CHAPTER I

EVOLUTION AND ORGANISATION OF THE BARODA STATE
CHAPTER - 1

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ORIGIN OF THE BARODA STATE

The history of the Baroda State in the middle of the nineteenth century was similar to that of other parts of India. The State was not a compact one. Its districts namely, Mehsana, Baroda and Navsari were scattered respectively in the northern, central and southern parts of the former Presidency of Bombay. In each, the district was surrounded by the territories of the British as well as of the Indian States. In Kathiawad (Saurashtra) there was a district of Amreli which was comprised of Amreli, Okhambad and Beyt regions. The State had hardly any system of laws which would regulate its political, economical and social life. Its affairs were mostly tradition based.

It is necessary to trace in brief the history of the previous rulers and to point out their main contribution or otherwise towards the organisation of the State, prior to 1875.

The origin of the State is to be found in the times of Auranzeb, the Mughal Emperor (1658-1707). In the latter half of his reign, the Empire entered into the stage of political decline. The Suba (Province) of Gujarat which formed part of the Empire, too was then getting disorganised. Under the circumstances, the first Maratha force was led by Shivaji in Gujarat with the intention of plundering Surat (1664). The subsequent activities of Shivaji and the Maratha generals like Khande Rao Dabhade, shook the foundations of the Mughal power in Gujarat. During 1700-16, Khande Rao reached Ahmedabad, and entered into the region of Sorath in Kathiawad. The Marathas knew this region as Kathewa as it was inhabited by the "Kathi" people. The "Kathis" were known for their plundering and cattle lifting ways. Khande Rao Dabhade was made in 1716 the Senapati or Commander-in-Chief by Ram Raja, the Chhatrapati King of Satara.

The battle of Balapur (Berar) fought in 1721, proved advantageous to the Marathas. Damaji Rao Gaekwad, the right hand man of Khande Rao Dabhade, achieved grand success in the battle. His services were recognised by the Chhatrapati who bestowed upon him the title of Shamsheer Bahadur (the illustrious swordsman). Damaji Rao was also promoted to be the second-in-command to the Senapati Dabhade. This incident is important because it brought into fore front the house of the Gaekwads. The Gaekwads were destined to become the rulers of Baroda.

Soon after the battle of Balapur both Khande Rao and Damaji Rao died. The former was succeeded by his son, Trimbak Rao and the latter by his nephew Pilaji Rao, the son of his brother Jingoji Rao Gaekwad. Pilaji Rao I(1721-32) proved himself worthy as the founder of the fortunes of the family. He acquired Songadh, a hill fort in the hills of South Gujarat and made it his headquarters. From here he directed the operations of the three pagas (a body of horsemen) which were entrusted to him. Songadh remained as the capital of the Gaekwad till Damaji Rao (1732-68) moved it to Patan in 1766. In 1763, Patan was bestowed upon Damaji Rao by Peshwa Madhav Rao along with other towns in the northern Gujarat.

Till 1725, the history of the Maratha depredations in Gujarat is not clear. Pilaji Rao seems to have crossed the Narmada river and reached as far as the Mahi river plundering the land and fighting against the local Muslim Officers. In 1725, he aligned himself with Rustom Ali Khan, the Governor of Surat. But later on, he turned against him and went over to Asaf Jah alias Nizam-ul-Mulk, the Governor of Deccan.

Kantaji Kadam Bande, one of the leading Maratha Generals of the time, also sided with Asaf Jah. In a struggle between Rustom Ali Khan and Asaf Jah, the former being helpless put an end to the matter.

1. Gaekwad Yanche Hakigat (Marathi), (Government Record Section, Baroda) pp.2-3.
end to his life. After this Kantaji Kadam was assigned a district north of river Mahi and Pilaji Rao was assigned the districts south of that river. Pilaji Rao’s share included Baroda, Champaner, Broach (Bharuch), Surat and Nandod. The division of the territories was meant only for the collection of the Chauth. The Nizam continued to be the overlord of these territories.

The Mughal Government at Delhi was alarmed to see the growing predominance of the Marathas in Gujarat and repudiated the concessions granted to the Maratha generals. The Satara Government was equally becoming easy over the increasing strength and wealth of their subordinate officers. Senapati Trimbak Rao Dabhade had by then established himself at Dabhoi (Baroda District).

Peshwa Baji Rao was determined to undermine the authority of Trimbak Rao in Gujarat and wanted to force his own rights over the country south of the river Mahi. Consequently, he requested the Mughal Viceroy Sarbuland Khan to confirm his right to levy Chauth and Sardeshmukhi over the country and in return promised to protect it from the inroads of Kantaji, Pilaji Rao and other free-booters. The Viceroy who was hard-pressed, received no help from Delhi. So he ultimately gave way and in 1728 granted the right of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi to the Peshwa throughout the province of Gujarat. This cession of tribute had two consequences. The Delhi Government repudiated the agreement made by Sarbulund Khan and bestowed the Government of Gujarat on the Rathod Maharaja of Jodhpur, Abhaya Singh. Secondly, it created split between the Maratha parties.

Abhaya Singh made himself powerful after his new assignment. The Peshwa now changed his stand and broke off his commitment to help Sarbuland Khan and aligned with Abhaya Singh against Pilaji Rao. The Peshwa intended to drive out Pilaji Rao from Gujarat.

1. The Chauth was nominally one-fourth of the tax on the revenue, but it fluctuated in proportion to the total revenue.

2. The Sardeshmukhi was ten per cent, on the revenue. It also fluctuated in proportion to the total revenue.
But Pilaji Rao was assisted by Trimbak Rao, Kataji Kadam Bande and others. In a battle that took place at Bhilapur (1731) near Baroda, Trimbak Rao was killed and Pilaji Rao was severely wounded. With great difficulty he managed to reach Songadh with his two sons.

At this time, fortunately for the Maratha generals in Gujarat, the Peshwa came to terms with Nizam-ul-Mulk. He did not follow his success by completely crushing the power of the Maratha generals. He appointed Yeshwant Rao, the minor son of the late Senapati, in his father's place. He also nominated Pilaji Rao as Yashwant Rao's mutalik (Deputy) and gave him the additional title of Sena Khas Khel (Commander of the Special Band or Leader of the Sovereign Band).

Being powerful, Pilaji Rao now turned his arms against Abhaya Singh and achieved considerable success. Finally he succeeded in assassinating the latter through his agents at Dakor in 1732.

**Damaji Rao – II. (1732-68)**

Pilaji Rao was succeeded by his elder son Damaji Rao known as Damaji Rao II. Damaji Rao proved himself formidable and made himself sovereign of a large country. He recovered Baroda in 1734 from Sher Khan Babi, its Governor who was appointed by Abhaya Singh. Since then Baroda remained under the Gaekwads. Damaji Rao frightened Abhaya Singh by penetrating deep into the heart of Jodhpur State and compelled him to withdraw from Gujarat to provide safety to his own territories.

Within two years, the whole of northern Gujarat, the regions of Sorath, Kathiawad and Gohilwad (the south-eastern parts of Saurashtra) were visited either by Damaji Rao or by his generals. His brothers - Pratap Rao and Devaji - levied irregular tributes like Chauth, there. Umabai, the widow of the

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late Senapati Trimbak Rao, recognised Damaji Rao as her agent in succession to Pilaji Rao and sought his help in the Deccan affairs. By 1741 Damaji Rao's power enhanced considerably in Gujarat and Kathiawad.

The Delhi Court dismissed Abhaya Singh as Viceroy of Gujarat and appointed Momin Khan in his place. Momin Khan who desired to preserve his position sought alliance with Damaji Rao. He also wanted to take Ahmedabad from Ratan Singh, the agent of Abhaya Singh. For securing this, Momin Khan offered Damaji Rao not only half of the revenues of Gujarat but one half of the city of Ahmedabad and a share in the whole district of Viramgam. Ahmedabad was captured by the allies in 1738 and Momin Khan fulfilled his pledges. Thereafter Damaji Rao's power grew further rapidly both in Gujarat and Kathiawad. On the death of Umabai, Damaji Rao was nominated the deputy of the Chhatrapati in Gujarat, because Yeshwant Rao the Senapati, had proved himself incompetent.

In 1749, Damaji Rao espoused the cause of Sambhaji, the then Raja of Kolhapur, to the gadi of Satara on the death of Chhatrapati Raja Sahu. At that time the real authority of the King of Satara was taken over by the Peshwa. Damaji Rao was always anxious to side with the party opposed to the Peshwa. In 1750, he defied the order of the Peshwa to go to the Deccan. Next year, he refused the Peshwa to give one half of the possessions of Yeshwant Rao Dabhade in Gujarat. In the same year the Queen-Mother Tarabai called Damaji Rao and other Maratha generals to save Satara from the power of the Peshwas. Damaji Rao responded to the call, but in the end found himself the prisoner of the Peshwa, being strictly confined and placed in irons. The Peshwa made fruitless efforts to recover Gujarat from the Gaekwads and the Mughals. Therefore, he thought it wiser to come to terms with Damaji Rao.

2. Gaekwad Yanchi Hakigat, pp. 11-12.
Damaji Rao anxious to obtain his release, accepted the terms offered by the Peshwa. These terms were contained in the treaty known as the Partition Treaty of 1752-53. ¹

The salient features of the Treaty were as under:

The sum of rupees fifteen lakhs was fixed as arrears and half of Gujarat and all future conquests, whether in territory or in kind, were to be ceded. Damaji Rao agreed to maintain an army of 10,000 horses in Gujarat, to furnish a contingent to the Peshwa's army in the Deccan and to contribute to the support of the Raja in Bara, who was virtually a prisoner of the Peshwa. As the mutalik of Dabhade, Damaji Rao consented to pay 5½ lakhs as tribute due on account of the Dabhade family and an annual sum for the support of the Senapati's establishment.

From a financial point of view the Gaekwad and the Peshwa almost got equal shares in Gujarat. They also divided Gujarat territorially. Damaji Rao also obtained districts worth Rupees 3,00,500 in the Surat Athavas, for the maintenance of his family. It was also decided to share a number of other districts and cities like Ahmedabad and Surat. Both the parties agreed to co-operate with each other militarily in expelling the Muslims and to apportion their share in tribute and the territories. They also decided to respect the rights of each party to send mulukgiri expeditions into Sorath, Gohilwad and Kathiawad. ²

This Treaty of 1752-53 marks an important epoch in the fortunes of the Gaekwad family. It remained as the fundamental treaty indicating relations between the Gaekwads and the Peshwa. In 1753, Ahmedabad was captured from the Mughals after a combined attack of Damaji Rao, Raghunath Rao and other Maratha Chiefs. With this conquest the Mughal power declined in Gujarat and the country was divided between the Peshwa and the Gaekwad according to the Treaty of 1752-53.

The battle of Panipat of 1761 marked a turning point in the history of the Marathas. Damaji Bao fought on the side of the Peshwa, but when the battle was lost, he escaped and returned to Gujarat.

During 1763-66 Damaji Bao crushed the remnants of the Muslim power in Gujarat and secured Patan, Vismagar, Vadnagar, Kheralu, Vijapur and other small tracts. In 1766, in place of Songadh, he made Anhilwad (Patan) as his capital. The small states of Idar and Rajpipla were made tributary to the Gaekwads. In the regions of Saurashtra, mulukgiri system had become an annual institution from the period of Damaji Rao-I. The object of this system was to exact the tribute and not to acquire territory. But Damaji Bao did both.

About 1730, when Damaji Rao first appeared in Kathiawad, Amreli was held by the three parties namely the Kathis, the Saiyads and the Subedar of Junagadh, a subordinate to the Subedar of Ahmedabad. Damaji Rao imposed tributes on all the holders of Amreli and in course of time appropriated their shares and established his control there. He also acquired from the ruler of Lathi, Damnagar (then known as Chhabhadia) and a few villages. These acquisitions of the Gaekwads were enlarged in the subsequent period. Vithal Rao Devaji, the Sar Suba of Amreli district, between 1809 and 1820, played a significant role in these acquisitions.

1. Gaekwar Yanchi Hakigat, p.22.
2. Owing to the general disorder in the peninsula, both the Mughals and the Marathas found it advantageous to follow a system of successive military expeditions for the collection of the tributes. They preferred to this rather than incurring permanent expenditure by deploying a large army to maintain control over their regions. Major Walter signified this term -mulukgiri- as a seizure of the country or more probably a circuit of the country. Bombay Government Records, XXXIX Vol.I, p.270. cited in GBS Vol.I, p.662.
Damaji Rao, maintained an anti-Peshwa attitude and was ready to shake off his lordship at a convenient time. After the treaty of 1752-53, he remained aloof from the Maratha politics. Madhav Rao, the successor of Peshwa Balaji, soon found his uncle Raghunath Rao (famous as Ragbhoba) ambitious and intriguing. Damaji Rao allied himself closely with Raghunath Rao, and took an active part in the battle of Tandulja or Rakhashshbuvan fought on the bank of Godavari in 1763. As a reward in the victory, he obtained from the Raja of Satara, a Khilat and the title of Sena Khas Khel. This title formed one of the titles borne by the Gaekwad rulers since then.

In 1768, the Peshwa, surprised Raghunath Rao at Dhondap, a fort in the Chandor range and defeated him. Raghunath Rao and Govind Rao, the son of Damaji Rao, were taken prisoners and sent to Poona. Again Damaji Rao was asked to pay an enormous sum of tribute together with three years' arrears computed at 15½ lakhs and a fine over 23 lakhs. He was also asked to abide strictly by his agreements regarding the share in customs of Surat and Ahmedabad and to supply the Peshwa with 3000 or in time of need 4000 horses. The terms of the treaty were ratified not by Damaji Rao but by his sons Fatehsingh Rao and Govind Rao, because Damaji Rao had died in the meantime at Fatat in 1768. The quarrel for succession arose among the sons of Damaji Rao and it proved disadvantageous to all of them.

Sayaji Rao - I, 1771-93

Of the two claimants, Sayaji Rao and Govind Rao, the former who was the eldest, was declared as the heir by the Peshwa. Sayaji Rao was also supported by Fatehsingh Rao, another son of Damaji Rao. Owing to the infirmities of Sayaji Rao, Fatehsingh Rao got himself appointed as his mutalik and ruled the State from

1771 to 1778. Govind Bao was given two lakhs a year and the town of Padra as compensation. While Sayaji Rao still lived, Fatehsingh Rao assumed the powers of the State in 1778 and ruled it till 1789. It can be observed that for a period of nineteen years, from 1771 to 1789, the fortunes of the Baroda State were controlled by Fatehsingh Rao.

During 1771-78, Fatehsingh Rao, being distrustful of the Peshwa, tried to seek an offensive and defensive alliance with the East India Company whose headquarters were then at Surat. But he did not meet with success. The British interfered in the Civil War at Poona between Raghunath Rao and the ministers headed by Nana Fadnavis, for the Peshwaship. Under the Treaty of Surat (1775) between Raghunath Rao and the British, the latter undertook a campaign against Fatehsingh Rao and the Peshwa. However, it remained indecisive because the Governor-General repudiated the Treaty of Surat. Therefore, the cause of Raghunath Rao was abandoned. As a result, the matters were left as they were. Fatehsingh Rao apprehending danger from Govind Rao remained cautious and vigilant.

In 1779, the war between the Peshwa and the British broke out again. Governor Hynnby favoured an alliance with Fatehsingh Rao with a view to freeing him from the control of the Peshwa and to divide Gujarat between them. So a treaty was concluded at Kundhela near Dabhoi in 1780. Accordingly, Ahmedabad was taken away in 1780 and was given to Fatehsingh Rao who in his turn gave the British the districts (excepting Songadh) which he had promised. But the British were compelled to terminate the war as the Nizam and Haider Ali of Mysore joined with the Marathas against them. The famous Treaty of Salbai (1782) concluded between the British and the Peshwa, cancelled not only the treaty of Kundhela signed with the Gaekwad, but also restored the Maratha

The Gaekwad was to pay tribute and to serve the Peshwa as usual. In this way Fatehsingh Rao achieved nothing even after much waste of money.

After the death of Fatehsingh Rao in 1789, Gaekwad Sayaji Rao was left without a guardian. His fourth younger brother Manaji Rao seized the reins of power on behalf of him in spite of protests from Govind Rao who had been pensioned off and lived near Poona. The rivalry between Manaji Rao and Govind Rao went on till the death of the former in 1793.

**Govind Rao, 1793-1800**

Govind Rao could become the ruler of the State and secured the title of *Sena Khas Khel* only when he signed an agreement, the terms of which were dictated by the Peshwa. The agreement entailed upon him to pay enormous sums defined under various pretexts and it also forced him to give up valuable jewels, clothes, elephants, horses and the territories as a part-payment to the Peshwa. It seemed that the Peshwa was determined to finish or at least damage beyond repair the interests of the Gaekwad family.

But the British frustrated the plan of the Peshwa by interfering on the grounds of the Treaty of Salbai which provided that there should be no dismemberment of the Baroda State. The Peshwa accepted the English interpretation quietly and the Baroda State was saved from dismemberment. Before entering Baroda, Maharaja Govind Rao, had to fight with the rebels. His own illegitimate son Kanhoji Rao aided by Malhar Rao, the son of the jagirdar of Kadi, put up resistance but they were subdued.

In 1796, Baji Rao, Raghunath Rao's son, became the Peshwa and appointed his younger brother Chimnaji as the Governor of Gujarat and sent Aba Shelukar as his deputy to take charge of the province. Shortly after his arrival in Gujarat, Aba Shelukar was captured and imprisoned by the Maharaja Govind Rao. The main
outcome of this event was the possession of the Ahmedabad farm by Govind Rao in 1800. Despite this, it was leased for five years to the Gaekwad for an annual sum of five lakhs. The Ahmedabad farm included shares in the Kathiawad and Sorath tribute, the revenue of Petlad, Napadh, Rampur, Dhandhuka and Ghogho and the rights to certain customs in Cambay and Ahmedabad.

**Anand Rao, 1800-19**

After the death of Govind Rao in 1800, his eldest son Anand Rao succeeded. As he was weak and addicted to opium, disputes for securing regentship erupted among his ten brothers. Under the circumstances Kanhoji Rao, Anand Rao's eldest brother, usurped the powers and functions of the Maharaja. But he was soon removed and imprisoned by Raoji Apaji, the first Dewan of the State. The early part of Anand Rao's reign was full of troubles and unrest. Raoji Apaji apprehending troubles from the Arab mercenary troops in the State, opened negotiations with the British for help. On the other hand Kanhoji's mother Gajarabai then at Surat, urged Maharaj Rao the jagirdar of Kadi, to help her against the Dewan. They also combined and appealed to the Bombay Government for mediation and favour and offered substantial terms as compensation.

In this way, the aid from the British was sought by both the parties. This was just involving a foreign power into the affairs of the Baroda State. It also prompted the British to change their policy with regard to the Baroda State and to adopt a careful and tactful approach.

The Bombay Government decided to help Anand Rao, the rightful ruler, and sent Major Walker to study the situation. Major Walker after careful study favoured the cause of the Dewan and

2. These Arab mercenary troops played significant role in the time of Maharaja Govind Rao. It was Raoji Appaji who was responsible for employing them in the State. They became so strong and powerful that the Dewan was much afraid of them.
asked Malhar Rao to come to a compromise with the State. Malhar Rao adopted hostile attitude towards Major Walker and it led to the Kadi conflict of 1802 in which he was defeated. His jagir of Kadi was confiscated and annexed to the Baroda State. He was allowed to retire to Nadiad with ample provisions. This was achieved with the military help of the British.

Maharaja Anand Rao had to pay a heavy price for the services of the British. The Gaekwad's share of the chauth of Surat and the Chorasi Pargana were ceded to the Company as a free-gift. The Baroda Government also secretly agreed to keep subsidised force of sepoys and European artillery. The Court of Directors disapproved this whole agreement as it was in direct contravention of the Treaty of Salbai. But before anything could take place, the Peshwa after having been defeated by the armies of Holkar and Sindhia, a Treaty of Bassein (31 Dec. 1802) was signed with the British. This treaty changed the position entirely. By this treaty the Peshwa placed himself under the protection of the British. He ceded his share and complete control of Surat to them. As against the payment of subsidiary force, he also gave up his territory in Gujarat. Moreover, he accepted the British arbitration in disputes between his Government and that of Baroda.

From all the agreements, treaties and others, made until 1802, it could be deduced that the Gaekwads were recognised as the rulers of the Baroda State. The power of the Peshwa was declining not only in Gujarat but also in other parts of India. The British were gaining influence both at the courts of Poona and Baroda.

Major Walker was the first to become Resident at the court of Baroda in July, 1802. Under the plea of mental incapacity of Maharaja Anand Rao, a Commission composed of the Resident, or his Indian agent, the Dewan the Hakumdar was constituted to run the administration of the State. In 1806 Fatesingh Rao joined

the Commision. Since 1802 the authority of the Resident at Baroda gained steadily. In 1804, the Peshwa renewed to the Gaekwad the lease of the Ahmedabad farm for a period of ten years.

The Definitive Treaty concluded between the Company and Baroda in 1805 was a step further in their relations. Subsidiary force was increased and some districts were ceded to the British. The Gaekwad was prohibited from entertaining any European or American or Indian in his service without the consent of the British. The British Government assumed the control over the external policy of the State and all differences of Baroda with the Peshwa were to be submitted for arbitration. By the supplementary and confirmatory treaty of 1808, more districts were ceded to the British.

The Regency of Fatehsingh Rao-II (1806-1818) was marked by some important developments. The help of the Resident Colonel Walker was sought to tackle the problem of mulukgiri system in Kathiawad. As a result, an amicable settlement known as Colonel Walker's Settlement was effected in 1808. By this Settlement the mulukgiri system was done away without impairing the interests and minimising the revenues of the Baroda State.

The relations between the Gaekwad and the Peshwa were far from friendly during this period. In 1816, a beginning of the final struggle between the British and the Maratha States was in offing. In spite of that a Treaty of Poona was drawn up in 1817 between the Peshwa and the British. By this Treaty the Peshwa surrendered all his past claims over the Gaekwad against an annual payment of four lakhs and renounced all his future claims. The Peshwa's Kathiawad tribute and some towns were ceded to the British while Ahmedabad farm was leased in perpetuity to the

1. ibid., p.501
2. Ibid.
Gaekwad. The important part of the Treaty was the Peshwa's renunciation of authority over the Gaekwad. Thus the Gaekwad was rendered free of the Peshwa, even when the Peshwaship was fast losing authority.

The Battle of Kirkee between the Peshwa and the British finally led to the extinction of the Peshwaship. The British after being victorious against the Peshwa, signed Supplementary Treaty with the Gaekwad on November 6, 1817. By this and previous treaties, now, the Company bound themselves to support the Gaekwad and an offensive as well as defensive alliance was concluded between them. The subsidiary force for the State was increased and certain territories were ceded to the Company for the payment of the troops. The Gaekwad's tribute in Kathiawad was taken over by the British. The Ahmedabad farm and other territories were either exchanged or settled with the Gaekwad. The Province of Okhamandal and Beyt were given to him. From now onwards, the history of the Gaekwads is the history of an independent State of Baroda protected by the British.

In 1819, a year after the liquidation of Peshwa's power, the Company released Baroda from annual payments on account of past claims. Patehsingh Rao, the Regent died in 1818. He was succeeded by his younger brother Sayaji Rao. After the death of Maharaja Anand Rao in 1819, Sayaji Rao succeeded as the ruler and ruled the State from 1819 to 1847 as Sayaji Rao-II.

**Sayaji Rao-II, 1819-1847.**

After the commencement of Sayaji Rao II's reign, the Company Government discontinued the practice of active interference in the internal affairs of the State. The Commission organised to run the administration during the period of imbecile Maharaja Anand Rao,

was abolished. However, at this time, the arrangement was made by which the control over States paying tributes to Baroda, was retained by the Company. This shows that Gaekwad was slowly losing his sovereign rights.

The period of Maharaja Sayaji Rao is characterised with marked differences between the British and the Baroda State. Sayaji Rao resisted constantly the interference of the Bombay Government in the internal affairs of the State. This continued for nearly twenty years until when the differences between the two were composed in 1841 by Sir James R. Carnac, the Governor of Bombay. Sayaji Rao realised that the Company intended to get complete control over the State slowly and gradually, though not by deposing the ruler but by making him to do what the Company desired. He was rebuked and conciliated often by the Bombay Government, but it was without any tangible result. In cases where the Maharaja gained his way in the end, it was with heavy cost in money. In spite of his good intentions to save the State, he failed to do so.

**Maharaja Ganpat Rao, 1847-56**

After Sayaji Rao's death in 1847, his eldest son Ganpat Rao succeeded and ruled upto 1856. His period is marked with the introduction of some social reforms like prohibition of infanticide, reduction in the expenses of the marriage ceremonies, sale of children and others. He also followed a policy of constructing the roads, bridges and other public buildings. His important contribution was the cession of Baroda State lands to the British for the construction of Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway. However, his period was devoid of any political change.

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Khande Rao, 1856-70

Ganpat Rao on his death in 1856, was succeeded by his eldest surviving brother Khande Rao, because Ganpat Rao had no male issue. A few months after his accession, the Sepoy Mutiny broke out. It threatened both the Baroda State and the British authority in Gujarat. Captain Hodgson, then Superintendent of Police at Surat, in a letter of July 10, 1857, to Major Crawford at Baroda wrote that the Gaekwad would follow the example of the heads of the Maratha Sardars i.e. of Gwalior and Indore and join the rebels. But Maharaja Khande Rao remained faithful to the British throughout the critical period. He assisted and supported the Company Government to curb the disturbances in Gujarat.

R. Shakespeare, then Resident at Baroda (March 1857 to May 1859), remarked that but for the help of the Gaekwad, the British Government would have found it difficult to hold Gujarat. "It was entirely because of the support of Maharaja Khande Rao of Baroda, that the Government was able to preserve peace in Gujarat." As a mark of appreciation of the services rendered by the Maharaja, the British Government presented him with the insignia of royalty, the morchales (a pair of fans made of peacock feathers) and remitted the annual payment of Rs. 3,00,000 paid for the maintenance of the Gujarat Irregular Horse. On March 11, 1862 the Government also conferred upon him the right of adoption. Besides this, Khande Rao was designated as His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda and was also knighted G.C.S.I.

3. Huzur Political Office Selection, No. 26, p. 133.
5. Ibid., p. 136.
Maharaja Khande Rao distinguished himself as a liberal ruler. He showed interest in reforming the administration, inaugurated a revenue survey of the land, introduced revenue system based on the British system, and spent a large amount, in building a magnificent palace at Makarpura and on other luxuries. The Resident, Colonel J.T. Barr (1866-1872) held a good opinion of the Maharaja and appreciated his reforming zeal.

Malhar Rao, 1870-75

Maharaja Khande Rao died in 1870 leaving no male issue to succeed him. Therefore, his younger brother Malhar Rao who was then imprisoned at Padra (near Baroda), came to the gadi of Baroda. Malhar Rao’s brief period presents a state of sordid affairs through which the Baroda State passed. He proved himself unfit for the task of a ruler. He inaugurated his reign by taking revenge on the supporters of the previous Maharaja and for the sufferings he had endured at Padra. He oppressed his subjects financially and in other ways. The condition of the State worsened to such an extent that the British Government felt great anxiety over it. In 1873, the Government of India appointed a Commission under Colonel Meade to inquire into the complaints of mismanagement against Malhar Rao. The Government approved the suggestions of the Commission, and warned the Maharaja to reform the administration and introduce reforms by December 31, 1875.

Colonel Phayre, then Resident at Baroda, had a strong prejudice against the Maharaja. He consistently kept on criticising and disapproving the steps taken by the Maharaja. Malhar Rao showed his gesture to introduce reforms by appointing Dadabhai Naoroji as Dewan and his colleagues - Bal Mangesh Vagle, Hormasji Wadia and Kazi Shihabuddin - to help him in improving the administration. Colonel Phayre viewed these appointments with disgust and reported to the Bombay Government about the lack of talents or intellect in Dadabhai and his team to carry out the
The chain of events including a case of an attempt to poison Colonel Phayre, led to the appointment of another Commission by the Government of India to try the Maharaja on several charges and to report their opinions.

In 1874, Malhar Rao was tried, but the Commission was not unanimous in their opinion. The three British members held him guilty while the three Indian members held him not guilty. However, the British Government finally decided and on 19th April, 1875 deposed the Maharaja for "his notorious misconduct, his gross misgovernement of the State, and his evident incapacity to carry into effect necessary reforms". The Government also declared him "deposed from the sovereignty of Baroda State" and he and his issues were "precluded from all rights, honours and privileges thereto appertaining". The attitude of the Government in this regard was significant. At a time when Maharaja Malhar Rao was engaged in his reckless policies and expenditure, Sir Lewis Pelly, the then Resident at Baroda, in a letter dated 7th December 1874, recommended that "the Gaekwadi State be saved by

2. The Commission was comprised of Sir Richard Couch (President), Sir Richard Meade, P.S. Melville, Maharaja Sindhia, Maharaja of Jaipur, and Sir Dinkar Rao. The Commission held a regular state trial from February 23 to March 31, 1875, Baroda.
the depose of its ruler and the inauguration of a minority or other mode of Government under suitable conditions. Thus a background was prepared before Malhar Rao was deposed. The Proclamation of the Government which explicitly debarred the issues of Malhar Rao from all rights, honours and privileges, is to be viewed in this context.

With the deportation of Malhar Rao to Madras on April 22, 1875, a tragic chapter in the history of Baroda State was closed. The method of choosing the successor and his adoption to the throne of Baroda will be related in the next chapter.

II. POLITICAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE BARODA STATE IN 1875.

In order to have a better understanding of the ideas, and work of Maharaja Sayaji Rao III, it is pertinent to have as background, a glimpse of the political and socio-economic condition of the State when he succeeded, to the throne.

POLITICAL

The Resident

In this period the British Resident, the Ruler and the Dewan, controlled the administration of an Indian State. British Resident as the representative of the British Government in India, had unique status and powers.

The Government of India maintained their control over the Indian States through its Political Department. The Viceroy or the Governor-General of India-in-Council was theoretically the head of that Department, but usually the Political Secretary in charge of the Department, directed the affairs.

In the Political Department, a cadre of officers known as Agents and Residents was created. The purpose of this was

2. P.L. Chudgar, Indian Princes under British Protection (London, 1929), p. 120.
to have an intimate knowledge and to understand the problems of the Indian States. The Agent to the Governor-General was a political officer over a group of States which had direct political relations with the Government of India. Under him were several subordinate officers known as Political Agents who were attached to specified divisions of the group of States. Residents were the officers who were attached to single full-powered States which had direct relations with the Government of India.

The powers and duties of these political officers were extensive and varied in nature. They were undefined and there was no settled procedure to regulate them. It may be noted here that no attempt was also ever made to define them. A political officer may feel himself authorised and justified to intervene in the question of betrothal or marriage of a Prince, his daughter or sister. He can veto the proposed marriage or betrothal if he chooses so. Even if it was proved that a Prince had committed murders, oppressed and terrorised his people and was guilty of gross and scandalous misrule, the Resident might refuse to intervene. It all depended on his arbitrary discretion.

If a Prince was found to be weak, the political agent would consider himself free to dictate to him and show how he should conduct his day to day administration. If a Prince was strong willed, audacious and occupied an eminent position in the bodies like Chamber of Princes, the political agent would feel powerless to intervene eventhough the Prince might have committed any number of outrages.

In this context two cardinal points are worth mentioning. Firstly, the policy of the political agent "must vary with the

1. Ibid., pp.120-121.
2. Ibid., p.121.
ever changing policy of the Imperial Government and Government of India, which depends in one case on the party in power at home and in the other on the temper of a Viceroy, for the time being. Secondly, the powers of these political agents varied according to the class and importance of the State concerned. In case of smaller States they were supposed to be much wider.

But the fact remained that nobody knew actually what were the powers of the Residents. Even the political officer himself did not know in what circumstances he might or might not interfere. Similarly the Prince and the people also never knew when the political officer would or would not interfere. Everything depended upon his temperament and on what was conducted secretly.

Sir T. Madhav Rao, who took up as the Dewan and Regent of Maharaja Sayaji Rao from 1875 till 1881, described the Resident as the protector of the British interests as well as those of the Indian States. By holding balance between the two, the Resident was supposed to exemplify by his actions and behaviour the noble virtues of the British people. He was also expected to protect the State against encroachment of neighbouring Agents to the Governor-General and of other British officers.

The Ruler

In the State, the Maharaja Gaekwad namely the ruler, remained the fountain-head of all power, authority and justice. He personally directed, regulated and supervised the administration of the State.

The earlier Gaekwads like Pilaji Rao I (1721-1732), his son Damaji Rao II (1732-1768) and others, in course of time, proved themselves formidable for the Peshwa and asserted their independence as and when they saw their chance. The political

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid., p.122.
situation of the last quarter of the eighteenth century warranted the Gaekwads to enter into treaty relations with the East India Company. Moreover, the relations of the Gaekwad with the Peshwa were far from cordial and they deteriorated rapidly.

It will be observed that during 1802 and 1818, the relations between the Baroda and the East India Company developed and assumed a definite shape. The three Agreements (of 16th March, 6th June and 29th July) concluded in 1802, provided for a continuous mutual friendship between the two. It has been pointed out by V.K. Chavda that in the Marathi counterpart of the original treaty of June 6, 1802, there is no reference to the Company's Government granting protection and advice to the Gaekwad's Government, but it has been mentioned in the English Version. This insertion formed a major point for frequent protests by the Baroda Durbar against the British in the subsequent period.

It is interesting to note that by the Definitive Treaty of 1805, the agreements of 1802 were confirmed and were made binding to "the contracting parties, their heirs and successors for ever". As has been stated earlier, the Gaekwad was recognised as the ruler of the Baroda State and the foreign policy of the State was taken over by the British Government. Under the Treaty of Poona (1817) signed with the Company, the Peshwa renounced all his authority over the Gaekwad. Thus, the Gaekwad assumed a status of an independent ruler vis-a-vis the British Government. He was sovereign in the conduct of internal affairs of the State.

Instances of British Intervention.

Though the Gaekwad was accepted by the British as an independent and sovereign ruler in the affairs of his State, the British Government preferred to interfere in Baroda affairs when the British interests were found to be in danger. They cared little to observe the letter and spirit of the treaties concluded with the State.

As such, the British intervention started from 1804 itself, when the first Resident Colonel Walker proceeded to reform various departments of the State. As Maharaja Anand Rao (1800-1819), was weak and imbecile, the British Government set up a Commission that included the Resident to run and control the administration of the State. During the Regency of Fatehsingh Rao (1806-1818), the Resident was virtually the Manager of the State.

At the time of leaving Baroda in 1808, Colonel Walker recommended to continue "an active interference in and vigilant control over, every part of internal management," of the State, failing which the British would lose all the political gains.¹

The Resident's control over the internal administration of Baroda was withdrawn to a greater extent under M.S. Elphinstone's Settlement of 1820 ² in the period of Maharaja Sayaji Rao II (1819-1847). The Maharaja from the very beginning distinguished himself as a man of exceptional vigour and self-assertion. For this reason he came continuously in clash with the British.

On the issue of appointing a Minister of the State and the State's claims over Chasdana (a levy) from the Company in Kathiawad, Sayaji Rao felt the violation of his rights. His clashes with the Resident reached to such a mark that he infringed the septennial leases guaranteed by the British Government and

2. Ibid., p.251.
insisted on his right to pay off the guaranteed loan in lump sum and in his own way. The Bombay Government ultimately resolved to take over the fulfilment of the obligations. In 1828 and again in 1830, the Government sequestrated part of Gaekwad's districts producing adequate annual revenues. In 1838, Navsari was attached and Petlad was sequestrated by the Bombay Government.

The case of the dethronement of Maharaja Malhar Rao is so famous that it needs no discussion, though Malhar Rao's mismanagement and oppressive policies that created in the State an atmosphere of insecurity and instability, could hardly be defended and denied yet Resident Colonel Phayre's great pains to expose Malhar Rao's rule and to discredit him in the eyes of the British Government, materialised and it led to Malhar Rao's deposition. The action of the British Government to depose Malhar Rao was not inconsonant with the letter and spirit of the agreements and treaties concluded with the Baroda Government.

Even during the minority administration of Maharaja Sayaji Rao III, the Government of India manifested in unequivocal terms their right "to interpose its authority" if the Gaekwad did not make a good selection of his Minister.

In the chapter on "Sayaji Rao's Political Ideas", an endeavour has been made to examine Sayaji Rao's policies, attitude, assertions of his rights, protests against uncalled for interferences in the State affairs and his often unbending attitude towards the Paramount Power.

History shows that in the first half of the nineteenth century, the British power in India had assumed the position of a paramount

2. Huzur Political Office File No.34/25, p.71, Letter from Govern-
ment of India to Agent to Governor-General, 1st June, 1881.
Power in its relations with the Indian States

The Dewan

The position of the Dewan or Minister in the Baroda State was second to that of the ruler or Maharaja Gaekwad. It seems that the Gaekwads had no Dewans or Ministers in the strictest sense of the term till 1793 when Raoji Appaji became the first Dewan. The persons who until then performed such work were called advisors or "Karbharis" Ramchandra Bhasker was Karbhari in 1787.

Raoji Appaji who came to Baroda with Govind Rao from Poona is regarded as the first Dewan of the State. Some of the Dewans like Babaji Appaji (1806-1811), Gangadhar Shastri (1813), Vithal Rao Devaji (1820-22, 1828), Dadabhai Naoroji (1874-75), played vital role in furthering the interests of the State.

But it was during the regency period of Maharaja Sayaji Rao III that the status, powers and privileges of the Dewan or Minister were strengthened and his functions outlined. Maharaja Sayaji Rao under his rule gave a concrete shape to the status and powers of the Dewan. The Dewan was made directly responsible to the Maharaja for the entire administration of the State.

The office of the Dewan was divided into two main branches namely, the "Huzur" and the "Huzur Kutchery". The former dealt with all the correspondence with the Residency and the latter with matters connected with the internal administration of the State. The Government of India was always keen to see good and able ministers selected and appointed by the Maharaja Gaekwad for the State. During the minority administration of the State (1875-81), the Government of India specifically mentioned this to the Agent to the Governor-General at Baroda on June 1, 1881.

the Dewans during the regime of Sayaji Rao III (1881-1939) shows that many Dewans of outstanding merit were selected and appointed, irrespective of caste, creed and nationality (see Appendix II).

Sayaji Rao constituted an Executive Council of four members with the Dewan as its President with the object of relieving himself of the pressure of the administration. This body was ever looking after the administration, whether the Maharaja was in the State or in any part of the country or away in foreign countries. The Dewan was also made the President of the Legislative Council or Dhara Sabha which was formed in 1908. During the period of Sayaji Rao's reign, it also became necessary for the Dewan to work and co-operate with the Agent to the Governor-General or Resident at Baroda and at the same time to safeguard the interests of the State.

Socio-Economic Conditions

The Sardars.

One of the immediate problems that the Dewan Sir T. Madhav Rao was called upon to solve was that of the Maratha Sardars in the State. They formed the military class and were the descendants of the military chiefs who had accompanied Damaji Rao Gaekwad to Gujarat as his supporters. At that time these chiefs were styled as siredars and were allowed to have their own retainers called pagas (paga savars). They were treated with honour and their annual pay was fixed. Pandhare Raje, Ghorpade Raje, Mir Saheb and Jadav Raje ranked high among them. There were also several members of the Gaekwad family who were pagedars. Under separate pagedars, the number of men differed from fifty to one hundred.

During the latter half of the eighteenth century this military class was not so powerful in Baroda. In the internal

wars among the rival Gaekwads or in the struggle between the Peshwa and the Gaekwad in Gujarat for supremacy, this class remained inactive. In the early part of the nineteenth century, the power and prestige of this military class declined while that of the ruler (Gaekwad) went increased. Colonel Walker who effected some reforms in military expenditure in 1807, greatly reduced the numbers of the State army and cut down the military expenditure. Though the insignia of dignity like palkhis of the siledars and of the nagedars were continued, they lost their importance in the affairs of the State. The sibandi (foreign and mercenary troops) forces employed by the Gaekwad, a practice started by Dewan Ravji Appaji, also reduced the importance of these Maratha Sardars in the State. With the abandonment of mulukgiri system under Colonel Walker's Settlement, the military services of these Sardars were no longer required by the Gaekwad. So all these changes led to the decline of power and prestige of this military class. The Sardars remained content with special privileges and became virtual pensioners of the Gaekwad.

During the regime of Maharaja Malhar Rao, the interests of this class were badly affected, but they were powerless to rise against the injustice. Under the new administration of Sir T. Madhav Rao, when the new changes were in offing, they apprehended that their special privileges and pensions would be curtailed and they would be subjected to ordinary laws of the State. They raised their voice and put forward their claims: that the State had no right to curtail the number of their armed retainers or to interfere with them even though they were paid by the State; that the Sardars' (as the Captains of Company) Office was hereditary and claimed the benefit of adoption according to Hindu laws; that their complaints be heard only by the Maharaja or the Minister and their retainers should not be tried in ordinary courts and even if they were tried they should be handed over to their

1. Ibid.
respective Sardars for the execution of the sentence. They also declined to acknowledge the authority of the magistrates.

Sir T.Madhav Rao stood firm and held the view that "the administration cannot let loose a number of Sardars with bodies of armed followers to roam aimlessly over the realm without any guidance and control from the local magistrates." He tackled this problem with great care and pacified the Sardars. A Sardar's Court was created with a special branch for the purpose of trying the cases in which their order was involved. Inquiries were made into individual grievances and solutions were worked out. Consequently, the Sardars reconciled themselves with the new order and by 1881, their problem had to a large extent been settled.

In the sphere of social reforms very little was done by the Gaekwad rulers prior to 1875. Maharaja Sayaji Rao II (1819-1847) abolished the practice of Sati in 1840 and made it a penal offence. Maharaja Ganpat Rao (1847-56) prohibited infanticide among a class of the society namely, the Leua Patidars of Petlad and also prohibited the sale of children, whether stolen or orphans or offsprings of careless parents. These reforms had hardly any effect on the society. It was Maharaja Sayaji Rao III who introduced a series of reforms with a view to improving the society.

Land Revenue

In the period of Maharaja Malhar Rao discontent prevailed among all the classes. He resurrected the old practice of accepting presents (nazarana) while disposing off revenue and judicial matters. He revived a system similar to that of farming of the taxes in the districts and levied irregular or special taxation whenever possible. Very little was done for the material development of the State and the moral uplift of the people. After Malhar Rao's dethronement and during Maharaja Sayaji Rao's minority administration, Sir T.Madhav Rao was faced with the complicated revenue problems.

1. Baroda State Administration Report, 1878-79 (Hereafter as BSAR) p. 56.
It is very easy to understand that from ancient times the ruling power in the State was entitled to have a share in the produce of the soil. During the Mughal period, lands were measured and assessments were made. The collections were either in cash or kind. The payment in kind or bhagbati system that saved the currency, continued in some parts of Gujarat even after the decline of the Mughal power. When the Marathas established their power, it remained unaltered.

The Marathas entrusted the collection of the State revenue to the agents or farmers or ijardars. The ijardars collected what they could from the village communities and paid to the state only a stipulated sum. They were assisted by the local officers namely the Vatandars (mazumdars, amins, patels etc.) whose office was considered hereditary. Sometimes, considerable pressure was put on the villages for increased revenue and the village headman or Patel alienated some portion of the khalsa or assessable village lands to particular persons in order to meet the demands of the ijardars.

In course of time, many evils crept in the ijaras system. The ijaras were transferred from one contractor to another by the embarrassed Government even before the expiry of the lease period. So the ijardars would make all haste in the collection of revenue, lest the Government should break the contract with them at any time without intimation. The amount of revenue even differed between the two ijardars. There were no records, no receipt books and often no ledgers at all. All these irregularities created problems in the settlement and collection. Sometimes unrecovered revenue amounting to several lakhs had to be written off.

The problem of barkhali or alienated land in the state baffled even Sir T. Madhav Rao. The parties which were concerned

with these lands, belonged to different classes namely "the Sardars, 
silledars, darakhdars, vatandars, parekh, concubines, dancing girls, 
karkuns, bargirs and a host of others difficult of description1 2.
Grants were made by the State from time to time as ipem to the 
favoured individuals or religious and charitable institutions in 
the State. As a result of this, sometimes entire villages and 
large portions of assessable village lands became alienated. Besides 
this, there were many different kinds of lands in the State such 
as devasthan, pirasathan, dharmadaya, chakariat, jat dharmadaya, 
paseita, chakariat vechania etc. Some of these were nakari, 
which did not pay any kar (tax), some of those paid mamul hak 
(Customary levy) and the rest paid salami(2) a form of a tax.

Besides these alienations, there were also other type of 
grants of land known as varshaahahas which involved the State in 
great loss of revenue. The form of giras lands or holdings in the 
Baroda State was inherited from the Muslim power. The giras system 
originated when anarchy and confusion prevailed because of the 
decline in the Muslim power.

There was also a division of the village land for the 
purpose of revenue between the ruler and the jamindars. Three 
parts of village land known as "talpat"(meaning original) belonged 
to the ruler while one-fourth of it went to the jamindars who 
accepted the responsibility to protect the village and showed 
readiness to come to the help of the ruler when summoned. As a 
mark of submission, such jamindars paid "salami" from their holdings 
i.e. "wanta" (divided or the share of the chief). The holder of 
wanta were also known as wantadars or girassias. Another type of 
giras which arose from the custom of primogeniture in which the 
eldest son succeeded to the samsthavan (gadi) and the younger sons of 
the deceased chief were granted jival i.e. subsistence.

1. Ibid., p.86.
2. Ibid., p.82.
"Toda giras" another kind of giras, originated from a system of black-mail adopted by the plundering girassias. The turbulent small land owners levied this black-mail on the peace-loving and unwarlike neighbours by threat of oppression and plunder, when law and order was absent. Toda-giras was also known as Vol, rakhopa or pal in different parts of the country. The toda-giras was taken generally in cash but occasionally it was also commuted in land and was levied from the villages.

During the mediaeval age, the minor chiefs and jagirdars continued to retain their estates on an annual payment known as Peshkash to their overlords i.e. the rulers. This Peshkash came to be known as jama or jamabandhi and it meant land revenue. The Marathas collected it with the assistance of a military force. Their military expeditions were known as mulukgiri. They also imposed new levies on the jamindars known as ghasdan (for grass and grain for their horses of cavalry) and kharajat (meaning extra expenses).

Such state of social and economic conditions existed till the commencement of the nineteenth century in Gujarat and Saurashtra. Colonel Walker tried to rationalise the system of tribute collections and make it simpler. But there was no change in this system till when Maharaja Khande Rao (1856-1870) tried to introduce some changes in the giras and in the levy system. A tax of two annas per rupee on the income of giras rights and lands was imposed. Toda giras payments were to be made directly from the local treasuries. All toda giras hakas were attached pending an enquiry into the validity of the title of the holders. All these acts caused great discontent among the girassias. Khande Rao also introduced the bighoti system into several districts under which the Government dues were to be paid in money only. The tenants were also called on to pay a slight tax called havaldari.
to the Government. This also created discontent among the tenants. However, all the measures taken by the Maharaja did not materialise and the position under the regime of Maharaja Malhar Rao deteriorated and worsened greatly.

After assuming the administration, Sir T. Madhav Rao prepared a programme to improve the administration. He covered in it government, law, order and justice, public works, education, medical help and finance. He was confronted with many complaints from different quarters. The Thakores, Girassias, barkhali holders, and cultivators of all classes put forth their grievances against exactions of various kinds. In spite of such challenging work, he tried to tackle the most intricate problems of land revenue with confidence and fact. He placed the land revenue system on a sound basis and substituted the ryotwari system for the old farming system. The land revenue assessments and all other taxation were so systematically fixed so that both the ruler and the ruled knew exactly what would be the demands from year to year. Nevertheless, much remained to be done in the land revenue administration of the State. Scientific survey of the land, equitable settlement of rates, framing of rules and regulations, inquiries into the gharania, vechania and other unauthorised alienations were left over to the Sayaji Rao III. Sayaji Rao after assuming the administration of the State in 1881-82, introduced new Survey Settlement Operations. In 1883 a proclamation was issued under which alienation of lands were forbidden and steps were taken to buy back the lands previously alienated.

As far as the industries were concerned, there were a number of small industries spread over the whole State. Some towns

1. Ibid., p.111.
2. BSAR, 1879-80, p.45.
of the State were noted for a variety and special manufacturers: for example in the Mehsana District, Patan for Patolas, cutlery, silk and gold thread industry, Kadi for cutlery, Vsnagar for brass and wood-work; in the Baroda District Sankheda for horn and lacquer work, Baroda for silk and gold thread industry, glassware, Dabhoi for turbans, Padra for dyeing and printing; in the Navsari District Billimora for ship-building, Kathor for dyeing and printing. All these were handicraft industries and were carried on by artisans mostly in their homes.

Under the influence of modern industrialism in the second half of the nineteenth century, these home industries received set-back and were paralysed. The machine-made cheap articles from foreign countries and from some factories in Gujarat contributed much to their decline. The taste of the people also changed with the times. When Sayaji Rao acceded to the throne this was the general condition of industries in the State.