

CHAPTER 4: COLONIZING LAND AND THE SETTLEMENT OF LAND TENURES IN BRITISH GUJARAT (1850-1947)

The chapter carries forward the debate of ‘change’ and ‘continuity’ after the rule of the English East India Company is abolished and India formally became a part of the British Empire. The chapter in essence deals with the attempts made by the British administration to colonize the agricultural land. It discusses the introduction of various types of reforms. These reforms were termed as ‘Survey’ and ‘Settlement’ which itself was borrowed from medieval rulers. The reforms were introduced in a phased manner such as Original Survey and Settlement, Revision Survey and Settlement and Re-Revision Survey and Settlement. These include the settlement of various land tenures and their impact on relationships between state and its people. These were carried out at various points of time in the 19th and 20th centuries respectively. The chapter gives a comprehensive analysis of survey and settlement and its impact on agrarian society and economy.

Introduction

By the mid of nineteenth century, the old survey and settlement (30 year's guarantee) had run its course in the districts of British Gujarat. The publication of the Joint Report of 1847 gave out a clear statement of principles and policies. This came to be known as the New Survey and Settlement of Bombay Presidency. This was extended to British Gujarat by 1851 after the expiration of old survey and settlement. A position of a Settlement Commissioner, assisted by many survey officers, was created who was in charge of survey operations in British Gujarat.¹

1. Chronology of Survey and Settlement: The New Survey and Settlement commenced in British Gujarat can be categorized into Original Survey and Settlement (1851-1885), Revision Survey and Settlement (1888-1910) and Re-Revision Survey and Settlement (1911-1938). The following tables show the chronology of Original, Revision and Re-Revision Survey and Settlement introduced in the different *talukas* of the districts of British Gujarat:²

District	Taluka	Original Survey and Settlement	Revision Survey and Settlement	Re-Revision Survey and Settlement
Ahmedabad	Dholka	1851-57	1888-89	1923-24
	Dhandhuka	1857-58	1889-93	1922-23
	Daskroi	1858-59 1860-61	1889-90	1926-27 1923-24
	Viramgam	1858-59	1890-91	1927-28

¹ Gordon, R. G. (1917). *The Bombay Survey and Settlement Manual. Volume I. Part I - Historical*. Bombay: The Government Central Press. 84, 86

² Powell, B. H. (1882). *A Manual of the Land Revenue Systems and Land Tenures of British India*. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing. 571-572, Patel, G. D. (1969). *The Land Revenue Settlements and The British Rule in India*. Ahmedabad: Gujarat University Press. 117-118, 172-174, 259-260, and Srinivas, K., Awasthi, A., & Vaidya, M. (2017). *History of Land Revenue Administration in Gujarat (1407 AD to 2017 AD)*. Gujarat: Revenue Department, Government of Gujarat. 247-248, 251-254

	Prantij and Modasa	1861-62	1892-93	1927-28
	Sanand	(Did not exist as a separate <i>taluka</i>) ³	1892-93	-Do-
	Jetalpur	1859-64	.....	.....
	Gogha	.....	1889-93	1923-24
Kheda	Matar	1858-59 1862-63	1894-95	1918-19
	Mehmedabad	1858-59 1862-63 (Did not exist as a separate <i>taluka</i>). ⁴	1894-95	-Do- (Re-inquiry in 1930)
	Nadiad (Mahudha)	1862-62 1865-66	1895-96	1924
	Anand	1862-63 1866-67	1895-96	1924
	Borsad	1866-67 1876-77	1895-96	1924
	Kapadvanj	1862-63 1863-64	1895-96	1924
	Thasra	1862-63 1864-65	1895-96	1924
Panchmahals	Kalol	1870-71	1910	1926-27

³ Sanand was created as separate *taluka* in 1867.

⁴ Mehmedabad was also created as separate *taluka* in 1867.

	Godhra	1873-74 1880-81	1905	1926-27
	Dohad	1878-79 1884-85	1912	1926-27
	Jhalod	1881-82 1884-85	1910	1926-27
	Halol	1879-80	1907	1926-27
Bharuch	Bharuch	1870-71	1903-04	.....
	Ankleswar	1871-72	1901-02 and 1912	.....
	Wagra	1872-73	1903-04	.....
	Amod	1874-75	1905-06	.....
	Jambusar	1875-76	1905-06	.....
Surat	Chorasi	1865-66 1869-70	1897-98 and 1900-1901	1927-28
	Bardoli	1865-66	1897-98	1927-28
	Chikhli	1866-67	1899-00	.....
	Jalalpore	1868-69	1902-03	.....
	Bulsar	1869-70	1902-03	.....
	Pardi	-Do-	1904-05	.....
	Olpad	1869-70	1900-01	.....
	Mandvi	1871-72 1882-83 1884-85	1904-05	.....

2. Method of Survey and Settlement: In Survey and Settlement, the process of assessment was carried out in three stages viz., (a) grouping of villages (b) determination of the aggregate and (c) distribution of the aggregate.⁵ The Survey and Settlement made provision for land to be assessed according to its capabilities and not of the cultivators.⁶ Following is a description of three particular processes viz., survey number, classification and assessment which were taken into operation in order to determine revenue to be paid by peasants on land under government control.

(i) Survey Number: Survey number was the unit of survey by which a block or portion of field was determined and put down in register.⁷ Each field of land was surveyed after which this surveyed field was divided into compartments. The compartment was originally of about one acre each which were separately classified.⁸

(ii) Classification: The lands were classified into three main categories viz., (a) dry-crop (*jirayat*) land (b) garden (*bagayat*) land and (c) rice (*kyari*) land.⁹ The classification included two main factors – land/soil and water. The scale of land varied according to depth of land advantages and disadvantages and the scale of water varied according to order and depth of water. The following chart shows the categories and sub-categories of lands:¹⁰

⁵ For detailed account of grouping of villages, determination of aggregate and distribution of aggregate under Original, Revision and Re-Revision Surveys and Settlements, see Srinivas, K., Awasthi, A., & Vaidya, M. (2017). 249, 304-317, 343-348, 363-371, 392-401, 417-446

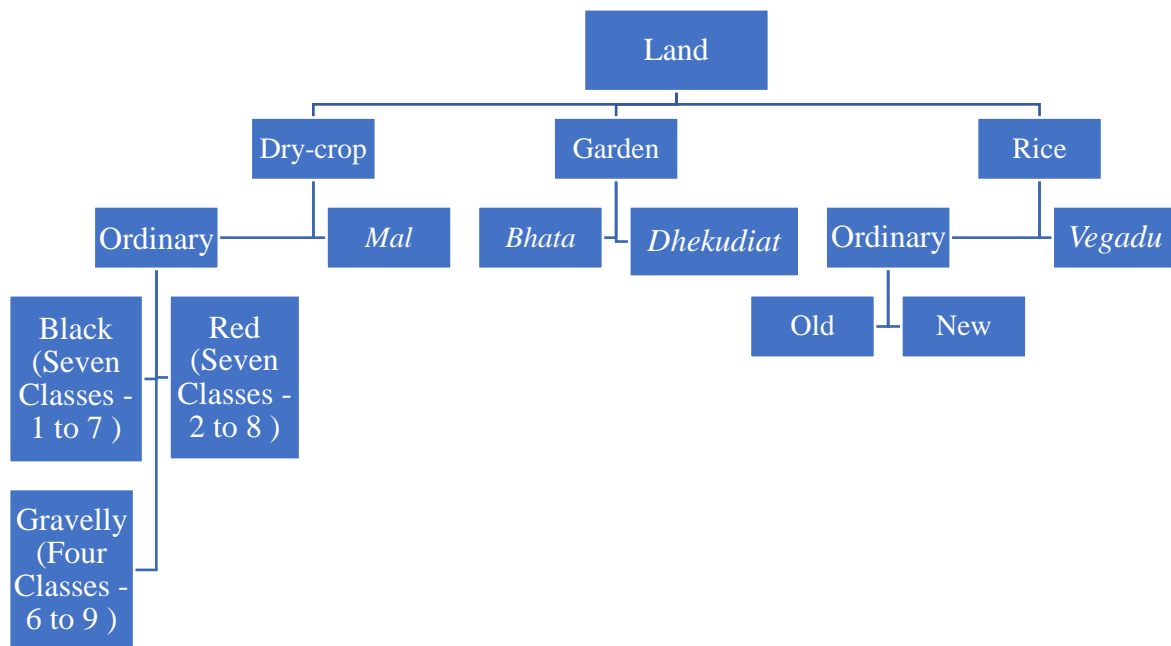
⁶ Srinivas, K., Awasthi, A., & Vaidya, M. (2017). 246

⁷ Desai, T. R. (1907). *Manual of Land Tenures. Being a Brief Summary of the Law Relating to the Raiatwari Tenures, Watans and Saranjams*, Bombay: "Mistry Printing Works," Cavel, Kalbadevi. 1

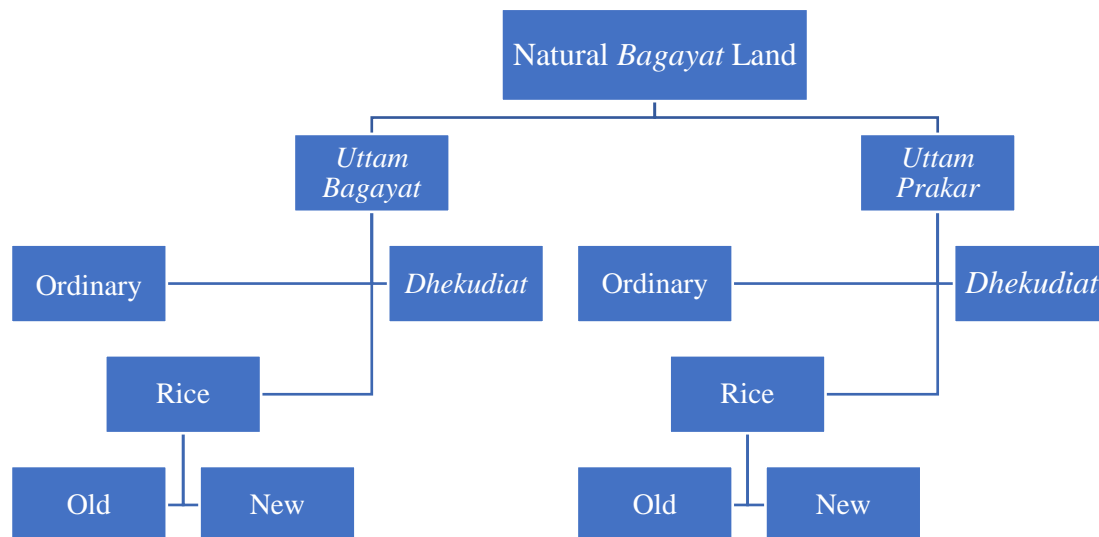
⁸ Srinivas, K., Awasthi, A., & Vaidya, M. (2017). 248

⁹ Powell, B. H. (1882). 557-558, Desai, T. R. (1907). 3 and Shukla, J. B., & Vakil, C. N. (1937). *Life and Labour in A Gujarat Taluka*. Calcutta: Longmans, Green and Co. 11

¹⁰ Gordon, R. G. (1917). Vol. I. 93-95 and Gordon, R. G. (1917). *The Bombay Survey and Settlement Manual. Volume II. Part II. – Technical. Part III. – Appendices*. Bombay: The Government Central Press. 338-340, 348



In addition to it, there was a separate class of land in Surat District called ‘natural *bagayat*’. It was found mainly in Bardoli, Chikli, Pardi and Chorasi Talukas. It was subdivided in the following manner:¹¹



¹¹ Gordon, R. G. (1917). Vol. II. 338, 348, 353-356

As far as scale of water is concerned, there were four orders of water viz., (a) sweet (b) slightly brackish but drinkable (c) brackish but undrinkable and (d) brackish but salty with five classes. In these orders, the water might be obtained at the depth of 10, 15, 20 and 40 feet respectively.¹²

(iii) Assessment: In assessment of each class of lands, both soil and sub-soil water supply factors were taken into consideration. The differences between soil scale and water scale were not based on classification. The soil scale was divided into survey number defined by boundary marks while water scale was not so much defined but the area in occupation was measured every year and assessment fixed accordingly.¹³ Following is the description of assessment of each class of lands considering soil and sub-soil water scale factors.

(a) Dry-Crop Land: According to the new classification, the soil was divided into black (*kali/besar*), red (*goradu/gorat*) and gravelly (*maradi/goramti*) with nine sub-classes which were fixed at the value from 16 to 2 *annas*. The relative value of the highest class was fixed at 16 *annas*, of the second class at 14 *annas* and so on down to 2 *annas*.¹⁴ The *kali* soil was computed to be the best soil or 16 *annas* soil.¹⁵ [See Appendix No. 1] The soil scale was slightly different from the standard in different districts of British Gujarat. For instance, in Kheda District, the *goradu* soil was exceptionally rich and fertile hence the soli scale was different.¹⁶ [See Appendix No.2] In Thasra, Kapadvanj and Nadiad Talukas of the Kheda District, there were large areas of almost uncultivable lands called *mal* land. The soil element of *mal* lands was classed according to the ordinary soil scale but at very low rates.¹⁷

¹² Gordon, R. G. (1917). Vol. I. 166

¹³ Gordon, R. G. (1917). Vol. II. 345-346

¹⁴ Powell, B. H. (1882). 558

¹⁵ Powell, B. H. (1882). 564 and Gordon, R. G. (1917). Vol. II. 338-340

¹⁶ Gordon, R. G. (1917). Vol. II. 341

¹⁷ Gordon, R. G. (1917). Vol. II. 343-344

(b) Garden Land: The soil scale and sub-soil water scale of *bhata* soil of garden land was increased from 16 to 20 *annas* considering its rich fertility. It was classed according to ordinary scale.¹⁸ The soil scale of *dhekudiat* land¹⁹ was also classed according to ordinary scale. But the sub-soil water scale was classed considering the depth from banks to water level and distance of the land irrigable from the site of the *dhekudi*.²⁰ [See Appendix No. 3]

(c) Rice Land: For the assessment of rice lands, the 16 *annas* scale was taken up of dry-crop and garden lands and broken into forming separate scale for 3 factors of value, viz., soil, moisture and embankments, in the proportion of 8, 4 and 4. The scales were reduced into sub-scales.²¹ [See Appendix No. 4] Earlier 12 varieties for the assessment were fixed. Later it was reduced to twelve varieties into 4 classes.²² [See Appendix No. 5] The rice lands were in general dry-crop fields situated in lower level and enable to catch and retain the moisture draining from the higher grounds. The sources of supply for rice lands were categorized into *akasia* (rainfall and drainage) and *himayat* (tanks, rivers, stream, well, *talavdi*, *talav*).²³ The factors such as soil, sub-soil water, *akasia*, *himayat* and *dusota*²⁴ were taken into consideration for assessment of ordinary and *vegadu* classes of rice lands.²⁵ [See Appendix No.6]

(d) Natural Bagayat: For assessment of all classes of natural *bagayat* land, the factors such as soil, sub-soil water, *akasia*, *himayat* and *dusota* were taken into consideration like that of rice lands.²⁶ [See Appendix No.7 and No. 8]

¹⁸ Gordon, R. G. (1917). Vol. II. 345-346

¹⁹ Land watered by means of *dhekudi* or water lift from river or stream.

²⁰ Gordon, R. G. (1917). Vol. II. 346-347

²¹ Gordon, R. G. (1917). Vol. I. 59-60

²² Gordon, R. G. (1917). Vol. I. 61

²³ Gordon, R. G. (1917). Vol. II. 348

²⁴ One of the categories of crops cultivated by natural moisture not by any means of irrigation such as tank.

²⁵ Gordon, R. G. (1917). Vol. II. 348, 353

²⁶ Gordon, R. G. (1917). Vol. II. 354-355

Original Survey and Settlement (1851-1885)

1. Introduction: The Original Survey and Settlement commenced first in Ahmedabad (1851-1862), then in Kheda (1857-1868), Surat (1859-1873), Bharuch (1863-1877) and finally in Panchmahal (1865-1879).²⁷ It followed practices the suggestibly in the Joint Report of 1847.²⁸ The period of settlement was generally fixed for the 30 years. But, in *talukas* of Jhalod, Dohad and Halol, the term for settlement was fixed for 20 years.²⁹

2. Survey Number and Classification: Each part of land was first surveyed and then given a survey number which was consisted of a particular plot of land in acre. The survey number containing plot of land was granted to the *ryots* (*khatedar*, the holder) who agreed to pay a fixed amount of revenue which was determined by the classification of land/soil based on Survey and Settlement. The principles of land classification and revenue assessment has already discussed.

3. Assessment: The following table shows the average rates of assessments under Original Survey and Settlement in the districts of British Gujarat:³⁰

District	Dry-Crop Land (Rs. A. P.)	Garden Land (Rs. A. P.)	Rice Land (Rs. A. P.)
Ahmedabad	1-5-0	5-1-6	4-9-6
Kheda	2-12-0	5-5-5	4-4-4
Panchmahals	1-0-0	.....	1-4-0
Bharuch	4-4-0	8-4-11	6-15-10
Surat	2-11-7	8-2-9	7-15-2

²⁷ Powell, B. H. (1882). 571-572

²⁸ Gordon, R. G. (1917). Vol. I. 88

²⁹ Srinivas, K., Awasthi, A., & Vaidya, M. (2017). 246

³⁰ Patel, G. D. (1969). 162

Under Original Survey and Settlement, the average rate was increased excepting the *talukas* of Ahmedabad District. The main cause for the increase were the rise in prices of agricultural produce and construction of railways. [See Appendix No. 9]

4. Bombay Survey and Settlement Act I of 1865: In order to carry out survey and settlement in a systematic way, a bill was introduced in the Legislative Council in 1864 to provide for the survey, demarcation, assessment and administration of lands held under government in the districts belonging to the Bombay Presidency including British Gujarat. It became a law in the following year under the title of the Bombay Survey and Settlement Act I of 1865 in which the land administration rules were codified. The Act confirmed the previous settlement; empowered government to direct extension of survey to any part of presidency; defined powers and duties of officers; provided for demarcation of field and village; empowered officers in charge of survey to assess government lands; provided registration of rights and interests of occupants. The Act also provided for administration of survey and empowered government to direct a fresh survey and to revise assessment on the expiration of a term of settlement. A provision also added that revised assessment was to be fixed not with reference to improvement made by the owners occupants from private capital and resources but with reference to general considerations of the value of land, whether as to soil or situation, prices of produce, or facilities of communication.³¹

5. Settlement of Land Tenures: Change and Continuity – Even after the introduction of *ryotwari* or survey tenure, a number of other land tenures also continued. These were *bhagdari* and *narwadari*, *senja*, *wanta*, *talukdari*, *giras*, *maleki*, *mehwasi*, *sarkati* and *inam* tenures etc. In 1847, British administrators made number of attempts to settle land tenures. This resulted in

³¹ MSA. (1874). *GRABP for the Year 1872-73*. Bombay: The Government Central Press. 48

the enactments of various Acts³². These acts suited the interests of the administration and gave more power to them. At the time of Original Survey and Settlement, Bhagdari and Narwadari Act, 1862 (Bombay Act V of 1862), Summary Settlement Act (VII of 1863), Bombay Act VI of 1862, Pension Act (XXIII of 1871), Bombay Act III of 1874 etc., were passed to settle land tenures. Additionally, the *maleki* settlement was made in 1865 and the *mehwasi* agreement was executed in 1873.³³ Judicial power was used to bring about further transformation. Since the British could not understand the traditional structures, quite often the land categorization was carried out in a faulty manner. This created chaos and confusion amongst the peasantry. This was compounded by the fact that the agrarian economy of Gujarat was suffering from some sort of decline 'with prices recovering only in 1857'.³⁴ The government continued to make efforts to change the tenurial system by revising the Survey and Settlement. Few tenures have been taken up in the following section to understand how far the British were able to effect changes through their revenue policies under Original Survey and Settlement.

(i) Bhagdari and Narwadari Tenure: Background of *bhagdari* and *narwadari* tenure has been provided in the previous chapter. The British had continued with this system in the first half of the 19th century. Initially, the British recognized all *bhagdars* and *narwadars*, big or small, as peasant proprietors.³⁵ Due to new colonial policies and fall of prices of agricultural products all over British Gujarat during the mid of 19th century, the *bhagdari* and *narwadari* system could not be preserved. Therefore, many of villages under these tenures had approached to

³² For detailed account of these acts, see Khandekar, D. G. (1934). *The Bombay Land Revenue Manual Containing the Bombay Land Revenue Code (Bombay Act No. V of 1879)*. Poona: Law Printing Press.

³³ MSA. (n. a.). *GRABP for the Year 1871-72*. (Publication detail not available). 127, MSA. (1874). *GRABP for the Year 1872-73*. 52-54, Powell, B. H. (1892). *The Land-Systems of British India. Vol. III*. Delhi: Low Price Publications. 301, Patel, G. D. (1950). *Agrarian Reforms in Bombay (The Legal and Economic Consequences of the Abolition of Land Tenures)*. Bombay: Vasant Bhuwan, Gorewadi, Mongal Lane, Matunga. 12, 24, Kharod, N. G. (1957). *The Bombay Land Revenue Code (Act No. V of 1879)*. Ahmedabad: Chandrakant Chimanlal Vora, Law Publisher and Law Booksellers. A77

³⁴ Bates, C. N. (1981). The Nature of Social Change in Rural Gujarat: The Kheda District, 1818-1918, *Modern Asian Studies*, 15(4). 775

³⁵ Campbell, J. M. (1877). *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency. Vol. II. Surat and Broach*. Bombay: The Government Central Press. 482

ryotwari tenure.³⁶ The prices of agricultural products in British Gujarat gradually rose after 1850 and it suddenly soared up during the American Civil War of 1861-65. Therefore, *bhagdari* and *narwadari* villages had overcome their crises and continued under the Original Survey and Settlement.³⁷

At the time of commencement of Original Survey and Settlement, there were 347 share-hold villages throughout Gujarat (244 *bhagdari* in Bharuch and 90 *narwadari* in Kheda, 12 *narwadari* in Surat and 1 *narwadari* in Ahmedabad).³⁸ The *bhagdari* and *narwadari* were essentially same in nature and constitution of villages.³⁹ The advocacy of W. G. Pedder, combined with their reliability of revenue supply, led to the British authorities accepting the preservation of *bhagdari* and *narwadari* tenure under Original Survey and Settlement.⁴⁰ This was carried out under the Bombay Act V of 1862. It was done mostly to safeguard the collection of revenue.⁴¹ The settlement to be carried out by the government officials was symbiotic in nature and therefore it needed equal involvement of revenue functionaries as well. This would facilitate maximize collection of revenue.⁴² The Act therefore also made one party responsible for revenue payment in case if other party defaults. For instance, in case a *peta-bhagdar* defaulted the *moksh-bhagdar* had to pay his share of revenue. The Original Survey and Settlement hence retained the traditional inheritance rights of *bhag/narwa* (share). The change that was included was that *bhag/narwa* was converted into a commodity which could be bought

³⁶ Fukazawa, H. (1974). Structure and Change of the 'Sharehold Village' ('Bhagdari' or 'Narwadari' Village) in the Nineteenth Century British Gujarat, *Hitotsubashi Journal of Economics*, 14(2). 24

³⁷ Fukazawa, H. (1974). 25-26

³⁸ Charlesworth, N. (1985). *Peasants and Imperial Rule; Agriculture and Agrarian Society in the Bombay Presidency, 1850-1935*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 35

³⁹ The *bhagdari* and *narwadari* tenures were differ in one particular aspect. In *bhagdari* tenure, there was always a fixed *bighoti* hence the assessment was fixed on each field divided according to the *phalavni* (register). Whereas in *narwadari* tenure, there was never a separate field assessment and revenue was fixed in lump.

⁴⁰ Charlesworth, N. (1985). 63

⁴¹ Patel, G. D. (1950). 24

⁴² Nand, B. (2009). *Village Communities and Land Tenures in Western India under Colonial Rule*, New Delhi: Manohar Publishers and Distributors. 35

and sold. It became saleable and could also be inherited subject to the rules and customs of *bhagdari* and *narwadari* tenure.⁴³

The Original Survey and Settlement also gave an option to co-sharers (officials) to end the aforementioned arrangement at any time and to implement individual assessment (*ryotwari*) on *bhagdari* and *narwadari* holdings if necessary.⁴⁴ The new settlement had intended to facilitated the conversion of peasant proprietors into *ryots*. The change was brought about slowly. Instead of exerting force or pressure, the village communities were expected to change the mode of revenue payment. Out of their own free will the village communities were to divide their share of revenue as per assessment fixed for their respective shares. They were to give up the older *phalavani* (register) division of lump assessment responsibility.⁴⁵ This was not an easy task as apart from the *moksh* and *peta-bhag*, there were certain lands common to the whole villages called *gam majmun* and land common to one or more *bhag* was known as *bhag majmun*.⁴⁶ The *gam majmun* were further divided into and was called as *pati majmun*. These villages were set apart for the common benefit of the villagers. The officers dealt with these villages and its yearly revenue was credited to *moksh-bhagdars* who were immediately responsible for the lump assessment.⁴⁷ The assessment on *majmun* lands was distributed among the various sharers in proportion to the amount of assessment for which they were liable on account of the numbers included in their respective shares.⁴⁸

The British were able to forge some kind of relationship with the shareholders (*bhagdars* and *narwadars*). They had realized that since they had converted the *bhag* or *narwa* into a commodity, it had led to the fragmentation of land holding. In the pre-British systems, the

⁴³ Patel, G. D. (1950). 30-31

⁴⁴ Charlesworth, N. (1985). 63

⁴⁵ MSA. (1914). *SRBG. No. DXXIV.-New Series. Character of Land Tenures and System of Survey and Settlement in the Bombay Presidency*. Bombay: The Government Central Press. 10 and Patel, G. D. (1950). 28

⁴⁶ Gordon, R. G. (1917). Vol. I. 271

⁴⁷ MSA. (1874). GRABP for the Year 1872-73. 55-58 and Patel, G. D. (1950). 28

⁴⁸ MSA. (1914). *SRBG. No. DXXIV.-New Series*. 11

village communities could not sell their share unless there was extreme exigency. Also the revenue had to be paid in lump in cash or kind. In the Original Survey and Settlement, the government felt the need to protect the *narwadars* against their very own rules.⁴⁹

Another relationship that got affected was the relationship between cultivators of *bhagdars* and *narwadars*. The cultivators were mostly tenants-at-will and worked on the lands of the shareholders. They paid the rent which was either fixed share of the produce or more commonly the *bighoti* rates.⁵⁰ Under Original Survey and Settlement, *bhagdari* and *narwadari* system predominantly became to be a device to confirm, preserve and enhance the social authority of the leading cultivators in prosperous villages.⁵¹ Earlier in *bhagdari* and *narwadari* villages, all persons cultivating lands were tenants of *bhagdar/narwadar* but not of British Government. They were responsible for the payment to the *bhagdar* or *narwadar*.⁵² Till 1860-1870, most of shareholders were small landlords leasing out most of their share of land to tenants rather than cultivating it for themselves. Hence, they were quite dependent upon tenants. There were two classes of tenants viz., (i) customary tenants (continual tenants) and (ii) temporary/migratory tenants (tenants-at-will). This classification was prevalent even during the earlier period and thus continuity was maintained under new Survey and Settlement.⁵³

The customary tenants were recognized as permanent as they had cultivated the same plot of land at the fixed rent (*udhad*) since a long time.⁵⁴ They could not be removed as long as they paid the customary rental which was either a share of produce or a *bighoti* rate. Temporary tenants enjoyed no security of tenure and their land could be taken away or rent could be increased at the discretion of *bhagdar/narwadar*.⁵⁵ The temporary tenants had to renew the

⁴⁹ Patel, G. D. (1950). 33

⁵⁰ MSA. (1914). SRBG. No. DXXIV.-New Series. 11

⁵¹ Nand, B. (2009). 37

⁵² Nand, B. (2009). 155

⁵³ Fukazawa, H. (1974). 28

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Nand, B. (2009). 155

tenancy contract annually or after several years. They were reported to be 'by far most numerous class' in British Gujarat in general in 1862. They were more frequently found on the share-hold lands whereas the customary tenants were more often seen on village common. Though there were exceptions as temporary tenants could be found on common land and customary tenants on share-hold land.⁵⁶ The amount of revenue to be paid by the customary tenants was decided by mutual consent with the landlords. However, the reduction of revenue assessment was left to their discretion. This had made the tenants dependent upon revenue functionaries.⁵⁷ As far as the temporary tenants were concerned, the Bombay Government had resolved in 1864 that they could have no right beyond those that they possessed under the agreement with *narwadars*. They paid about half of produce and about double the revenue assessment paid by shareholders in 1860 and 1870. They held land generally on written lease for short number of years at rent entirely dependent on agreement. Thus, nothing was provided for their tenancy or rent excepting the abolition of miscellaneous cesses like *betali vero* and *sukari*. But they still used to give a little *veth* (gratuitous service) to the *narwadars* by lending their carts, bullocks etc., on birth, marriage and such ceremonies occurring in the family of *narwadars*.⁵⁸

The *narwadari* villages in Kheda District were held mostly by Kanbis who had controlled the lands and had provided protection and resistance against various political depredations. In nineteenth century, they had used this system as a way to establish control over other producers in Charotar tract. They had developed a surplus-extraction relationship with other peasants by applying levies and demanding gratuitous service, labour rent (*veth*), house rent and free use of carts, bullocks and plows.⁵⁹ In 1865, C. J. Prescott, the Superintendent of the Revenue

⁵⁶ Fukazawa, H. (1974). 28

⁵⁷ Fukazawa, H. (1974). 30

⁵⁸ Fukazawa, H. (1974). 31, 33

⁵⁹ Chaturvedi, V. (2007). *Peasant Past. History and Memory in Western India*. London: University of California Press. 34

Survey described Kheda as one of the richest and most fertile districts in the world.⁶⁰ In Kheda District, British encouraged the maintenance of the *narwadari* system in nearly 90 villages (out of 570-odd villages) in which peasants were made jointly responsible for the payment of revenue to government.⁶¹ With the introduction of Original Survey and Settlement in Kheda District, the government replaced the older system of revenue collection with new policy whereby the individual peasant would pay land revenue directly to government instead of *narwadar*. Thus, converting the *narwadari* tenure into *ryotwari* tenure hence establishing direct relationship between government and peasant.⁶² The main objective was to cut the costs and increase total land revenue.⁶³ In some villages like Chaklasi, both the old and new land tenure systems existed side by side such as Kanbis were allowed to function with *narwadari* system whereas other peasants had to adopt the *ryotwari* system. The new policy converted the rent-free common lands, grazing lands and waste lands into permanent occupancy. The idea was to create revenue paying 'ryots'.⁶⁴ However, the policy affected the landed relationships. For instance, Kanbis used this measure to strengthen themselves and thereby weakening the customary rights of other peasant groups. The government had provided incentive for Kanbis permanently to occupy the Baraiya⁶⁵ land and assume the control over Baraiya labour. Because of the new government policy, many settled Baraiya peasants had deprived from the lands and their status reduced to agricultural labours or servant for Kanbis.⁶⁶ Thus giving a death blow to the relationship that had evolved since medieval times.

⁶⁰ Chaturvedi, V. (2005). Of Peasants and Publics in Colonial India: Daduram's Story, *Social History*, 30(3). 308

⁶¹ Chaturvedi, V. (2007). 35

⁶² Chaturvedi, V. (2007). 36

⁶³ Chaturvedi, V. (2005). 296, 310

⁶⁴ Chaturvedi, V. (2007). 336

⁶⁵ Baraiya were one of the principal agricultural communities in Kheda District, constituting over 30 per cent of population between the years 1872 and 1931. Most Baraiya were small peasants. Colonial official classified them as an 'inferior' agricultural community due to their temporary occupancy of land and practicing various form of shifting cultivation.

⁶⁶ Chaturvedi, V. (2005). 296, 310

(ii) Senja Tenure: The *senja* tenure was in contradiction to *bhagdari* and *narwadari* tenure. Apart from share-hold (*bhagdari* and *narwadari*) villages, there existed unshared-hold (*senja*) villages which were the ordinary *ryotwari* villages. The assessment was made on each revenue survey number and the settlement was made by government directly with the occupants.⁶⁷ The village headman (*patel*) was made responsible for collection of revenue who bore both leases as well as profits.⁶⁸ The peasants of *senja* villages were usually called *sarkari khedut*. Although they inherited the rights of cultivation yet they were deprived of the right to sell or mortgage their land. They were responsible for the amount of his *khata*, i.e., rent and other taxes (*vera* or *babtis*). The peasants paid revenue which was either fixed rate per *bighas* according to its quality or perpetual leases. If a peasant failed to cultivate his land and did not pay revenue, government official had the right to assign his land to other.⁶⁹

(iii) Wanta Tenure: Before the enactment of the Summary Settlement Act (VII of 1863), there was no documentary evidence defining the title of holder of *wanta*. *Wanta* tenure had continued since the pre-British times which has been discussed in Chapter 2. The official/legal records of pre-British times were either not maintained or it was not made official. The British administrators took it upon themselves to create records on to provide documentary evidence. Hence, a Summary Settlement Act (VII of 1863) was instituted which defined the title of holder of *wanta*. This Act redefined the status of land and hence influenced landed relationships.⁷⁰ Under this Act, some of the *wanta* holders accepted *sanads* and converted their former lump quit-rent into a *numbervar salalmi*. But not all the lands were converted. Other *wanta* still continued to pay *udhad jama*.⁷¹ The government made attempt to change or transform the land tenures in government or *sarkari* lands. In some villages or part of villages, *wanta* lands entered

⁶⁷ MSA. (1874). GRABP for the Year 1872-73. 55

⁶⁸ MSA. (1914). SRBG. No. DXXIV.-New Series. 10

⁶⁹ Srinivas, K., Awasthi, A., & Vaidya, M. (2017). 296

⁷⁰ Kharod, N. G. (1957). A77

⁷¹ MSA. (1914). SRBG. No. DXXIV.-New Series. 10

as *sarkari* held on *udhad jamabandi* tenure and a fixed cess (*jama*) was levied.⁷² Thus, there occurred a situation wherein some *watandars* paid a fix amount and their proprietary rights over the *wanta* land were not taken away.⁷³ Hence such efforts made by the state where the older as well as the new system continued. The *wanta* holder were generally but not invariably *talukdars*.⁷⁴ The *wanta* land was divided into *nakri* (free of assessment) and *salami* (quit-rent per *bighas* or *kumbha*).⁷⁵

(iv) Talukdari Tenure: At the time of introduction of Original Survey and Settlement, *talukdars* had experienced extreme poverty and deep indebtedness. They had sunk deeper and deeper. However, the *talukdari* system survived because a wide range of interests benefited from its continuance.⁷⁶ The *talukdari* tenure had presented a peculiar situation. The British had created two broad categories of alienated (rent free) and unalienated (paying rent/revenue) lands. But the *talukdari* estates did not belong to either. They had full proprietary rights which included rights over mines, minerals and trees in the pre-British period. They were known to pay tributes (which also was not regular).⁷⁷ The number of *talukdari* villages was small. For instance, in Ahmedabad district, the *talukdari* villages were mainly found in Viramgam, Dholka, Dhandhuka and Gogha Talukas.⁷⁸ The *talukdars* who held single village were called *gameti*.⁷⁹ In Panchmahals District, these were found mainly in the Godhra and Halol Talukas and a few villages existed in Dohad and Jhalod Talukas. In Ahmedabad and Panchmahals Districts, there were entire villages on *talukdari* tenure which had come under the Survey and Settlement. Whereas in Kheda and Bharuch District, there was no entire villages on the

⁷² Gordon, R. G. (1917). Vol. I. 270

⁷³ Kharod, N. G. (1957). A77

⁷⁴ Nand, B. (2009). 153

⁷⁵ Kharod, N. G. (1957). A77

⁷⁶ Charlesworth, N. (1985). 38-39

⁷⁷ MSA. (1914). SRBG. No. DXXIV.-New Series. 8 and Patel, G. D. (1950). 70

⁷⁸ MSA. (1874). GRABP for the Year 1872-73. 52

⁷⁹ Desai, T. R. (1907). 12

talukdari tenure but the *talukdari* estates consist of *wantas*, i.e., one-fourth share of the original *talukdari* estates. In the case of these *wantas*, the *jama* was fixed in perpetuity (*uddhad*).⁸⁰

The tenants under *talukdari* tenure paid rent according to the village *dhara* (custom) of division. At the time of harvesting, a part was preserved aside for seeds and perquisite of village menials. Then rest of production was divided between *talukdar* and tenant. The tenants could not be deprived from their occupancy of land as long as they paid rent to *talukdars*.⁸¹

The structure of the village was hierarchal in nature with *talukdars* or *thakors* at the centre of all life. The *talukdar* was commonly known as the Darbar. The Darbar appointed a *mukhi* (village headmen) in order to collect revenue from tenants. The law and order were maintained by a *havaladar* (police constable) who mostly worked as per the orders of the village headman. His main task during the season was to watch over the grain yard. Besides these, there were people living in the *talukdari* villages who were *kolis*, *bharwads* and *ahirs* etc. There were no hereditary positions but were than often sons and successors were appointed. The village lands were the property of Darbar and therefore were called as Darbari land (rent-paying). Therefore, the villages lands were subjected to the rent payable to the Darbar. Excepting the Darbari land, there were other lands which were set apart certain lands as *gharkhed*, i.e., lands under personal cultivation. The *talukdar* would often let out their land to tenants which was based on a tenancy-at-will. On most of the occasions the evictions were unknown. The mode of payment of rent was different in different districts. For instance, in Ahmedabad and Panchmahals, the rent was paid in kind while in Bharuch and Kheda district it was paid in cash. The division of the *talukdar's* and tenants' share was either made by *makhal* i. e., actual weighing out of the crop or by *dhal* i. e., assessment of the standing crop. The rent changed from estates to estates or from districts to districts. most of the times, the rent charged by *talukdars* was less than

⁸⁰ Patel, G. D. (1950). 70

⁸¹ Desai, T. R. (1907). 13

government assessment. The tenants also had to pay other cesses such as *santi vero* (plough tax), *punchhi vero* (tail tax), *bham vero* (hide tax) and others. It is important to note that the recovery of the taxes was not slight, therefore, the weight or pressure of a variety of cesses was not felt by the tenants/*ryots*.⁸²

The Bombay Act VI of 1862 was passed in order to amelioration and rehabilitation of the *talukdars*. This Act made a reassessment of their proprietary rights. Under this Act, *talukdars* were declared to be absolute proprietor of their respective estates but were liable to a payment of tribute called *jama* which was fixed for a term of years and could be revise later if necessary. The Regulation XVII, 1827, had already restricted *talukdars*' authority to permanently alienate their estates/village.⁸³ Therefore, the *talukdari* estates could be mortgaged but not permanently alienated.⁸⁴ The Bombay Act VI of 1862 made provisions for settlement of the financial liabilities of the *talukdars*. The changes came when the government refused to recognize the hereditary rights of the *talukdars*. For instance, as regards succession to and possession, management and transfer of the estates, the Governor-in-Council reserved the rights. Although no restrictions were passed on the rent free *talukdari* estates. Yet it was seen that their status changed from *talukdars* to non-*talukdars*. This happened because the Act had placed no limitation on the amount of tribute that would levied from time.⁸⁵ The Act of 1862 basically was an attempt to reduce the powers of *talukdars*. It is clear that the government was empowered to take over the management of the any *talukdari* estate whose debts or liabilities were equal to five times the average annual income of the *talukdar* from his estates during the previous five years. The rights of such estates could not not to extend beyond the period of

⁸² MSA. (1914). SRBG. No. DXXIV.-New Series. 9 Patel, G. D., (1950). 76

⁸³ MSA. (1874). GRABP for the Year 1872-73. 52-54

⁸⁴ Desai, T. R. (1907). 12

⁸⁵ Patel, G. D. (1950). 74

twenty years.⁸⁶ As per the Act, the *talukdari* estates were to pay fixed (*udhad*) or fluctuating land revenue to the government.⁸⁷

The major question that the British under Original Survey and Settlement had to consider was the fact that *talukdars* were overshadowed by the huge debt. This in turn led the subsequent legislation and Survey and Settlement of the *talukdari* estates. It was carried out along with the other government villages. The government surveyed and settled the *talukdari* villages separately considering the ability of the *talukdars* to pay although not according to the strict principles of Joint Report of 1847.⁸⁸ In 1860, many *talukdari* villages began to be sold off by the courts to satisfy creditor's claims, often for very low price. J. B. Pelle, a British official, presented their problems to government. As a result, Ahmedabad Talukdars' Relief Act, 1862 was passed which enabled indebted *talukdari* estate to be taken over by a Talukdar Settlement Officer who would administer them. Most of the *talukdari* villages in Ahmedabad were brought under this Act.⁸⁹

The heavily indebted estates continued to be brought under such legislation's mechanism at the time of Original Survey and Settlement.⁹⁰ Different acts were passed for the different districts. The indebted *talukdar* of Bharuch and Kheda were also provided similar kind of mechanism by the Acts XIV of 1877 (Bharuch and Kheda Encumbered Estates Act). The Acts were passed supposedly to provide relief to the *talukdars* but inadvertently it brought about a change in their status. However, it was clear that despite greater or lesser attempts under the Original Survey and Settlement, the British administrators were unable to bring about striking change to the position of *talukdars* except for the fact that some measure of restrictions was

⁸⁶ MSA. (1874). GRABP for the Year 1872-73. 52-54

⁸⁷ MSA. (1914). SRBG. No. DXXIV.-New Series. 9

⁸⁸ Patel, G. D. (1950). 74

⁸⁹ Charlesworth, N. (1985). 64

⁹⁰ Ibid.

placed in their powers.⁹¹ In fact, the *talukdars* of Godhara (Metral) were recognized as full proprietors of their estates and right of government was confined to a simple like rent.⁹²

(v) **Giras Tenure:** Before the passing of the Pension Act (XXIII of 1871), several suits were filed against government for the restoration of resumed allowances which were decided in the favour of plaintiffs. The *girasias* had applied for payments of subsequent years and for uninterrupted continuance of the allowance in future. However, the question of allowance (*toda giras*) was still unsettled and awaited the final decision of government.⁹³

(vi) **Maleki Tenure:** The *maleki* tenure was also older tenure which had continued under the British rule. In 1865, the *maleki* villages were measured and valued by the revenue survey.⁹⁴ After government inquired into *maleki* villages, Pedder submitted a report to government suggesting the lines of settlement. The government accepted his proposal and granted *sanads* to *maleks*.⁹⁵ As per the *sanad*, the lands in the *maleki* villages were classed as *wajeli* lands (old *sarkari* land), *santheli* lands (*vechania* and *gherania* lands), *nakri* lands (*gharkhed* lands) and other lands (grazing areas, *pasaita* lands).⁹⁶ The villages were managed by government under ordinary survey rules.⁹⁷ The revenue of village was shared between government and *maleks*. The government permitted the *maleks* to take a 7 or 9 *annas* share from revenue of these villages.⁹⁸ The village accountants (*talati*) were nominated by the *maleks* but were appointed and paid by British administration. The *maleks* also held certain *gharkhed* lands which were exempted from revenue payment. Hence, a relationship was established where *maleks* became

⁹¹ MSA. (1880). *RABP for the Year 1879-80*. Bombay: The Government Central Press. 116

⁹² Patel, G. D. (1950). 75

⁹³ MSA. (n. a.). *GRABP, for the Year 1871-72*. 127

⁹⁴ MSA. (1874). *GRABP for the Year 1872-73*. 59

⁹⁵ Patel, G. D. (1950). 57

⁹⁶ Patel, G. D. (1950). 60-62

⁹⁷ Patel, G. D. (1950). 57

⁹⁸ Patel, G. D. (1950). 8-9

amal holders (holder of share of revenue) under the British.⁹⁹ This changed their status from revenue collector to revenue payers.

(vii) *Mehwasi* Tenure: The *mehwasi* chiefs also followed and continued the preservation of their old customs.¹⁰⁰ The *mehwasi* tenure had prevailed in Panchmahals. In 1853, Scindhias of Gwalior had leased the Panchmahals District to the British Government for ten years and later ceded the district. There were about 23 *mehwasi* villages in Kalol Taluka of Panchmahals District. The *mehwasis* had not paid regular tribute to the Scindhias. Their payments to the Scindhias were subject to annual bargain between them and *desai*. The British Government did not interfere with them till 1863.¹⁰¹ *Mehwasis* had claimed proprietary rights in their respective villages but was not recognized. The only change made in the beginning was that the British Government recognized their right to collect revenue. Apart from this, the government could not achieve much.¹⁰²

In 1863, the government appointed *talatis* to deprive the *mehwasis* from their rights in the internal management of their villages. This measurement resulted in great discontent among the *mehwasis*. The Original Survey and Settlement first came to Kalol Taluka in 1867. As per the settlement, the *mehwasis* were required to pay *ankada* (lump sum) which would be fixed by the *suba* or *mamlatdars*. There was no fixed amount and hence was paid randomly or as per the proportion of their shares.¹⁰³ However, the *mehwasi* tenure was not defined till 1873. The *mehwasi* villages were regarded as being held by shareholders.¹⁰⁴ The government sanctioned the settlement of the 23 villages of Panchmahals District in 1873 and for the first time defined

⁹⁹ Gordon, R. G. (1917). Vol. I. 270 and Patel, G. D. (1950). 57

¹⁰⁰ Rogers, A. (1892). *The Land Revenue of Bombay: A History of its Administration, Rise and Progress, Vol. I*. London: W H Allen and Co., Limited. 10

¹⁰¹ Patel, G. D. (1950). 41

¹⁰² Patel, G. D. (1950). 8, 39-41

¹⁰³ MSA. (1914). SRBG. No. DXXIV.-New Series. 12 and Patel, G. D. (1950). 41

¹⁰⁴ Choksey, R. D. (1968). *Economic Life in the Bombay Gujarat (1800-1939)*. Bombay: Asia Publishing House. 72

the nature of *mehwasi* tenure.¹⁰⁵ The *mehwas* gradually lost proprietary right in the villages and forests. In 1877, revenue survey carried out in *mehwasi* village after which these villages could be treated as the *talukdari* villages.¹⁰⁶ This gave the *mehwas* the sole proprietary right both against government and tenants. But this right was subject to the payment of revenue - a *jama* liable to revision after a term of years if necessary.¹⁰⁷

(viii) Sarakati Tenure: The *sarakati*¹⁰⁸ tenure had prevailed in only a few villages of the districts of British Gujarat.¹⁰⁹ It resembled the *maleki* tenure so far as sharing revenue is concerned. In fact, it was not confined to any particular *taluka* or district but scattered over a few villages. The government, owing to exigencies of administration, allowed to holders of villages a portion of revenue and retained the balance. Such villages were not confined to any particular areas or *inams* but they could be *saranjam*, personal, *paragana* etc.¹¹⁰ In *sarakati* villages, government was entitled only to a portion of revenue.¹¹¹ The portion of the respective shares varied from 10 to 6 *annas*. The government however did not bring any big change in *sarkati* tenure under Original Survey and Settlement.¹¹²

(ix) Inam Tenure: The *inam* lands were the rent free and revenue free lands. The British had asserted their right of land collection by enactment of Bombay Regulation XVII of 1827 as had been discussed in the previous chapter.¹¹³ At the time of the introduction of *ryotwari* system, the British Government conciliated with influential classes such as *inamdars* hence their tenures and privileges were continued under the British rule.¹¹⁴ They had recognized

¹⁰⁵ MSA. (1914). SRBG. No. DXXIV.-New Series. 12 and Patel, G. D. (1950). 41

¹⁰⁶ Nand, B. (2009). 156

¹⁰⁷ Choksey, R. D. (1968). 72

¹⁰⁸ The term *sarakati* is derived from Arabic, meaning a partner.

¹⁰⁹ Gordon, R. G. (1917). Vol. I. 273

¹¹⁰ Patel, G. D. (1950). 9

¹¹¹ MSA. (1914). SRBG. No. DXXIV.-New Series. 12-13

¹¹² MSA. (1874). GRABP for the Year 1872-73. 60

¹¹³ Knight, R. (1859). *The Inam Commission Unmasked*. London: Effingham Wilson, 11, Royal Exchange. 51

¹¹⁴ Nand, B. (2003). *Fields and Farmers in Western India, 1850-1950*. New Delhi: Bibliomatrix. 551

various alienations granted by the previous rulers and settled them under special act.¹¹⁵ They clearly lay down categories of lands/tenures which were exempted or those which were considered illegally alienated. These were hence liable for fresh assessment. In 1852, an Inam Commission at all Indian level was setup whose role was to dispense large number of lands.¹¹⁶ In order to deal with *inam* tenure of Gujarat, Act No. VII of 1863 was passed. According to the provision of the act, those *inamdars* who agreed to pay quit rent were given private transferable hereditary property while the *inamdar* who denied to the settlement were to be investigated by the Inam Commission. This was basically to threaten the *inamdars* into submitting to the British pressures. As can be seen that the Act was not applicable to those lands which had written records such as treaty. Beside it, the Act did not apply to the lands such as lands held under the treaty; *saranjams* and other political *inams*; lands given for service; and non-hereditary lands etc. However, it included *inam* lands located in the villages held on *talukdari*, *bhagdari*, *narwadari*, *khoti* and other tenures.¹¹⁷

According to rules of Inam Commission, in order to make a decision on any claim, the *inams* were broadly divided into four classes viz., political, personal, religious and service.¹¹⁸ These lands had written documentary proofs such as *sanads*. According to the register of alienation, the *inams* were classified into following manner:¹¹⁹

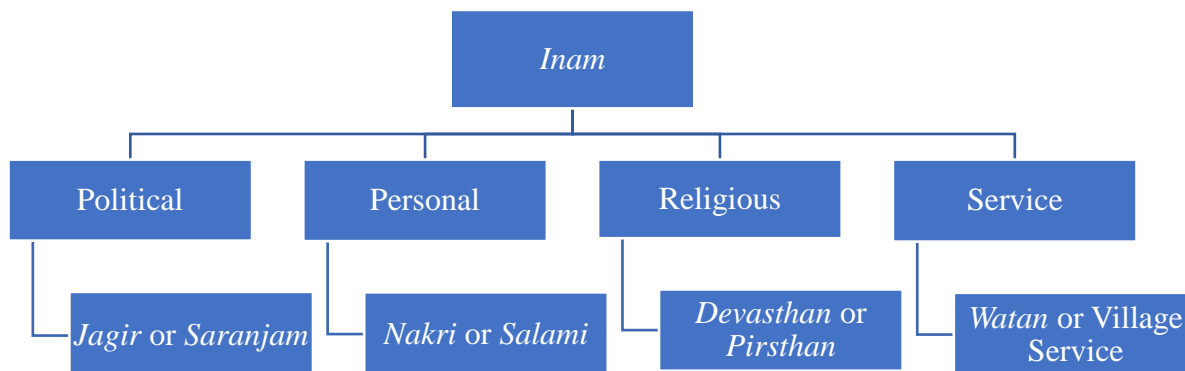
¹¹⁵ Deshpande, M. K. (1954). *Revenue Department Manual. Vol. I*. Poona: The Yeravda Prison Press. 612

¹¹⁶ Gordon, R. G. (1917). Vol. I. 254

¹¹⁷ Kharod, N. G. (1957). A72

¹¹⁸ For detailed account of all kind of *inam*, see Etheridge, A. T. (1874). *SRBG. No. CXXXII.-New Series. Narrative of the Bombay Inam Commission and Supplementary Settlement*. Bombay: The Government Central Press. and Joglekar, R. N. (1921). *Alienation Manual*. Poona: Rao Bahadur R. N. Joglekar, I. S. O. 203. Kala Howd, Poona City.

¹¹⁹ Powell, B. H. (1892). Vol. III. 300, Joglekar, R. N. (1921). 1-2 and Kharod, N. G. (1957). A72, A74-A75



(a) Political *Inam*: In political *inam* land, *jagir* was originated under the Mughals while *saranjam* under the Marathas.¹²⁰ Both of these *inams* had the same significance that they were granted by the state for the civil or military duties or to maintain social status of noble and high-ranking officials. Some of these lands had also been under the guarantee of British Government.¹²¹ The *saranjam inam* basically was covered for the life. It was also granted to persons appointed to civil offices of the states and for charitable purposes. The *saranjams inam* were neither transferable nor hereditary in nature.¹²²

(b) Personal *Inam*: As per the Original Survey and Settlement the personal *inam* lands were categorized as private transferable hereditary property. They were recognized and settled by the terms of *sanad*.¹²³ Under the Summary Settlement Acts (Bombay Act II and VII of 1863) and other subsidiary settlements, personal *inams* continued in perpetuity and were transferable without any restriction.¹²⁴ The personal *inams* were subject to either *nakri* (rent free) or *salami* (quit-rent). It included *wazifa* (the pension), *haria* (the victim's field) *ranvatia* (the warrior's field), *halia* (tombstone field) etc. Besides, it included *dabania* (grant made by usurpation).¹²⁵

¹²⁰ Powell, B. H. (1892). Vol. III. 300

¹²¹ Gordon, R. G. (1917). Vol. I. 261

¹²² Kharod, N. G. (1957). A72

¹²³ Kharod, N. G. (1957). A73

¹²⁴ Srinivas, K., Awasthi, A., & Vaidya, M. (2017). 258

¹²⁵ Bowden, P. H. (1892). Vol. III. 301-302

(c) Religious *Inam*: The religious *inam* were grants to religious or charitable institutions such as temples and mosques. They included *devsthan*, *dharmadaya*, *pirstahn* etc. which has been mentioned in previous chapters. These were continued by the British Government.¹²⁶ So far as the *devasthan inam* was concerned the decisions were taken on the basis of individual cases. Later an annual quit rent of 1/4th or 1/8th was fixed on *devasthan inam*.¹²⁷

(d) Service *Inam*: As far as the service *inam* was concerned it was given in return for the performance of certain services/duties either to the state or the village community.¹²⁸ For instance, the *watan inam* was granted to *watandar* for their service to state. The question of *watan inam* lands in districts of British Gujarat was settled under Original Survey and Settlement. Excepting the Ahmedabad district, the *watans* under this settlement were the private property of *watandars*. They became the continuable hereditary to the male heirs but subject to the payment of *nazrana*.¹²⁹ The Bombay Act III of 1874 provided against the alienation of *watan*, although arrangements were made, whereby a portion of assessment was levied as a commutation for service no longer required.¹³⁰ There were many hereditary officers such as *desai*, *amin*, *manotidar*, *mazumdar*, *izaradar*, *patel* etc. who had provided their services to state. The British were not in a position to displace them when the sovereignty of the Marathas especially Peshwa ended in the region. Instead, a settlement was arrived at by commission appointed. Their services were retained and hence they also retained large part of their allowances. The titles were taken away after giving out nominal compensation.¹³¹

As far as the village service *inams* is concerned, servants useful to government were comprised of hereditary *patel* and hereditary village accountants. The village servants such as *suthar*,

¹²⁶ Srinivas, K., Awasthi, A., & Vaidya, M. (2017). 258

¹²⁷ Kharod, N. G. (1957). A73

¹²⁸ Gordon, R. G. (1917). Vol. I. 258

¹²⁹ Kharod, N. G. (1957). A74

¹³⁰ Powell, B. H. (1892). Vol. III. 301

¹³¹ Gordon, R. G. (1917). Vol. I. 258-259

kumbhar, lohar etc., performed service to the villages. These lands were assessed at either half or quarter or as per the survey assessment. The holding of this class was made non-transferrable. The village servants that were found useless to the government and the community were subject to the full assessment and their lands were converted into transferable freehold.¹³² All alienated lands¹³³ except *chakriyat* came to be known as *sanadia* or held by *sanad* under the summary settlement act.¹³⁴

6. Financial Impact: In comparison to the other districts of British Gujarat, the rate in Original Survey and Settlement was highest in Bharuch because of high priced cotton. The following table gives statistics of the financial impact during the period 1882-1883:¹³⁵

District	Land Revenue (Rs.)
Ahmedabad	14,71,000
Kheda	22,81,900
Panchmahals	2,97,343
Bharuch	24,00,000
Surat	23,13,000

Such high collection of revenue was unprecedented and hence both landlords and tenants were burdened with huge debts or rents. For instance, in 1863, the *talukdari* villages were surveyed in order to relieve the proprietors from the load of debt with which they were burdened and the land tax was settled at a high rate of 50 to 70 %.¹³⁶ The landed aristocrats such as Rajputs in Bharuch District were burdened with huge debts as much as that they were compelled to sell their estates. The situation worsened with large number of estates being sold. Alarmed at the situation, the governed reacted by passing the Act of 1871, thus, the landed aristocrats were

¹³² Gordon, R. G. (1917). Vol. I. 258-260 and Kharod, N. G. (1957). A74-A75

¹³³ *Pasaita, wanta, chakariat, wazifa, vechania, gherania* etc.

¹³⁴ Nand, B. (2009). 159

¹³⁵ MSA. (1883). *RABP for the Year 1882-83*. Bombay: The Government Central Press. 45-49

¹³⁶ MSA. (1883). *RABP for the Year 1882-83*. 45

saved from extinction and their estates were returned and debts were paid.¹³⁷ So far as the rich cash paying tracts were concerned such as Kheda District, government tried to protect them. However, there have been instances where an application was made to change their tenure so as to safeguard their revenue under the survey act.¹³⁸

Panchmahal became the case in point. It became a British district in 1853. The condition of the peasantry was poor. Despite the claims made by the British that revenue farming system had led to agricultural indebtedness there were no known riots in the region. The Original Survey and Settlement was carried out in each village. Whenever the state could not recover revenue, they levied a tax on plough or took a share of crops. The British Government were fully aware of the indebtedness of the agricultural communities hence they did not pressurize them with high land revenue or rent. They continued with the pre-British systems. The large landlords were chiefly *kolis* who had owned estates varying from one to forty or fifty villages. Later the alienation of the government villages was settled on an equitable basis and the Survey and Settlement was also implemented in certain parts of the Panchmahals District. The land revenue collected was not much but it brought relative peace to the region. For instance, the land revenue was amounted to Rs. 2,97,343 during the period from 1882 to 1883.¹³⁹

7. Limitation and Conclusion: In Original Survey and Settlement, various attempts were made to implement the principles of the Joint Report of 1847. There were certain limitations. For instance, lands were not measured into separate plots by the boundary mark; there was absence of systematic management; and maintenance of regular records and there were wide variations in the rates of assessment.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ MSA. (1883). RABP for the Year 1882-83. 47-48

¹³⁸ MSA. (1883). RABP for the Year 1882-83. 46

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Srinivas, K., Awasthi, A., & Vaidya, M. (2017). 250

The significant element of *ryotwari* system lay in the fact that each assesses of the land revenue was given the power to sell, let, mortgage, and transfer his rights over the piece of land.¹⁴¹ This meant that individual private property in land was introduced, a phenomenon hardly known in the pre-British period. The payment of revenue was to be made by the *ryot* in cash and not in kind. This although was not a new feature, yet the tenants who were made the owners often ended up facing number of challenges. The challenges were mostly because of the alteration of the existing systems since medieval times. It led to breakdown of traditional hierarchal structures which affected the landed relationships. The breakdown led to number of problems such as the peasants had to search for sources and agencies which could provide cash. Sometime in order to obtain cash, the peasants had to exchange something for the cash-crops, household items, land, cattle, implements or the personal services.¹⁴² This placed them further at the mercy of the moneylenders or other such financing agencies. So far as the lease was concerned, the peasants could lease his land on basis of annual tenancy at fixed rate with tenant. Between 1850 to 1885, population, land use and price level seem to have been risen consistently in British Gujarat.¹⁴³ The economic system continued to operate with constant technical parameters. As per considering the several measures adopted in Original Survey and Settlement, it can be safely said that there were significant changes in land tenure and character of agrarian economy. Despite these changes, there was also a great deal of continuity in term of preservation of the traditional systems. While change had occurred with the agrarian economy, the several elements of continuity remained strong.

¹⁴¹ Powell, B. H. (1892). Vol. III. 247

¹⁴² Campbell, J. M. (1877). Vol. II. 196

¹⁴³ Charlesworth, N. (1985). 125

Revision Survey and Settlement (1889-1910)

1. Introduction: In Original Survey and Settlement, the lands were divided into survey fields. These fields were divided by the boundaries but they were merely on paper. There were no physical divisions. Hence, the survey and classification were carried out again. In Revision Survey and Settlement, the work conducted was of a system of partial re-measurement only.¹⁴⁴

2. Survey Number and Classification: The survey department had been abolished in 1892 and with the close of survey operations the survey number seemed to have assumed their final shape as the unit of assessment.¹⁴⁵ The survey number and classification of lands had been done in the Original Survey and Settlement. Therefore, in Revision Survey and Settlement, there remained little to be done by the Settlement Officers. For instance, the Settlement Officers had to examine the original grouping of villages and re-group them if necessary. Finally, they had to fix the maximum rates.¹⁴⁶

In Revision Survey and Settlement, the features of methods were the same as those of Original Survey and Settlement. The existing settlement was to be examined in the light of statistics of the revenue for the past 30 years. Simultaneously the proposal based on the same principles was submitted for a period of next 30 years.¹⁴⁷ The most important developments in Revision Survey and Settlement were the evolution of rules and introduction of a system of regular remissions and suspensions of land revenue. According to R. G. Gordon, the works done into Revision Survey and Settlement may be divided into following heads:¹⁴⁸

- (a) The correction of the work carried out at the Original Settlement.
- (b) The measurement of sub-occupancies.

¹⁴⁴ Gordon, R. G. (1917). Vol. I. 131-132

¹⁴⁵ Gordon, R. G. (1917). Vol. I. 203

¹⁴⁶ Patel, G. D. (1969). 171-172

¹⁴⁷ Desai, T. R. (1907). 4

¹⁴⁸ Gordon, R. G. (1917). Vol. I. 132-133

- (c) The splitting up of large survey numbers.
- (d) The measurement of new classes of land.
- (e) The introduction of new systems of measurement.
- (f) The correction up to date of the survey record generally.

3. Assessment: The following table shows the average rates of assessments under Revision Survey and Settlement in the districts of British Gujarat:¹⁴⁹

District	Dry-crop Land (Rs. A. P.)	Garden Land (Rs. A. P.)		Rice Land (Rs. A. P.)
		<i>Bhata</i>	<i>Dhekudiat</i>	
Ahmedabad	1-13-5	8-7-8	2-2-2	5-2-0
Kheda	3-7-6	9-9-9	2-2-2	5-11-0
Panchmahals	1-0-1	.....	.....	1-8-0
Bharuch	4-0-5	8-11-0	.....	5-14-11
Surat	2-11-6	8-11-0	.....	8-1-0

Under Original Survey and Settlement, the average rate was increased excepting the *talukas* of Ahmedabad District. But under Revision Survey and Settlement, it was increased excepting the *talukas* Bharuch District. [See Appendix No.10]

4. Bombay Land Revenue Code (Act V of 1879): During the Revision Survey and Settlement, special rule was framed for assessment of villages. The rule was seemed necessary because of the loss of the Gujarat records in 1887 by fire. In 1879, the Bombay Act I of 1865 was repealed and the new provisions re-enacted in the Bombay Land Revenue Code (Act V of 1879). According to its provisions, government reserved a right to take into consideration the fixing of revise rates which was contrary to the fundamental principles of the Bombay Act I of 1865.

¹⁴⁹ Patel, G. D. (1969). 244

The Bombay Land Revenue Code, 1879 became a memorable milestone in the history of land revenue legislation, as it was the most comprehensive law ever enacted.¹⁵⁰ The *ryotwari* tenure came to be properly treated in the Bombay Land Revenue Code, 1879.¹⁵¹ The most important feature of the Bombay Land Revenue Code, 1879 was the definition of the rights of occupancy. This right was declared to be simply conditional on the payment of government demand and to be a transferable and heritable property.¹⁵² In 1884 government issued an order giving a general assurance that all improvements effected by occupants from private capital should be exempt from taxation in revision.¹⁵³

Under the amending Act VI of 1901, another variety of tenure created which came to be known as restricted or non-transferable tenure. Under this Act, the Collector was authorized to grant the occupancy of lands for limited periods or occupant could not alienate his land without the previous permission of the Collector.¹⁵⁴ This tenure was a modified form of *ryotwari* tenure. It was created in order to safeguard the farmers against themselves and their improvident readiness to alienate their lands to non-agriculturalists.¹⁵⁵ Under this tenure, lands were granted at concessional rate of occupancy prices only to *bonafide* cultivators belonging to the backward classes. The new tenure was applied only to new occupancies granted.¹⁵⁶

The general aim of revision was described in the Land Revenue Policy Resolution of 1902, according to which, 50% of the total produce was to be collected as land revenue.¹⁵⁷ The government made a rule called 'Gujarat Revision Classification Rule, 1902' according to which different methods of land measurements carried out. For instance, oversized lands were broken

¹⁵⁰ Patel, G. D. (1969). 395, 402

¹⁵¹ Desai, T. R. (1907). 1

¹⁵² MSA. (1874). GRABP for the Year 1872-73. 50

¹⁵³ Patel, G. D. (1969). 189

¹⁵⁴ MSA. (1914). SRBG. No. DXXIV.-New Series. 7

¹⁵⁵ Patel, G. D. (1969). 385

¹⁵⁶ Gordon, R. G. (1917). Vol. I. 250-251

¹⁵⁷ Gordon, R. G. (1917). Vol. I. 131-132

up; clubbed occupancies were separated; new system of measurement of class of land was introduced; and survey records were corrected up to date etc. This rule was made public so as to facilitate the regulating the process uniformly in all the districts. Classification of rice, *bagayat* and *bhata* lands were taken into consideration before the fixation of revenue.¹⁵⁸

5. Settlement of Land Tenures: Change and Continuity – Several Tenures such as *bhagdari* and *narwadari*, *wanta*, *talukdari*, *giras*, *maleki*, *mehwasi*, *kasbati* and *inam* etc., continued to subsist at the time of introduction of Revision Survey and Settlement. The following table gives the statistic of villages under these tenures:¹⁵⁹

Type of Tenure	Number of Villages
<i>Bhagdari</i>	244 (all in Bharuch) ¹⁶⁰
<i>Narwadari</i>	103 (90 in Kheda, 12 in Surat and 1 in Ahmedabad)
<i>Talukdari</i>	530 (about 372 in Ahmedabad only)
<i>Maleki</i>	27 (all in Kheda)
<i>Mehwasi</i>	41 (mostly in Kheda and Panchmahals)

Following section includes a description of settlement of these tenures under Revision Survey and Settlement;

(i) *Bhagdari* and *Narwadari* Tenure: As the result of the Original Survey and Settlement, shareholder's revenue were greatly reduced. The *bhagdari* and *narwadari* tenure continued to exist but with some changes.¹⁶¹ For instance, a large number of share-hold villages had been disintegrated into *ryotwari*. Whatever impact was there it was seen in Bharuch District the number went down from 244 to 224.¹⁶² In rest of share-hold villages that survived, official

¹⁵⁸ Patel, G. D. (1969). 180-181

¹⁵⁹ Powell, B. H. (1892). Vol. III. 248, 250-251, 260, 282 and Desai, T. R. (1907). 5-6

¹⁶⁰ One government village in Panchmahals District was settled on *bhagdari* tenure. (MSA. (1883). RABP for the Year 1882-83. 34)

¹⁶¹ Powell, B. H. (1882). 582

¹⁶² Patel, G. D. (1950). 24-25

accountant was appointed to prepare record, collect the revenue and manage common land. In Bharuch, revenue assessment in lump sum was abolished and joint responsibility of the village was virtually removed. Despite the fact that miscellaneous cesses were legally prohibited, the tenancy condition had deteriorated and temporary peasants fell into the landless labour.¹⁶³

About half of the wasteland in Kheda District had come to be occupied under the terms adopted in Original Survey and Settlement. Many Dharalas¹⁶⁴ were forced to abandon their possession and work as agricultural laborers if they failed to pay as per the earlier settlement. The Revision Survey and Settlement gave privileges to Kanbi and Patidar but gave a setback to the condition of other peasants. The government had also increased rent rates in many villages in order to force Dharalas to give their possessions and thereby creating further privilege for Patidars. This caused deteriorating condition of Dharalas so much that they left their village in order to protest against new land revenue policies of government. It is assumed that Ranchod, a *bhagat* (village priest) and his family participated in the protest. When the news of protest reached to commissioner of Bombay Presidency, he immediately repealed the order to levy full assessment on villages based on new rent rates. He also suggested that the old rates be restored and government reconsider the endorsement of all policies in the locality. As a result, the Dharala families returned to the village. This kind of negotiation was based on the intention to push back Dharalas as village servants and agricultural laborers for the *narwadars*.¹⁶⁵

Under Original Survey and Settlement, *narwadars* had become dominant in the local political economy of Kheda. But the condition of the peasant community like that of Baraiya had worsened. In Revision Survey and Settlement, land revenue had doubled and new policies eliminated the customary use of common land held by Baraiya such as grazing animal or

¹⁶³ Fukazawa, H. (1974). 36

¹⁶⁴ In Kheda, four separate communities viz., Dharalas, Patanwadias, Khants and Chunvaliya were classified as Koli. The Dharala community constituted more than 80 percent of Kolis.

¹⁶⁵ Chaturvedi, V. (2007). 37-38

cutting grass and tree.¹⁶⁶ By the end of the nineteenth century, monsoon had failed which resulted with high-rate crop failure and cattle death. The famine of 1899 had created miserable condition for peasant in large part of central and northern Gujarat. It also had an on the Baraiya as the colonial government initially used ‘coercive methods’ to extract revenue payment from them. The policy was abandoned only in 1900 when Collector declared that peasants were without means of immediate subsistence.¹⁶⁷ This also had an impact on the *bhagdars* as they were not able to recover rent from their tenants and could not pay revenue to the government. Eventually, *bhagdari* villages came to be dissolved by government.¹⁶⁸

Between 1899-1901, nearly 20 percent of the agrarian population in Kheda District perished. The immediate cause was uneven monsoon¹⁶⁹ and plague epidemic. The districts of Ahmedabad, Panchmahals and Bharuch also experienced similar crises. Despite the fact that peasants were facing such conditions, the government was determined to secure land revenue payment from peasants based on the rates fixed in mid-1890. In 1899, peasantry began to send large number of petitions to Collector about their conditions but yet these petitions were ignored.¹⁷⁰ In the time of famine, *narwadars* found it difficult to collect rent from tenants and therefore filed petitions with collector claiming that they had no resources to collect rent and pay land revenue. Considering their petitions, the government suspended land revenue payment in some cases but no blanket relaxation was instituted. Instead, they were granted loans for making investment in means of production, such as purchasing cattle and constructing wells in order to overcome the current situation. The land which was abandoned by Dharalas at the time of famine was farmed out to Patidars following the earlier nineteenth-century policy of colonizing lands. Despite such incentives, there were mass migration and eviction. Many of

¹⁶⁶ Desai, T. R. (1907). 6 and Chaturvedi, V. (2005). 310

¹⁶⁷ Chaturvedi, V. (2005). 310-311

¹⁶⁸ Choksey, R. D. (1968). 77

¹⁶⁹ Kheda District received only 6.5 inches of rain in 1899 compared to 30.63 inches in the previous year.

¹⁷⁰ Chaturvedi, V. (2007). 103

them found shelter in the famine camps. In order to contain migration and eviction Patidars removed famine relief camps which forced them to work in fields.¹⁷¹

The famine had taken a toll on the population. By 1901, Kheda District experienced a significant demographic crisis in which nearly 20 percent of Baraiya population perished. Rest of population who had survived began to migrate from their villages in search of food and water. Despite the fact that the Baraiyas were facing such kind of catastrophe, the British officials captured and forced them to work in construction project in exchange of food and water. This led to the death of many due to exhaustion, malnutrition or other communicable disease like cholera and dysentery.¹⁷² Tired of being exploited at all levels, the peasantry revolted. Daduram, a *bhagat*, to lead a movement of 'peasant freedom' for Baraiya in Kheda District in the beginning of 20th century.¹⁷³ By 1906, Daduram had assumed the leadership of one of the largest and most influential peasant movements in the region. He took various measures to provide charity and to protect peasants from starvation, something that the colonial state had neglected to do during the famine and plague years.¹⁷⁴ This was just one example of protest but there were many others which collided and colluded with the Indian national movement in the first half of the 20th century.¹⁷⁵

In 1908, a proposal to abolish *bhagdari* and *narwadari* was put forward. But it did not come into effect due to the opposition on mainly from Kheda District. The government of Baroda State had abolished *narwadari* tenure in Petlad Taluka in Charotar tract and introduced *ryotwari* tenure which resulted with favourable outcome for them.¹⁷⁶ When economy of British

¹⁷¹ Chaturvedi, V. (2007). 105

¹⁷² Chaturvedi, V. (2005). 310-311

¹⁷³ See Chaturvedi, V. (2005). 296-320

¹⁷⁴ Chaturvedi, V. (2007). 108

¹⁷⁵ It is difficult to describe the first extent of at least of two well known anti-revenue movements here. But it will not be out of place to mention two of them which is Kheda Satyagraha of 1918 and Bardoli Satyagraha of 1928.

¹⁷⁶ Desai, M. B., & Vakil, C. N. (1948). *The Rural Economy of Gujarat*. London: Oxford University Press. 105

Gujarat came to be recovered, *bhagdars* were anxious to restore *bhagdari* tenure. Therefore, the government passed Bombay Act II of 1910 to reconstitute the *bhagdari* tenure.¹⁷⁷ The Act dealt with restrictions on alienation of *bhags* or *peta-bhags*. It however could not achieve much. It neither defined a *bhagdar* nor a *peta-bhagdar*. It also did not redefine their rights and responsibilities therefore the older system continued.¹⁷⁸

(ii) *Wanta* Tenure: Under *wanta* tenure, majority of the lands paid in lump the reduced assessment '*udhadjama*'. Rest of the lands under this tenure which were initially rent-free (*rahat-wanta*) became liable for a certain cess but no revenue. The *wanta* tenure could be extended to whole village or be merely on plots of land.¹⁷⁹ Various laws introduced by British could not change the status.

(iii) *Talukdari* Tenure: Under Revision Survey and Settlement, the *talukdari* tenure continued to function but not flourished.¹⁸⁰ From 1862 to till 1888, *talukdars* were full proprietors with unlimited powers of alienation, and from 1888 onwards, while still remaining full proprietors, some small-scale restrictions were placed on their power to alienate their estates.¹⁸¹ The government took active interest in the *talukdari* estate with the passing of a special Gujarat Talukdar Act (VI of 1888). Before its enactment, the *talukdars* were exempted from the payment of *jama* on certain classes of alienated land.¹⁸² Till that time, the *talukdari* tenures were not specially recognized in the legislation. The passing of Gujarat Talukdar Act, 1888 was to facilitate to the revenue administration of very specifically the *talukdari* estates.¹⁸³ The Act made provision to forbade disintegration and partition of *talukdari* estates without the explicit permission of government. In case of a dispute as to partition, decision was to be taken through

¹⁷⁷ Choksey, R. D. (1968). 77

¹⁷⁸ Choksey, R. D. (1968). 78

¹⁷⁹ Powell, B. H. (1892). Vol. III. 278

¹⁸⁰ Charlesworth, N. (1985). 65

¹⁸¹ Patel, G. D. (1950). 78-79

¹⁸² MSA. (1914). SRBG. No. DXXIV.-New Series. 9

¹⁸³ Patel, G. D. (1950). 75

a civil suit.¹⁸⁴ The Act also provided for state management of such estates till their debts were cleared.¹⁸⁵

According to Section 22 of Gujarat Talukdars Act, 1888, *jama* (tribute) could be equal to the full survey assessment of all lands of *talukdari* estates. But in practice, the government demand was generally limited about 60 percent of survey assessment of the cultivated land. The increased land revenue demand left no margin of profit for *talukdars*. Under Revision Survey and Settlement, they were again deeply plugged into debt.¹⁸⁶ In various districts of Gujarat, the economic condition of landed estates had been deteriorated and *talukdars* were seeking protection under colonial management. As a result, in the beginning, a number of *talukdari* estates came under government protection as mentioned in the following table:¹⁸⁷

Year	Number of <i>Talukdari</i> Estates Under Government Protection, 1884-1913		
	Ahmedabad	Kheda	Bharuch
1884-85	40	53	10
1890-91	70	49	7
1894-95	58	34	4
1900-01	37	30	2
1904-05	35	20	2
1912-13	19	18	1

Under Section 31 of the Gujarat Talukdars Act, 1888, a *talukdar* could not pass the estate to his son without the permission of the Talukdari Settlement Officer.¹⁸⁸ This restriction imposed although limited the powers of *talukdar* but did not eliminate them. In 1889, *talukdari* estates came to be resurveyed for the purpose of fixing the government demand.¹⁸⁹ The *talukdars* could

¹⁸⁴ Desai, T. R. (1907). 13

¹⁸⁵ Nand, B. (2003). 556

¹⁸⁶ Nand, B. (2003). 708 and Nand, B. (2009). 35

¹⁸⁷ Nand, B. (2003). 556-557

¹⁸⁸ MSA. (1914). SRBG. No. DXXIV.-New Series. 10

¹⁸⁹ Nand, B. (2009). 150

not alienate their estates without the sanction of government. The jurisdictional right of *talukdars* had also been transferred by the British officials.¹⁹⁰ Each Collector in Gujarat had to manage the *talukdari* estates in their district. For instance, in 1922-23, 113 *talukdari* estates in Ahmedabad District were managed by the Collector and the Talukdar Settlement Officer.¹⁹¹ However as the data suggests there was a steady decline in the *talukdari* estates since 1884. This indicates that despite all claims made by government there was not much that was changed. In fact, *talukdari* system continued through the 20th century.

(iv) *Giras* Tenure: In 1873, there was a provision made that if *girasias* die without male heirs, their widows will receive the whole allowances for lifetime.¹⁹² The *girasia* tenure had come under the category of *talukdari* tenure. But at the time of Revision Survey and Settlement this tenure was still applied specifically to a cash allowance or revenue assignment.¹⁹³ The allowance was called *toda* or *toda garas* or *wol*. A Bombay Act VII of 1887 was passed to deal with the issues related to *giras* tenure. This Act provided that no one could mortgage the right beyond a lifetime i.e., non-hereditary nature to deal with issues related to *giras* tenure. The *giras*¹⁹⁴ was paid as a claim established by right either by government or by *inamdars* (on alienated land) only to the eldest son and not the other siblings, unless the government specifically extended it to the brother.¹⁹⁵ Although the government managed to intervene in the local customs but its impact was not as far reaching as it has been made out to be.

(v) *Maleki* Tenure: Under Revision Survey and Settlement, the number of *maleki* villages still remained 27. Holders of these villages continued with the same terms and conditions that had accepted in the previous Survey and Settlement. They had received *sanad* from government

¹⁹⁰ Nand, B. (2009). 152

¹⁹¹ MSA. (1874). GRABP for the Year 1872-73. 52-54

¹⁹² Nairne, A. K. (1884). *A Handbook for Revenue Officers in the Presidency of Bombay*. Bombay: Education Society's Press. 496

¹⁹³ Powell, B. H. (1892). Vol. III. 281

¹⁹⁴ Here it means a political allowance in Gujarat.

¹⁹⁵ Powell, B. H. (1892). Vol. III. 281 and Desai, T. R. (1907). 12

and were assessed at a fixed revenue rate.¹⁹⁶ This meant that there was no further change instituted.

(vi) *Mehwasi* Tenure: The *koli* and *rajput* freebooter of *mehwasi* villages had settled along the Mahi River (Kheda) Prantij and Modasa Talukas (Ahmedabad) and Kalol Taluka (Panchmahals).¹⁹⁷ They paid a lump sum (*jama*) as tribute to government and extracted their profit between this and the rent that they derived from tenants. Over the period of time their profits had been divided among many branches of the family. The shares were called '*bhag*' and head sharer was called the '*muksh-bhgadar*' and the subordinate sharer was identified as '*peta-bhgadar*' like in case of *bhagdari* and *narwadari* tenure.¹⁹⁸ However, under Revision Survey and Settlement, the similarities between *mehwasi* with *bhagdari* and *narwadari* tenures were not recognized. Instead, it was believed to be more identifiable with *talukdari* villages in Ahmedabad.¹⁹⁹

By 1887, government succeeded in depriving the *mehwasis* from their proprietary rights and forced them to pay *jama* based on assessment of cultivated lands. The government also retained the management of the forests but granted *mehwasis* a reduction in *jama* for the loss according to the area of the land taken up for forests. Thus, it was decided that *mehwasis* had no proprietary right in villages and forests.²⁰⁰ The government also gave orders to prepare new leases so that there can be maintained a record. The new leases of *mehwasi* villages came to be finally approved in 1888. But the rest of the details were worked out only later. The terms of the leases were subject to revision settlement of the *taluka*. Thus, the once independent landholders were reduced to contractual relationship with government. Despite this

¹⁹⁶ Desai, T. R. (1907). 12

¹⁹⁷ Desai, T. R. (1907). 12 and Desai, M. B. (1948). 100

¹⁹⁸ Powell, B. H. (1892). Vol. III. 280

¹⁹⁹ Nand, B. (2009). 157

²⁰⁰ Choksey, R. D. (1968). 72

government was unable to reduce more than two villages. Originally there were 23 villages but in 1890 the number was reduced to 21 villages which continued as earlier.²⁰¹

Under new reforms, *mehwasi* had a lien on their waste land on condition that they would limit their demand on tenants to the survey assessment and would pay *jama* derived from the assessment of cultivated land by themselves and tenants. They were also allowed to employ *talati* but were obliged to keep proper accounts and furnish statistics when demanded.²⁰² However, even in these villages since they held their land on lease, they had no interest in management of land. They made profit from the income that they derived from tenants through contract. Although it did lead fragmentation of land holdings. Over the generations, the *mehwasi* estates got fragmented into many parts. The *mehwasis* were also into large debts as they could sell or mortgage their estates. In 1908, there was a feeble agitation for restoration of their proprietary rights but government put it down. The government offered them the revised terms but they refused to accept therefore government dropped the idea of introducing any changes on the existing lease.²⁰³ Although, according to Baden Powell, tenure like *mehwasi* were never under the authority of central government. Some holders of *mehwasi* estates had deprived from all territorial rights and were compensated by a cash allowance.²⁰⁴

(vii) *Kasbati* Tenure: The term '*kasa*' referred to a large village or market centre which were farmed for revenue purpose. The farmers of *kasa* had acquired the position as landlords by lending money and standing security for the payment of revenue. This system came to be known as *kasbati* which was found mainly in Ahmedabad. Under Revision Survey and Settlement, *kasbati* estates became practically identical with the *talukdari* estates.²⁰⁵

²⁰¹ MSA. (1914). SRBG. No. DXXIV.-New Series. 12 and Patel, G. D. (1950). 43

²⁰² Nand, B. (2009). 157

²⁰³ Choksey, R. D. (1968). 78

²⁰⁴ Powell, B. H. (1907). *A Short Account of the Land Revenue and its Administration in British India; with a Sketch of the Land Tenures*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 114

²⁰⁵ Powell, B. H. (1892). Vol. III. 286

(viii) **Inam Tenure:** The practice of issuing *sanad* recognize *inami* lands and levy an annual quit rent was continued under Revision Survey and Settlement.²⁰⁶ The *inami* villages were surveyed and assessed and were granted on leases. Leases and rental statistics were verified by Superintendent of Land Records on the spot by personal inquiry with *kabjedars* (*inamdars*) and tenants in the field. There was no *talati* and no Record of Rights in *inami* villages therefore Superintendent had to himself collect all information and data necessary for formulating his proposals.²⁰⁷ The peasants who cultivated the *inam* lands paid rents to the *inamdars*. But they possessed no proprietary interest in the soil.²⁰⁸ Thus not much change would be effected.

6. Financial Impact: The Revision Survey and Settlement in British Gujarat resulted in increase of assessment especially in Ahmedabad, Kheda, Panchmahals and Surat Districts.²⁰⁹ Whereas in Bharuch District, there was a slight decrease. Thus, the major problem of Revision Survey and Settlement was “taxation of improvement” which was effected at the cost of the *ryots*. The following table give the statistics of increase/decrease in assessment of all districts of British Gujarat:²¹⁰

Districts	Period of Revision Settlement	Increase/Decrease in Assessment
Ahmedabad	1888-1893	29 % Increase
Kheda	1894-1896	17 % Increase
Panchmahals	1903-1912	16.57 % Increase ²¹¹
Bharuch	1901-1902	8 % Decrease ²¹²
Surat	1897-1904	4 % Increase

²⁰⁶ MSA. (1908). *RABP for the Year 1906-1907*. Bombay: The Government Central Press. 17

²⁰⁷ Modak, D. S. (1932). *The Bombay Land System and Village Administration*. Poona: Oriental Watchman Publishing House. 17-18

²⁰⁸ Nairne, A. K. (1884). 552

²⁰⁹ Srinivas, K., Awasthi, A., & Vaidya, M. (2017). 252

²¹⁰ Patel, G. D. (1969). 215-217

²¹¹ Kalol and Jhalod Talukas continued with the old rates hence percentage of increased assessment is taken only for Godhra, Dahod and Halol Talukas.

²¹² Except in Ankelswar Taluka because it continued with old rates.

7. Limitation and Conclusion: The period between 1885 to 1910 is characterized by expansion of transportation and communication i.e., railways, roads and bridges etc., throughout Gujarat. The period also experienced a great deal of agrarian and other crises i.e., famine and epidemic which resulted in a great loss of agricultural stock and population. The immediate cause of famine was monsoon failure. However, the major cause of famine was human made and was the result of exploitative land revenue policies of colonial government. As can be discerned from the above assessment, there was a large increase in land revenue assessment especially in Ahmedabad (29 %), Kheda (17 %) and Panchmahals (16.57 %) with a slight decrease in Bharuch (8%). The colonial policies did not only deteriorate the condition of the tenants but also of the landlords. Many landlords under the terms of new Survey and Settlement were restricted to alienate their estates and were obliged to payment of revenue to government. They also were pulled deeply into huge debt despite so called protection from the government. At time, they had to sell their estates at very low prices in order to pay off the debts. At the time of famines, many landlords found it difficult to collect rent from the cultivators. Therefore, they filed petitions to government to provide relief but were ignored.

Majority of cultivators either in landlord villages or in government villages enjoyed no privileges or security of tenure. The land revenue assessment was very high and if they failed to comply with the occupancy terms and conditions or revenue payments they were deprived from their holdings. Sometimes they were as much as compelled to leave their holdings/villages in order to either to oppose government policies or to search food and water. This has been seen particularly at the time of famine. The government did not throw any mercy in most of the times of famine. The peasants were forced to work to on the fields or in other projects which was quite often fatal. The British archival records do not describe the disquiet that occurred but folklores were of full of such conditions. Such as exploitation drew the peasantry to the emerging nationalist consciousness in the 20th century. Many nationalist

leaders such as Sardar Patel and others gave leaderships and involved peasantry in their mass movements.

Under Revision Survey and Settlement, the British Government made several attempts to make big changes in system of land tenures through legal means. However, they could not completely eliminate or change the existing system instead managed to only modify it. They continued with certain measurements which they had adopted at the time of previous settlements. They also continued with the tenures which had originated since the pre-British period although with some modifications. Thus, despite the fact that various attempts were made by government to make changes in existing systems, certain elements of continuity remained strong.

Re-Revision Survey and Settlement (1911-1938)

1. Introduction: About the expiration of Revision Survey and Settlement, British districts covered an area of more than ten thousand square miles in Gujarat.²¹³ The Re-Revision Survey and Settlement covered the whole districts of Ahmedabad, Kheda, Panchmahals (except Godhra) and only two *talukas* of Surat.²¹⁴ In the Press Note no. P. 186 dated 16-7-29, government directed that no revision settlement should be undertaken till the principles regarding settlement of land revenue of agricultural lands were legalized by amendment of the Land Revenue Code. Accordingly, the Re-revision Survey and Settlement in Bharuch, all *talukas* (excepting Bardoli and Chorasi) of Surat, Dahod, Jhalod and Godhra Talukas in Panchmahal were postponed.²¹⁵ It is important to mention that no *taluka* (excepting Ankleswar) in Bharuch District was taken up for Re-Revision Survey and Settlement. The Re-Revision Survey and Settlement of Ankleswar Taluka commenced in 1943-44, but was put on hold because of World War II.²¹⁶ The Revision Survey and Settlement had resulted with major

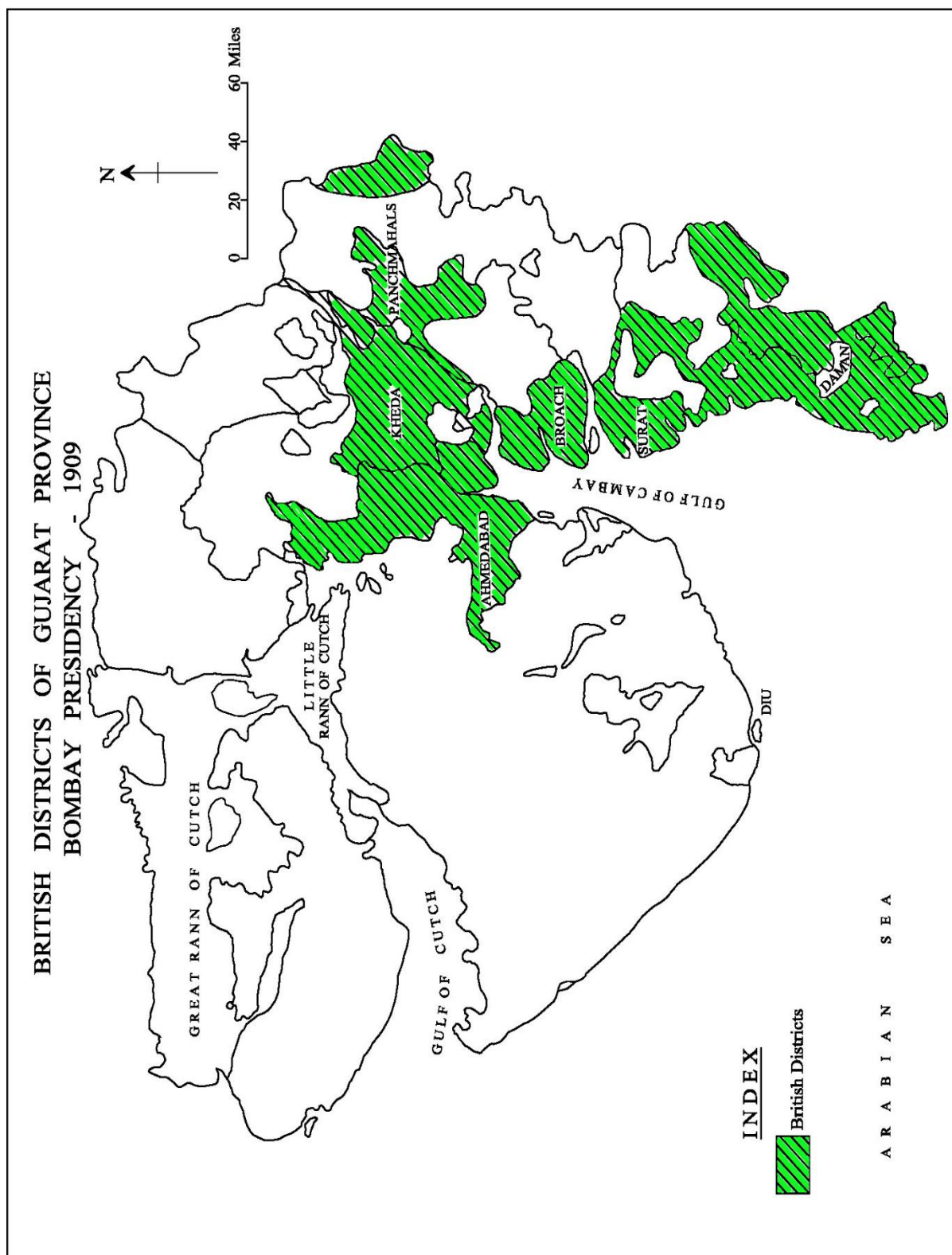
²¹³ See Map No. 5

²¹⁴ Patel, G. D. (1969). 259-260

²¹⁵ Srinivas, K., Awasthi, A., & Vaidya, M. (2017). 253

²¹⁶ Patel, G. D. (1969). 351-352

Map No. 5



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

problem of “taxation of improvements”. By the beginning of 20th century, the economy of Gujarat as well as of subcontinent suffered a lot of setbacks. Therefore, certain measures were taken under the aegis of Anderson, the Settlement Commissioner, regarding the policies and principles of Bombay land revenue system. These measures resulted with reduction of assessment all round unlike the previous Survey and Settlement which had resulted in enhancement of assessment.²¹⁷

2. Survey Number and Classification: In Re-Revision Survey and Settlement, survey operations were carried out on partial system of re-measurement. For instance, the formation of arable land out of the waste lands, conversion of dry lands into rice lands, relapse of rice land to dry land, reclassification of lands devastated by the famines of 1900, etc., were taken into operation.²¹⁸ Beside it, the garden lands were abolished in all *talukas* except Prantij and Modasa Talukas in Ahmedabad District and Chorasi and Bardoli Talukas in Surat District.²¹⁹

3. Assessment: The following table shows the average rates of assessments under Re-Revision Survey and Settlement in the districts of British Gujarat.²²⁰

District	Dry-crop Land (Rs. A. P.)	Garden Land (Rs. A. P.)	Rice Land (Rs. A. P.)	
			Old rice	New rice
Ahmedabad	3-2-0 (highest) 0-14-3 (lowest)	5-6-5 (highest) 3-5-11 (lowest)	1-13-9 (lowest)	1-6-4 (lowest)
Kheda	.....	.....	.....	.....
Panchmahals	2-6-10 (highest) 0-13-10 (lowest)	.....	.....	.....
Bharuch	.....	.....	.....	.....
Surat	6-11-5 (highest)	10-0-7 (highest)	10-11-5 (highest)	14-3-11 (highest)

²¹⁷ Srinivas, K., Awasthi, A., & Vaidya, M. (2017). 254-255

²¹⁸ Patel, G. D. (1969). 353-354

²¹⁹ Patel, G. D. (1969). 348

²²⁰ Patel, G. D. (1969). 345-348

Under Re-Revision Survey and Settlement, average rate of assessment increased in the *talukas* of Panchmahals and Surat Districts but led to decrease in the *talukas* of Ahmedabad and Kheda Districts. In Ahmedabad, the highest and lowest rate of dry crop land was imposed in North Daskroi and Ghogha respectively. In Chorasi Taluka of Surat District, rate of assessment was highest for all three types of land – dry-crop, garden and rice (old and new). Whereas in Jhalod Taluka, rate of assessment was lowest. On the whole, Re-Revision Survey and Settlement resulted in general assessment and financial loss to the government.²²¹ [See Appendix No.11]

4. The Bombay Tenancy Act, 1939: During the period from 1913 to 1939, there was no such land revenue legislation was passed. Prior to 1939, the terms and conditions of tenure were governed by the Bombay Land Revenue Code, 1879.²²² Over the period of time, the land revenue law led to serious of issues about the basis of assessment, pitch of assessment, the degree of assessment etc. The doctrinaire principles about ‘rental value’ and ‘annual value’ came to hold the field. As a result of the deliberation of the Bombay Land Revenue Assessment Committee, a draft bill to amend the Land Revenue Code was introduced in the Council. But before it could pass through the necessary stages in the legislative machinery, the revision settlement of the Bardoli and Chorasi Talukas of Surat District were challenged by peasantry under the leadership of Sardar Patel.²²³ The various peasant movements demanded fixity of tenure, reduction of rents and other rights in tree, house sites etc., particularly during the first half of 20th century. In order to prevent deterioration of the landlord-tenant relations and adverse effects on agriculture sector, the government undertook the special legislation. This resulted in the enactment of comprehensive legislation – The Bombay Tenancy Act, 1939.²²⁴

²²¹ Patel, G. D. (1969). 345-50

²²² Desai, M. B. (1948). 126

²²³ Patel, G. D. (1969). 403

²²⁴ Desai, M. B. (1948). 126 and Patel, G. D. (1954). 256-257

The earlier tenancy legislation had certain lacunas: it did not go beyond laying down procedure for settlement of disputes and for registration in records of rights making it obligatory on the landowners; it did not define tenant as ‘occupant’ of land they cultivated; tenancy period and amount of rent payable were determined by usages of customs in the absence of a specific agreement between landlord and tenant; and the tenants enjoyed no security of tenure in terms of duration of tenure and amount of rent. The Bombay Tenancy Act, 1939 was the first piece of legislation designed to protect interests of the tenants. For the first time, tenants were granted permanency of occupancy of land they cultivated.²²⁵

The Bombay Tenancy Act, 1939 made statutory provision for the survey and settlement of the land revenue for the first time. This Act again provided for a duration of settlement which was for a maximum of thirty years with the provision that it could be changed by provincial government.²²⁶ Thus, the land revenue legislation was developed and shaped under different circumstances according to the exigencies of the revenue administration.²²⁷ The Bombay Tenancy Act, 1939 lowered the assessment limits to 33% in case of lands in village or particular survey number or sub-division and the land revenue could not be exceeded beyond 60 %.²²⁸

5. Settlement of Land Tenures: Change and Continuity – Under Re-Revision Survey and Settlement, many different tenures including *ryotwari* continued in prevalent over a gross area of 65,25,818 acres of lands of British Gujarat.²²⁹ Tenures such as *bhagdari* and *narwadari* (Ahmedabad, Kheda, Bharuch and Surat), *talukdari* tenure (Ahmedabad, Kheda, Panchmahals and Bharuch), *maleki* tenure (Thasra Taluka) and *mehwasi* tenure (Kalol Taluka) and many more continued to exist.²³⁰

²²⁵ Desai, M. B. (1948). 126

²²⁶ Punjabi, K. L. (n. a.). *Bombay Land Revenue System*. Ahmedabad: The Praja Bandhu Press.5

²²⁷ Patel, G. D. (1969). 403

²²⁸ Punjabi, K. L. (n. a.). 5

²²⁹ Desai, M. B. (1948). 93

²³⁰ Kharod, N. G. (1957). A78

The following section include a description of settlement of these tenures under Re-Revision Survey and Settlement.

(i) ***Bhagdari and Narwadari Tenure:*** The number of *bhagdari* villages in Bharuch District which was reduced from 244 to 224 during Revision Survey and Settlement continued to exist even under Re-Revision Survey and Settlement. Beside the 90 *narwadari* villages in Kheda District, 12 in Surat District and 1 in Ahmedabad District also continued to subsist. Thus, a total of 327 *bhagdari* and *narwadari* villages were prevalent in British Gujarat even at the time of independence.²³¹ The mode of assessment of revenue was same that was being followed in early surveys and settlements. The cultivators in *bhagdari* and *narwadari* were still the tenants (either customary or temporary tenants) of *bhagdars* and *narwadars*. Like *talukdari* and *mehwasi* villages, the *bhagdari* and *narwadari* villages came to be fragmented with increase of number of heirs (sub-sharers) over generation to generation.²³²

Although the nature of *bhagdari* and *narwadari* tenure had been preserved, the government had carried out field to field assessment and prepared the records. The government had also allowed many *bhagdars* and *narwadars* to base their revenue responsibility of their respective divisions at the place of old share of revenue payable on the *phalvani* register. It is observed that these tenures neither benefited the *bhagdars* and *narwadars* nor their tenants. It did not also harm their position much. This pushed the peasantry to join the movement against colonialism.²³³

In 1917, the alliance of nationalists and Home Rule League began a petition campaign to protest the government's revenue demands which addressed the conditions of peasants in Kheda District. The activists took the signatory support and consulted with Patidars, Collector and

²³¹ Desai, M. B. (1948). 101

²³² Desai, M. B. (1948). 102

²³³ Desai, M. B. (1948). 103

members of Bombay Legislative Council to express their concern about condition of peasantry. Although Collector had cut revenue payments in half of in selected villages, village officials refused to administer the changes and continued to demand full payment from peasants.²³⁴ The activists also asked help of Mahatma Gandhi who had recently returned from Champaran Satyagraha. Gandhiji arrived in Kheda District and studied the pathetic condition of peasants. He approached the government officials for several months without any productive results. In March 1918, Gandhiji finally launched a “no-revenue campaign” against the government which came to known as Kheda Satyagraha.²³⁵ Other leaders who mobilized the peasants were Mohanlal Pandya, Vallabhbhai Patel, Narhari Parikh, Mahadev Desai, Kalyanji Mehta, Amritlal V. Thakkar etc.²³⁶ Kheda Satyagraha was one of the examples of peasant movement in which peasants raised their voice against British land revenue system and challenged the authority of land revenue officials.²³⁷ Despite the emergence of peasant movement, the government was able to collect nearly all revenue for the fiscal year. This was the time when Patidars contested the colonial power and their solidarity grown in the midst of the peasant movement.²³⁸ The ultimate result of the movement was not a complete win of the Kheda peasants because the government had succeeded in collecting 80 percent of revenue during the movement. Yet it goes on to showcase that peasantry was glaring to challenge. The movement provided an experience of non-violent *satyagraha* to the people of Gujarat and created nationalist consciousness among peasants.²³⁹

²³⁴ Chaturvedi, V. (2007). 132

²³⁵ Chaturvedi, V. (2007). 133

²³⁶ Mehta, S. (1984). *The Peasantry and Nationalism. A Study of the Bardoli Satyagraha*. New Delhi: Manohar Publications. 30

²³⁷ Mehta, S. (1984). 30

²³⁸ Chaturvedi, V. (2007). 134

²³⁹ Mehta, S. (1984). 32

(ii) **Wanta Tenure:** Majority of *wanta* estates had accepted settlement of converting the lump sum quit rent into *salami* on each survey number. Sometimes a portion of common land was liable to pay quit rent (*wanta*) while the remaining charged with full assessment (*talpat*).²⁴⁰

(iii) **Talukdari Tenure:** At the time of Revision Survey and Settlement some measures of restriction as already discussed was placed under *talukdar*'s power to alienate their estates. As result of these restrictions and other caused discussed, the *talukdars* were in a miserable condition. Therefore, they extracted excessive and extortionate rent from their tenants who were in fact tenant-at-will and paid rent either in cash or kind. The tenants could be removed at any time and therefore they enjoyed no security of tenure. The *talukdars* were often inefficient landlords and hence vast lands lay waste.²⁴¹ The Talukdari Settlement Officer was still responsible for the collection of *jama* and *takavi* of all *talukdari* estates.²⁴²

In Re-Revision Survey and Settlement, there were about 14,33,204 acres of lands under *talukdari* tenure. Of these, 10,61,187 acres were settled temporarily whereas the remaining 3,72,022 acres were settled permanently. There were over five hundred *talukdari* villages in British Gujarat.²⁴³ They could enjoyed the full proprietary rights including the ownership of mines, minerals and trees. They paid *jama* liable for revision on expiry of a period not exceeding 30 years. Although, legally *jama* was equal to the full survey assessment but practically came to be 60 percent of the assessment on cultivated lands and 35 percent on waste lands. The *talukdars* although had to take the permission of Talukdar Settlement Officer or Government in case of encumber or alienate their estates. Yet they remained by and large

²⁴⁰ Desai, M. B. (1948). 105

²⁴¹ Choksey, R. D. (1968). 77

²⁴² MSA. (1921). *RABP for the Year 1919-1920*. Bombay: The Government Central Press. 34

²⁴³ Desai, M. B. (1948). 97

independent. The change that can be seen was the partition of *talukdari* estates on death of holder was to be done by the Collector and not by the civil court.²⁴⁴

Ordinarily the government intervened in the internal management of *talukdari* estates only under special circumstances. It intervened only if there was a case of division of land among the heirs or a case of mismanagement of *talukdari* estates. For instance, the Mehol *talukdari* (Godhra, Panchmahals) was passed under the management of government on account of heavy encumbrance and inefficient conduct of the *talukdar*. The Naiks of Dahod Taluka of Panchmahals District and Kasbatis of Viramgam Taluka or Ahmedbad District, though included in the definition of *talukdars* were considered to hold their estates as permanent leases.²⁴⁵

The land of *talukdari* estates were cultivated by tenant-at-will. The rent was still levied either in cash (Kheda and Bharuch) or in kind (Ahmedabad). The complicated relationships between *talukdars* and tenants often caused poor cultivation and increased waste areas from settlement to settlement. This fundamentally caused the backwardness or absence of development of the *talukdari* estates of British Gujarat.²⁴⁶ By the Bombay Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act, 1939, the rights of tenants came to be settled. The result was that they were either permanent, protected or ordinary tenants for ten years. They were subject to the provisions of the tenancy legislation.²⁴⁷

(iv) Maleki Tenure: The 27 *maleki* villages of Thasra Taluka of Kheda District continued as it is under Re-Revision Survey and Settlement which meant no changes were brought about. The holders of *maleki* villages enjoyed rights to occupancy and also could sublet their holdings

²⁴⁴ Desai, M. B. (1948). 98

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁶ Desai, M. B. (1948). 99-100

²⁴⁷ Choksey, R. D. (1968). 77

subject to the payment of fixed share of revenue to the government. They held rent free *gharkhed* land which could be cultivated by themselves or rented out to tenants according to their own choices.²⁴⁸

(v) *Mehwasi* Tenure: Under the Re-Revision Survey and Settlement, the *mehwasi* tenure had continued in the Prantij and Modasa Talukas (Ahmedabad) and Kalol Taluka (Panchmahals) and some villages of Kheda. However, with increase in the number of successors at the time of Revision Survey and Settlement, the *mehwasi* estates had gotten fragmented into many parts. This led to general indebtedness as much as that sell and mortgage began to take place.²⁴⁹ In 1908, the *mehwasis* had agitated for the restoration of their proprietary right but they were refused by government. When government offered them a revised terms they had refused to accept and therefore government dropped the idea of introducing any change in existing lease.²⁵⁰

H. V. Braham was given the responsibility of carrying out revision settlement of Kalol Taluka of Panchmahals District.²⁵¹ The proposals submitted by Braham were sanctioned by government in 1928. The situation was that the *mehwasis* were unable to manage their estates and hence their estates were mortgaged either to the *bania* or their own *talati*.²⁵² The fact was that the *mehwasis* were collecting the revenue on behalf on government from the *ryots* and pay it to government in the form of *ankda*. In return, they were entitled to remuneration called *mehwasi* profit.²⁵³ The revenue fixed at a settlement was liable to revision at intervals of thirty years. As per the proposal the revision was based on the factors like the productivity of soils, climate and general economic consideration.²⁵⁴ Besides, *mehwasis* and occupants were allowed

²⁴⁸ Desai, M. B. (1948). 101

²⁴⁹ Desai, M. B. (1948). 100

²⁵⁰ Choksey, R. D. (1968). 78

²⁵¹ MSA. (1914). SRBG. No. DXXIV.-New Series. 12 and Patel, G. D. (1950). 43

²⁵² Choksey, R. D. (1968). 78

²⁵³ Patel, G. D. (1950). 48

²⁵⁴ Campbell, J. M. (1877). Vol. II. 407

to get free timber under permit from forest and unassessed waste land for agricultural and domestic purposes. However reserved forests had remained under the sole charge of government, and after disforestation, the *mehwas* had no rights to any share of the occupancy price or assessment realized by government from such lands.²⁵⁵

(vi) *Sarakati* Tenures: The *sarakati* tenure had similar features like that of *maleki* tenure. The only difference was that the portion of respective share of the government and holders varied from ten to six *annas* instead of seven to nine *annas*.²⁵⁶

(vii) *Kasbati* Tenure: The *kasbati* tenure which had originated out of the lending money to rulers and standing security for the payment of land revenue also continued to exist in eleven villages of Ahmedabad District even after the Revision Survey and Settlement.²⁵⁷

(viii) *Inam* Tenure: About 1/5th of the occupied land in Bombay Presidency was *inam* or alienated.²⁵⁸ At the time of independence, there were 206 *inam* villages in Gujarat. About 24 per cent of the total cultivable lands was held under *inam* tenure. The *inam* villages were still revenue free or paying nominal assessment although they were liable to local fund cess. These villages were also surveyed and settled and assessment was revised at regular interval, although government demand remained unaltered. The classification and management of *inam* tenure had remained unchanged under Original and Revision Survey and Settlement. It was maintained even under Re-Revision Survey and Settlement.²⁵⁹

6. Financial Impact: The Re-Revision Survey and Settlement resulted with general reduction of assessment. For instance, the largest reduction of 25.53 % and 20.43 % in 1918 were made

²⁵⁵ Patel, G. D. (1950). 49

²⁵⁶ Desai, M. B. (1948). 101

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

²⁵⁸ Modak, D. S. (1932). 151

²⁵⁹ Desai, M. B. (1948). 106-107

in Matar and Mehmedabad.²⁶⁰ The following table gives the statistics of financial effects of Re-Revision Survey and Settlement in comparison to the Revision Survey and Settlement in British Gujarat:²⁶¹

Increase (%)		Decrease (%)	
North Daskroi	4.09	Dholka	2.90
Prantij	0.67	South Daskroi	6.23
Kalol	35.77	Gogha	7.13
Halol	28.46	Modasa	7.84
Dahod	0.50	Sanand	4.34
Bardoli	6.66	Matar	25.53
Chorasi	3.8	Mehmedabad	20.43
Average	11.42	Average	16.17

7. Limitation and Conclusion: Despite that fact that revenue assessment under Re-Revision Survey and Settlement was lower comparing the Revision Survey and Settlement, there was a widespread dissatisfaction among the peasants in British Gujarat against the government's arbitrary land revenue policy. The outcome of this dissatisfaction can be seen in terms of peasant movements such as Kheda Satyagraha (1918) and Bardoli Satyagraha (1928).²⁶² At the time of its expiration, Re-Revision Survey and Settlement came to be failed. The government did try to contain the damage in 1939 by passing the Bombay Tenancy Act, 1939. According to the provisions of this Act, the tenants who had cultivated land personally since 1933 came to be defined as 'protected tenant'. The protected tenant could not be removed from land by landlords except in certain conditions. On the death of the protected tenant, the tenancy was to be continued on the same terms and conditions that the heir had to give notice in writing of his willingness to continue as a protected tenant within the four months of the death of his father.²⁶³

²⁶⁰ Srinivas, K., Awasthi, A., & Vaidya, M. (2017). 256

²⁶¹ Patel, G. D. (1969). 349

²⁶² Mehta, S. (1984). 30, 33

²⁶³ Desai, M. B. (1948). 127

The act also conferred the benefit of compensation to the tenants on eviction for land improvement. The Act also provided the landlords the right to evict the tenant on the ground of default in payment of rent or damaged to the leased land. The tenant also received additional benefits such as abolition of all cesses, suspension or remission of rent along with land revenue at the time of general distress, protection against eviction from dwelling house, rights of pre-emption in purchasing such site, share in produce of tree and relief termination in certain circumstances.²⁶⁴

Despite the enactment of Bombay Tenancy Act, 1939, there had occurred instances of ejectment of protected tenant. Tenants continued to be deprived of lands by landlords. Even the lands which had been transferred to non-cultivating moneylenders and alienated by dispossessed farmers continued to change hand annually.²⁶⁵ The landlords had still considerable scope for rack renting the tenants by demanding high rent.²⁶⁶ And in fact the passing Bombay Tenancy Act, 1939 was too late and too as per consideration the over all period of Survey and Settlement. At the time of famine and plague during the year 1899-1900, the colonial government did not provide people with much reliefs as were required. As a result, heavy mortality took place in the districts of British Gujarat. This took more than two decades to reach out to the earlier statistics of population.²⁶⁷ Despite the fact that the condition of peasantry was not much improved, colonial government sequestrated extensive areas of Gujarat under their direct management.²⁶⁸ The last cycle of land revenue administration in British Gujarat commenced in 1940 in Ahmedabad and Kheda. However due to the outbreak of World War II, orders sanctioning the revisions were deferred.²⁶⁹ The majority of agricultural

²⁶⁴ Nand, B. (2003). 716

²⁶⁵ Desai, M. B. (1948). 129

²⁶⁶ Desai, M. B. (1948). 132

²⁶⁷ See Appendix No. 12

²⁶⁸ See Appendix No. 13

²⁶⁹ Patel, G. D. (1969). viii

population belonged to the category of tenants than owners. For instance, in 1946, out of total agricultural population of Gujarat, 60 percent were described as tenants. The Kheda District had the largest number of tenants, over 53 percent of the entire tenant population of Gujarat.²⁷⁰

All types of land tenures which had originated in the pre-British times were taken into consideration under Original, Revision and Re-Revision Survey and Settlement. The colonial government made various attempts to change the nature of traditional systems in order to maximize the revenue on land. They used all possible methods to achieve their objectives through political or legal means. Despite the fact that colonial government was not much satisfied with the existing systems they could not eliminate or abolish it rather than modifying. It can be safely said that the roots of the Indian traditional systems were as much as strong that the most power Empire of the time could not deracinate it. Therefore, they continued with traditional systems although with some modifications as per their potential and conveniency. It can be also said that colonial government did not change the existing systems but modify it.

So far as the neighboring states were concerned the British districts were surrounded by big or small princely states. The largest princely state in Gujarat was Baroda State ruled by the Gaekwads. These were administrative divisions and hence most of land tenures had continued since the pre-British times in almost all the lands in Gujarat. however, the nature of landed relationships differed from region to region. The next chapter focuses on the most important party viz., revenue functionaries and understand its impact on relationships that evolved in Baroda State.

²⁷⁰ Nand, B. (2003). 532