

: CONCLUSION :TRANSITION : 1860-1900

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SECTION I.

The present study, an in depth study of the social and economic changes in the Gaekwad State during the years 1860-1884, brings to light certain significant facts relating to the state, its administration, society and economy. It focuses attention on the factors that brought about changes, the nature and extent of these changes, and finally, the direction that the change took, so that, with the completion of the study, one notices clearly the difference between the state of the 1860s and that of the 1880s; between the predominantly feudal set-up of the former years, to a relatively modern one of the latter.

Briefly speaking the areas of transition were the state - its administrative machinery and power structure, the economic structure based on agriculture, and the social structure mainly in the context of the agricultural classes. It may be added here, that there was a close relationship among all these areas, hence the development, therein, pertained to, and affected the related areas.

(A) The State, its administrative and power structure :

The period from 1860 to 1884 represents a gradual shift from the feudal system to a gradually moder<sup>h</sup>ising and codifying one. This gradual shift saw the lessening of the power of the izardars and the sardars, the growth in the office and functions of the newly formed bureaucracy and the growth on both these accounts, of the central authority viz. the ruler.

Thus, these developments that spanned the second half of the nineteenth century, and in fact which continued till the next, led to increasing centralisation, and, corresponding, decreasing feudal ties and relationships. The increase in the ruler's power secured by a withdrawal of the political and economic privileges of the sardars, was en<sup>h</sup>anced also by the removal of the izardars, the private, and intermediary agents of revenue management and collection. The latter were substituted by the new official class, with direct dealings with the ruler on a new direct cash payment basis. with lands being slowly recovered under the state's direct management, and with class of administrators directly responsible to, and in control of the state, the ruler's hold over his state and people improved, as well as tightened. In respect of financial gain too, did the state benefit. For, with the barkhali lands recovered, and with those made to pay a certain sum, came better income to the state.

The settlement made with grantees of land to charity or religion deserve mention. As the local elements were considerable in the category of religious grantees, it was perhaps expedient for the ruler not to alienate their sympathies, lest they too, like the military class, would become another discontented element in society. It was precisely for this reason that the Sardars, who were of little utility to the state in the mid-nineteenth century, were gradually divested of their political, administrative and economic privileges, whereas those indigenous elements whose utility was greater, were let off almost untouched.

The motivation of the ruler for such action, based on expediency, is further illustrated by the settlement made with the local revenue officers viz., the Patels and the Desais, who were also let off almost untouched as far as the recovery of their rent free holdings was concerned. Evidently state policy was not to disturb the sentiments of religion and of the local and traditional servicemen. For now, it was their association and not so much of the alien Marathas, that the ruler needed in his programme of reconstruction of administration and stabilization of authority in the second half of the century.

Political, coupled with economic reasons, thus motivated the state action on the issue of rent free lands.

The significant factor that facilitated the change in the position of the military class was the guarantee to the Gaekwad of security and territorial integrity by the British. This guarantee it may be noted was part and parcel of the general policy of the paramount power as regards the Indian princes.

A Note on the Condition of Peasantry :

If the transition from the old, outmoded forms of administration to a more modernised system, increased the powers of the state, they also benefitted the people as such - most of whom were agriculturists.

Thus with the removal of the izara system and the assumption of direct control and management of lands earlier in the hands of the Sardars, the evils of private management of districts were also removed. And the peasants, as they came in direct control of the state, were thus freed, by century end, from the oppression and harassment they had earlier suffered. In the changed times, therefore, they came to have better treatment and reduced exploitation. This relief in itself, was a significant change.

(B) Change in the Economic Structure, The Overall

Incentive Structure during 1860-1884 :

The economic structure of the State in the mid-nineteenth century was based upon agriculture.

The major elements of this structure were the ruler, the sardars, the revenue farmers, the revenue and other government officials and finally the peasant. As far as the ruler's connection with the peasant in Khalsa or government lands is concerned, it was through the izardars and the revenue officials - and so indirect. Its connection with the peasants of the Sardar's lands was even more remote, they being entirely in the hands of their alienated grantees. The pattern of revenue collection in the alienated lands does not emerge clearly. It would seem that they might have followed one, not very dissimilar to that employed in khalsa lands.

These elements discussed above, were also the major beneficiaries in the economic system - the peasant being the one least benefitted. Such an economic structure here is, in a loose sense, being called feudal.

The policy of the rulers was as could be expected, to maximise the revenue, hence the burden upon the agrarian classes was heavy.<sup>1</sup> In certain areas as in the Dubhoi and Karol talukas of the Baroda Prant, the land tax constituted 82% and 92% of the total agrarian yield respectively.

If, therefore, agriculture yielded more than 75% of the income of the state and if, this 75%, revenue amounted

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1. Note such infact was the policy of Indian rulers as such V.C.Bhutani "Agricultural Indebtedness and Alienation of Land." Journal of Indian History, Vol.XLVII, April,1969.

to well above 50% of the total produce, the remaining surplus of twenty percent was barely enough to provide the cultivator with an adequate living. This subsistence level economy so was specially about the mid-nineteenth century when not only the ruler but the landed nobility and the revenue functionaries tried to take the maximum possible from the peasant.<sup>2</sup>

Eighteen seventy five onwards saw a change in the policy of high taxation so that from then onwards the peasant was relieved. By the end of the century, therefore, the average reduction in the land tax was around twenty-five percent giving the peasant a surplus about fifty per cent or half his produce instead of the earlier twenty-five percent surplus. This made agriculture profitable and land valuable.<sup>3</sup>

#### The Changing Economy :

The parallel process of change from a mainly feudal set-up to a relatively modern and rational one as seen for the state machinery and the power structure, is also to be perceived in the economy of the period.

Economic conditions remained poor by and large, till about the eighteen seventies when the volume of the land

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2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

tax was around seventy five per cent of the total produce. From that time onwards a gradual development and prosperity becomes perceptible owing to the increasing surplus left by the lowering of state demand. This increasing surplus was 50% against the 25% of earlier times. This progress is specially to be seen in these agricultural tracts where commercial crops replaced the traditional ones<sup>4</sup> giving better returns to the cultivator.

Thus where the cultivation of cotton and tobacco increased as, for example in the Baroda prant talukas of Baroda, Sinor, Savli, Padra and Petlad, economic conditions too improved with this notable shift to cash crops and also increased the monetization of these districts as well.

Moreover, the districts which saw increasing monetization and the shift to transactions in cash instead of in kind, also saw the growth of the salaried officials paid in cash. For now that the State collected its income in cash, it could make disbursements also in cash.

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4. That, types of cultivation affect economy, is shown in the below cited study:

Asam. A. Yengoyan. "Demographic and Economic Aspects of Poverty in the Rural Philippines. Comparative Studies in Society and History. January, 1974.

The other development was the continued impoverishment of areas not seeing the shift to cash crop, but areas which continued to grow food crops as Bajri, Juar, and Rice. The economy of Kheralu taluka of the Kadi prant and of the Sankheda taluka of the Baroda prant, thus, are instances of continued subsistence level economy.

The change in the incentive structure during the second half of the nineteenth century is not very significant, hence there is little to discuss in it.

The traditional modes of encouraging and relieving the raiyats of their burden - viz., taccavi advances, leases of land at low rates, for cultivation, the special consideration for irrigated lands, the remissions granted and the arrears written-off, the reduced land tax, - continued right through, till the end of the century. The more positive elements such as canals, irrigation schemes, institution for advancing credit to cultivators in easy terms, the necessary legislation to prevent the appropriation of land by non-cultivating interests were lacking. This explains the backwardness and the limited level of development in the last two decades of the century.

Changes in the above areas were accompanied by development in the communication system. Whilst carts and



fair weather roads predominated, railways penetrated the state from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. They contributed to the growth of trade, towns and their hinterlands.

The railway connections at Bodeli and Bahadarpur, for instance, facilitated the timber and Mahwra trade of the economically backward Sankheda taluka; those at Choranda facilitated the cotton trade leading to the growth of the station at Palej.

One very significant point to be observed regarding railways, a point that corroborates the conclusion arrived at by scholars of economic history of India, is the colonial interest of the British railway policy.

Even so the railway did break the isolation of villages, widened the horizons of trade and marketing, equalised prices by removing market imperfections and ultimately did bring prosperity to the commercial crop areas.

The increased communication and mobility in general, on account of the increased trade, is indicated in the increase in conveyances (carts and carriages) such as have been cited in the text, and also in the construction of feeder lines of the main Bombay-Baroda, the Bombay and the central Indian railways. An equally significant indicator of mobility of goods is the growth in the volume of the

export and import trade at the ports of Billimora and Navsari after 1875.

The towns and hinterlands that came into prominence owing to the railway connection were those of Dubhoi, Petlad, Choranda, Jarod, Sinor, Baroda and Padra of the Baroda Prant, Ahmedabad the chief Market town for Kadi prant, along with Dhinoj, in Vadvali Taluka, Pabana in Mehsana, Randela and Bhandu in Visnagar - all of the Kadi Prant, the port towns of the Navsari Prant and the headquarter towns of the Amreli Prant.

National and international trade links were established with the Baroda towns being connected with the neighbouring British districts of Nadiad, Borsad and Cambay and with places outside as Aden, Kachh and Bhuj.

Condition of Economy - General and Individual - 1860-1884-  
with Special reference to the Agricultural Classes :

The nature and extent of the process of transition is best seen at two levels throughout the period of discussion. These two levels are the general and the individual, both being integrated parts of the one process.

General :

A general and overall progress in the economic

situation of the State is to be seen by the 1880s, beginning from the 1860s. It is indicated in the extended areas of cultivation; the increased utilisation of land and the corresponding decrease in cultivable waste; the improved finances of the state reflected in increased income in general, and from land revenue in particular; the increase in income from sources other than land;<sup>5</sup> in the better realisation with the reduced arrears; in the increase in agricultural carts and implements as well as improved economic assets such as more wells for irrigation; more and improved quality of housing; in the shift in crop pattern viz., from non-commercial to commercial crops implying better investment potentialities; the increase in population of most districts of the State and of this population, a higher concentration of agriculturists; in the growth of market towns and trade activities and in the beginnings of industrialisation.

In short, whereas the 1860s was pre-dominantly a medieval and feudal set-up with few traces of development and un-favourable economic conditions, the 1880s indicated a relatively more progressive economy with a possibility of a more rapid advance in the future.

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5. Note these have been considered as signs of agricultural development in general as well. R. Laporte, J.F. Petres, J.C. Rinehart : "The Concept of Agrarian Reform and its role in Development". Comparative Studies in Society and History, October, 1971.

Individual :

Individually seen, the beneficiaries of the above discussed changes were the state in the long-run and the better and skilled class of cultivators - generally the Kanbis.

The benefits of the state in general terms are in the increased income from land and other sources of revenue, the better receipts and reduced arrears, in the reduced expenditure in respect of remissions, and in the recovery of the rent free lands.

Specifically the state had financial difficulties on account of the increased expenditure on the enlarged administrative establishment and the increased public works, without the adequate provision of a new source of income. The reductions made, moreover immediately and temporarily contributed to these financial problems for the state claimed less. In the long run, however, they went to serve the interest of the state and people. Those benefits noticed at the end of the century and the beginning of the next concern all the indications of the general prosperity referred to.

Kanbis and the skilled Cultivators :

The other beneficiary of the developing economy was the skilled cultivator - the Kanbi. He, with his potentia-

lities of skill and application, and with better economic assets viz., larger holdings, was the one who readily responded to the encouragement given, and to the stimulus provided by the American civil war. With such motivation, it was the Kanbis, therefore, who profited most, and improved their material conditions. It is to them that the evidences of progress and development, apply.

The observation in the twentieth century as regards the improved conditions seen in the rise in their standards of living, in the growing disparity between them and the other classes in the Sankheda Taluka, further elucidates the point.

Another beneficiary of the changed situation was the moneylender. In the absence of the institution of credit he was the sole source of borrowing for the cultivators. The money-lender used this situation to his advantage, keeping his rates of interests high, and exploiting the economic difficulties of the raiyats, especially in the cultivators, without the accompanying safeguards preventing transfer of land. This was the one serious impediment in the betterment of the poorer classes.

A very significant point as regards possibility of real advance in the direction of increasing monetization may

be made here. Though the financial position of the cultivators improved owing to the reduced volume of land tax that left a larger surplus at hand, neither the Kanbis nor the moneylenders used that surplus economically. Their surplus, therefore, did not have the potential of capital which would have facilitated profitable and newer areas of investment.

In the context of improvement in economy one more class needs mentioning - the Waghers of Okhamandal. The fact that a class, turbulent and unused to any kind of organised life in the mid-nineteenth century having grown accustomed to a peaceful life of agriculturists by the 1880s was an important achievement and change. ✓

Trends counter to those of progress :

If on the one hand the economic condition of the 1880s improved over that of the 1860s, then there was also in progress, a process running in counter direction. This counter trend explains the poverty of certain agriculturists and regions. Evidences of these are the figures of lands sold and mortgaged, conditions of indebtedness and poverty reported, the continuing arrears of revenue, the fragmentation of holdings making them increasingly uneconomic, the criminal offences and such like as have been referred to in the text.

The classes to which the above conditions applied were the poorer and unskilled class of cultivators viz., the Kolis, Bhils, Ahirs and Rajputs. They, owing partly to their habits and customs, and partly to the handicaps of lack of economic assets whereby to meet the expenses of profitable cultivation, were unable to reap the benefits from the encouragement given, and so, could not keep pace with the development of the other classes.

Therefore, the change, in their condition over the years was for the worse. Thus for example we have the instance of the Rajput cultivators of the Sankheda Taluka becoming more impoverished by the last decade of the century so that their condition was indistinguishable from that of the poorest cultivators. The only recourse for them in these circumstances was to move out to the neighbouring British districts, a course which they adopted eventually.

(C) Social Structure - The Changes therein - The  
Classes in Society :

Broadly speaking, the classes in society may be divided in three. One, the elite or higher class consisting of the sardars, the family members and the relatives of the royal family; two, the middle class which again may be divided into two categories - the upper and the lower; and three, the lower classes.

The relegation into the background of the sardars has already been discussed. What remains to be added here is that while they lost their economic, political and administrative privileges, their social and ceremonial status continued as before.

The second half of the nineteenth century saw a growth in the middle class, as also a sharpening of the division between the upper and lower middle class.

#### Upper Middle Class :

The upper middle class may be said to be comprised of the bureaucrats, the big land-holders, holding above twenty or thirty bighas of land, and the rich merchants, money-lenders and traders.

#### Lower and Middle Class :

The lower middle class would include the lower officials in the administrative machinery, the lesser landholders holding land below twenty bighas, the mediocre moneylenders, traders, merchants, the tenants and the sub-tenants of the big landlords.

#### Social Mobility and the Sharpening of Differences

##### Between the Two :

The first change noticed by century end, is the growth in the upper middle class. This is seen in respect of the



increasing number of officials, with the enlargement of the administrative establishments and the rationalisation of administration. This could be considered mobility with the horizontal trend.

Then there was the social mobility, with the vertical trend effected by the growth in the bigger and better class of landholders. As prosperity increased, the Kanbis particularly were able to buy more land and so extend their holdings. The increase in number of landholders holding above twenty and thirty bighas of land illustrated the point.

Likewise the increase in the economic assets of the moneylenders, with more and more appropriation by them of land from the poorer cultivators, affected an uplift in their economic, hence social status. Here there was vertical as well as horizontal mobility. For not only did the numbers of the bigger moneylenders increase, but the ordinary ones became bigger moneylenders with enhanced potential for their economic development.

The general development of the state during the second half of the nineteenth century brought similar benefit, hence similar trends of mobility within the merchants and trading classes.

Social mobility with the vertical trend, indicates both increasing prosperity of a certain class at the end, and decreasing prosperity of another at the other end. Thus the improving economic conditions of the Kanbis and other skilled cultivators, sharpened the differences between them and those whose economic condition had deteriorated and from whom the kanbis had bought off lands. In this way the pyramid towards the bottom end widened with the increase in the number of lesser landholders i.e. landholders whose lands had been bought off and who, in consequence were left with reduced holdings.

The most noticeable feature in social change during the period under discussion was in the increase of tenants and subtenants. It is quite obvious, that the growing number of large ~~farms~~ needed tenancy cultivation. Moreover, cultivation having become profitable, people did come forward to cultivate as tenants and sub-tenants. These would be the "tenants at will".

Regarding the ordinary class of moneylenders and traders, it may be stated, that their business having improved prospects owing to the developing economy their numbers would have increased, as also their economic conditions. And though no study in respect of mobility from one occupational group to the other, irrespective of caste, has been made, it could be assumed that there would have been

instances of that; since caste restrictions in matter of occupation were not rigid.

Lower Class :

Finally comes the third category - the lower class of the poorest class of cultivators with very meagre holdings, the landless labourer and the village servants.

The changes in their condition by century end are very significant. For the processes that saw the improving prosperity of certain classes of cultivators, and of the moneylender, was the one that also saw the worsening of the condition of the lower classes. The passing of land from cultivating to non-cultivating interests furthered by the proprietary right in land given to the raiyats for the first time in the 1880s, was the process that reduced the poor class cultivators to the position of landless labourers. This process of the supersession of the hereditary landowners by the moneylender continued to the end of the century.<sup>6</sup>

The change in this respect was significant in terms of the magnitude of lands sold and mortgaged and the intensity of their poverty that led them over the years to becoming virtually bond slaves of their masters.

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6. V.C. Bhutani : op.cit.

✓ Conclusion :

Certain salient features of the process of transition, that emerge from the study, may be mentioned now.

The most significant among them is the role of the state particularly with regards to its taxation policy. Thus ✓ as long as the volume of land tax in the state was high viz., about seventy to eighty per cent of the total agricultural yield, the trends were contrary to all growth.

When, this was reduced, leaving fifty per cent surplus at the cultivator's lands, the possibility of improvement was ensured.

Secondly, there is the noticeable feature of the impact of colonial policies. Thus the British interests in ✓ cotton<sup>8</sup> led to a progressive development and prosperity of the cotton agricultural tracts in the state.<sup>9</sup> And a minor illustration of their adverse affect in economic terms is to be seen in the channelling of Kadi prant from the cultivation of opium to other crops.

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7. Other colonial territories too, with the contact with Europeans, passed from a pure subsistence economy to a money and profit making system. Baruch Kimmerling. "Subsistence crop, cash crop, and urbanisation - some materials from Ghana, Uganda and the Ivory cost. Rural Sociology. 1971.
  8. Tarashankar Banerjee : "American cotton Experiments in India and the American civil war". Journal of Indian History. Aug. 1969.
  9. Note how the USA civil war hastened and improved the transporting system in India. In F.A. Logan: "The American civil war of Major Factor in the Improvement of the Transportation System of Western India." "Journal of Indian History, Vol.XXIII. 1955.

The third feature that appears with regard to the nature of reductions in land revenue demand after 1875. These reductions had greater elements of economic justice than of social justice. This is indicated in the attempts to reduce the disparity of rates between the better class of cultivators - the Kanbis and the poorer ones, the Kolis, so that the rate on a particular kind of land was almost the same for both, no distinction being made on grounds of the class of the cultivators. The reductions in rates, therefore, was apparently based on economic rather than social justice.

Another point that emerges is that mobility as such, whether in respect of migration, or in terms of movement in classes, is generated by economic forces.<sup>10</sup>

Finally reference may be made regarding the stage of economic development arrived at in the state by the end of the 19th century. Thus while progress and improvement in economic conditions had taken place, and provision for improved economic assets and increased wealth been made, the capital really necessary for the breakthrough in the economic system was still lacking. It was then the pre-capitalist stage, the state was in, as the twentieth century opened out.

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10. Peter Ullenberg, "Non Economic Determinants of non-migration: Sociological Considerations for migration theory". Ryrat Sociology, 1973.

And if we accept the view that capitalist and industrialised societies go through period of social tensions, and social change and adaptations, such as have been referred to, then we could say that the Gaekwad state was in a pre-industrialised State<sup>11</sup> by the end of nineteen hundred.

## SECTION II

### Continuity - 1860-1900

While attention in the preceeding pages has been focussed on the change, it has to be remembered that there is no real break in the continuity during this period. In fact, there is a greater sense of continuity of tradition than of change or innovation. Conservatism was a natural factor in administration and the changes were in the nature of reform or improvement rather than in break with the past.

Generally it may be said that fundamentally the set up remained the same, as radical changes were few.

#### Continuity in the Power Structure, Administrative Set-up and Aspects of its System:

The two major elements of the power structure viz., the ruler and dewan continued to be predominant.

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11. Wolfman Fischer : "Social Tensions at early stages of industrialisation". Comparative Studies in Society and History, Oct. 1966.

The power and role of the dewan, in fact, increased with the growing rationalisation of administration. The office of the dewan as head of the revenue administration was confirmed, so that his status as head of administration in the State and his position next to the ruler in the political and official hierarchy continued. No doubt, the scope of his activities and that of his establishment were better defined, so that his grip over the administrative machinery tightened.

As regards the administrative structure and the conduct of administration, the basic framework remained the same. Thus, in revenue administration, the hereditary officers as the Patels, Desai's and Majumdars continued in office and so did their functions, with certain limitations. Moreover, the "haks" and the customary privileges, "dasturs", viz., of enjoyment of a certain proportion as remuneration for their services, also continued.

In the above connection it may be stated that the customary privileges of the garassias<sup>1</sup> were allowed to continue as they were, when the reconstruction of the administrative machinery was being under-taken in the Amreli division in the 1880s. Thus they retained the right of paying half the Talati's salary. What changed, broadly, therefore, was the running of the machinery and the controls over it rather than the basic framework and the modus operandi.

No doubt, while the traditional official class was maintained the new official class i.e. the bureaucracy, was being created. In this way the shedding of certain feudal forms viz., of underfined, loose and indirect control, was accompanied by the retention of the feudal forms viz., of continued "haks" and privileges enjoyed in the collection and management of revenue. Furthermore, the old forms continued for a longer time in the places farthest from the state capital where difficulties of implementation existed.

The military class which receded into the background by century end, also retained its social and ceremonial privileges, while economic and political privileges were progressively reduced over the years. Thus though inquiries and curtailment of their assets began in the 1860s, their position was singularly affected only in the 1880s. For dewan T. Madhavrao, with his pressing problems of agriculturists, did not take up, during his period of administration, the issue of Sardar's cases. It was after 1886, and by the end of the century that they were practically shorn of their privileges. Obviously, therefore, the feudal relationships of this class too continued through till the better part of the 1880s.



Continuity in the Economic Structure, the Overall  
Incentive Structure and the Infra-structure :

A considerable degree of continuity of the 1860s till century end is to be seen in the basis of production viz., land, and in the features of the land revenue system.

Thus at the end of the century, agriculture remained the main source of income, though other sources of income from textile industries and from export and import grew. Besides, while cultivation increased, the level of production mostly remained low as it had been around the mid-nineteenth century. And the low level of production coupled with other factors affected the tools and techniques of production, which basically remained unchanged.

Furthermore, while commercialisation of crops grew, the major crops continued to be bajri, jwar and rice.

One aspect of continuity in fiscal arrangements of the State, that needs to be mentioned is the opium and salt arrangements, which the British wanted on their lines and in their imperial interests, right through the century.

While the government after 1875 was progressive and did much to develop the state, the overall incentive structure remained basically the same. The state effort in this direction remained limited to the giving of loans, granting of

remissions and reduction of taxation; all of which were the traditional ways of helping the peasantry. Thus the absence of institutional credit facilities and irrigation schemes which would really have changed the scene, were aspects that continued till the turn of the century.

The spread of the railway network did not materially change the communication pattern in the areas not covered by the railways. And as the spread of railways was itself a gradual process, the benefits from it came in rather slowly. Carts and fair weather roads continued, till century end, to be the major ways of communication for the transit of goods. The considerable increase in carts and carriages in the 1890s indicates the dependence of the rural areas on this means of transport.

Railways, moreover, were constructed primarily with the view to develop the cotton agricultural tracts, and not the non-commercial crop areas. Economic activity, its pace and level, therefore, continued in the 1880s, as it had been in the 1860s.

While during the second half of the nineteenth century the old forms of the land revenue system were being slowly removed from certain areas, they also persisted in others. Thus bhagbatai, holbandi, kaltana, bhagdari, narvadari and

izara continued in certain places till the 1870s, and in certain others till the 1880s and also the 20th century.

In respect of the bighoti or assessment in cash in place of bhagbatai or assessment in kind, it may be said that the former continued in the Baroda and Kadi prants by and large, so that about fifty per cent of these districts were under bhagbatai till 1875, whereas in the Amreli prant bhagbatai continued to a greater extent till the 1880s. And Navsari prant saw the change from Bhagbatai and Kaltana system only in 1890s.

Thus, along with the change to cash economy, the old feudal element of transactions in kind continued in respect of revenue payment. And with bhagbatai its accompanying taxes upon the cultivators continued. ✓

Similar is the case with the izara system. It continued till the 1880s only in the Amreli division.

The Narwadari tenure it may be noted, continued in Petlad Taluka of the Baroda Prant till the end of the century.

Another feature, which continued till the 1880s, was the unscientific and inaccurate classification of land so that the burden of land tax was disproportionate. It was only when a proper survey and settlement were introduced after 1884 were these anomalies removed. This meant that till

such time, therefore, taxes, not in due proportion to the quality of the soil continued.

Continuing Conditions :

If the old and out-model forms of administration and of land revenue system continued, it is evident that so did its attendant disadvantages. The trends counter to the process of development indicated by the statistics cited, bear this out, as for instance, the figures of sales and mortgages of land, of arrears of revenue, of remissions granted and of reports of poor conditions.

Till the end of the century, therefore, conditions of certain areas continued to be poor, with economic activity still being concentrated around the village.

Continuity in Society - Its Classes - In their Conditions :

When elements in continuity of classes is to be seen, it is their condition, economic and social, that one can look into. In this connection the change and continuity of the feudal class has already been indicated.

The other classes would be the agriculturists, in the context of agrarian economy. Among them, those whose condition continued to be good were the skilled cultivators - the Kanbis - and the moneylenders. And among those whose condition continued to be poor, in fact worsened, were the

unskilled class of cultivators, viz., the Kolis, Dublas, Dhankas, Rajputs, Ahirs and others. One point regarding the Ahirs, in the context of continuity need be made here. They were allowed the enjoyment of tax exemption in the Amreli prant.

Summing-up of the Elements of Continuity and Change :

Certain observations, may now be made regarding agrarian reforms.

Land reform as such has a very wide meaning and would include reform of land ownership and management; reform of land tenancy i.e. providing security of tenure, protection from eviction; fixing of rent; eliminating intermediaries and prohibiting sub-leasing and regulating the relationships between the owners of land and the share croppers.<sup>12</sup> In short, it would concern itself with the entire legal, customary, and institutional framework in which agriculture is carried on. Its benefits would accrue only if land reforms were accompanied by improvements in other closely related parts of the economic and social system such as credit facilities, marketing location and education.<sup>13</sup>

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12. M.Riad, E.L. Ghonemy, "Land Reform and Economic development in the Near-East". Journal of Land Economics Feb. 1968.

13. Iftikar Ahmed, J.F. Timmona. "Current Land Reforms in East Pakistan". Land Economics, Feb. 1971, op.cit.

Where these enumerated areas of land reform, land ownership and management, fixing of rent and eliminating intermediaries are concerned, the Baroda State did affect land reform during the years under study<sup>14</sup> - hence the transition is certain and the change obvious.

Where the other aspects of land reform as reform of land tenancy, of prohibiting leasing and subleasing of land, of regulating the relationships between the owners of land and the share croppers, i.e. the related legal, customary and institutional framework are concerned,<sup>15</sup> there is more continuity than change. Hence the slow pace and the particular stage of economic development, and of the level of productivity, as seen in the foregoing section.

#### Conclusion - Explanation for Continuity :

Having briefly reviewed the areas and aspects of continuity one might very well go into a period-wise explanation of the same.

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14. Note (1) land ownership affected by the barkhali settlements, the land held on raiyatwari tenure by bighoti being introduced, and in the proprietary right given to the tillers of soil (2) management changed by Sarkar's taking over of privately managed lands, and by establishing direct links of the peasant with his land (3) fixing of rent seen in the settlements made throughout the period studied (4) Intermediaries removed, as seen in the removal of the izara system.
  15. Note (1) absence of land legislation preventing or restricting the sale and transfer of land (2) absence of tenancy laws, (3) and the absence of institutional credit facilities in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Thus, taking the period of Khanderao Gaekwad, 1860-70, the continuing features of the land revenue system, the continuing order of the old administrative machinery, the continuing barkhali lands and the continuing poverty and impoverishment of the districts may be attributed to the inability of the ruler in implementing the reforms he planned. That was also due to his handicaps of a lack of a sizeable class of trained staff, as well as the resistance to change from the Sardars in case of barkhali resumptions and the narwadars of Petlad as regards change in the land system there.

All the maladies and symptoms of a feudal set-up continued during 1870-75, the period of Malharrao Gaekwad, owing to his apathy and the general maladministration of his times.

That they more or less continued through the administration of dewan T. Madhavrao 1875-1881, was due to the dewan's concentrated effort in the one direction of relieving the peasants and so alleviating the distresses of the cultivating classes. The various problems as claims of bankers, sardars, and agriculturists could not be simultaneously dealt with, as each needed individual attention. It

was the agriculturists, by and large that received attention during these years.

The famine of 1877 was another factor that contributed to the impoverished conditions of the peasantry, and punctuated the pace of recoupment.

It was during the period of Sayajirao III 1881-1884 that most of the issues were tackled and the process putting an end to the old outmoded forms, begun. Hence the end of most of these old forms, by century end, and a break to continuity. Thus it is by century end that change becomes really noticeable. ✓

Certain impersonal factors that contributed to the trends of continuity also existed. They were, one, the distance as for example of the Amreli prant where measures could not be effectively implemented; two, the general poor conditions of communications that existed within the state and without, making for poor connections with the rest of India; three, the absence of any circumstance of significance after the civil war of the 1860s, that could have forged change; and last but not the least, the caution in general exercised by the administrators specially dewan T. Madhavrao and dewan Kaji Shahabuddin, which subsequently, affected certain hereditary privileges enjoyed classes in society.