reforms in Bombay (The Legal and Economic Consequences of the Abolition of Land Tenures (1950)*', (ii) '*The Indian Land Problem and Legislation (1954)*', (iii) '*The Land Problem of Reorganized Bombay State*

³⁰ Pandurang, V. (1939). *Pragatipanthi Vadodara*. Vadodara: Shree Indira Printing Press, Bhutadi Jhapa and Arya Sudharak Press, Modikhana.

³¹ Desai, M. B., & Vakil, C. N. (1948).

(1957)', and (iv) '*The Land Revenue Settlements and The British Rule in India, (1969)*'. The first book deals with the genesis and growth of land tenures from the early time and their developments in different stages to the post-independence period. It includes the extensive description of land tenures with special reference to the historical origin of land tenures, rights and responsibilities of tenure-holders, provision for abolition acts, social, economic, political and administrative consequences of the abolition of land tenure etc. The second book is the sequel of first book and deal with the subsequent reforms of Bombay and other States of India during the post-independence period. It specifically describes land reform laws, Bhoodan Yagna, consolidation of land holdings, tenancy, *jagir* and *zamindari* abolition, survey and analysis of land reform laws. It focuses on the historical, administrative, financial and socio-economic aspects of each land legislation. The third book describes land systems and land reforms of the three Gujarati-speaking constituent units of Gujrat, Saurashtra and Kutch and three Marathi-speaking constituent units of Maharashtra, Vidarbha and Marathawada with greater Bombay. It gives an insight into the land systems, survey and settlement, land revenue legislation, system of revenue account, land tenure reforms, tenancy reforms, *Bhoodan* and its role in the distribution of land to landless, prevention and fragmentation, consolidation of holding etc., of the reorganised Bombay State. It provides a great diversity amid uniformity of approach in tackling the various land problems in western India. The fourth book primarily deals with land revenue administration of the five districts of British Gujarat from early time to the post-independence period. It covers various aspects and impacts of survey and settlement operations conducted in all the districts of British Gujarat. It also describes the genesis and growth of land revenue legislation and tenancy reform. After studying these works, it is found

that the author in his different books mentioned similar information on a large extent which necessitates a comprehensive examination and interpretation.³²

In the post-independence period, western India's rural economy attracted the attention of many scholars. M. K. Deshpande's work '*Revenue Department Manual (1954)*' gives a historical background of the revenue administration and its structure. It gives details of the structure of the revenue department, functions and duties of revenue officers and provisions for the acts related to land administration.³³ The Ph.D. thesis entitled '*Baroda' Political Relations with the Central Government as arising out of Treaties, Engagements, Sanads, and other causes with reference to the Period 1875-1920 (1957)*' of V. K. Chavda is an extensive account of the history of Baroda State. It primarily deals with the political history of Baroda State in special reference to relationships with British Paramountcy, Native States and Tributary States.³⁴ However, it lacks comprehensive information on land tenures and landed relationships.

The book '*Economic Life in the Bombay Gujarat (1800-1939) (1968)*' by R. D. Choksey focuses on socio-economic aspects of the various regions of western India. Its main thrust is on the geography, agricultural relations, land revenue administration, industry, the network of trade and commerce of Bombay during the period 1800-1939.³⁵ The book '*The Peasant and the Raj (1978)*' by Eric Stokes primarily deals with the agrarian society and peasant rebellions in colonial India. Few chapters are dedicated to the description of land tenures and land revenue systems in western India although it is limited to a specific period of 19th century.³⁶

³² Patel, G. D. (1950). *Agrarian Reforms in Bombay (The Legal and Economic Consequences of the Abolition of Land Tenures)*. Bombay: Vasant Bhuwan, Gorewadi, Mongal Lane, Matunga; Patel, G. D. (1954). *The Indian Land Problem and Legislation*. Bombay: N. M. Tripathi LTD; Patel, G. D. (1957). *The Land Problem of Reorganized Bombay State*. Bombay: N. M. Tripathi LTD and Patel, G. D. (1969). *The Land Revenue Settlements and The British Rule in India*. Ahmedabad: Gujarat University Press.

³³ Deshpande, M. K. (1954). *Revenue Department Manual. Vol. I*. Poona: The Yeravda Prison Press.

³⁴ Chavda, V. K. (1957). '*Baroda' Political Relations with the Central Government as arising out of Treaties, Engagements, Sanads, and other causes with reference to the Period 1875-1920*. (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis). Faculty of Arts, The M. S. University of Baroda.

³⁵ Choksey, R. D. (1968). *Economic Life in the Bombay Gujarat (1800-1939)*. Bombay: Asia Publishing House.

³⁶ Stokes, E. (1978). *The Peasant and the Raj*. Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd.

The Cambridge Economic History of India, published in two volumes, trace the change and continuity in Indian economy from thirteenth to middle of twentieth century. The second volume '*The Cambridge Economic History of India. Volume 2: c. 1757- c. 1970. (1983)*' edited by Dharma Kumar and Meghnad Desai covers the entire period from the establishment of British rule to its termination, and with epilogues on the post-Independence period. It is divided into three parts - (i) the land and the people (ii) the beginning of modern economy and (iii) post-independence developments. Part I includes separate sections on the mid-eighteenth-century background, agrarian relations and regional economies of northern, eastern, western and southern India. Part II takes up various themes for economy such as the growth of large-scale industry to 1947, irrigation and railway, money and credit (1858-1947), foreign trade and balance of payments (1757-1947), price movements and fluctuations in economic activity (1860-1947) and the fiscal system. Part III covers the Indian economy since Independence (1947-1970) and the Pakistan economy since independence (1947-1970). According to the author, the pace of change in land revenue administration under British rule was much slower. The differences of history and geography led to marked regional variations in land tenures and land revenue and the British themselves evolved a uniform system of land revenue only in 1847. The book does not possess any firm theoretical, thematic or methodological foundation. There is an elementary factual error and unorganised chronological conventions. For instance, chapter on agrarian relation covers the entire period whereas the following chapter on regional economy ends abruptly in 1857. There are many puzzling inconsistencies in the periodization of Part II. Besides, separate chapters on India and Pakistan from 1947-1970 in Part III contain no explicit discussion of the continuities of the legacy.³⁷

³⁷ Kumar, D., & Desai, M. (1983). *The Cambridge Economic History of India. Volume 2: c. 1757- c. 1970.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

D. Rewadas, in his book '*Jamin Jagirno Bhumio* (1983)' provides an extensive account of land revenue administration in Gujarat. It includes the descriptions of administrative changes and continuity under Maratha, *mulkagiri* system, land tenures in government and alienated villages and survey and settlement etc., in British Gujarat, Baroda State and Political Agencies although being more technical and legal than the historical analysis of land tenures in Gujarat.³⁸

Neil Charlesworth's book '*Peasants and Imperial Rule; Agriculture and Agrarian Society in the Bombay Presidency, 1850-1935* (1985)' provides a detailed historical study of agriculture and agrarian society in the Bombay presidency. Its objective is to examine the impact of British rule on the Indian peasantry, and the changes it brought. The major attention of the book is laid on the development of the British land tenure systems, social structure and revenue policy in Gujarat. It describes the *ryotwari* system and the pattern of expansion in commercial agriculture. It also focuses upon the problems and consequences of land ownership and organization of land and agrarian social structure.³⁹

'*Land and Sovereignty in India* (1986)' by Andre Wink is a comprehensive account of the agrarian society and politics under the eighteenth-century Maratha *Svarajya*. Section 1 (Brahman, king and emperor) provides an account of Maratha *svarajya* in the eighteenth century in Gujarat where it focuses on *mulkagiri* expeditions alongside a discussion on the political history, the rise, expansion and consolidation of Maratha rule in Gujarat. Section 3 (The king's share) of the book deals with land and taxation, the standard assessment, tenancy relations. It includes the description of Mughal's survey and settlement in northern India and then in Gujarat. The section deals with the land administration of southern Maratha region and pays attention to the intra-village distribution of the land revenue demand, the imposed king's

³⁸ Rewadas, D. (n.d.). *Jamin Jagirno Bhumio*. (Publication details not available).

³⁹ Charlesworth, N. (1985). *Peasants and Imperial Rule; Agriculture and Agrarian Society in the Bombay Presidency, 1850-1935*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

share and additional cesses which were a matter of customary arrangement, patronage and communal relationships. The section further includes a description of tenancy relations in Gujarat where it focuses on the *khatabandi* system in Kheda followed by the administration of alienated lands such as *wanta (girasias) wazifa, paisata, inam, bhagdari* and *narwadari* etc. Section 4 (Regulation and repartition) of the book also includes some topics which are also useful for the current research. This section includes a sub-section entitled terminology which discusses the typical characteristics of revenue-farming including village headmen, zamindar and tributary chiefs and revenue assignees etc. These are discussed to the analysis the transition between the different tenurial forms and farming rights. Overall, the book covers the history of land administration under Maratha although the more specific area of Marathas and period before the formation of British Gujarat and Baroda State.⁴⁰ The same account on Maratha revenue farming by Andre Wink was published in the form of an article in *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (1983). pp. 591-628 by Cambridge University Press.

The book '*Patel Peasantry and the Raj* (1988) by S. R. Bakshi primarily deals with the problems of the peasantry in the Bardoli Taluka of Surat District thus confined to a specific area and period. It deals with the impacts of British land revenue policies on the peasantry class which made them compelled to participate in a resistance which resulted in revision of old land revenue rates.⁴¹ '*The Economy of Modern India, 1860-1070* (1998)' by B. R. Tomlinson provides a comprehensive account of the economic history of colonial and post-colonial India. He examines the certain aspects of imperialism, the development and underdevelopment to the historical changes in agriculture – land, labour and capital, trade and manufacture – firms, markets and colonial state, and relationships between state and economy.⁴²

⁴⁰ Wink, A. (1986). *Land and Sovereignty in India: Agrarian Society and Politics under the Eighteenth-century Maratha Svarajya*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁴¹ Bakshi, S. R. (1988). *Patel Peasantry and the Raj*. Delhi; Akashdeep Publishing House.

⁴² Tomlinson, B. R. (1998). *The Economy of Modern India, 1860-1970*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brahma Nand's book entitled '*Village Communities and Land Tenures in Western India under Colonial Rule* (2009)' focuses on the importance of land from early to modern times in the agrarian economy. The book discusses the ownership right and distribution of land in the society. It deals with the evolution of land tenure from early to the colonial time which had proven to be useful for understanding landed relationships between state and village communities. It further includes a description of land revenue policies introduced by British and its impacts on the rural society. According to this book, the land tenure and revenue system of the British was governed basically by the pragmatic considerations more than anything else. This book describes the types of land, *khalsa* and non-*khalsa* or alienated land including the land tenures such as *inami*, *udhad jamabandi*, *talukdari*, *zaminndari*, *narwadari*, *bhagdari*, *ryotwari* etc.⁴³

In addition to the literature mentioned earlier, some scholars⁴⁴ have also dealt with the subjects related land revenue glossary, land revenue code, survey and settlement, revenue account manual etc. The works of these scholars are too voluminous, technical and legal. Besides, there are many scholars⁴⁵ who have extensively constructed the history of Gujarat from different perspective. Although they do not primarily deal with land tenures but include the description of land administration in Gujarat. Their works are extremely helpful in the understanding of

⁴³ Nand, B. (2009).

⁴⁴ Wilson, H. H. (1855); Robertson, E. P. (1865); Stewart, T. H. (1882); Nairne, A. K. (1884); Sathe, H. V. (1886, 1936); Phadnis, H. S. (1911); Gupte, B. A. (1922); Anderson, F. G. (1929); Trivedi, T. K. (1931); Khandekar, D. G. (1934); Nanavati, M. B. (1946). Kharod, N. G. (1957); Wadhwa, D. C. (1972); Singh, S. K. (2001). etc.

⁴⁵ Hamilton, W. (1820); Chapman, J. (1853); Wallace, R. (1863); Sampatarama, B. (1868); Malleson, G. B. (1872); Wyllie, J. W., & Hunter, W. W. (1875); Watson, J. W. (1876, 1884, 1886); Burgess, J. (1876); Mackey, A. (1878); Elliot, F. A. H. (1879, 1934); Baird, A. W. (1880); Amarji, R. (1882). Malabari, B. M. (1882, 1910); Cox, E. C. (1887); Hunter, W. W. (1892); Dosabhai, E. (1894); Chakrabarti, J. C., (1896); Kincaid, C. A., (1905); Warner, W. L. (1910); Desai, G. H. (1916); Bell, H. W. (1916). Keith, A. B. (1918, 1922, 1936); Playne, S. (1921-1922); Forbes, A. K. (1924); Sergeant, P. W. (1928); Patel, V. L. (1929); Commissariat, M. S. (1931, 1935, 1938, 1957); Rice, S. (1931); Aitchison, C. U. (1931, 1932). Gense, J. H., & Banaji, D. R. (1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945); Sankalia, H. D. (1941, 1946, 1949); Oza, K. C. (1946); Virji, K. J. (1952); Menon, V. P. (1956); Bukhari, M. (1964); Spodek, H. (1976); Desai, N. (1978); Gaekwad, F. (1989); Mohanlal, J. K. (2003); Sheikh, S. (2003); Bathcu, R. R. (2009). Vasant, S., Deshpande S., & Deshpande, S. (2011) etc.

the history of Gujarat. However, my query remains unanswered in relation to the evolution and nature of land tenures and landed relationship in Gujarat.

There have been many Ph.D. thesis some of which have been published and some have remained unpublished which have discussed land revenue administration. However, either they are region based or time based. In Ph.D. thesis '*Baroda in Transition: 1860-1884* (1979)' by G. D. Bajpai deals with agrarian production, agrarian taxation and revenue administration in Baroda State. The thesis covers the Baroda State's land revenue policies in order to establish efficient administration and to improve the condition of the peasants. It provides a comprehensive understanding and analysis of the factors responsible for the changes in land administration. It includes a description of economic condition of peasants, the problems faced by the them and state's efforts to solve those problems either successful or unsuccessful. It also includes a description of land revenue system of Baroda State, the taxation policy, spread of railway and rise of markets.⁴⁶ Unfortunately, it is confined to a specific area of Baroda State and does not take into account the major changes in land administration during the period 1884 to 1939.

In the year 1980's, there were fairly large number of Ph.D. thesis were written. However, the scope of these thesis was limited to specific areas, subjects and periods. The Ph.D. thesis '*Economy and Society of Northern Gujarat with Special Reference to Kheda District circa 1750-1850*. (1986) by J. K. Dhot investigates and analyses the socio-economic problems in the Kheda District during the given period. The thesis is an attempt to understand the process of changes in economic structure and social relations in terms of historical context. The thesis deals with decline of Mughal authority, ascendancy of Maratha and establishment, expansion

⁴⁶ Bajpai, G. D. (1979). *Baroda in Transition: 1860-1884*. (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis). Faculty of Arts, The M. S. University of Baroda.

and consolidation of British rule. It focuses on the political transition which affected the social and economic life. It also includes the description of different land tenures, fixation and collection of land revenue and administrative setup.⁴⁷ However, this thesis is again confined to specific area and period and does not deal with major changes which primarily occurred with the introduction of survey and settlement in Kheda District after 1850.

The Ph.D. thesis '*Agrarian Economy of Broach District (Gujarat) During the First Half of the Nineteenth Century* (1987)' by R. K. Hans studies the fortunes of a local economy, specifically the agrarian economy of Bharuch District under the British Government during the first half of 19th century. This thesis briefly deals with early revenue history of Bharuch under the Mughal Empire. It includes the description of agrarian regime in the second half of 18th century followed by the different revenue functionaries and the development of financial institution called *manotidari*. It further discusses the process of changes in land administration under Maratha and British authority with special reference to the revenue functionaries at the certain levels. The thesis primarily deals with the institution of *manotidari* in the first half of nineteenth century in Bharuch District. The chapters in the thesis deal with geographical features, land administration in 18th century, system of land tenures (mainly *bhagdari*), statistical data on assessment and collection of land tax, the implementation of regressive taxation structure introduced by British particularly between 1820 and 1850, transition from old to new institution of land revenue administration and agrarian crisis and process of deurbanization in Bharuch District under the colonial rule.⁴⁸ The thesis is confined to the revenue functionaries of Bharuch District during the first half of the nineteenth century. Thus, it isolates itself from examining the changing position of revenue functionaries during the second half of 19th and first half of

⁴⁷ Dhot, J. K. (1986). *Economy and Society of Northern Gujarat with Special Reference to Kheda District circa 1750-1850*. (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis). Faculty of Arts, The M. S. University of Baroda.

⁴⁸ Hans, R. K. (1987). *Agrarian Economy of Broach District (Gujarat) During the First Half of the Nineteenth Century*. (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis). Department of History, Faculty of Arts, The M. S. University of Baroda.

20th centuries. It also does not cover the intermediary classes belonging to the other districts of British Gujarat. It is lacking in dealing with relationship which forged between them and peasants after the changes into their position under colonial government.

The Ph.D. thesis '*Ahmedabad from circa 1750-1850 – A Review of its Society, Economy and Institutions* (1989) by R. Saxena focuses on the agricultural, rural and urban economy and society of Ahmedabad during the period from 1750 to 1850. The given period was a period of transition in relation to the experiments and changes under the Maratha and the British. The thesis includes the chapters in economic and geo-political formations, land tenures and land rights, pattern of rural taxations, village society, urban economic structure, trade and commerce, money lending and banking in Ahmedabad District during the given period.⁴⁹ The survey and settlement introduced after 1850 were the main principles of land revenue administration in the districts of British Gujarat. As this thesis confined to a specific area and period, it isolates itself from major experiments and changes in social and economic institutions which came into existences with the introduction of survey and settlement.

H. J. Maurya, in his Ph.D. thesis '*Small Urban Centres in South Gujarat During the Nineteenth Century* (2003)' deals with the formation of administrative territories under various ruling authorities during nineteenth century and the geographical features of south Gujarat. This thesis primarily deals with the agrarian potential, non-agricultural production, urban centres and social components of south Gujarat.⁵⁰ The thesis is centred on the assessment of quantum mechanism of the urban settlement in sub-regions of south Gujarat. The Ph.D. thesis '*Industrial Development in the Baroda State: (1875-1950)* (2009)' by A. V. Khade includes the description

⁴⁹ Saxena, R. (1989). *Ahmedabad from circa 1750-1850 – A Review of its Society, Economy and Institutions*. (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis). Faculty of Arts, The M. S. University of Baroda.

⁵⁰ Maurya, H. J. (2003). *Small Urban Centres in South Gujarat During the Nineteenth Century*. (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis). Department of History, Faculty of Arts, The M. S. University of Baroda.

of Baroda State but it is mainly centred on the history of industrial development.⁵¹ In her Ph.D. thesis '*Baroda: Pre-Modern Basis and the Modernizing Project of Sir Sayajirao-III* (2015)', R. Upadhyay includes few chapters on formation and consolidation of Baroda State, administration of Baroda State under Diwan Sir T. Madhavrao, administration and modernization of Baroda State under Maharaja Sayajirao III. The fifth chapter of the thesis deals with agriculture, revenue, industry and finance although a detailed account of land tenures is not provided.⁵²

Beside Ph.D. thesis, there have also been many research articles/papers dealing various facets of land revenue administration in Gujarat. For instance, the research article '*Structure and Change of the 'Sharehold Village' ("Bhagdari" or "Narwadari" Village) in the Nineteenth Century British Gujarat* (1974)' by Hiroshi Fukazawa mentions two broad categories of villages in British Gujarat viz., (i) landlord villages (*gameti, girasia, bhumia, kasbati, maleki* or *talukdari* villages), (ii) peasant villages called government villages (*khalsa* or *sarkari* villages including share-hold villages (*bhagdari* and *narwadari*) and unshared villages (*senja*). The article attempts to reconstruct the general structure of the share-hold village as was found at the commencement of British rule in the early nineteenth century. It further examines the revenue and land policies that British Government tried to introduce into share-hold village up to 1870 and their effects on village. It also includes a description of condition of village servants and tenants. It finally seeks out the economic basis for the continuity of the share-hold villages despite the apparently very severe land revenue system during the first half of the nineteenth century.⁵³

⁵¹ Khade, A. V. (2009). *Industrial Development in the Baroda State: (1875-1950)*. (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis). Department of History, Faculty of Arts, The M. S. University of Baroda.

⁵² Upadhyay, R. (2015). *Baroda: Pre-Modern Basis and the Modernizing Project of Sir Sayajirao-III*. (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis). Department of History, Faculty of Arts, The M. S. University of Baroda.

⁵³ Fukazawa, H. (1974). Structure and Change of the 'Sharehold Village' ('Bhagdari' or 'Narwadari' Village) in the Nineteenth Century British Gujarat, *Hitotsubashi Journal of Economics*, 14(2), pp. 9-36

The research article '*System v. Expediency: The Reality of Land Revenue Administration in the Bombay Presidency, 1812-1820* (1975)' by Neil Rabitoy deals with *ryotwari* system which was introduced to weaken the district and village officers and to enhance the land revenue. The paper suggests that the introduction of *ryotwari* system did not represent any substantial change in the position of the *ryots* or in the manner in which they paid their revenue. It mentions that Bombay Government was not dedicated to *ryotwari* system as a particular system of revenue management. The Bombay government was committed solely to the attainment of its immediate goals through administrative expediency. The paper also mentions that British officials could not exercise the power without the assistance of Indians. Local expediency thus was the major force in the creation and application of early British administration in Bombay.⁵⁴

The research article '*The Changing Position of Desai During the Early British Rule in Gujarat* (1980)' by Rajkumar Hans talks about the role played by *desais* in the local revenue administration of Bharuch towards the close of 18th century and their eventual banishment by British administration in the first quarter of 19th century. It deals with the certain rights enjoyed by *desais* before Bharuch came under the direct control of British. It further deals with the changing position of *desais* with the consolidation of British rule in Bharuch.⁵⁵ As the paper mainly focuses on the position of *desai*, it eventually isolates itself from dealing with various facets of land revenue administration. The paper deals with the changing position of *desai* but lacks in examining the changing relationships which forged between state and village communities.

The research article '*The Nature of Social Change in Rural Gujarat: The Kheda District, 1818-1918* (1981)' by Crispin N. Bates focuses on social changes in Kheda when it came under the

⁵⁴ Rabitoy, N. (1975). *System v. Expediency: The Reality of Land Revenue Administration in the Bombay Presidency, 1812-1820*, *Modern Asian Studies*, 9(4), pp. 529-546

⁵⁵ Hans, R. K. (1980). *The Changing Position of Desai During the Early British Rule in Gujarat*, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 41, pp. 627-636

direct management of British. It deals with *kanbis* community who were considered as dominant and skilled cultivators of Kheda. It then deals with the changing position of *kanbis* when Kheda came under the direct control of British. It includes the description of land management under colonial government and its impacts on agrarian relations.⁵⁶

The research article '*Land Revenue and Early British Experiments in South Gujarat During the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century: A Case Study of the Pargana of Broach* (1981)' by G. D. Sharma examines the practices of land revenue assessment, nature of revenue demand and role of intermediaries in assessment and disbursement of land revenue in Bharuch during the second half of 18th century. It deals with management of lands among Peshwa, Gaekwad and English East India Company. It mentioned that they all continued with the Mughal system of land administration. In order to collect revenue, they followed the *jamabandi* system of Mughal. The paper mainly focuses on the position of *manotidar*, *desais*, *patels* etc. It also explains British's motives in relation with the land rights and revenue settlement. But it isolates itself from dealing with peasantry classes. It does not deal with changed relationships between intermediary and peasantry classes when British intervened into the local administration of Bharuch.⁵⁷

G. D. Sharma and Renu Saxena in '*State Finance and Potedari System in Gujarat under the Maratha Rule: C.1750-1820* (1989)' discuss with two administrative mechanism - *potedari* (banking system) and *izaradari* (farming system) in Baroda State. They talk about emergence and functioning of these systems. They further discuss about changes in *potedari* system when British intervened in military and financial affairs of Baroda State. The paper does not include

⁵⁶ Bates, C. N. (1981). The Nature of Social Change in Rural Gujarat: The Kheda District, 1818-1918, *Modern Asian Studies*, 15(4) pp. 771-821

⁵⁷ Sharma, G. D. (1981). Land Revenue and Early British Experiments in South Gujarat During the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century: A Case Study of the Pargana of Broach, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 42, pp. 377-388

whole of Gujarat as it is mentioned in the paper title. It is only confined to the Baroda State under Gaekwads neither Peshwa nor other branches of Maratha Confederacy. The paper is confined to a specific period to up to 1820 despite the fact that both *potedari* and *izaradari* systems had prevailed in Baroda State up to 1875.⁵⁸

Vinayak Chaturvedi in '*Of Peasants and Publics in Colonial India: Daduram's Story (2005)*' narrates the story of Daduram, a peasant and priest in village of Chalali (Kheda), who claimed to have supernatural powers but was unable to read and write. By 1906, Daduram had assumed the leadership of one of the largest and most influential peasant movement in Dakor. The author deals with another leader named Ranchod Vira who had declared the end of British Raj and raised a large number of armed peasants to attack colonial officials in the locality. He also discusses a coparcenary system of land tenure called *narwadari* which was developed by Kanbi peasants in central Gujarat as early as the eighteenth century.⁵⁹

One of the recent works on history of land revenue administration in Gujarat is a compendium '*History of Land Revenue Administration in Gujarat (1407 AD to 2017 AD)* (2017)' edited by Katikithala Srinivas, Aruna Awasthi and Maitree Vaidya. The compendium integrates the history of revenue administration with the present conditions. The compendium covers various facets of land revenue administration in diverse geo-political regions of Gujarat. It provides insights into different practices and systems that have continued into the present. It gives an extensive information related with land, land usages and claims over its produce. The compendium is divided into six Parts – designated as A (Medieval Gujarat), B (Baroda State), C (British Gujarat), D (Political Agencies), E (Gujarat between 1948 to 1960) and F (Gujarat

⁵⁸ Sharma, G. & Saxena, R. (1989). State Finance and Potedari System in Gujarat Under the Maratha Rule: C.1750-1820, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 50, p. 328-329

⁵⁹ Chaturvedi, V. (2005). Of Peasants and Publics in Colonial India: Daduram's Story, *Social History*, 30(3), pp. 296-320

State between 1960 to 2017). Each of Parts is divided into chapters and the chapters are divided into section and sub-section dealing with various facets of land revenue administration such as political history, geographical features, and different sectors of administration – general, revenue, judicial and police. The chapters primarily include the description of various types of land and land tenures, survey and settlement, land revenue legislations, record of rights, city survey, tenancy reforms and laws, tenure abolition acts and formation of Gujarat State etc. The compendium is like an encyclopedia of land revenue administration in Gujarat being more technical and legal than historical in description.⁶⁰

Problems of Existing Literature: These studies have certain lacunas viz., (a) most of these studies are carried out in isolation without tracing the evolution of land tenures since its origin to abolition; (b) the studies have given homogeneous character to types and features of land tenures without taking into consideration of the geographical and time-based variations; (c) there is a gap in the existing literature as discussion on the landed relationships are relatively absent; (d) there exists a lack of comparative study of land tenures and landed relationships between British Gujarat and Baroda State (e) Moreover, most of these studies are Eurocentric in nature as they stressed upon the records of British Government. As a result, the studies reflect an imperialistic approach discussing the history from above rather than looking at history from below.

The thesis focuses on addressing the aforementioned lacunas and providing a narrative keeping to the central focus on getting better understanding of the changing nature of land tenures and its impact on landed relationships if any in British Gujarat and Baroda State.

⁶⁰ Srinivas, K., Awasthi, A., & Vaidya, M. (2017). *History of Land Revenue Administration in Gujarat (1407 AD to 2017 AD)*. Gujarat: Revenue Department, Government of Gujarat.