

CHAPTER IV

AGRARIAN AND COMMERCIAL ACHIEVEMENTS

The acquisition of political power in Gujarat confronted Elphinstone with the reorganising the rural economy in the interest of the British social and political objectives. The problem of reorganising the rural economy was not a theoretical or doctrinal one. It was a practical issue the solution of which had many consequences. It was through the land revenue that a government in medieval times could reach the rural areas.

Elphinstone had to formulate a policy that would serve the purpose of both his government and the people of Gujarat. Land revenue was the heart of the Revenue Administration. Elphinstone was confronted with the problem of formulating a proper method of collection of land revenue, which had existed. Out of multiplicity of existing land tenure system before chaotic situation.

Elphinstone had two systems at his disposal to be followed which were well practiced by the British.¹ One was the permanent settlement of revenue which was introduced by Cornwallis in Bengal, and the other was the Ryotwari

settlement of revenue, in which the settlement was done directly with the individual ryot. The Ryotwari systems was followed by Munro in Madras. But Elphinstone, however, did not want to follow the Cornwallis system in Gujarat and rejected the permanent settlement totally for he did not want to leave the ryots at the mercy of the Desais. But he adopted Munro's system with certain modification.

Elphinstone desired to follow a system where neither Desais were to be created nor was the revenue demand to be fixed forever.² Before any system was adopted, it was proposed to conduct an accurate survey to ascertain the produce of the land and to ascertain and record the rights of the agricultural classes, while the revenue could be collected by the Patel.

I. Land system of Gujarat: Types of village based on Government and Alienated Lands.

Gujarat has the aggregate of villages of different sizes and shapes. The whole area of Gujarat was divided into government and alienated lands. A chart showing such lands is given below:³

<u>Government lands</u>	<u>Alienated Lands</u>
(a) Known as -	(a) i) Generally known as
i) Tulputs (Generally)	rent free lands
ii) Khalsa (in Kheda	ii) but only a portion
and Ahmedabad)	is exempted from all
	taxes.
	iii) Tax only paid for
	quitting the land
	(small amount)
	iv) For some lands tax was
	to be paid as that of
	government lands.
(b) Liable for attachment	(b) Liable for attachment and
and sale	sale
	(c) Held for service, Tennures
	is short run and in long run
	were to be fixed.
	(d) Could be released after manual
	labour be lost for men
	performance.

Government landsAlienated lands

(e) Whole village may be alienated or these lands were scattered through out the government land.

(f) Three different varieties of alienated land existed

i) Qwanta land - held by Inamdars (similar to land-loads of Europe) Jagheer villages of Surat).

ii) Wazeefa lands - for temples, for Shrines

iii) Passaeeta lands - Set apart for support of district and village officers (official, rent free lands)

The holding of Government and Alienated Lands were in the following proportion:

	<u>Govt. lands</u>	<u>Alienated lands</u>
Breach	60%	40%
Kaira	50%	50%
Surat	75%	25%
Ahmedabad	High percentage of total land.	

(i) Government villages

Government villages were distributed throughout the different collectorates. There were two types of such villages.

(a) Bhagwaree: Known as 'share' village in Mahi,
Nirwa or divided in Bapoda

(b) Undivided: Partitioned in different share holders
known as 'Begotee' in Surat.

(a) Bhagwaree

Bhagdar was responsible for payment of rent. Each Bhagdar was a little Zamindar, placed between the cultivator and the government. He paid the fixed tax and collected excess amount whatever he could collect from the cultivators. These Bhagdar lands were further divided into shares. One of these share holders either appointed

or assumed to manage the concerns of common share, were held responsible to the government to collect the taxes from different cultivators of the share. The cultivator thus used to become the tenant also. It was the responsibility of Bhagdar to pay the rent of the shares. He was entitled to retain the excess amounts realised by him. Such are the positions, powers and responsibilities of the different shares into which the villages have been divided. The whole village was responsible for the whole revenue due. One of the bhagdars was the chief Patel of the village, an office of hereditary in his family. Each bhagdar was a Patel by himself. Apart from these bhagdars or Patels, another class of Pateldars existed. Who were also shareholders from Patel family. These Pat tidars enjoyed different rights when compared to other cultivators who were mere tenants only.

A check has been put on the dealings of the patels with the ryots, by installing 'Talate', a village accountant, a stipendiary government official.

(b) Undivided villages

A variety of tennures of holding kind existed in undivided

villages. The different types of villages were based on the mode of payment. Some of them were:

- (i) Begette village: Each ryot held the land independently of his and paid the tax per bigha upon his land according to its quality. He was the tenant of the government. No landlord or middle men existed between him and the collector.
- (ii) Khatabundy tenure Prevailing villages: The holder of the land in this system was known as Khatedar. The lands assigned to him were of different qualities and the rent were to be collected on the best lands of his Khata. This concession was given to him so that he will cultivate inferior lands.
- (iii) Waut villages: This was all indirect method of deriving revenue from alienated lands. The holders of rent-free land had to pay a small 'salamee' or 'quitrent' to government. They held a small portion of government land also at a very high rate of assessment. The amount charged more than the normal on government lands was considered as payment of

of rent towards the alienated lands. This system was more prevalent in Kaira, Ahmedabad, Baroda, Surat and pergunnas of Broach. The lease period was for a period of 7 years, with agreement to pay the established assessment upon it. The advantage of Khathundy land was that the tenant was encouraged reclamation of waste or grass land in his holdings, which the Khatdar had permitted to keep for his terms, paying a tax for waste land. This was not possible in begotees system.

(ii) Payment System⁴

- i) Pullers system: In this system taxation was done on the plough and bullocks, men possessed as much land as they could and supposed to be able to cultivate with them and pay the rent accordingly.
- ii) Personal tax: It was similar to Asamee tax system, wherein tax was levied on the holder of the rent free lands.
- iii) Bhagbataee villages: The mode of payment was in kind and net of the amount, irrespective of holdings.

- iv) Tateegchas: When poor people cultivated the land with in the area of a village, uniform tax was being levied on the lands, without reference to their quality or condition.

South of Mahi only Beegotee and Khothundy system were prevalent. In Kathiawar, a different system was prevalent, which was known as Gamottee System. In this system, prevalent in Talookdaree villages, where the Talookdars or Garassias, who out of the whole revenue derived from the village, paid 70% to the government, keeping 30% to themselves. The Talookadars had recognised the right to a share of revenue of the villages. The rights were of renewable nature.

(c) Hoondatenure

In Surat, a type of tenure, very common to the Hoonda type was existed wherein the land of Government was held at a fixed sum for the quantity, without reference to number of bighas or value of each bigha.

(d) Copewarcee Tenure

This system existed where the land was cultivated by people who did not belong to the village where lands were

situated. Here the taxation was less comparatively because of disadvantages of distance. In case of alienated lands, the tenant had to hold the land and in case of government lands the private proprietor use to hold the land.

Relations that existed between actual cultivators to the soil

The relation of ryot to the soil was considered as one of the stimulating, but not depressing, and one which promoting the agriculture rather than retaining it.⁵

The position of the cultivator given by the government can be seen from the report of the parliamentary committee of 1848. The findings were based on the evidence furnished by Mr. Predeeuk, who was incharge of revenue correspondence of India at Britain.

The findings permitted the right to a person holding the land with permanent settlement.

The right to hold the land existed subject to payment of tax. The truth in this is further substantiated by the examination of minute of 1821, written by Elphinstone,

Governor of Gujarat in 1821. The tenure prevalent in the Gujarat province was described by Elphinstone after his minute of 1821. His remarks were mostly particular of collectorate of Ahmedabad and Kaira, but his remarks were also applicable to the whole province. According to his remarks the ryot was a land on a general understanding that he is not to be dispossessed so long as he pays his rent, which although not fixed as regulated by the custom of village. It was a pre-requisite to pay the rent be holding the land required.⁶

In his report Thomas Bazley makes a reference to a report presented by Mr. Devies, in respect of Bhuruch. As per this minute no absolute power of disposal over the land, can be obtained, without the direct sanction of the state. But only 'prescriptive occupancy' right was given. Many compared this type of tenure to a 'Fee simple' which could not be cut off without the owners consent. In 'Fee Simple' neither he could retain little in his own heads nor transfers others.

As per 'Prescriptive Occupancy' right, the occupier cannot be objected from the land as long as he pays the taxes.

But could even transmit the land to his children as an inheritance. Only in this power it resembles the 'Fee simple'.

The tenure of ryot is neither a Fee simple nor equal in value or meaning to fee simple. The tenure could be disturbed to such an extent, due to which the ryot was to suffer an alienation of a voluntary relinquishment of his land, or his forcible rejection from them on the whole, the Gujarat ryot was not permanently secured in the possession of his land.⁷

The Pattedars and poorer classes were made to pay extra rents imposed upon them by the bhagdars in addition to the rent payable to the government. The Bhagdars themselves were insecure.⁸

(iii) Power of Disposal

The ryots had no power to sell land which was of course not his. The ryot used to get only limited interest on the land, and he was free ever to sell that. Consent of the community in case of Bhagwaree village and the consent of the collector (Government) in case of begatee and Khatabundy villages was required to effect transfer of the land.⁹

The tenancy at will, i.e.,

- (a) Forefeiture on the part of the tenant from non-fulfilment of conditions
- (b) Eriktion from the land at the will of the land lord, and
- (c) Relinquishment of the land at the pleasure of the tenant, was allowed.

The power in the hands of the government was however not utilised without reasoning. It is mere doubt in the minds of the ryot which made him feel insecure than the actions of the government.¹⁰

So long as this uncertainty in the minds of the ryots continued, the ryots were not devoting themselves with that zeal optimising the productive power of the soil. They were contented with whatever they got from the land which they felt as sufficient to maintain themselves after meeting their obligations to the state. They were on the other hand worried that improved land would invite higher taxation.¹¹

(iv) Official Responsible for Settlement of Collection of Revenue¹²

- (i) Tulatee: assisted by Patel use to realise the suspected from the cultivated land saved on the crop it bore and character of the season.
- (ii) Kamavisagar: use to check the statement for correctness and tour his pergunna for confirmation. And he use to fix the Jamabundy taking circumstances of the district into account.
- (iii) Collector:
(12) He uses to check the Jamabundhi for correctness and approve Jamabundhi, also used to check payment made in the earlier years before approving the current one.

Tulatee was to inform the inhabitants about the amounts to be paid to the Government. When the village was settled on begotee principle, Bhagdars distribute the amount among different shares-holders and other tenants. Tulatee was supposed to prepare the estimate of growing crop to assist the collector about the payment of the cultivator. Ryot was

interested in paying as little as possible and government wanted to get as much as it could from the ryot. In the sequence the government machinery, starting from Tulatees, Mamultadars to clerical staff became corrupt at the expense of the government.

Commissioners: Two commissioners were appointed for hearing the appeals of ryots who were not happy with the decisions on their petitions given by officials at the lower level.¹³

(v) Manner of revenue collection:

In British-Gujarat, in the districts of Surat, Broach and Kaira the revenue was mostly collected in the form of money. And in the areas of Ahmedabad, the rent was collected in kind.¹⁴ Where the money payment was imposed in the form of tax based on the quality of land, the cultivator was free to cultivate, whatever crop he was pleased to cultivate. In case of rent collected in the form of kind had its own advantages, specially when the taxation was high. In states like Baroda, where the tax was collected in the form of kind, additional money was demanded to other than the normal of half the produce, when the cultivator produced less quantity.

The method of collection in kind was not advantageous to the government because the produce collection had to be disposed off in the market. The job of calculating the crop was also affected by unfairness, fraud. The system of taxation based on the capacity of a person to cultivate with a pair of bullock and a plough was also led to under hand dealings.¹⁵

(vi) Bhagwaree system of collecting the Land-tax

The Patels or Bhagwars were responsible to the government for collecting the rent of the village. Their system was prevalent in Broach, and also to some extent in Kaira and Ahmedabad.¹⁶ The business of the Bhagdar was to realise government revenue and then make as much profit as they could. There were two types of tenants in Bhagdar villages. One belonged to Patel family and the second to the stranger cultivators. Patels had more security whereas stranger cultivators depended on the will of bhagdars. The latter was the case where the duration and terms were at the mercy of bhagdars, which depended upon the circumstances. On good lands in the Kaira areas, the taxation was about two hundred to three hundred per cent excess to the government rate. Sometimes,

the excess payment was also collected in terms of labour instead of money. The bhagdar who was holding few freelands could also get free labour for cultivation in this way. Bhagdars though occupied the position of middle men between the government and cultivator, still collected high rents without any consideration towards the cultivators. Bhagwaree system encouraged cultivation of waste land but did not help in the improvement of the existing land under cultivation.¹

Begotee system: The relation of land-lord and the tenant appeared to have existed, but it was not so. His acts were determined by the acts of the government.¹⁸

(vii) Evolution of upper class and its effect

From the previous paragraphs it could be seen that the machinery introduced for assessment and collection of revenue led to the formation of an upper class of people. Like Desais, Patels, Grassias, Tulatees, etc. This class of people were functioning at a level between the working agriculturist community and the rulers of the land,¹⁹ thus further increasing the burden of taxation on the producers, and reducing their share of benefits. However, this upper class helped the government

in collecting the taxes fully and without fail as their personal interest was also involved.

Cultivators in Gujarat held their lands on a tenure which was insecure and at times the rents were exorbitant. These were the few factors which were responsible among others for unproductive growth of cotton in Bombay Presidency during first half of 19th century, inspite of large and regular demand for the production the markets of Britain.

II. Land systems and Revenue Administration under the British-Gujarat.

1) Surat: Surat district presents a variety of surface.

The eastern parganas belonged to the hilly and forest country that extended to the Ghats. The rest was flat and in many parts fertile, but a large portion of it was covered with bushes and wild trees. Nearly 1/3rd of the whole district was waste. The eastern part of the district was inhabited by Dublas who otherwise resembled the Bhils, and known remarkably for their peaceful and non-offensive disposition. The other inhabitants of the collectorate, excluding the city were

Kunbis and Kolis and Bhathelas (Brahmins) with some Parsis, Bohoras and Rajputs.²⁰ There was a good deal of vanta land and the payments made to Girasia was of pecuniary type. In both cases the payments were fixed and they were made by the collectors. Most of these people paid in Salania, (quit-rent), which was levied directly from the Ryots. The principle among other alienations was wazifa lands, which were managed by the owners who either paid in Salami or went according to the tenure as the talpat land was held on different tenures.²¹

First that of Khatebandi, here called Japti was very prevalent. The Japti Ryot had a right to retain his ground, and his rent ought not to be raised, and so on. But this last privilege appeared to have been little attended to, due to which he had to pay a higher rent than other ryots, but except in the neighbourhood of the city, he was entitled to his trees and to a portion of grass rent free.²²

Second, there was another tenure, called hunda, where the ryot holds the whole of the lands for a certain sum and not for a separate rent on each Bigha. In some paraganas it was originally formed by the division of a village in the manner

that was usual among Bhagdars. But there was no mutual responsibility as was in Bhagdar villages, and once the division was made, the shares held exactly on the terms of Khatihandi. To the south ward the term Hunda applied to any land paid for in the lump. The rest were Ganotias or annual leaseholders, who, though were never expelled from their lands, change a good deal from field to field and village to village every year.²³

Thirdly, aparvadias, who lived in one village and cultivated the lands at another, were particularly common in this district.²⁴

Some of the ill-cultivated lands in the east were paid on Udhar fala (equal sum on each Bigha).²⁵ And some paid a certain sum on each plough.²⁶ But the system of collection in the Surat district was entirely Ryotwar, but this improvement was introduced after the acquisition of this district.

For a long time after the acquisition of it, Surat was completely in the hands of the Desais,²⁷ who considered their possession so permanent that each family partitioned its parganas among its members, like the Patels of Bhagdais village. Every Desai managed the village of his own 'Bhag'

as he pleased, and generally displaced the old Patels, and carried on even the interior management of each village by means of their own agents, who were called talukdars. The desai was thus the perfect master of the people, without any one to check him. The mode of settlement of revenue was for the Kamavisar and for the collector, to send for the Desai and make as good a bargain as he could with him for the year's revenue of his pargana. The Desai then fixed the sum to be paid among all the villages of the Pargana, and the Talukdars (or Patel) divided the assessment among the Ryots. By this plan the collector made his assessment. Although it was his intention not to increase the revenue, unless where there was an increase in the cultivation, yet for the want of information on his part, as well as the fraud of Desai, often operated to raise the Bighoti of the old lands. They had no protection against the exactions of Desai, if he chose to complain to the collector, except an appeal to the Talati's accounts, by which his own ignorance of his rights rendered him the little ability to profit, and which could not be much relied on, in consequence of the dependence of the Talati on the Desai. Every Ryot had to attend to the Kamavisaris Kacheri, where his land and rent for the preceding year were ascertained in his presence from the Talati's book.²⁸ If he would wish to take up more land, or to throw up a part of what

he already had, or if it would be necessary to increase or diminish the rent of any portion of his lands; the requisite alternations were made and agreed to. If none of these above mentioned changes were required, he was to hold the same land on the same rent as the year before. In either case he received a Pattah under the seal of the Kamavisdar, a paper specifying the lands and rent of each Royat in the village which was also signed by the collector and deposited with the Talati.²⁹ The Patel also was to furnish security for his not embezzling the collections.

Formerly 2/3rd of the revenue was paid before the crops were ripe, and therefore Ryot had to borrow money on heavy interest. One-half was paid before the grain was to be removed, the rest was paid after the sale of the produce.³⁰ In case of crop failure, a remission was made to the individual sufferer after an examination of his field by a Government officer.

This system was first introduced in the year 1817-18.³¹ There were several parganas to which it was only extended during the revenue of 1820 year, and in some it was not completed. Each man's land was measured, and his rent was

fixed at the sum which he had paid the preceding year. The great advantage of this plan was the clear view of which it gives the collector of the real state of his district, thus enabling him to increase or remit the revenue under satisfactory circumstances, and also to detect and check any undue exaction which may be practised upon the ryot.³² A great objection to it was, that, it lessened the power and the consequence of the Patel, but this was not felt in the Surat district, where in the consequence of Desais, the office of Patel had scarcely existed.³³ In Bhagdar villages, where the Patels were numerous, the introduction of the Royatwar settlement was productive of much hardship and at the same time of no advantage.³⁴ But there was scarcely any village of this description in the old Surat district. In Olpad, where there were numerous, more inconvenience must have been felt.³⁵ The royatwar settlement also prevented the employment of large capitals in improvements and new cultivation, but the opposite system did not appear to be attended with that advantage in Surat, moreover most of the wells and tanks were made available either by the Government or by the ryots.³⁶ The establishment of Patels in the plurality of the villages was one of the advantages of the new systems. But the want of experience of those functionaries, and perhaps the smallness of their allowances, had occasioned frequent charges and removals which

were against the responsibility of the body.³⁷ Nothing could have been completed than the state of the Talati books, which contain every point of information contemplated by the Regulations. These remarks related exclusively to the regular land revenue. Besides other taxes, the chief of which were the Akbari and the taxes on trades, which called for no observation.³⁸

When Elphinstone visited this collectorship in 1821, he expressed the condition of the people as very depressed. In his observation, the ryots seemed to be ill-clothed and ill-lodged, and although some parts of district were highly productive, he thought that in other parts of the district the cultivation was very imperfect. Land that had been in use for few years was so exhausted as to be considered fit for cultivation. From this, the pargana of Chowrasi, contiguous to the populous city of Surat, was the worst cultivated in the district whereas this was considered as remarkable as the wazifa lands which were in the same neighbourhood in a high state of improvement. The great obstacle was the extremity and Perhaps the inequality of the assessment. Monison, the collector of Surat had endeavoured to correct this by reducing the revenue in certain cases where it appeared to weigh with particular severity, and

often removed and appointed by the collector. They seemed to be such more closely connected with the Patels than of those in Ahmedabad and Kheda and were more likely to conceal than to expose any frauds of the village management.

~~The~~ Parganas of Jambusar and Amod resembled the old possessions in almost all respects. Although there had been no settlement, the alienated lands were not examined. The rents of these unalienated consequently in many cases were far above their natural height. In one village the Talpat land paid ninety rupees a Bigha, which could only be defrayed by immense receipts from rent-free land. The condition of the people did not seem so different in these parganas as one would expect from the tyranny of the Peshwa government.⁴⁷

The Baroda Pargana though objected to all the defects of the native system and had the first decay of the nineteenth century and notoriously been oppressed, was yet in the appearance of the district and the inhabitants at least were equal to the best parts of the Kheda district. This was supposed to be the effect of the former good government, but when the history of Gaikwad family is recollected, it would be difficult to say when that good government was existed.

in other places he had promised to lower the assessment if the inhabitants promised to protect the government from loss by the cultivation of additional lands. Elphinstone was aware of the extreme difficulty of lowering the revenue when it was once raised. He induced the idea to recommend some extensive measures of different nature.³⁹

(17) Bharuch

Elphinstone had given his observations about Bharuch when he visited this collectorship in 1821. He observed that there were no Mehvasis and scarcely any Girasias, little variety in the soil and produce, no diversity in the modes of assessment, no unauthorized alienations, and no taxes beyond the land-tax but which were merely nominal. He found that the revenue system, though perhaps defective, had been long established and unchanged. The Adalat was exempt even from the few objections that exist to it beyond the Mahi which was well understood by all classes and seemed both useful and popular.⁴⁰

There were other persons who bore the name of Garasias, but they had only portions of land or pecuniary claims in different villages. The land was cultivated on favourable

terms by the Government's ryots. It paid a fixed salami to the Government. The pecuniary claims were paid by the village to the proprietary; the dues of the paraganah officers were also paid in this manner instead of from the treasury, which caused no inconvenience to the practice. The other tenures of rent-free lands were wazifa and Pasaita. The Vechania and Garania lands were resumed by the Revenue Committee, but were still kept separate in the village accounts.⁴¹

The Talapat villages were all either formed by the Patel, or by an association of Bhagdars, like those called Nerva beyond the Mahi. They were formed by the strangers and never held Ryotwari.⁴²

The assessment was made entirely by village, without any inquiry into the circumstances of individuals.⁴³ One of the hereditary revenue officers were sent to inspect the crops of each harvest.⁴⁴ He used to make a statement of the quantity of land cultivated, with each sort of produce by each ryot and the quantity of each sort that would amount for grain produced in the village. The collector compared this with the produce of the previous year, and then compared the market price of each article with that of last year. After which he looked into the sum paid by the village for

the previous year, and if he found that the crops were more abundant or the price higher, he used to put a proportionate increase on the revenue. The general principle was to take half of the money produced by the sale of the crops and leave the rest to the ryot. A considerable part of the first consisted of rice-crops and in making the estimate for them, it was usual to charge the land that twenty rupees a Bigha, whatever may be the state of the crops. This charge was double the rent of the best rice-land and a deduction of the amount of one-half was made as per the government's claim on account of the second harvest. The only objective of this over-assessment was to secure a large portion of the revenue at an early period of the year. This practice did not exist in all the parganas, where the first payment was in Dhangar Tanji. It was just enough if the Patel consented to the sum fixed by the collector for the revenue of the village and nothing more was required to complete the settlement. Although the names of the royts were written down in the estimate, for the sake of marking the fields they cultivated, the collector did not interfere in assessing them. It was later done by the Patel who explained how much each royat had to pay to the Talati, and after which it was the duty of the collector to collect

it. The collection was made by securing the whole produce of the harvest at the village cornyard, where it remained untill the revenue was paid. It was not, however, necessary that the whole should be paid before the corn was removed. On the contrary a royt could remove a portion of his produce as soon as he would pay the price of it. When his payments were equal to the whole demand against him, he was allowed to remove the whole. The Patel was guided in making his assessment by the former payments of the royts, among whom he distributed the increase of the year in proportion to the amount of their rents. The same tenures of Khatebandi and Ganot were in use here. But the custom of having a portion of Vanta (highly assessed land) in each Khata was confined to some villages in this collectorate. Both were liable to increase when the revenue of the village was increased, but not otherwise. A royt from whom a Patel required an increase, in other circumstances would complain to the collector but from the dependence of the Talation the Patel, and from the mode of settlement, in which the collector had so little occasion to watch over the correctness of village accounts, it was not easy for him to ascertain whether the ryots complaint was well founded. Same was applied to an undivided villages, like Narva Kheda where the increase was divided into as many portions as there were Bhags, and the Bhagdars

apportion them among their pattadars who levied them on their ryots. There seemed at one time when a general Bighoti of four rupees was paid on all the land except the sandy soils near the sea, which paid only three and half per Bigha, and some rich tracts on rivers, which paid from six to twelve. The Government revenue regulated the state of crops and of the market and other demands. Every village accounts exhibited a great variety of rates of Bighoti, and each of those was liable to frequent change.

Considerably more than three-fourths of the villages in this district were managed by the Bhagdar or Narva plan. In the Bharuch Pargana as well as in Jambusar and Amod, the minor Patidars formed a great majority of the cultivators. In the Bharuch Pargana there were some Bhagdar villages in which, the heads of the Bhags - five or six in number - were the only persons who held by that tenure, all the lands cultivated by common ryots, either Khatidars or Ganvatias.⁴⁵

The Talati regulation could scarcely be said to be introduced here.⁴⁶ The Talati kept their accounts in the old form and although they were considered as Government officers much superior to those in the Deccan, they were

later it had begun to inquire into the collections, by establishing Talatees in Girasia and Mehvas villages. The whole of the pargana of Dhandhuka, Ranpur, and Ghogha except the Kashas (chief towns) were in the hands of Grasia Rajputs, as a considerable part of Dholka. There were a few in Viramgam, which had been swallowed up during the exactions of the Marathas.⁴⁹

Talatis had been introduced into the villages of those of Dholka, and all their revenue but for 20 per cent of their own share, after deducting that of the royats, was levied by government. The others were on their former footing under the Adalat, were either agents by themselves of the Megistrate or were superseded by their Patels. The Principal Mehwas is were the Kolis of Chova land those of Parantij, Harsol and Modasa districts. The former were quite reduced, received talat is, and paid all their revenue except 20 percent, but the later maintained their independence.⁵⁰

Talpat lands were cultivated by royats, who held it on different tenures, paid their revenues in different modes, and were under different forms of village governments. The royat held his land on a general understanding that he was not to be dispossessed as long as he paid his rent, which

(iii) Ahmedabad and Kheda

Each of these collectorates contained two sorts of villages, Khalsa and Girasia.⁴⁸ The former was directly under the government, and the later was held by a Girasia chief, to whom the government looked for revenue and maintaining order. The most striking division of the Girasia villages was those held by the Rajputs of the Girasias properly so called, and those held by the Kolis, generally termed the Mehvas. The former, though foreigners, were in possession of Gujarat when the Muslims invaded it. They retained some talukas and villages at that time and recovered others by encroachment on the final weakness of the Mughals. They were at once a more civilized than the Kolis and it was perhaps owing to those circumstances, as well as to their having more recently possessed government of the province, that their claims appeared to be such more respected than those of the Kolis. The later, though probably the aborigines, seemed generally to be considered as rebellious, or at least refractory villagers, who had, from the weakness of former governments, included or resisted the just claims of the government.

The British Government had asserted the right, without always assuming the exercise of internal interference, but

later it had begun to inquire into the collections, by establishing Talatees in Girasia and Mehvas villages. The whole of the pargana of Dhandhuka, Ranpur, and Ghogha except the Kashas (chief towns) were in the hands of Girasia Rajputs, as a considerable part of Dholka. There were a few in Viramgam, which had been swallowed up during the exactions of the Marathas.⁴⁹

Talatis had been introduced into the villages of those of Dholka, and all their revenue but for 20 per cent of their own share, after deducting that of the royats, was levied by government. The others were on their former footing under the Adalat, were either agents by themselves of the Magistrate or were superseded by their Patels. The Principal Mehvas were the Kolis of Chova land those of Parantij, Harsol and Modasa districts. The former were quite reduced, received talat is, and paid all their revenue except 20 percent, but the later maintained their independence.⁵⁰

Talpat lands were cultivated by royats, who held it on different tenures, paid their revenues in different modes, and were under different forms of village governments. The royat held his land on a general understanding that he was not to be dispossessed as long as he paid his rent, which

though not fixed, was regulated by the custom of the village. He received a portion of each of the three different classes into which the land was divided, according to its fertility, and he was obliged to cultivate the bad, as a condition of retaining the good land. This was almost the only tenure in Ahmedabad and it was very common in Kheda likewise, but in many villages in the latter district there was Khatabandi tenure. This was common in the Kheda district. These were differences in tenures, and it was considered differently for Muslims, Rajputs, Kolis and all the classes who were less skillful in cultivation than their neighbours paid a lighter rent.⁵¹

The modes in which the land revenue was usually paid were two in kinds, a division of the produce (Bhagpatar) or by a money rent, regulated by the value of the land, and likewise by the nature of the article cultivated (Bighoti). The shares of the government and the royats on the Bhagatal plan varied in different places, but in general it was thought that the government was entitled to one-half of crop cultivated during the rainy season, and from one-third to one-fifth of that of cultivated in the dry weather, if raised by irrigation. The land paying Bighoti was divided

into three classes, according to its fertility, and paid a higher or a lower rent, as it belonged to the first or to an inferior class. Thus in one district Bajri and Jawar paid on the first sort of ground 4 rupees per Bigha, on the second, 3 rupees and on the third one and a half rupee. Sugar cane paid on the first sort 20 rupees per bigha, on the second 17 rupees and on the third 10 rupees. Some other aspects raised the Bighoti, such as the use of well-water and manure, and others diminished it, such as the distance of the land from the village. But the proportion between the different kinds of land and of produce was kept-up.⁵²

Besides the land-tax, there were many veras or taxes, some bearing on the land as those of ploughs, carts, cattle, horses, that called that vera, intended to makeup for defalcations and some on the person or property, as those on shops, trades, houses, hearths and that on persons of the military caste called Dharala. The former was often imposed by the Dhardlas under the Marathas to each of the holders of rent-free lands, while to prevent their bearing too hard on the talent of land paying revenue, he often received an abatement of his revenue exactly equal to the amount levied as a vera. The others were useful, as drawing

a revenue from persons who did not cultivate the land at all.⁵³

The form of revenue collection which had been mostly used in Gujarat, since the introduction of Maratha rule was for the Patel to engage annually for the payment of a certain sum to the government, which he was to realize according to the established rates and customs of the village. Any profit that may be derived from the goodness of the season or from new cultivation was his, and he was to bear any loss that may occur from opposite causes. The rights of the owners of alienated land of all descriptions of ryots, remained unaffected by this arrangement was transferred to the Patel. As long as a village remained in this system it was called Senja. The system of Nerva had been swept away by long oppression in the Ahmedabad but it remained in many of the villages under Kheda.⁵⁴

These villages were, as usual, classed into parganas, which had each a Desai and an Amin Patel. These officers were hereditary. They were paid by a Dasturi or fee, on each village, a part of which was divided among the family and part given under the name of Sukri at the discretion of the collector, to the person who did the duty. The business of

the Desai was to superintend all the patels, to furnish every sort of local information which could assist in settling the revenue, and to adjust disputes among villages, especially about land. The Kamavisdars kept all the accounts of the Pargana.⁵⁵

This view of the revenue system was adopted by Elphinstone both towards the Girasias and other dependents and towards the villages immediately under the government. When regular collectors were appointed, the same system was pursued for a long time. The only change in the revenue department attempted among the Girasias was the increase in their tribute, to which they were at all times liable. But the principle of a tribute was observed as long as they were under Kheda with a temporary exception of Dholka, and no security was given to safe guard their resources.⁵⁶

The introduction of the Judicial regulations was certainly a great innovation and was seen its early adoption.

Accordingly changes were brought on the regulations of the appointments of Mukhi Patels and of Talatis. The Girasias who held more villages than one were compelled to

appoint Mukhi Patels, who from the time of their appointment became responsible to the Magistrate. Talatis were introduced into all the villages of the Girasias of Dholka, and it was proposed to introduce them into all the Girasia village in Dhandhuka, Ranpur and Goga. A further change was brought in the alteration of the principle of the Dholka from a tribute paid to government to a certain proportion (to an extent of 20 per cent) of the government share, from which all village expenses were met, including talatis' pay.⁵⁷

Elphinstone fixed the payments of Girasias to an extent of 30 per cent government share instead of 20 per cent. And for Mukhi Patels a change was made in relation to the Adalat, that the judge and the Megistrate could not require their personal attendance, except in case of sheer necessity. About their old debts, even if supported by bonds, should be examined with reference to all circumstances arising from the situation of the parties at the time when they were contracted, and that instead of seizing and confining the persons of the Garasias, the judges were to issue precepts, to the collector to sequestrate as large a portion of the lands as might suffice for the gradual payment of the debts, leaving a decent maintenance to the Girasia. The land thus sequestrated might either be managed by the collector, or given

over under proper securities to the creditors, but the former would perhaps be the better plan.⁵⁸

In the Kheda district the parganas were farmed out for the first five years to the Desais and Amins, agreeably to the Maratha practice, then this plan was laid aside. But later, farming was handed over to the Patel. It was soon found that no true account of the resources could be obtained from these persons. A scheme was therefore partially resorted to setting up of competitors to Patel by leasing the village to the person who made the highest offer. Upto 1816, no body was settled in Rayotwar, system and since then the number had gradually increased till 1820; but 370, out of 567, all those of which the leases were expired, were settled in that manner. The Rayotwar system had, however, since the Talatis become efficient, been more extensively introduced in reality than in appearance. The Patel in many villages continued to go through the forms of farming his village, but as the farm was not given till every rayot's rent had been settled, the Patel was not allowed either by the chance of gain or by the risk of loss, however, his influence was greatly impaired by the charge in his situation.⁵⁹

Elphinstone introduced many changes even while the system was ostensibly the same.⁶⁰ His administration was

ready to hear complaints, checked many abuses in collection and expenditure, and stopped much oppression. The custom of requiring security for the revenue saved each Rayot a very large percentage which he used to pay to a banker. Instead the banker became answerable for him, and the manner of collecting became in other respects much less vexatious. But the greatest change with the least appearance was wrought by the appointment of new Talatis. When they were generally in league with the villagers, their accounts were often falsified to serve the purpose of Patel. Even the check afforded by authorities such as an officer had been lost in Gujarat, where the Talatis duty had become merely nominal. The new Talati was an officer directly appointed by the Government and looked up in the village as its agent. His duties were to examine every man's condition, and his tenure, and make the collections. In a great measure, he was employed to supersede Patel in all his acts as agent of government and of the rayots, but it must not be overlooked that it had a tendency to extinguish the authority of Patel. Already much weakened by other aspects of the management, care had to be taken to bring the Talatis power within its natural bounds and to withdraw it from all interference with the immediate duties of the Patel. By then, the authority of the Desai and other pargana officers had been destroyed.

III Evils of the Forming System

The Mamlatdars appointed before Elphinstone had neither the time nor the inclination to inquire into the resources of the districts which fell under their charge.⁶¹ They were also indifferent to the prosperity of the Kunbis. They often let out a district at an enhanced rate to the farmers of revenue who in their turn repeated the operation until it reached the patel in the village. A Mamlatdar who had purchased the rights of collecting revenue for a district became the absolute master over it for the term of his lease, and the Kunbis under his control could not lodge complaints against him.⁶² Every individual from the Mamlatdar to the Patel was interested only in the amount of revenue that could be squeezed out of the rayat, irrespective of the actual state of the cultivation. It was the individual means of payment, not the land he occupied, which was the scale, on which he was assessed. No moderation was shown and every means and pretext were employed to exploit the rayot till the last when the Mamlatdar would relinquish from his charge. This system, thus, led to the grumbling of the economy to its lowest ebb, when Elphinstone took over the charge of settlement.

The next most striking in the mode of assessment was its uncertainty and its irregularity.⁶³ It was uncertain because of its dependence on the hasty estimate of an Amin, liable to be mistaken and more liable to be a corrupt. If the collector disregarding the estimate were to proceed on his own opinion or on secret information, the degree of uncertainty was believed to be irrevocable. Since the Patels were less acquainted with and uncomptable with the collector, to able to convince him of any mistake. The assessment was unequal, because the Amin might due to corruption or other motives had to favour some villages and throw the burden on the rest. This was done when the assessment was made on the general state of the village, without regarding the circumstances of individuals, swidening a man who had a bad crop on one hand and boon to another. especially when the villages were held by Bhagdars. This evil was in some degree inseparable from the system but had a provision to be amended in the other villages. In those villages of Bhagdars, the evil was aggravated by the practice of making the whole settlement with one or more Bhagdars, who by concert with the Talati, generally contrive to keep the assessment off their own lands and throw it on their neighbours. The subject of increase or decrease in the assessment as the crops were good or bad, was not perhaps an evil, though

it were to increase the fluctuations to the government, diminishing to the royal, in whose condition a fixed rent with fluctuating crops would occasion more variation than the existed plan. If, however, the assessment was less, it would be of advantage to him to have it fixed, as his chance of gain would be increased without a corresponding risk of loss. The loss to the Government by a light Bighoti would in time be made up by the improvement of the land, and through an immediate indemnification by transferring the corrupt profits of the Amins to the treasury.⁶⁴

Elphinstone proposed in the first instance the appointment of an intelligent and experienced revenue officer as collector to inquire into the assessment and report cases where it appeared too high, too low, or unequal.⁶⁵ In any of those cases, the Bighoti, by means of a panchayat of a village, superintendent and a government office, was liable to be corrected.⁶⁶ Elphinstone arranged a vigilant supervision, perhaps by means of European assistants and then allowed the Bighoti system unaltered.⁶⁷ If there was a need and considerable improvement in the village, to raise the assessment, a settlement used to be made with the Patals, safeguarding the rights of every rayot.⁶⁸

IV. Re-organisation of Revenue System by Elphinstone

After Elphinstone took over the charge of the country, Mamlatdars and Kamavisars were placed under four principal officers, such as the collectors of Surat, Ahmedabad, Bharuch and Kheda. The main feature of this district administration in Gujarat was similar to those found elsewhere in British-India. Each collectorate or district comprised eight to twelve Talukas and each Taluka consisted of 100 to 200 villages. The village officers were the Patel, the Talati and the watchman. Each taluka or its sub-division yielding a revenue of Rs.50,000 to Rs.75,000 was placed incharge of Mamlatdar. Above the Mamlatdar was the deputy collector incharge of the entire district, the district collector and magistrate.⁶⁹

Elphinstone abolished the existing farming system as it was against the sense of rational agrarian policy. He instructed the collectors to continue to collect the land revenue as had been the Gujarat custom through the Patel.⁷⁰

They were further instructed (1) to levy tax as far as possible according to the area of land actually under

cultivation (2) to make assessments light, and more uniform, (3) to impose no new taxes, (4) not to abolish any tax unless they were positively harmful, and (5) not to introduce innovations.⁷¹

Elphinstone felt that it was the duty of the collectors to encourage the rayots to carry on the cultivation and to give them all help. He further added that the rayots should be encouraged to bring the waste lands under cultivation. Remission was to be given with great caution and granted only on actual loss. A penalty bond was to be secured stating that he would have to pay back double the amount, if found that it was obtained on false pretences.⁷²

Elphinstone had issued instructions to his collectors regarding the powers and the functions of the Mamlatdars. The salaries of Mamlatdars were fixed by the government. Their main duty was to supervise the work and to report to their respective collectors. He instructed the Mamlatdars that the main function of the Revenue officials under the new 'regime was to preserve the socio-economic system of the villages.⁷³ Elphinstone hence required to prepare a rural administrative cadre which would preserve the native, culture in the collectorate. On his visits to Gujarat he

must have noticed that though agriculture flourished, the rural folks were in a state of shock and in gullion mood. He was, therefore, convinced to introduce a system which would regain the confidence between the peasant and government and preserve the socio-economic structure of a village.

(i) Difficulties faced by the collectors

The collectors were required to settle the land revenue of a village through negotiations with the Patel and then divide the tax among the individual cultivators, before giving them patta. The revenue division was based upon (1) total holdings, (2) land under actual cultivation, and (3) quality of the land. They could do this only after they had fixed the amount that would be required of individual cultivators and even for this they had to ascertain from the cultivators, whether they were satisfied with the arrangements.⁷⁴

The collectors had a great difficulty in finding a uniform standard of survey measurements. They complained that many of the Kamavisdars were ignorant while many purposely withhold the accounts. Many of the accounts

made available were either false or incorrect. This was chiefly due to the ignorance of the earlier revenue farmers which enabled the villages to evade heavy exactions. The collectors had to manage as best as they could inspite of the paucity and inaccuracy of the village records.⁷⁵

(ii) Demand for efficient revenue officers

The collectors requested Elphinstone to supply them with right type of revenue officers as without their assistance, it would be difficult for them to set up efficient and good administrative office and to collect information regarding the revenue collection in their respective collectorate. The demand of the collectors was taken into consideration and Elphinstone tried to solve the problem to the best of his ability. He prepared a list of persons employed under the former government and of those who were now qualified to serve under the British government. This list was sent to the collectors and they were given the liberty to employ any one of them they wished to. But the collectors had to inform him when they selected someone.

Elphinstone and his collectors like Marison, Dunlop, Shabrick and Robertson tried to reorganise the system of

administration, and inspite of their reluctance to undermine the institutions of self-government within the village, the disintegration of the traditional institutions of government was inevitable. While introducing new elements in the system they had to attack the evil practices that had crept into it, which also resulted in undermining the position of certain authorities like the Kamavisdars, mamlatdars, desais and patels who had enjoyed wide powers under the old system. Their actions were controlled by regulations.⁷⁶ The new restrictions on the authority of the Patel, and the attempt of collectors to negotiate 'Pattas' directly with the cultivator weakened the ties of association between the Kunbis and the Patel.⁷⁷

(iii) Elphinstone's measures:

In 1821, Elphinstone recorded the following opinions of the general results of British management.⁷⁸ The appointment of accountants to the villages as chiefs and other large land lords should be ceased. Those who had been sacked should be called back and 10 per cent should be added to the chiefs' share in the rental of their estates. Illegal alienations of village lands, though had never been held as a reason for reducing villages

rentals, some cess should be levied on these lands and the holders title had to be confirmed. In government villages the accountants had gained too much power, Care had to be taken to keep them adhering to their own duties and could be allowed to work in the place of the village headman. From the complications in the existing land settlement, the extreme difficulty of determining the actual of the land, and the small chance of improving the cultivator's state, a survey was proposed to be conducted prior to fix up the fresh rates of assessment. The farming of village lands given to strangers were less, the leasing of them to village headman gave rise to many complications. It was felt better to deal directly with the cultivators, revenueing their liabilities from year to year, except in the case of rich share holders. Considering their limited resources. The great increase of revenue under British management was chiefly the result not of over assessment but of indirect measures. Under a steady and kindly rule, headmen were free to look after their fields, and their numbers were increased by strangers, and others, who in the failure of their former employment had taken to villages.

The results of such administration of the British rule were mixed. The chiefs and large landholders were

weakened and depressed, the district officers, specially the heads of villages were stripped off power and influence, and the men of capital suffered both as traders and or moneylanders. But against all these malpractices attempts were made to uplift the cultivators, the largest, the hardest working, and most orderly section of the community. Many of them were still burdened with debt, and on some, the decrees of the civil courts pressed heavily.

(iv) Rent Fixation:

The rental was in all cases based on the right of the government to a certain share in the crop.⁷⁹ This share varied with different crops and with different harvests from one-half to one-sixth, or even one-eighth. The amount was either a share of the crop or money payment estimated on the value of the government share. It was generally fixed by the Panchayat.⁸⁰ Elphinstone was inclined to think the nominal rate very often higher than the land could afford to pay, and that under such circumstances cultivation was possible only in the highly taxed land.⁸¹ The headmen paid only on the land under village,⁸² when they formed part of a distinct holding,

khata or of a village share. If he dug a well or banked a rice field, the cultivator was for a term of two years allowed to hold the land without a rise in rent. If a land holder thinking that his land was over taxed, then he would complain to the collector, and an enquiry he would make into the quality of the soil. If the Kamavisdar thought a reduction was necessary, he had to report the case to the collector, by whom orders were passed. The scarcity of population was the chief safe-guard against over-assessment, when a cultivator thought himself more heavily taxed than his neighbours he could always move to another village. Besides the land assessment, there were many cesses. The chief of them was a plough cess averaging about Rs.20 a plough. The large land owners, and the village headmen and contractors who were responsible for the rental of entire villages, would seem to have paid in money and in instalments. Either without or after an estimate made by the landholder himself, one of the native district revenue officers examined the general state of the village, and made a rough estimate of the produce. Comparing the estimate with the past year's payments, the collector fixed the rents for the next season.⁸³ If a proprietor did not pay his rent, and if he failed to make out a case for remission, his village was attached and managed by the

collector. Men of this class generally took from the cultivators a share of their crop. In other cases they required security from tenants through their agent or Vania, and kept running accounts with the cultivators. If their tenants disputed their demand or failed to pay, the collector took the same steps on behalf of the proprietor or contractor as he would have taken on behalf of government in a directly managed village.

(v) Changes made in Regulation 1827 by Elphinstone

The experience of the East India company with the Zamindari tenures introduced in Bengal from the times of Warren Hastings, and the lessons drawn from these experiments had also provoked various controversies which were being furiously discussed when Gujarat was conquered during 19th century.

Elphinstone framed the fundamental principle of land revenue for the Bombay Presidency when he passed Resolution No. XVII of 1827.⁸⁴ The Principle laid down was that "all land is liable to pay assessment according to its kind; but if a title to exemption from that payment can be set-up under certain rules, it shall be respected".

Elphinstone laid down the basic land revenue principle, whereby all lands were liable for assessment according to their quality, and all exemptions from assessment were to be considered valid or invalid according to the views held by the British government from time to time.

Another consequence of this regulation was that every piece of land was liable to assessment on the basis of its kind and not on the basis of the actual overall produce of the village. Thus it was not the village as a whole, but every plot of land in the village that made the unit of assessment.

On the basis of the Regulation of Elphinstone, the new land revenue system was introduced in Gujarat. It was called the Ryotwari system, of land revenue collection. This system exhibited certain special characteristics.

As the revenue of land was based on the quality of the soil, the whole soil was divided into 9 different classes. The officers fixed the assessment of a district after inquiring into its circumstances and previous history. They distributed the district demand among the villages and fields contained in the district. The owner of each

field was then called upon to cultivate his holding on payment of the land tax fixed for his field.

The assessment was fixed by the superintendent of survey without any reference to the cultivator, and when those rates were introduced, the holder of each field was summoned to the collector and informed of the rate at which his land would be assessed in future, and if he choose to retain it on those terms he could cultivate it, if not he was free to give up the land to the government.

(vi) Impact of new land Revenue Measures

The transformation of all chieftains, girasdars, inamdars, talookdars, bhagdars and others into 'ryots' with proprietary rights on village lands over which they previously had only tribute collection rights, took various tenurial forms.⁸⁵

- (1) The Talookdari system came into existence in the districts of Viramgam, Dholka, Sanand and Ghoga in Ahmedabad district and some talookas in Broach district.
- (2) Mahivasi tenure came into being in some of the villages on the banks of the Mahi river and some

parts of Ahmedabad district, with a view to pacifying the unruly Koli and Rajput chiefs. Villages were granted to them nearly free of revenue initially and on the basis of regular lump-sum payments later on.

- (3) Inami settlements of various kinds existed like, jagirs given to certain civil and military officers to endow them with status, inams to government servants in consideration of performance of certain services (Chakariat), Pasayata lands given to village, inams given to religious bodies (Vajefa), and inams to the successors of a person who had lost his life in defence of a village (haria). All the lands, with the exception of chakariat, held under sanads (grants) under the summary settlement Act and entered in the accounts under one distinctive title of Jat (personal) inam sanadia" were turned into Sanadia.

SECTION BNature of Trade in Gujarat

As a result of the industrial revolution in England, the capital which was used to control political power in the late 18th century was directed to capture the vast Indian market for the British Industries. From there onwards a change came over India under the rule of the East India Company. The aim of the East India Company in its trade with India was the typical of the monopolist companies, of the mercantilist to, make a profit by securing a monopoly trade in the goods and products of an overseas country. The East India Company passed a regulation in 1813 to help the Company's servants to check and punish any attempt at fraud for exports on the part of the dealers and weavers.⁸⁶

Indian village system had been built on the domestic Union of agricultural and manufacturing pursuits. This Revolution destroyed the old manufacturing towns, driving their population to the village destroying the balance of economic life in the rural areas.⁸⁷

It was not, however, the policy of the East India Company to foster Indian Industries. The Directors wished the manufacture of raw silk to be encouraged, and that of silk fabrics discouraged. They also directed that silk winders should be made to work in the company's factories.⁸⁸ This mandate had desired effect. The manufacture of silk and cotton goods declined and the people who had exported these goods to the markets of Europe in previous centuries began to import them in increasing quantities.⁸⁹

The Industrial revolution had brought English manufacturing capitalism to the forefront that the monopoly was thrown out in 1813 and its final abolition completed in 1833. The Lords and commons inquired into the state of the industries carried on by British capitalists. However, the industries of the people, the wages and profits of the artisans did not interest them much. If the abolition of the company's trade would increase the value of British trade with India and manufacture of England, the state of the internal trade of India carried on by the people did not attract their attention.⁹⁰

4) Trade Centres in Gujarat and Extention of Gujarat Trade

Bharuch: Bharuch was one of the oldest ports in Western India. In 1820 there were 5 sea ports.⁹¹ Dehegam at the mouth of the Mahi, on the right bank of the Dhadhar river, Tankari, Gandhar, on the right bank of the Narmada, Dehej and Buruch. Only at two of these ports, Buruch and Tankari was the trade of any importance. In 1820 the traffic from these ports employed 30 batelas of 30 to 80 tonnes burden of cotton.⁹² They used two wheeled carts drawn eight and ten yoke of oxen for the purpose of land trade. The most important branch of the Buruch trade was its export of cotton. The Parsi weavers made fine dhotis, babbas and dorias which were esteemed throughout the country. The best dhotis and babbas resembled English cambric muslin, but did not come near to it in regularity of texture. The English cloth was of superior quality and could be obtained at about half the price of the dhotis and babbas.

Kheda: Kheda did not contain any important centre of trade. The trade of the district at the time of its transfer to the British (1803) must have been scanty. In

1821 the consumption of imported articles were very small.⁹³ Cambay was the main trade centre for Kheda. The spinning and weaving of cotton was next to agriculture, the most important industry of the Kheda. All most all women both in towns and villages, were formerly to some extent engaged in spinning the cotton thread. Cloth woven by Dheds and Muslims was besides meeting the local demand sent to Ratlam and other parts of India.⁹⁴

Ahmedabad: Ahmedabad was an important place as a manufacturing district. The produce of the Salt pans was exported to the neighbouring parts of Gujarat and to Malwa but not to Kathiawar or Cutch.⁹⁵ Through Gujarat it was carried in carts and to Malwa by pack bullocks.⁹⁶ Trade was consequently monopolized by Banjaras.⁹⁷ These men, who were the salt owners as well as carriers came in large bodies under a leader. 'Naik', who filled their packs, paid the price and duties in ready money and left with the utmost order and regularity. Besides them many patters, cotton spinners and others brought assess and buffelows loaded with mahunda, Basia latefolia, mango and other fruits and took back salt.⁹⁸

Surat: The spinning and weaving of cotton was the most important trade in Surat.⁹⁹ Except among the aboriginal tribes, almost the whole female population of the district both in towns and in rural parts, were to some extent engaged in spinning cotton-thread. The thread was spun both for home consumption and for sale, and hand spun yard was used in the coarser qualities of cloth in tape for corts and in ropes.¹⁰⁰ The spinning of yarn by the hand, which was generally practised yielded a much smaller return than was formerly the case.

The preparation of the gold and silver thread and lace used for embroidery was a separate industry.¹⁰¹ The manufacturers were Hindus, chiefly of the Khatri caste.¹⁰² Surat made gold and silver thread which held a high place in the market.

All the manufactured goods were under sold by the English to the dismay of the native merchants.¹⁰³ Under the managements introduced in 1800 the English Company maintained their commercial board at its old strength and passed a Regulation helping the Company's servants to check and punish any attempts of fraud on the part of the dealers and weavers from whom the supply of cloth

for export was obtained. But by the charter act of 1813 the monopoly of trade was withdrawn and the company ceased to have a special trading establishment in Surat.

During the European war the property of the French in Surat had been taken possession of by the English. In 1825 the French buildings were rented by the English Officers.¹⁰⁴ At the beginning of the century, with the exception of the English the only settlement of European merchants that remained in Surat was that of the Portuguese. In 1802-03 only one ship of 600 tons sailed from Surat to Lisbon.¹⁰⁵ Along with the exporters, the Portuguese must have suffered severely. In 1825 Portuguese had no trade at all.¹⁰⁶ All foreign factories were occupied by the British Government.

(II) Exports and Imports of Gujarat

Some of the trade countries with which Gujarat had its trade connections were Brazil, Malbar, Canava, Persian Gulf and Arabian Gulf. In this connection, the foreign factories of portuguese, Dutch and the French were established at Surat and the rules of Bombay Presidency.

A few of the articles which Gujarat exported to these countries were Almonds, Bangles of ivory, tortoise shells, wooden, glasses, beads of False Amber, Benjamin, Brass wears, Broad cloth, Binfee Swats, cotton, coper, Gold and Silver lace, Rose water, tobacco, ghee, managoes dry snuff, shawas, tamarind, wool wear were some of exports from Gujarat.¹⁰⁷

And the articles it imported from other countries were Aglawoor, broad cloth, caster seeds, joonuts, carpets, coffee, drugs, fruits, indigo, iron, liquors, mustered seeds, skingoat, steel, tea, sugurcandy, Sandalwood, turmeric, kismiss, limbu and bambooks, vertrail were some of the imports into Gujarat.¹⁰⁸

Taxation: The sea customs at the ports of Gujarat were fixed at 5% and the land duties were generally an export and import at 7%.¹⁰⁹

Draft of rulers:¹¹⁰ Previously to the export of any article of raw produce or manufacturers from any district, the exporter gave a timely notice to the collector and furnished a list specifying the articles intended to be exported, the quantity of each number of packages and marks,

the number of Bullocks, carts or coolies employed in the carriage and the place to which the consignment is destined.

On the receipt of that information, the Head District officer of the station would affix the value of each article according to the form which he could deliver to the owner or exporter of the goods. Another copy, he would forward to the Head District Officer of the Pargana to which the consignment was destined it within the limits of the British territories and the 3rd to the collector.

(III) Changes in Land Revenue and Trade

It was only after 1813, with the invasion of English industrial manufactures, that the decisive wrecking of the Gujarat economy structure took place. On the reference to the comparative statements between 1819 to 1827 the total British exports to Gujarat rose from Rs.18,470 to Rs.2,87,922.¹¹¹

Apart from the increases were consequent on cessions in 1819, the great fluctuations observable in some years, had been owing to large remissions.¹¹² They had to be given

on account of bad seasons as in 1824-25 and 1828-29. On the whole this was favourable for the general system of British Administration which led to the great extention of cultivation to which the large increase of land revenue was mainly due.

The land revenue of Surat rose between 1808 to 1833 from Rs.9,17,820 to Rs.10,77,890, Ahmedabad land revenue between 1819 to 1827 from Rs.15,63,799 to Rs.18,92,580 and Kheda land revenue between 1818 to 1827 from Rs.1,60,000 to Rs.1,61,980. Bhuruch was divided from Surat in 1817. In 1827 the land revenue of Bhuruch was increased to Rs.4,50,000.¹¹³

Surat, Ahmedabad, Buruch, and Kheda were the main trade centres for England in Gujarat. England made maximum profit from land revenue as well as import on trade and commerce in Gujarat.

In 1815 the total commerce of Surat was Rs.1,25,31,110.¹¹⁴ In 1820 the trade had fallen of a total value estimated at Rs.84,96,000.¹¹⁵ In 1822 the collector of customs wrote that the trade was on the decline. By 1825 the Surat trade

was still further reduced. All the manufactured goods were undersold by the British and a dismal decay had fallen on the native merchants.

In Ahmedabad at the time of its transfer in 1818, cesses on traders were abolished and duties were reduced from 18 to 2½ per cent.¹¹⁶ The result of this change was to stir up greatest commercial activity. In 1820 the total value of trade was increased by Rs.12,50,000.¹¹⁷ In the following years this advance was not kept up. The great stimulus to general trade given by the reduction of dues had passed off, and the leading merchants suffered severally from the failure of their optimum speculations. The value of exports fell from Rs.28,17,770 in the three years ending 1823 to Rs.19,90,270 in the three years ending 1826, and the value of imports rose from Rs.31,02,570 to Rs.40,97,800.¹¹⁸ In these later years full harvest added to the great spread of litage flooded the markets with field produce and prices fell rapidly.

The total value of Bhuruch trade in 1820 was Rs.26,67,325. However during the 10 years ending with 1830, the total value of trade was increased by Rs.1,15,00,910.¹²⁰

adopted the same standard for the Bombay Presidency. This severe State demand has been the ruin of agricultural prosperity in Southern India. In Madras the rule is still maintained as the maximum of the Government demand. In Bombay, while all endeavour to fix any specific share of the produce has been abandoned the actual land tax levied often approximates to or exceeds $1/3$ rd of the field produce.¹²⁴

Elphinstone endeavoured to keep the village system untouched in the Bombay Presidency. His idea, as stated before, was to combine the principle of the Ryotwari system with the principle of the village system. His object was to settle, after a Survey, what each cultivator should pay to the State, and then to realise this from each village through its patel. "The Survey will fix the rights and the payment of each ryot, after which the village may be formed for a certain number of years to the Patel."

Village communities could only be maintained in India, as they had been maintained for centuries, by leaving the work of internal assessment to the village councils and Panchayats. A few rules might have been framed against excessive assessment in view of the produce of lands and

subject to these rules the village elders might have been permitted to continue their work of separate assessments and realisations, and their collective payment to the state. Such an arrangement would have had the obvious advantage of a continuity of the ancient system of India, as well as of leaving an organised popular body in every Indian village. But such an arrangement was against the very spirit of the Company's rule. The company's policy was to deal individually with every tax payer in the land, and to levy the land as he could pay. Elphinstone, himself was far carried away by this spirit as to approve of a Survey which would fix the liability of each individual cultivator. And after this, when he still desired to deal with villages collectively through the headman, his plan was open to the obvious criticism that the headman's occupation was gone.

Elphinstone had given some remissions to royts. Apart from increases consequent on taxes they had to be given an account of bad seasons as in 1824-25. He also instructed his collectors to levy taxes according to the area of land which was actually under cultivation and impose no new taxes.¹²⁵ After this the cultivation of cotton in Gujarat was greatly extended. The earliest cotton experimental farm in Gujarat was started in Bhuruch in 1811 followed by Khedain 1817.¹²⁶ Elphinstone encouraged Gujarat farmers to continue to extend

cotton farms in Gujarat. More cotton farms were established in Kheda in 1819 as a result of this encouragement. Due to the monopoly of the East India Company Gujarat Cotton was exported in a large quantity to Britain. The cotton exports increased between 1819 to 1827 from Rs.29,35,789 to Rs.50,00,000. Prices were between Rs.45 to Rs.70 per bhar. (48 = 1 ^{sovs}duice, ^{duices}20 = 1 bhar).¹²⁷

Elphinstone encouraged the Gujarat internal trade as well as the external trade, when Surat and Bhuruch trade started to fall from 1820. Elphinstone reduced the Sea customs at the ports of Gujarat at 3½ per cent instead of 5 per cent for the convenience of Gujarat merchants.¹²⁸

Kheda's internal trade was in a high position. In 1821 the consumption of imported articles was very small. East India Company instructed Elphinstone to increase the stamp duties at 7 per cent instead of 6 per cent to increase English trade in Gujarat. It affected Kheda's internal trade and they began to import English goods in increasing quantities.¹²⁹

In Ahmedabad at the time of its transfer in 1818, taxes on trafers were abolished and duties reduced from 15 to 2½ per

cent. The result of this change was to stir up the greatest commercial activity. But when the stamp duties were increased to 7 per cent it affected Ahmedabad trade. The merchants suffered severally due to this, and they started to import English goods.¹³⁰

On the reference to the comparative statements between 1819 to 1827 the total British exports to Gujarat rose from Rs.10,38,227 to Rs.51,16,753.¹³¹ Elphinstone could not help to increase the trade of Gujarat due to the policies imposed upon by the East India Company. It was not, however, the policy of the East India Company to foster Indian Industries. The manufacture of goods declined and the people who had exported these goods to the markets of Europe in previous centuries began to import them in increasing quantities.

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