CHAPTER – V

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION OF THE BANKERS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

So far an attempt is made to understand the position of the indigenous bankers in the State's political realm throughout the nineteenth century. However, the picture would be incomplete without understanding their role in the society of Baroda State and the impact of the society in turn. The following chapter focuses on this aspect of the indigenous bankers. A detailed study is made of the functioning of the family-firm or *pedhis* or *dukans* in relation to the society, other firms; the study of their systems of accounting; the religious life of the bankers; and the participation of women in the business of the firms. A brief account of the migration patterns of the indigenous bankers within the State and outside the State is given. Also an attempt is made to understand the relationship of the indigenous bankers with all the other powerful parties like the Gaikwads, the British, and the Dewans and with each other.

THE FAMILY-FIRMS

This section undertakes the analysis of family firms of the banker-merchants of the Baroda State, a study of their inter-linking socio-economic and religious behavioural patterns. This is a diagnostic interpretation of familial status vis-à-vis the society. An attempt has been made to

trace the elements, which had constituted the make-up of this class, and the significant role they had played in the shaping the economy of the State.

As has been discussed previously, the merchant-bankers had gained from the establishment and consolidation of the Baroda State, especially from the revenue collection (cash) and the constant demand for liquid funds. They had gained tremendous security from the expansion of trade and administration. In their early years, the British were also to some extent dependent upon these emerging social groups, which in turn had provided the banker-merchants with some kind of security. However, the growth of commercial houses was not solely reliant upon the colonial power. The other factors which had played a major role were the symbiotic relationship between the family-firm and the institutions of caste, marriage and religion. These factors were the focus of the firms or *dukans* as a unit.

By the early nineteenth century, there had existed a merchant class in Baroda State. It was a group of entrepreneurial castes, which had common professional practices and were linked together to some extent through common objectives. They were mainly Hindu commercial castes with an exception of a few Parsis. They had performed varied functions at different levels. They were the grain dealer (*vania*), the local moneylenders (*sarraf*) and the great banker-merchants of the city (*mahajan* or *sahukar*). All of them had existed at various levels in the social stratification. Their social status reflected and depended upon their functions and many other related factors. These groups at lower level were to some extent left untouched by with the changing politico – socio environment. But fortunes of the urban group at upper level had vacillated with the changing political scenario. For instance the rise of regional States had accentuated their importance. Then with the shifting of the power paradigm with the

emergence of the East India Company, they retained their relative power in the colonial structure. Eventually with the consolidation of the British Empire they were slowly side-tracked as unwanted allies. This marked a kind of slow death to their practices and professions.

THE FUNCTIONING OF THE FAMILY FIRMS

Caution and conservatism were the very basis of the business practice of the family – firms of the merchant – bankers. From the indigenous accounts of these merchants, it appears that they had a clear idea of dignity and status within the commercial world. There was a possibility that they could be ranked according to the size of their capital, extent of their business, their residing place, the respectability of their clients and the State functions performed by them.[1] The importance of their ranking was not linked only to their caste for instance, Mairal Narayan was a *brahmin* and HariBhaktis were *vanias*, both had shared the *potedari* concerns, and both had remained in prominence through out the nineteenth century. Another factor which had measured their status was their playing an active and steady part in temple construction, their religious involvement.

Consequently, the merchant bankers had risen high in the social hierarchy mainly on the basis of their professional skills. The social and business practices of the family firms emerged as a

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[1] Note Samal Bechar, the banker-merchant was accused of being of a low status by the British, as he had no branch at Surat and Bombay Jonathan Duncan's instructions to Major Walker, Surat 22nd January 1802, *Genese and Banaji, The Gaikwads of Baroda in the English documents,* Vol IV, Taporvala and Sons, Bombay, 1949, p-148 ; Mairal Narayan's importance was repeatedly stressed because he had his residence in *Ghadyali pol, Badoyatil Sardar, Shilledar, Jamadar, Pagedar Darakar, Va Parekhanchya Gharanyachya Nemookichya vagere Hakikati,* Vol – 15, Baroda Printing press, Baroda, 1966, p-2.

special kind of an economic enterprise. They made profits, but not at the cost of their mercantile credit. As a result their group was efficient and elite.

The basis of the banking mercantile society was the family firm *(dukan)*, with its credit, maintenance of the relations with the ruling, and religious classes. The firm was not seen as separate from the family; there was no commonly-used word for a firm as a concept but only as a location (*dukan*). The credit or reputation was a essential factor, as, without credit, a family would not be able to lend or borrow. The credit was especially required for the rapid discount of *hundis* in the market. In case of the breach of trust or on the occasion of dishonour of *hundis*, heavy penalties and fines were charged which was known as *Nakraman Sakraman*. This usually caused the guilty party to abscond.[2] This could be equated with caste councils punishing immorality. The 'firm' or the *dukan* was a special kind of economic enterprise, in which the decisions were taken with a view to their wider implications for the life of the family as a social group. In most firms, cash accounts and annual profit and loss accounts, were meticulously kept, but the profitability was almost impossible to assess, because of the inclusion of various heads, which were difficult to be separated, for instance, in the *vahikhata* of HariBhakti, all the daily expenditures, various transactions (business), and religious donations etc are included.

The family played an important part in the management of the firm. Different family members operated at different hierarchical levels within the total economy, while at the same time protecting themselves from each other and outside faces. For instance, in the family-firm of HariBhakti, the two brothers had carried out their business at two different places (Hari at

Poona and Bhakti at Baroda). Bhakti at Baroda had adopted his sister's son Samal, who was a minor at the time. Till his attainment of maturity, the firm was handled by his mother Ratanbai. Similarly in 1808 on Samal's death his wife Ucherat Bai had adopted Bechar and had handled the affairs of the firm till his death.[3] In the other similar case, at the time of the migration of Mairal Narayan to Baroda, his nephews had accompanied him and had handled the different aspects of the business till their death.[4] Another practice which had become quite common amongst these family-firms was the adoption of a male child of a relative, in absence of a male heir. The adoption process was an important one with both the Gaikwads and the Peshwas and played an important role along with the *sahukars* and the general community at large. The participation and pressures of the fellow *sahukars* in adoption were quite prominent as usually they approved of the choices made. This perhaps was done to ensure the sanctity and honour of the professional traditions, so it appeared as if there was an invisible guild was present. There were fool-proof and extensive ceremonies of adoption which could be compared with the ceremonies of *yagnopavit* or the thread-ceremony of the Hindus.[5] This practice sometimes gave a set back to the prestige of the firm if a wrong choice was made. For instance, the firm of HariBhakti in 1803, at Poona had adopted (so he claimed) a person named Dullabh, who had been delegated the responsibility of handling the management of the business of banking at Poona. He, however, had covetously set his eyes on the business even at Baroda, which was in the charge of his brother Samal. This led to a conflict between them, which got resolved only after the arbitration of the British.[6]

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[2] *G.S.A.*, H P.O , Section No-116, Daftar No. – 208, Revenue Department, Tribute, file No – 2, p-185
[3] G.B. Pandya, *Gaikwads of Baroda, Sayajirao-II, A.D. 1821 to 1820*, M.S.U., Baroda, 1958, pp-26-27.
[4] *Badodayatil, Sardar, Shilledar, Jamadar, Pagedar, Darakdar Va Parekhyanchya Gharanchya Nemonookichya Vegere Hakikati*, p– 2.
[5] *M.S.A.*, Political Department Diary No-28, *Op. cit.*, pp-329-353.

More important than these family relationships, was the relationship between the proprietors and their agents or *gumashtas.* They usually belonged to the same caste as the merchant – banker, and became an essential part of the extended household.[7] Often they were entrusted with the continuity and the credit of the family-firm. It was quite common that when an adult male member of the family died, a *munim* or a *gumashta* became the effective manager of the business. Thereby trusted *gumashtas* were necessary, as the prestige of the family suffered when an untrustworthy *munim* possessed power for example the reason for the firm of HariBhakti to suffer in terms of wealth and prestige was the appointment of a *gumashta* who eventually embezzled huge funds and brought permanent damage to the reputation of the firm. In 1845 after the death of Bechar Samal (the successor of Samal Bhakti), the management of the business was entrusted in the hands of Baba Nafda, the *munim* of the firm. In 1849, the second wife of Bechar, Jyotibai charged him with embezzlement. The case took an ugly shape and eventually in 1850, Baba Nafda was imprisoned for seven years. [8]

In every business transaction of the firm, at the time of the payments to the bankers, the *gumashtas* had their specified separate commission which the State or any other borrower had to pay. This was in addition to their regular income. The intensification of commercial activities in the urban centres stratified the class of commercial intermediaries known as *arhtias, dalals* and *marfatias.* The prevalence of taxes such as *dalali and arhat* indicate the importance of the above two classes in the urban centres of Gujarat. The State charged *dalali* from the *dalals* (professional brokers). The *dalal* had worked as middlemen to the traders and

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[6] *Ibid.*, p-334

[7] Note Gopaldas was very trust worthy *gumashta* of Arjunji Nathji Travadi, who had loaned huge amounts to the State Upon his retirement, even the British had acknowledged his contribution and had honored him with gifts *M S A*, S & P D. Diary No – 130, 12-16 November 1802, No 4, pp 6531-33.

bankers in the purchase and sale of commodities and payment of *hundis*. The commission that he received from both the buyers and sellers was also known as *dalali*. *Arhat* was collected on the commodities belonging to the other traders and sold by, or collected at, the shop of an *arhatia* (commission agent). The State treasury accumulated large revenue through the collection of *arhat*. Sometimes *arhat* of a *mandi* was given on *ijara* to merchants and bankers of the town. Merchants could not sell or purchase their commodities without the consent of the authorised *arhatia*.

The *gumashtas* and the *mafatias* occupied an important position in the trade and banking establishment of that firm. They were an integral part of the machinery evolved by the HariBhakti firm for the realisation of land revenue and other commercial taxes. They were the backbone of the trading operations conducted at the urban centres of Gujarat. Among the prominent *marfatias* were Karamchand Phoolchand, Mithachand Karamchand, Bacher Kastur, Anupchand Jangir and Devchand Purshottam. They worked in various markets of the towns and cities. The *marfatias* and *arhatias* assisted the firm in the collection of *sair* and *rahdari* in the urban centres like Ahmedabad, Nadiad, Baroda, Dhaboi and Jambhusar. *Marfatias* were appointed by the firm to collect taxes and dues at Chakla Limda, Sarkhej, Raipur Mandi and Khanpur. The principal *marfatias* operating at these places were Chaturbhuj, Pitamber Jivan and Atmaram. Even the *mahajans* trading in raw sugar, tobacco and other goods were unable to evade the payment of *sukhdi* and other taxes of the *marfatias*.

Another noticeable feature of the family-firm is the retaining of the founder's name as the title of the firm. For instance the name of Samal Bechar, Hari Bhakti, Gopal Mairal and

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[8] *F.A.H. Elliot, The Rulers of Baroda*, Baroda State Press, 1934, pp – 165-166.

Khushalchand Ambaidas. It can be seen that in more than one case that the names of the founders were retained and the sum total of the capital passed over from one year to the next. This was entered in the name of the founders of the firm, at least three generations before.[9] The most crucial span of generations for the passage of credit however was three.

As far as the lifestyle of the banker-merchants was concerned, two types of life styles had been adopted, which are in contrast to each other. One was a thrifty banker and the other one leading a magnificent life style. The thrifty banker (the best example is the case of Mairal Narayan) avoided expense and luxury, inhabited a modest house and used his adequate wealth in a meaningful way (mostly of religious nature). At the age of fifty or somewhere near it, satisfied with the performance of his adopted successor, who had been groomed since his childhood for the same purpose, he had left for *Mahayatra*. This was probably a professional rather than a caste model of behaviour.[10] The other kind of lifestyle was led by a few banker-merchants, amongst whom HariBhakti emerge as a prominent one (the other being the house of Samal Bechar). HariBhakti were believed to have owned a Navalakhi *Baugh*. Few of them even have the area named after them, (till date), for instance Samal Bechar *Ni pol* or the HariBhakti colony. However, it was not suitable to live a luxurious life as it had the integrity of the firm at stake. Therefore it was required that a balance should be struck between legitimate pleasures, comforts, piety and restraint. This balance was held by the acts of pilgrimage, temple constructions and remittances of the funds for their maintenance. This was essential, as usually they preferred to resort to anonymity, avoided publicity and thereby maintained a sharper distinction between their inward and outward styles of life.

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[9] Note: The best example can be seen in the case of Hari Bhakti, who till date run their *dukan* under the same name.

THE BANKERS AS ENTREPRENEURS

The training of a merchant-banker usually began at an early age. This included not only the theoretical training but internalizing the ethics of business. The importance of maintenance of correct accounts was also stressed upon. This was a common feature of banking to which Baroda bankers were no exception. There were no special training schools. The children were sent to those schools, which were probably run by the retired clerks, for example, Mairal Narayan, ensured that his adopted son, Gopal Mairal (aged eleven) was aptly trained to be able to handle his business by enrolling him in a Marathi School.[11] The accounting procedure of the bankers being of a specific nature, a detailed knowledge of accounting was required to be known by each banker and his succeeding generations.

As was the tradition with the indigenous bankers all around the country, the bankers at Baroda also began their financial year after Diwali (*kartik vadi 15)*. During that time, a summary statement of the commercial transactions of each year was prepared by each branch of the firm and was sent to the head office. In this statement, all necessary entries of debit & credit were month-wise specifying the mode of transactions and to whom these transactions were made.[12]

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[10] *Badodyatil Sardar, Shilledar, Jamadar. Pagedar, Darakdar Va Parekh Yanchya Gharanachya Nemmookichya Vagere Hakikati,* Vol-XV, pp – 15-16.
[11] *Baodyatil, Shilledar, Jamadar, Pagedar, Darkdar Va Parekh Yanchya Gharachnya Nemnookichya Vagere Hakikati,* pp – 16-17
[12] G D. Sharma,

The bankers operated their accounts and financial correspondences by maintaining certain account books, which were called *vahikhata.* Besides these, they also maintained other documents like *hundis, chittis, varats* and *yadis.* All these documents were related to the transactions of money i.e. they recorded the entries of credit and debit. They were also the credit instruments and a summary of receipts of the accounts of advancing loans on interest or collections made. A detailed account of these instruments of credits is made to enable the understanding of the system of the accounting followed by the bankers of the State.[13]

VAHI KHATA (ACCOUNT BOOKS)

The indigenous bankers maintained various categories of *vahikhatas*;

1. *Hundi nondh vahi* : This type of *vahi khata* dealt with the entry of each *hundi* date-wise and the nature of the payment made against the *hundi.* It also stated the rate of commission or *vatavidar.* They also stated the rate of interest. In this *vahi khata,* the name of the person to whom the amount was paid was also recorded.

2. *Rokad vahi khata:* It dealt with the record of the cash credited, i.e. it was the cash-book.

3. *Khata vahi: Khata vahi* : or the ledger book recorded the receipt & payment of money everyday, connected with all sorts of transactions.

4. *Sarvaiya nondh vahi khata:* This account book recorded both types of transactions, i.e.cash or transferred through *hundi, chittis, varats* or *yadis.* This *vahi khata* basically maintained the consolidated accounts of the financial dealings of the firm. It also contained entries of the transaction, in relation to different bankers, State officials, account of *mulukgiri khata,* circulations of various coins in the State, etc.

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[13] *Ibid*,

5. *Vyaj Vahi : Vyaj vahi* · dealt with the entries of credit & debit and also furnished information on the rates of interest and commission charged on the encashement of *chittis.*

HUNDIS

"Ave te hundi, ne jaye te mundi"

(what comes is income and what goes is life)

Hundi was the most important instrument of credit in the Baroda State. The availability of *hundi* in large numbers indicates its widespread use. The *hundi* specifies the name of the drawer, drawee, duration, amount and place. The *hundi* recorded both in figures and words in order to clear confusion and guard against a loss arising out of transpiring of the document. It also records half as well as full value of the amount of *hundi.* The issue and clearance of the *hundi* required proper and systematic recovery of the transaction as it involved receipt and payment of cash, which was maintained in *vahikhata.* The following table shows flow of capital in 1786 and 1809 A.D. through the *hundis*

FLOW OF CAPITAL THROUGH HUNDIS 1786-1809[14](IN RUPEES)

URBAN CENTRES	1786	1809
Ahmedabad to Baroda	-	19300
Ahmedabad to Deccan	12101	-
Ahmedabad to Poona	-	2500
Amerethi to Petlad	-	861

[14] Adapted from G. D Sharma, Urban Eonomy in Western India In late Eighteenth Century ,in Indu Banga (Editor) The city in Indian History Delhi, 1984, pp – 119-120.

Baroda to Ahmedabad	19012	-
Baroda to Deccan	75000	5000
Baroda to Navnagar	-	85000
Baroda to Petlad	4600	-
Baroda to Jambusar	300	-
Baroda to Bombay	-	9700
Baroda to Surat	36895	-
Baroda to Ujjain	26000	-
Bombay to Baroda	38000	-
Bombay to Deccan	-	7000
Barsad to Petlad	-	6350
Broach to Baroda	-	2000
Cambay to Baroda	-	2406
Cambay to Baroda	-	3600
Deccan to Baroda	1751	-
Deccan to Surat	-	6600
Jambusar to Petlad	-	5529
Kadi to Baroda	-	1800
Kheda to Petlad	-	102
Mahmudabad to Baroda	-	725
Nadiad to Baroda	6000	-
Nadiad to Petlad	-	102
Nadiad to Surat	6000	-
Navsari to Broach	-	305
Petlad to Baroda	-	6785
Petlad to Cambay	-	87
Petlad to Surat	-	8075
Ratlam to Baroda	-	2500
Ratlam to Surat	1700	-
Surat to Petlad	-	1100

Songarh to Surat	-	4500
Surat to Baroda	-	2500
Surat to Deccan	89457	77000
Surat to Ujjain	1500	2500
Songarh to Baroda	-	35
Sojetra to Petlad	-	-
Ujjain to Deccan	190000	2001
Vaso to Petlad	-	2000
	508296	**443663**

CHITTHIS

Another important mode to carry out financial transactions of credit were *chitthis* or letters of credit. These *chitthis* were of various types. For example, *chitthis* were used for the transfer of money and making payments. They were also used for confirming the transfer of *hundis*. Also both these types of *chitthis* provide detailed information regarding the rate of interest prevalent at that time, the financial position of the drawer and the drawee, the political conditions prevalent at the place where *chitthis* were drawn. It also included the complaints. Basically it carried the valuable opinion of the writer which gives us an insight into the banker's perception of the situation.

YADIS

Yadi means a list. the *yadis* used by the indigenous bankers included the list of persons and their accounts. Haribhakti were functioning as the State *potedars* and also as the collectors of

revenue. In this respect the firm had to keep a detailed account of money transactions relating to these two important functions. They used to maintain a detailed account of the various Maratha nobles, *kamavisdars* and other officials of the State. They maintained an independent account sheet of an individual in that particular year, maintaining the records regarding the receipts of the amount usually through *hundis*, expenditures incurred etc. The *yadis* also contained information of the receipts of *varats* on various *mahals*, which the State owned. Besides the records were also maintained of the receipts of the payment from other bankers to the State. Hence they, as the *potedars,* not only gave credit to the State, but also maintained a systematic record of the receipt and payment of the monies of the State.

THE MERCANTILE SYSTEM

The rapid extension of branch firms across the country was the typical feature of the north Indian as well as western Indian business. This had provided a kind of social incentive also. The opening of new branch agencies also had provided the sons and relatives with ample opportunities to establish themselves. For instance, the firm of Khushalchand Ambaidas was handled by his brother in Baroda in early nineteenth century. Similarly, the firm of Mairal Narayan and HariBhakti was handled by their relatives, which had included the mother, brother, brother-in-law, *mama* (uncle) etc. There had also existed the idea of partnership but within the limited liability. It was the partnership within the extended family. For instance, an elder might set up two younger members of the family, who were not necessarily close blood relatives, as partners in business; such was the case with Mairal Narayan. There were pure social benefits from this sort of an arrangement, for the elder was fulfilling his prime moral

duty of *dharma*. Partnerships could be terminated when the final accounting had taken place and both sides had issued a note of clearance.[15]

The migration pattern of the banking families to far off places was not as frequent as that of the *Marwaris*.[16] The extent of migration was mostly limited within Gujarat or the nearby regions, for instance the Deccan. The reasons for migrations were mostly due to political uncertainties that existed in the region or to avail the opportunities the newly established Baroda State had provided,

"Jyan kamai te desh apno"

(where there is income the country is ours)

Within Gujarat these patterns were more seen around the important trading centres like Ahemdabad, Surat and Rajkot. The migrations were a two-way process, i.e. the Baroda bankers migrated to these places and vice-versa. For instance the founders of the firm of HariBhakti though originally belonged to Baroda, but had migrated to Poona, later with the establishment of the Baroda State, they shifted back. HariBhakti had established their branches at Benaras, Ujjain, Indore, Malwa, Bombay, Hyadrabad and Poona (See Map 5-1), outside Gujarat. Within Gujarat they had established their branches at Surat, Kathiawad, Ahemdabad and Kutch besides Baroda. Mairal Narayan had migrated from Maharashtra to Baroda. He had his branches mostly within Gujarat, in the Sinor *taluka* of Baroda district, Rajkot, etc. Khushalchand Ambaidas had migrated from Ahemdabad to Ujjain and later had established the branches of the firm at Gwalior, Bombay and Mathura.

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[15] *M.S A*, S &P D Dairy No – 197, Dated 9th December, 1806.
[16] C.A. Bayly, Rulers, *Townsmen and Bazaars- North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion 1770-1870*, Oxford University Press, 2000, pp – 398-399.

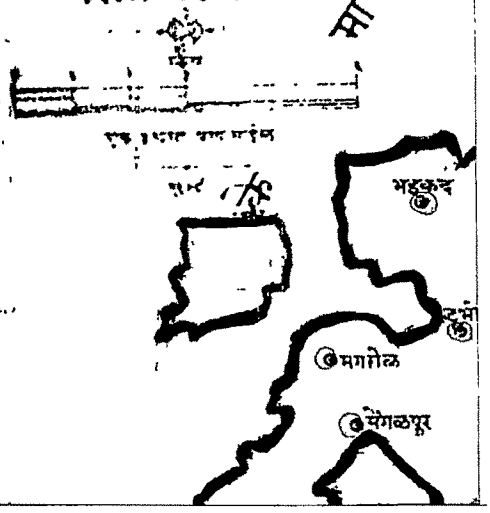
DEPOTS OF OPI

नकशो

तालुके पेटलाद

अने पेटा माहाल भादरण

प्रांत बडोदरा



Within Gujarat, they had established firms at Ahemdabad, Baroda and Kathiawad etc. Samal Bechar and Mangal Sakhidas had their branches at Bombay and Poona outside Gujarat and within Gujarat they had established branches at Baroda. Therefore the migration pattern had emerged in form of a Gujarati proverb,

"Paisa mate Poona jaye"

(To earn money one can go to far off places, in this case, to Poona)

There were also set patterns in which the banker-merchants expanded, they were careful to deal in a risky trade or services. Usually they dealt only when they had ensured the security of their regular income. For instance the account books of HariBhakti show that they had started trading in opium, somewhere in 1820's. By this time they had established themselves and had increased their credit and wealth.[17] This had enabled them to earn enough credit to indulge in the risky business or in this case, "immoral trade". The opium of Baroda and Petlad was farmed out to them (see Map 5.2 Appendix-5.3 & 5.4) by the government along with the taxes. They had continued to hold these farms till 1877, when an Opium Act was passed and the regulation of the trade had passed into the hands of the British government.

RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE MERCHANT –BANKERS

"Nadhano dharma karyani yathvadan nu tishathi,

dhannadhi dharma stravati shailadev mahabhar"

[17] Opium *chitthis*, *Samwat* 1877, *Collection of HariBhakti Records*, M.S.U.

(A money-less man cannot directly perform religious activities; because, as the iceberg falls down from the mountain, in the form of a river, in the same manner religion flows from wealth)."[18]

The success in business was closely associated with religious merit. It was a common belief that the hardships or failures in business were due to the lack of faith in God or it was due to sins. This could be avoided either by:

(a) Generous donations to temples and chanters.

(b) Running religious association to look after the temples and related institution for example, *gaushalas* (home for cows), *panjrapols* (destitute animals).

This was especially visible in the towns of Gujarat and Rajasthan.[19]

Besides these, they also had to perform a few social welfare activities, for instance:

(a) Organize celebration of festivals, journey or pilgrimages.

(b) Raise funds for the education of orphans and widows especially *vanias* and feeding the poor. [20]

Links between business and religious beliefs and practices were inculcated form a very early age. Children were raised by their mothers in an atmosphere of strong religiosity. As they grew up and helped their fathers in business they learnt that the religious world of their mother was in fact closely entwined with the business world of their father. The religious training instilled during the childhood by mothers contributed to the maintenance of religious

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[18] *Veermitrodaya- Mir Mishra* (Gaikwad oriented series), Chokamba series, 1916.
[19] G N Sharma, *Social life in Medieval Rajasthan*, pp -217-218.

– business boundaries and identities etc. This ability to indulge in the displays of public munificence, without stinting, revealed the wealth of the family and provided a gauge of its *abru* or honour.[21]

The religion also became important for the banker-merchants because it provided the most important merit and honour in the society. Vaishnavites were involved in the *seva* (services) of Lord Krishna. Vallabhacharya Vaishnavites worshipped the *murti* or idol of Krishna in the form of Shrinathji either at the temple (known as *Haveli*) or at a home shrine.[22] This *seva* was performed with immense emotional enthusiasm, involving song, chant, supplication and even dance. Divine guidance and help were sought for the most trivial of problems facing a devotee.[23]

The family business was considered to be inseparable from the shop or *dukan* or *pedhi.* The family included the dead as well as the living members and all had to be diligent in their devotion to God if the business was to succeed.[24] For instance every sizeable *baniya* home-cum-shop had a *puja* room where portraits of the deceased family patriarchs, *kuldevi* (the Goddess of the family) were kept, with the ladies of the household performing daily *aarti.* This helped to connect the family with its forbears and stress continuity and respectability over time. All the *vanias* (Jain/Vaishnavs) or Brahmins, performed *Lakshmipuja,* every day,

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[20] C. Cotton Ellis, *Jain Merchant Castes of Rajasthan*, pp- 94-96, 104-105; N.A. Thoothi, *The Vaishnavites of Gujarat,* Bombay 1935, p-198
[21] Josephine Reynell 'Women and the Reproduction of the Jain Community; in Carrithers and Humphires, *Assembly of Listners,* pp 59-60.
[22] Enthoven, *Tribes and castes of Bombay presidency*, Vol-III, p-423.
[23] Thoothi, *Varshinavaties of Gujarat*, pp- 93-5
[24] David Hardiman, *Feeding the Baniya*, p-83

before the beginning of work.[25] They also performed Lakshmi *puja* in a big way during the last day of Hindu calendar i.e. Diwali. They performed by calling their relatives and other businessmen and offered sweets. This kind of tradition has continued since the 16th century. The main objective of doing this was to get good profits during the year. The tradition is continued till today. This was done because *Lakshmi* was the one who insured the wealth and welfare of the family. It is a famous saying,

'When Lakshmi comes to set a mark on one's forehead,

one should not go to wash one's face. [26]

In order to understand the religious aspect of the banker-merchants in Baroda State, a detailed study of the forty-two religious *chitthis* of the firm of Haribhakti has been made (See Appendix-5.5 and 5.6) The *chitthis* throw significant light on the relations which the firm had maintained with religious groups situated in various regions.

They enable us to understand the extent of religious activities of the banker-merchants which went hand in hand with the business activities. The above expanse in a way greatly enhanced: - the *abru* (honour) of the banker beyond his area of natal activity. It also highlighted the financial prominence and religious devotion to perhaps impress the ruling and fellow merchant communities of other places. They could have also contracted large business deals because of their established religious activities.

Since the firm of Haribhakti fell under the category of these banker-merchants who had led an extravagant life,style, perhaps these religious activities were an attempt to resolve their inner

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[25] *Ibid.,*

[26] Tayler, *The Students Gujarati Grammar,* Ahemdabad, 1975, p-482.

conflict or guilt. According to Crooke, the wealthy merchants who were noted for their restrained yet lavish life style were generally Vaishnavites rather than Shaivites. [27]

Sometimes the Jain families also believed in the display of wealth. For instance, crores of rupees were spent on the construction of Dilvara temples of Mount Abu. This kind of lavish expenditure not only reflected their simple devotion to God or Guru, but also fulfilled a social necessity.

The forty-two *chitthis* that have been analysed to understand the religious relationship of the Baroda bankers elucidate a pattern of certain commonalties,

1. Language used is mostly Hindi, sometimes Gujarati is used. The language is straight-forward and monetary favours are asked in an open manner.
2. The contents are generally related to donations-cash or kind, *hundis*, *prasad*, *mahaprasad* invitation for marriages and thread ceremonies. There is a request for money to meet the expenses, salutation of *seva* services provided by messengers, *gumashtas* and *munims*. Requests are also made for the arrangements to be made for the hospitalities of the visits of *swamis*, *swaminins*, to the residing place of patronizing bankers.
3. References are also made to settling of the feuds in the group, mostly the religious community and providing a network for intelligence information.

The banker-merchants of the State were also regularly involved in the religious extravagances like their counterparts in various other regions of India. Almost all their *chitthis* had indicated

[27] Crooke, *North Western Provinces*, p-247

that HariBhakti were Vaishnavites. These *chitthis* were addressed by the *swamis* and sometimes *swaminis* whom they patronized. The earliest *chitthi* is dated up to *samvat* 1913 or 1853 A.D.

Almost all the *chitthis* are addressed to the house of HariBhakti and later the name of their current successor was mentioned. Sometimes even the wife of the living patron were addressed as Mahalakshmi. At times along with the names of the banker-merchant and his consort the names of the *munim* or *gumashta* and other officials was also mentioned. For instance, in the *chitthi* of *Jayeshta sudi* 1, Samvat 1913, the content is addressed to *adhikari* Jamanadas, along with the others(See Appendix-55)

The expenses which the Haribhakti had incurred or the religious donations were of miscellaneous nature. Besides regularly providing cash, they were also sending items, for instance it was quite a common practice to send clothes for dressing of a deity like *pitamber*, grain which had included rice, rupees and sugar, in huge quantities etc. The cash gifts were sent for a minimum of one rupee and a maximum of 1,000 rupees. Sometimes the purposes for which they were utilised were not solely religious; donations were asked for personal benefits as well. This signifies their personal relations with the *goswamis* and *goswaminis*. These *gurus* sent invitations to their patrons on a number of occasions like the wedding or the thread ceremony or *yagnopavit sanskar* of their various *shishyas*. The invitation was always sent for the entire family. This was responded with the sending of either *hundis* (if the distances were long) or sending cash if the distances were short.

The *gurus* also had their ways and means to ensure continuous flow of money, for that purpose every month they used to send *mahaprasad, chandan mala, charnavrat* etc to their patrons. These items acted as a kind of constant reminders to the bankers, of the 'duties' they had avowed towards religion. Sometimes, they were also asked to honour the hundis sent from distant places. For instance, in the *chitthi* of *samvat* 1920 (1863 A.D.), Narsinghlalji Maharaj had formally asked, the firm of Haribhakti to honour the *hundi* of Rs. 467/- issued by Babasaini Govindram of Indore.[28] The remittance of funds was also done sometimes by the wives of the bankers.[29] The religious entities had their special agents for this work who were called *bhetiyas*. These *bhetiyas*, often delivered the *'ashirvad'* sent by *goswamis* and *goswaminis* and carried back the cash. For this service of theirs, the firm had to pay in the form of donation of cash or kind.[30]

The *goswamis* and *goswaminis* were aware of the significant transactions which the banker-merchants used to carry out, and therefore, if their name was involved anywhere then they had to protect it. For instance, a *hundi* drawn by HariBhakti was carried to Kashi by their *mami* (aunt), which was presented to the *goswami* there. However, instead of enchasing the *hundi* they wrote back to the firm to inquire and inform about the authenticity of the facts of the *hundi*.[31] Thus, if the banker-merchants were dependent on the theosophical activities for social sanction, then the *gurus* also had their prime interests in obliging them this sanction. In most of the *chitthis* the religious heads have ordered and have demanded with full rights

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[28] *ibid., chitthi of Shravan Vadi* 15, *Samvat* 1920,
[29] *ibid.,chitthi of Jayesth Dak* 1, *Samvat* 1920, (1864 A.D.),
[30] *ibid., chitthis of Kartik sood* 3, *Samvat* 1919 (1862 A.D.) ; *chitthi of chaitra vadi*, 5, *Samvat* 1999 ; *chitthi fo Savan vadi* 13 *Samvat* 1914 (1857 A.D.) ; *chitthi of falgun vadi* 3, *Samvat* 1913,
[31] *ibid., chitthi of Mahasud* 14, *Samvat* 1914, 1857 A.D.

money from the firm, even for their personal expenses. They had proclaimed the bankers to be their favourites and had desired that 'they should always be in their *sewa*'.

The female *gurus* or *swaminis* appear to have played a central role in the maintenance of this relationship. They had used all their means to keep their disciples together. In one of the *chitthi*, *goswamaini* Padmavati Bahuji warns the Seth Haribhakti to stay with them, perhaps, due to some dissensions within the cult.[32]

Padmavati Bahuji appears to be the main religious authority with whom the firm was in constant communication. It is however, contrary to the tradition of the Swaminarayan cult which had developed in the second half of the 19th Century A.D., where segregation of female and male priests was observed. But perhaps, they had belonged to the different sect of the Vaishnavite cult, as her location was in Vrindavan. She appears to have visited Baroda on the invitation of the firm in 1855 A.D.[33]

However, the *goswamis* or *goswaminis* addressed themselves to the firm only in cases of urgent matters or when large amounts were involved. Otherwise they had appointed *adhikaris,* who would correspond on their behalf. For instance, as in the *chitthi* of 1862 A.D., *goswami* Gokulesh Maharaj had corresponded with Haribhakti whom they specifically had addressed as '*Vaishnav*'. Here he had informed that he was travelling by train to Baroda, which was a novel feature, as early as 1862. He had asked them to make arrangement of his

[32] *Ibid*, *Chitthi of Jayshtha sudi* 1, *Samvat* 1913, 1856 A.D.
[33] *Ibid.*, *Chitthi of Shravan sud* 4, *Shukravar*, *Samvat* 1915, 1855 A.D.

stay at the place of his choice. This was to be observed strictly and the matter had to be given prime consideration.[34]

Religious affiliation of this sort cannot be regarded as simple utilitarian acts, as they had certainly enhanced the social prestige, and hence, the commercial security of the trading families. For instance, the house of Mairal Narayan had established and enhanced their social status by constructing temples Mairal Narayan had constructed a Ganpati temple at Sinor and had fixed an annual allowance for the maintenance its expenditures. This had definitely enhanced their social prestige as well as credit, which, they required as they were new to the environment.[35]

Brahmins were also closely associated in the daily life of banker-merchants. They were often employed as their agents or debt collectors, thus providing a religious sanction over the debtors. Besides that they were used as special messengers who conveyed urgent messages. Sometimes, they were even sent with wedding invitations to mark the epitome of respectfulness.[36] The banker-merchants like Ratanji Kandas had, numerous times, held *bhoj* or feast for them. This was believed to give them entry into heaven and acceptance in the social sphere.

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[34] *Ibid.*, *Chitthi* of *Deshadh Vadi Samvat*, 1919, A.D , 1862.
[35] Badodyatil, *Sardar, Shilledar, Jamadar, Pagedar, Darakdar Va Parakh Yanchya Gharanyachya Nemnookichya Vagere Hakikati*, Op Cit , pp- 6-7
[36] *Ibid* , *Chitthi of Kartik sud* 3, *Samvat* 1914 or 1857 A D.

PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN THE BANKING ACTIVITIES OF THE STATE

The lives of the women of the banking family-firms of the State are quite meagrely mentioned in the available records. Their participation in banking activities had been briefly touched upon only in the cases of, controversies regarding adoption and the property rights. On the basis of such cases an attempt has been made to analyze their position in the family as well as in the firm, by taking examples of Ratanbai, Ucherat bai, Jyotibai, Hirabai, Balabai, Gangabai and Jamabai.

RATANBAI

The most prominent example is that of Ratanbai, the wife of Bhakti of the family firm of Hari Bhakti. Both the brothers Hari and Bhakti had died without any male issue, therefore Ratanbai assumed the charge of the family firm, as its head. In that capacity, she successfully negotiated business both with the Gaikwad Sarkar and the Peshwas and later with the British.[37] Her assumption of power was met by a mute resentment by the other local authorities especially the *sahukari* community, but since the firm wielded enough financial and political influence, no open remonstrance was made against her. Ratanbai had probably realized that being a woman, it was difficult to stay in power, and therefore she had adopted Samal, the son of Bhakti's sister at Baroda.

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[37] *M S A*, Political Department Diary No – 28, pp- 329-353, 1828.

Samal's bother Dullab was handling the affairs at Poona. Dullabhadas on Hari's death tried to usurp the business at Poona and also claimed his rights over Baroda business, being the adopted son of Hari. This was strongly contested by Ratanbai. In order to curb the powers of Dullabh, she left Baroda and went to Poona. Upon hearing the news of her arrival Dullabhdas fled; however, Ratanbai used her influence and brought him to Baroda.

Ratanbai then laid counter-claims that Dullabhadas had no rights over the property of Hari or Bhakti. Instead, he had absconded with family-firm money, and jewels worth 18 lakhs. In order to extract the truth from Dullabhadas, she had kept his family in confinement and placed him under house–arrest. The matter was taken to the Peshwa's court. However the matter remained unresolved. Later the intervention of the British was sought and a case was filed in the Bombay Recorders Court. The controversy was finally settled in 1828 A.D. in favour of Ratanbai, when both Dullabhadas and Ratanbai had died.[38]

This case highlights the role played by Ratanbai and her position in the family *vis -a vis* the firm. In absence of any male head, she assumed the role as the head, and conducted the operations of the firm with success. She participated in the local politics, which had some impact on the powers of the Gaikwad's and the British. For instance in 1802 at the time of Kadi war (war of succession involving Kanhoji Gaikwad, Malharrao of Kadi & Anandrao Gaikwad), Kanhoji Gaikwad had the support of Ratanbai. Therefore the British were unable to capture him, who was assured of obtaining an amount of six or eight lakhs of rupees from Ratanbai,

[38] Col Wallace, *The Anglo-Gaikwad Relations*, Times Press, Bombay, 1910, p-553.

" the unbounded credit he is understood to possess with the widow and inheritex of Hari Bhakti, a very rich banker at Baroda, which lady is believed to sacrifice any sum of money for the release of favourite Kanhoji ".[39]

This clearly indicates that her powers were accepted.

At the time of the adoption of Samal, she had paid 10 lakhs of rupees as a *nazar* to the Gaikwad for the recognition of his claim. She also had a direct contact with the Peshwa's office, when she had corresponded for the adoption of her son. She had to demand from the Peshwa the following,

1. Permission for adoption of Samal.
2. Payment of *nazarana* to that effect of Rs. 10,000 to the Peshwa.
3. Restoration and continuation of *sannads* for two villages in the Dabhoi *pargana* for Samal, from the Peshwa.

These evidences suggest that she was a strong-willed and determined lady. Inspite of the prevalent seclusion during that time, she travelled extensively to Poona, Haridwar, Bombay and Baroda, but with escorts. Her activeness in the business and political affairs of the State shows her acumen for existence. She was very conscious of the political and economic status and kept herself constantly informed regarding these matters. Though it will be quite difficult to make broad generalizations, yet women with power, influence and wealth seem to have

[39] Genese and Banaji, *The Gaikwads in the English Documents*, Anandrao Gaikwad, Vol-V, Op Cit p-336.

played a vital role in securing the successful continuation of the family-firm and influence some important policies of the banker-ruler nexus.

On the other hand, the other not so bold women of the house i.e. the two wives of Hari, Beeji Kunwar and Jeo Kunwar, also made same hesitant remonstrance against Dullabhadas. They perhaps had looked Ratanbai for help and support. The wife of Dullabhadas also wasn't bold enough to resist the pressure from Ratanbai. Therefore the contemporary women of Ratanbai's time adhered to the customs of the house, handled the household matters and their participation in the other work was almost nil. [40]

UCHERAT BAI [41]

Ucherat bai's case was similar to that of Ratanbai but with fewer controversies. She was the wife of Samal Bhakti of the firm of Hari Bhakti. Samal Bhakti died in 1807 without any male issue. [42] Ucherat Bai made a representation to the Gaikwad government to adopt a male child. [43] The Gaikwad *Darbar*, considering her to be the head of the family-firm, gave her the permission to adopt a son; in return, she was to pay a *nazar* of ten lakhs of rupees. Since Hari Bhakti was acting as the *Potedar* of the State, the Government was in favour of any person who would ably conduct the business of the firm. Therefore, they recognized and accepted all suggestions. [44] These suggestions had included the recognition of the banking firm as "hers" which the *Darbar* eventually acceded to,

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[40] *M.S A*, P D D No – 28, p-130.
[41] Note: Her name as mentioned in the record was HUCHERAT BAI.
[42] Note There is no mention of female issues being alive.
[43] G B. Pandya, Op Cit., -31
[44] *Ibid*, p-31

" Some of her houses are situated in the territories of this Government and other out of its jurisdiction and therefore regulated that a letter may be given to her granting her permission to transact business in the same manner formally upon the necessary authorities to this the Government reply that every transaction of her house must be carried on in a fair and honest way, and whatever letters may be required, they shall be granted to her". [45]

This had clearly indicated that she enjoyed more powers than her predecessor Ratanbai. Ucherat Bai was in a position to strike bargains with the Gaikwad *Darbar* as her firm had the *potedari* rights, which both the Gaikwad and British were quiet dependent upon. There are no evidences which could throw a light on her acceptance by the other banking firms of the State.

Moreover, Ucherat bai went on demanding, favorable terms for example she was able to extract a promise from the government to obtain help in the recovery of the requisite debts.

" The adopted son Beicher Shamul is to transact business in consonance with the wishes of his mother Hachert bye and as long as she lives he is to acquaint her with everything that is done". [46]

Ucherat Bai was not ready to give up her powers even when her adopted son became a major. She successfully forced the government to accept her as the "Patriarch". Thereby she ensured that the powers would be retained in her hands till she lived. She was able to extract the

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[45] *Ibid*, p-32
[46] *Ibid*

guarantee of the Company to all these terms, this was done perhaps to ensure the support of the British to her rights, if, the Gaikwads, under some influence, back-tracked from the deal.

JYOTIBAI

The case of Jyotibai who also belonged to the firm of Hari Bhakti was a tragic case of woman's submissive position being enforced by the men in power in patriarchal environs Jyotibai was the wife of Bechar Samal, the adopted son of Samal Bhakti. In 1845 Bechar Samal had died, but his second wife was able to gain powers only after much struggle and delay. Jyotibai had found strong contender in the form of Baba Nafda, the *gumashta* of the firm, who had been entrusted, with the management of the affairs of the house by Bechar Samal on his deathbed.[47]

Baba Nafda had created problems in the firm and had embezzled funds for four years. Bechar Samal's first wife Mahalakshmibai was of a less ambitious nature and therefore she might not have taken an equal interest in the *pedhi.* Also she had a son who was sure to succeed as the head of the firm as and when the time arose. Jyotibai on the other hand, it appears, was power-conscious and aware that the only way she could stay in a profitable position, would be if she was able to further her own claims in some manner or the other. Jyotibai had given birth to a posthumous son of Bechar Samal. Therefore, she perhaps would have enquired about the income of the *pedhi*, and would have found out about the frauds of Baba Nafda. Jyotibai appealed to the Gaikwads and brought embezzlement charges against him.

On the other hand, Baba Nafda during that time had 'friends' in the *Darbar*. On that account, he had, in turn, charged Jyotibai with putting forward her suppositious child to usurp power. He managed to kidnap and imprison Jyotibai along with the infant. The child died in confinement.

This case was tried in a *Panchayat*[48] which gave the decision in favour of Baba Nafda. The Gaikwad *Darbar* did not show much interest in the matter. Perhaps the *Darbar* might have realized that it was Baba Nafda who had control over the funds of the firm and if any monetary favours were to be obtained, it could be achieved through him. The second reason could be that Sayajirao II was succeeded by his less illustrious son Ganpatrao Gaikward, who did not have ample time to be acquainted with the detailed nuances of the case. So he might not have shown interest in the matter.

The British came to the rescue of Jyotibai. The British, especially the Resident Col. Outram, doubted Baba Nafda because he was an accomplice of Dhakji Dadaji. The British could not oust him from the main affairs because, as the *gumashta* of the house, he was entitled to the benefit of the guarantee of the British.

Col. Outram investigated the matter and had strongly believed that Jyotibai had been wronged. But while the investigation was in progress, he had to leave Baroda on account of bad health. He was succeeded by Captain French, who reversed the policy. He had placed confidence in the *gumashta*, rather than in Jyotibai, as he had good relations with Native

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[47] F.A.H. Elliot., Op. Cit., p-43
[48] Note : Was it a caste – panchyat or guild association is not clear.

Agent Narsopant, who had supported the cause of Baba Nafda. He withdrew the investigation against Baba Nafda. [49]

Jyotibai, on her part, was unable to do anything. However, her misfortunes changed as Col. Outram returned as the Resident. He re-opened the case, in 1850 and inspite of the adverse decision of the second *Panchyat,* prevailed upon the third one. A decision was taken in favour of Jyotibai. However Jyotibai died within one year. Baba Nafda was imprisoned for seven years and was fined 15,500 rupees.[50]

HIRABAI

Hirabai belonged to the family of Ratanji Kandas who was appointed as the *potedar* of Kathiawad by the Gaikwad *Darbar* and the British. He died in 1827 A.D. To reward his services, his wife Hirabai was assigned the village of Gamadi in *pargana* Dabhoi.

She made a proposal for the adoption of a son, as her husband had also died without any male issue. The permission was granted and she adopted her daughter's son Harivallabh. As soon as Harivallabh assumed the powers of the firm, Hirabai began to resist it but the *Darbar* decided in favour of Harivallabh. Perhaps it had the tendency to favour that party which provided them with a higher *nazar*. The end result was that the *sanad* was transferred in the name of Harivallabh in 1833.

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[49] *Ibid*
[50] *Ibid*

Besides this, Harivallabh was also able to transfer the business in his name and his successors.[51]

BALABAI

Balabai was the daughter of Mairal Narayan. A dispute had arisen over an amount of two lakhs which had been kept aside by her father with Gopalrao Mairal, his adopted son, for her maintainance. When the time came to give her this fund, Gopalrao refused to pay, it being a large amount. Besides he also refused to pay the interest which had itself accumulated into a large sum. He refused on the grounds that if he paid the entire amount, the bai would spend it.

Balabai put up a brave fight, as she was not ready to accept her brother's shrewdness. She sought the mediation of the Gaikwad Little did she realise that the *Darbar* only supported that party which had something to offer to them. The Gaikwad *Darbar*, very thoughtfully, appointed a person named Bhau Puranik Dikshit to arbitrate. He favoured Gopalrao Mairal in all the justified ways he could. The jewels of Annapoornabai, the wife of Mairal Narayan, were with Balabai. According to the decision of the mediator, she had to return the jewels to Gopalrao Mairal. Along with it, all the other items, which were in the possession of Balabai were fixed or returned to Gopalrao Mairal including the vessels she was to keep.

However the *Sarkar* and Gopalrao Mairal could not completely curb the powers of Balabai as she in her own capacity had acted as the *potedar* of the State. Therefore, they could not

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[51] *Shri Badodyatil Sardar, Shilledar Jamadar, Pegedar, Darkdar Va Parekanchya Nemmookichya vagere Hakikati,* Vol-XII, Baroda State Press, 1897, p-116

directly force her to leave the State and hence both Gopalrao and Puranik, searched for alternative means to oust her from the city. They had thought that the best way was to force her to go on the *Kashi-Yatra* on some pretext. Therefore, Gopalrao forced her to go to Kashi to perform the task of *asthi-visarjan.*[52] The cost of which was to be borne by Gopalrao. Gopalrao had agreed to pay her the expenses, if she promised to leave.

Meanwhile, Balabai had also realized that the sole motive of Gopalrao Mairal was to usurp her funds. Therefore she appealed once again to the *Darbar*. However, the *Darbar* refused to help stating that it was too late, had she appealed earlier (as Gopalrao Mairal was in conflict with Sayajirao – II, the chances that the justice could be meted out to her, were higher), they could have helped her. The *Darbar* advised Balabai to accept whatever was extended to her or else be prepared to bear the loss of two lakhs of rupees, which she had no choice but to accept.

GANGABAI AND JAMNABAI

Gangabai and Jamnabai were also the two women belonging to a similar category of cases, whereby they had exploited the means to suit their interests or sometimes were exploited. They belonged to the family-firm of Khushalchand Ambaidas.[53] This firm in Baroda was run by his brother Parbhudas Mulji. As both Khushalchand and Parbhudas, had no sons, they had adopted their sister's son Keshavdas. Keshavdas also did not stay for long in Baroda and

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[52] Note: *Asthisamarpan* was according to Hindu law is the right of only a son and not a daughter, but Gopalrao Mairal 'obliged' his sister with this right

[53] *Shri Badodyatil Sardar, Shilledar Jamadar, Pegedar, Darkdar Va Parekanchya Nemmookichya vagere Hakikati,* Vol-VI, Baroda State Press, 1889, pp-52-73.

migrated to Gwalior and later settled at Mathura. In the meanwhile, the management of the firm was in the hands of Gangabai, the wife of Parbhudas (who had died in 1810).

Gangabai, as the head of the firm, had taken all the decisions almost single-handedly since her husband's death. At the time of sequestrations in 1828 and 1830 and subsequent resistance provided by Sayajirao-II, the prominent *sahukars* had left the firm. But Gangabai had decided to stay put to show her trust and support to the Maharaja. She had ended her *bhandari* with the Company, thereby forgoing her right of British protection. Her decision had angered the Company but she found favours with the Gaikwad.

Therefore she appealed to the *Darbar* to give her the right of adoption and after getting the permission, adopted Damodardas. Damodardas began to handle the affairs but she remained the head of the firm, till her death.

In the meanwhile Jamnabai, the wife of Keshavdas, returned after the death of her husband from Mathura to lay claims to her right on the property. Damodardas rendered her claims to be baseless and produced evidences to show his right of succession. Since the Gaikwad accepted his rights, they decided in favour of Damodardas. The British claimed that Damodardas had bribed the Maharaja and had paid him a huge *nazar*.[54] Jamnabai then appealed to the Resident. Col. Outram was as such a staunch loyalist he did not hesitate to recognize the claims of Jamnabai as the rightful heir. He held the claims of Damodardas to be redundant on the grounds that Gangabai, as a woman had no rights of adoption and Damodardas had manipulated the orders of the Darbar. They were perhaps more influenced by the fact that Gangabai had sided with the Maharaja at the time of sequestrations and had

questioned the judgment of the mighty British Government. However, they themselves were proved wrong in the court, when Jamnabai (as insecure as she was) produced the document of the acceptance of the adoption of Damodardas by the Gaikwad and by the firm. But along with it she also produced false evidence that Gangabai had mentioned a clause in the *sanad* of adoption, her (Jamnabai' s) consent being necessary.

Before that, the British Government had already decided in favour of Jamabai as the rightful heir. But this behaviour of her had put them in an awkward position. They still adhered to their decision of her being the heiress, but withdrew their guarantee. Later, she adopted the son of Damodardas.

Besides the above prominent cases, there is a distinct mention of Parvatibai in 1856, as the owner of the *dukan* of Mangal Sakhidas. [55]

On the basis of these cases, an attempt is being made to understand the status, which the women of these families enjoyed. Firstly, it is quite clear that most of them were educated through experience, atleast as far as the management of the firms was concerned. Though it is very difficult to imagine these women being educated in a school at that time, some kind of a practical training was indeed given to them since their childhood about the working of the family-firms. Secondly, they were conscious of their rights and knew the tricks of the trade to get their work through. They had bargained with the local rulers, elites and for that matter the East India Company as well. Thirdly, almost all of them had faced pressures within the family

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[54] Col.Wallace, *Op. Cit* p-553
[55] *Ibid*, p-48.

as well as from the outside forces. Yet they braved them with enough vigour to turn the situation in their favour. Fourthly, they felt it to be the right of theirs to intervene in the matters of the firm even if that meant their coming into conflict with their children, brother, son-in-law, brother-in-law, nephew or any other relation. They left their homes and came out in the open also to protect the *sakh* of the family-firms. Fifthly, there was a tendency amongst the bankers to marry twice if not more. Naturally the law of primogeniture applied here, but it at times created problems.

Inspite of the outgoing portrayal of the behavioral patterns of theirs, there was very little which they could gain in terms of ownership. Even if a woman handled the family-firm, its ownership had passed into the hands of male successors. One does not hear of any firm in the name of a woman. The daughters had very little say in the affairs, whereas daughters-in-law had considerable say. The daughter had no rights over the property of her father except her *stridhan.*

Unlike northern Indian society, where marriages are used as alliances between the firms, no such evidences are found in the available records. Perhaps the bankers had the intention to preserve the sanctity of marriage and therefore the information is lacking.

The bankers had, besides these associations shared different liaisons with varied parties prominent in the State like the Gaikwads, British, and Dewans and between themselves. These liaisons had evolved through the various events which had occurred in the 19th century. A brief study of these liaisons would enable us to understand the relationships developed between them.

INTER AND INTRA RELATIONSHIPS OF THE BANKERS

BANKER – GAIKWAD RELATIONSHIP

The bankers and the Gaikwad shared a relationship of mutual dependence, based on financial personal benefits. The relationship had begun with the formation and consolidation of the Baroda State in the latter half the of 18th century and had sustained through the 20th century. This relationship was initiated with the Gaikwad struggling to keep power with the aid of the bankers, and ended in a vice a versa situation i.e., it the bankers struggling to sustain themselves by the end of the 19th century.

By the turn of the 18th century Govindrao Gaikwad had to seek the aid of the banking firm of Hari Bhakti, who were during the time, prominent bankers at Poona, with a branch *pedhi* at Baroda.

In 1800 AD, after Govindrao Gaikwad's death, ensued a struggle for succession. Anandrao Gaikwad emerged victorious in this struggle with the help of the powerful bankers at Baroda, Samal Bechar and Mangal Parekh had a substantial control over the Arab Sibandi. In lieu of the services performed, Maharaja Anandrao, granted the banker with *nemnooks,* which confirmed their hereditary rights over certain villages, in addition to the *palakhi* allowance and many other privileges.

During the reign of Anandrao Gaikwad, the position of the banker as *bakshis* was curtailed with the disbandment of the Arab and Sindhi *sibandi,* which were replaced by the subsidiary

troops. The first decades of the 19th century were a high watermark in the banker-ruler relationship. With the intervention of the third party i.e. the British, the loyalty of the bankers began to vacillate between the Gaikwad and the British depending on the degree of benefits extended from either of the parties. For instance, a few of them switched sides and joined the British, like Hari Bhakti and Mairal Narayan. The others under the banking house of Samal Bechar showed an initial resistance to the British intervention but eventually had to accede. But as and when they got the chance they changed sides again. This was especially within the case of Samal Bechar whose representative, Samal Manekchand, did not hesitate to provide financial assistance for the private expenses of Fatehsinghrao Gaikwad in 1807, against the wishes of the British. Fatehsinghrao in return offered him some undue privileges which were taken away by the British. In 1813, when the issue of the renewal of Ahemdabad farm arose, both the bankers and the Regent felt that the Gaikwad and the Peshwa have been wronged by the British. Since they could not openly do anything, they took the side of Sitaram Appaji, who was against Gangadhar Shastri the loyal servant of the British. Perhaps,Gandgadhar Shastri was murdered with the consent of there three parties viz – the Peshwa, the Gaikwad and the bankers.

The British, in the second decade of the 19th century, were busy 'reforming' the State not with the consent of the Maharaja Anandrao Gaikwad or the Regent Fatehsighrao Gaikwad. At one point of time (1812-1813 A.D.) they had even claimed that Baroda State was free of all past debts. But they had failed to realize that the bankers and the Maharaja had an understanding between them through which any issue could be resolved without the interference of third party. With the death of Anandrao in 1818, an era of this mutual dependency reached a threshold. The bankers and the Gaikwad were never to share such a relationship in future. The

first two decades of the 19th century saw the maximum influence of the bankers over the Maharaja.

The next Maharaja, Sayajirao – II, was of strong temperament and was not ready to accede to any interference from any internal or external forces. He broke the strong bonds, which had been shared by the bankers and the previous Maharaja. He restricted the influence of even the British. Therefore, perhaps, the policies of the Maharaja drove the bankers and the British into each other's camps. The bankers had to choose between the unrestrained Maharaja and the British. They chose the latter. This proved be fatal for the bankers.

Under the pretext of British guarantees, throughout Sayajirao – II's reign, both the adversaries, the bankers and the British, tried to regain their lost position viz a viz the other. The Maharaja withstood every pressure exerted from both the sides with as much forbearance as possible. Initially, he had, not wanting to, displease the bankers, even retained the system of *potedari* which was neither beneficial to neither the State nor the Maharaja. Inspite of being the subjects of the Baroda State, the banking community had felt that they were generally answerable to the British rather than to the Gaikwad. This had immensely irritated the Maharaja. Throughout the 1820's, the British had exerted pressure on the Maharaja to pay the dues to the bankers, which he indirectly refused. Therefore the British brought up the issue of 'Septennial Leases' arrangement in 1826, whereby the existing farm of the bankers was to be extended for seven years at a stretch, till the dues were repaid. This was unacceptable to the ruler, whose proposal to pay all they also rejected the dues to the bankers in a single installment. Sayajirao – II had reacted by flouting the guarantee of the British.

The stern measures (sequestrations of 1828 and 1830) adopted by the British to bring the ruler under control had failed in their purpose i.e. to assert their power and bring the Maharaja under their control. The Pro-British bankers felt, that their fate lay with the British. So they left Baroda along with the Resident (1832). They had imagined that the matter would be resolved quickly. No doubt the matter was resolved but not soon enough, the Resident came back only after three years and so did the bankers. In those three years, the bankers had made losses, although the Maharaja had also realized that it was difficult to function without them. So the 'come-back' was welcomed by both the parties, though cautiously. After that the British did not bother much about the debts of the bankers and the guarantees which they had given, realizing that the State was still in debt with half a crore of rupees even after the sequestration. They took back their guarantees except for one or two persons.

The bankers too followed a policy of caution with the Maharaja. However, their relationship did not stabilize and it deteriorated beyond a point of return. Gopalrao Mairal who was one of the trusted bankers of the Maharaja (even after he left with the Resident to Ahemdabad) seemingly tried to embezzle and cheat the Maharaja of five lakh of rupees. The plot was discovered; from then on, the Maharaja began to distrust the bankers completely.

In 1849, Sayajirao-II died and was succeeded by his less illustrious son Ganpatrao Gaikwad. Ganpatrao neither tried to curb the powers of the bankers nor gave them any further foothold. The banking houses fell apart due to personal reasons or due to family feuds. The local élites had reached the lowest ebb, as they tried to bribe the British officials and others around them.

Khanderao's reign started with the revolt of 1857 and he showed an unprecedented loyalty to the British which had established a kind of an amicable understanding between the two. The bankers also benefitted from this understanding.

Khanderao Gaikwad had continued the scheme of his predecessors of the royal private *Pedhis*. In fact he opened four such *pedhis*. The administrative activities of the State were carried out through these *pedhis*, thus minimizing the work of bankers.

By the time Malharrao Gaikwad succeeded to the throne in 1870 A.D., the bankers were reduced to mere revenue–farmers. Malharrao further curtailed their powers. He seized the properties of the bankers, along with their jewels, and reduced their powers. The bankers made written complaints to the British Government. However, before any decision could be taken, Malharrao was deposed in 1875. The cases were tried and a balanced judgment announced was in favour of the bankers. The administration of T. Madhavrao, during the minority period of Sayajirao-III, had ceased all their remaining transaction through the bankers and had regulated and reformed the administration.

Sayajirao – III took a softer stand towards the bankers. He made one last attempt to revive the *pedhi* system by establishing the Baroda Pedhi Company, which failed mostly because of the unprofessional attitude. The bankers of the State, on the other hand, had realised that times had changed, and with that even they would have to change. Therefore when a proposal was made to establish a modernized Bank of Baroda, they did not take long to realize that their time was over and gracefully merged their powers.

BANKER – DEWAN RELATIONSHIP

The bankers and the Dewan had shared a relationship of convenience and mutual interests, throughout the 19th century. At times they got together to form clouts, otherwise they jostled and intrigued against each other, to gain power. The Maharaja sometimes became a party to their games and sometimes dictated it to his benefit. The beginning of the 19th century saw the arrival of the British as the fourth party and probably the most powerful one. The British were invited by Raoji Appaji, the Dewan of the State, who felt that he had lost against the two bankers Samal Bechar and Mangal Parekh in the struggle for power. To counter them, the British alliance was sought which eventually superseded both the parties who had to accept a submissive position. Though on the surface, it appeared that both of them had accepted the British as their ally, the truth was that as and when any of them got any chance, they conspired against the British, to regain influence in the Baroda *Darbar*.

Sitaram Appaji succeeded his father, Raoji Appaji who was a staunch supporter of the British. Sitaram Appaji, unlike his father, had exhibited loyal disposition towards the Gaikwads and the State. In fact, he was the one who had stood up against Colonel Walker's reforms. At that time, the bankers had shown their support towards the 'reforms' but whenever an opportunity was provided, they did not hesitate to form plans and intrigues. For instance, Hari Bhakti was believed to provide Sitaram Appaji (then the expelled Dewan), the closest-kept secrets of the 'Bombay Secretariat' in 1813. Sitaram Appaji had tried to conspire against the British to help to the Peshwa and the Gaikwad to regain their lost position. [56]

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[56] F A H., Elliot, Op Cit.p-110

Some bankers on the other hand supported the Dewans loyal to the British. This could have been for professional or personal reasons. Bapu Mairal or Mairal Narayan had always supported Gangadhar Shastri with money and advice and had even accompanied him on his mission to Poona to convince the Peshwa to restore the farm of Ahemdabad to the Gaikwad. He had from the beginning doubted the intention of the Peshwa of playing tricks to retain his authority over Ahemdabad. However the advice went unheeded and cost Shastri his life.

The bankers in compliance with the Dewans or ex-Dewans had sometimes cheated even the Maharaja. Gopalrao Mairal was a personal advisor and a friend of the Maharaja. He had for some time also acted as the Dewan of the State. During the reign of Malharrao Gaikwad, he was the only one saved from the wrath of the Maharaja. The reason was that he had served the Maharajas for the past many years and had shown a consistent loyalty. Therefore he was made the Dewan of the State for a few months. During that time, the other bankers were saved from the injustices of the Maharajah. However his death proved to be unfortunate, as then there was no control on the Maharaja. When a banker performed the dual function of the Dewan and the banker, there were many chances that he would protect the banking community from any troubles. After this episode, Sayajirao – II had begun to trust his relatives more than his banker. [57]

The Dewans and the Native Agents had conspired not only against the Gaikwad but also against the bankers. The most controversial minister of Sayajirao-II's time was Veniram Aditam who was employed by the ruler in spite of the opposition of the British. In 1838,

[57] F A H Elliot, *Op Cit*, pp-132-133

Sayajirao – II after much pressure from the British agreed to dismiss his *Dewan*. Veniram contested this decision by claiming that the Maharaja had received a petition from all the leading people especially the bankers that he should stay. However, the Bombay Government had received an anonymous counter – petition (probably from the bankers) which stated that they had been forced by the men of the *Dewan* to write the earlier petition. The truth was that Veniram Adiram had absconded and was on the run. His henchmen had caused much damage to the banker i.e,

" he had robbed the house of Ratanji Kandas and beaten his agent, after having him turned out of the caste : he had robbed the house of Parbhudas and that of Lalla Mangal Parekh. He had robbed other smaller fry, the Sardars and the agent of Gopalrao Mairal. Later Gopalrao and HariBhakti had purchased his support". [58]

Another such instance of banker–Dewan alliance occurred in 1875, when Sir. T Madhavrao was appointed as the Dewan. In that capacity (as an in charge of minority administration of Sayajirao – II) he had broken up the Pedhi system, thus discontinuing all those powers which the banking community had so long enjoyed, bankers loosing their authority to the Dewan.

ANGLO-BANKER NEXUS

The British and the bankers in the beginning of the 19th century were on two opposite sides. Each viewed the other with hostility and suspicion but outwardly preferred to be on seemingly friendly terms. At the time of the arrival of the British, the most powerful faction in the newly

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[58] *Ibid*, p-154

emerging Gaikwad State was that of the bankers. They were providing huge loans to the State, were the revenue – farmers, and had mercenary armies under their control. They had more or less controlled the administration of Baroda State. The British had realized that if they wanted to gain influence over the State affairs, they had to reduce the powers of two parties viz., the Arab mercenaries and the bankers. The former they handled with open hostility, the latter were handled diplomatically.

The British firstly aimed to curtail the powers of the bankers as *bakshis*. For that the *Sibandi* was largely reduced. Instead they were replaced by the British Subsidiary Troops who were paid from the land grants. Thus the British obtained control over the internal and external forces.

Later the British handled the matters very cautiously. They gave their *bahendaris* to the bankers, thereby bringing them under their protection. The bankers were also willing to obtain the protection as they knew that the powers of the British were growing. They made them their allies instead of adversaries. Throughout the first half the 19th century, the Anglo-banker alliance worked to sustain their powerful position. However, the British realized that a few of the bankers were using this alliance to gain personal footage and advantage viz-a-viz the British from the Maharaja, thus jeopardizing their position. Many a time the bankers were using the *bahendari* to flout the orders of the Maharaja. This was disliked by the Maharaja, who made every possible attempt to withstand all kinds of pressures.

The British had failed to see through the shrewdness of the bankers and as a result a Septennial lease and two in 1828 and 1830 sequestrations took place. This had embittered the

relationship between the Maharaja and the British and as a result the Residency was withdrawn to Ahemdabad. This extreme step taken by the British alarmed the banking community. They were divided about the future course of action. Two of the bankers decided to side with the Maharaja and settle terms with each other on mutual indents ending. The rest of them perhaps still believed that their deliverance was with the British, so they migrated to Ahemdabad, only to return to Baroda in 1835. From then onwards both the British and the bankers appear to fall out with each other for various reasons. The British had realized that it was futile to force the Maharaja to cough up large funds to repay the huge debts to the bankers. They also began to acknowledge the fact the bankers were using them to serve their own purpose. The British then had gradually withdrawn their guarantees and never interfered with the Gaikwad on behalf of the bankers.

The bankers on the other hand had understood that the real power was with the Maharaja and they would not benefit much from the alliance with the British in future. Therefore they tried to side with the Maharaja. But perhaps it was too late. The Maharaja had opened his own *Sarkari Pedhi* and had become the *potedar* to the State. So, by the middle of the 19th century the bankers had lost two important positions those of the *bakshis* and the *potedars*.

The British began to view the system of *bahendari* as being more of an embarrassment than a benefit. Ultimately it was gradually wound up. In that process, they had realised how the bankers to make personal benefits had exploited a system.

The second half of the 19th century saw this nexus at its lowest ebb. The British had withdrawn almost all their guarantees except a few. With that the mutual dependency and the relationship also diminished.

Throughout the 19th century the Anglo-banker nexus was dependent upon each other. The bankers in their capacity of State financiers were often found lending sums to the British officials and the British government.[59] They were providing funds to their shipping and insurance companies.[60] They also acted as spies to the British bringing information regarding the arrival of the opposite armies, their number. There is one instance whereby they had even informed the British of the traitor in the opposite camp and had negotiated on their behalf. They had provided valuable assistance to the British by accompanying them with the armies especially to provide a regular supply of funds.

They were influenced by the modernized institutions established by the British, for instance in 1865, they made an attempt to establish a Bank of Baroda Ltd, which never saw the light of the day but atleast this exercise proved that under the influence of the British the bankers were willing to accept changes.

The British were great diplomats and so were the bankers. Therefore both the parties decided to maintain an amicable relationship. This alliance could have proved to be dangerous and detrimental fro the rulers of the Baroda State had they not been strong enough to withstand the pressures of the Anglo-banker nexus.

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[59] Collection of HariBhakti records, Department of History, M S U.
[60] *Ibid*

INTERRELATIONSHIPS OF THE BANKERS

The interrelationships of the bankers were largely dependent upon the community that had existed within the State. Indigenous banking community in the Baroda State appeared to be more or less like the trade guilds of the ancient period. For an entry to the community was generally based on profession, with little attention to caste, religion or region. Any person with substantial capital and credit was accepted. When the Baroda State was in its formative stages (late 18th century and early 19th century), there arose a need to have the support of a group of financiers, who could provide it with ready cash. On that account many bankers within Gujarat migrated to Baroda. For instance Samal Bechar and Mangal Sakhidas had migrated from Ahemdabad. Hari Bhakti returned to Baroda to open a main branch. They had earlier migrated to Poona for the support of the Peshwa. The credit of their return could be given to Maharaja Govindrao Gaikwad. The firm of Khushalchand Ambaidas had migrated from Ahemdabad to Poona and Indore and eventually had settled down in Baroda which again was due to the incentives and encouragement of the Gaikwads.

The British on their arrival had become aware of the dependency of the State on the bankers. In order to contest that, they had shown intentions of bringing in their loyal native bankers. The acceptability of these men appeared to be easy as not much resistance is recorded. One such example is that of the firm of Arjunji Nathji Travadi, who were allowed to open their firm and they found recognition also as they were even involved in the caste-*panchayats*. Therefore the acceptability was more on the basis of profession like that of the trade guild.

Business

So far as the business was concerned, almost all the firms were having transactions with each other. For example in the *vahi* of 1778, called *sarvaiya nondh,* or the balance-sheet of the firm contained the account of all the bankers, the *Sarkar* and other prominent persons who had dealings with the HariBhakti firm. Prominent amongst them were Ratanji Kandas, Samal Bechar, Mairal Narayan and Mangal Sakhidas. The accounts of credit and debit of some of the bankers are cited as below.

KHATU RAJESHREE MAIRAL NARAIN, Margh sudi 1 to Asoj vadi 15 (1835 V.S.)

Credit	Debit
Rs. 16,23,039-14-3	Rs. 6,95,955-13-3
9,27,084-00-00 baqi deno	9,27,084-00-00 baqi deno
Total	**16,23,039-13-03**

KHATU KAMAVISDAR SAMALDAS BHAKTIDAS

Credit	Debit
Rs. 11,28,728-08-3 II.III	Rs. 14,99,187-08-15
3,10,459-00-04 II baqi leno	3,10,459-00-04 II baqi leno
14,99,187-00-15	

KHATU PAREEKH SAMALDAS BACHERDAS

Credit	Debit
Rs. 7,17,708-00-04 III	Rs. 8,47,487-00-02
1,29,779-00-22 I baqi leno	1,29,779-00-22 I baqi leno

KHATU MANGAL SAKHIDAS PAREEKH

Credit	Debit
Rs. 2,827-08-3 I	Rs. 2,82,103-04-22 II
1,29,779-00-22 I baqi leno	305,12-19 II baqi Deno
2,82,103-04-22 II	

The records of the Hari Bhakti firm indicate that they honoured the *hundis* of different firm from different places. For instance, in the first two decades of the 19th century, on account of the farm of Ahemdabad, different *firms* had honored *hundis* to the smaller firms and sometimes the branch firm, after deduction of commission charges, which again had depended upon the time, duration, and distance of the *hundis*. But if a third party interfered in the already carried on transaction, then the initial first party raised a hue and cry. For instance, the *gumashtas* of Samal Bechar had fought with Premanand the *gumashta* of the firm of Ambaidas when the latter was replaced by the British, while the former had refused to honour the transaction. They regularly borrowed from each other and maintained records of the

transactions. If a firm went bankrupt, then the *dendar* firm did not hesitate to initiate the proceedings to take over.

Adoption

The banking community, which was conservative and averse to risk, took collective decisions only when it was sought for. For instance, at the time of adoption, it was the community, which confirmed the rights of adoption through ceremonies. The approval of the Sarkar was sought later. For example at the time of the adoption of Samal Bhakti, the *sahukari* community had got together and ensured the correctness of the procedures in 1803. Even before his death in 1807, Samal Bhakti had called the *sahukars* to his house and declared that there are chances that he might not survive as he was unwell and requested them to look after his childless widow and the firm. Upon his death, the community had ensured that the lady was not wronged and that she adopted a boy.

However the protecting attitude of the community is more visible only in the early part of the century. In 1848 Bechar Samal, the next kin of the family, had also died leaving behind a minor boy. Baba Nafda, the *gumashta,* embezzled large sums of money but the banking community had not come forward to support the family, thereby showing an absence of the protective attitude of the community. Similarly when one considers the other cases of adoption, the consents or protests of the banking community are not recorded. There could be two reasons for this silence: -

1. They might not have arbitrated on account of Baba Nafda (in case of HariBhakti) or the other usurpers being supported by the Gaikwad.
2. They could have also depended upon the guarantee of the British, as they had become the ultimate source of arbitration.

Unity

The cohesiveness and resilience of the community in the early 19th century were gradually eroding. Whenever any of them or all of them had been wronged, there is no evidence to ascertain their joint reaction except in the case of the dismissal of Veniram Aditram in 1838, when, they had protested in a joint petition, (which was anonymous) against the reappointment of the Dewan. The petition had enumerated the difficulties faced by almost all the members of the banking community. Yet the rupture within the community was visible as two important firms viz., of Hari Bhakti and Gopalrao Mairal, had purchased favours of Sayajirao – II and his Dewan.

These two firms had justified their behaviour (in the same petition) by stating that the henchmen of the Dewan forced them. In 1872-1873, when Malharrao (mainly, five in number), they preferred to appeal individually to the resident rather than jointly, though the demands were more or less the same. The decisions were also given individually had the banking community stuck together then perhaps they could had survived the onslaught of the British and Malharrao.

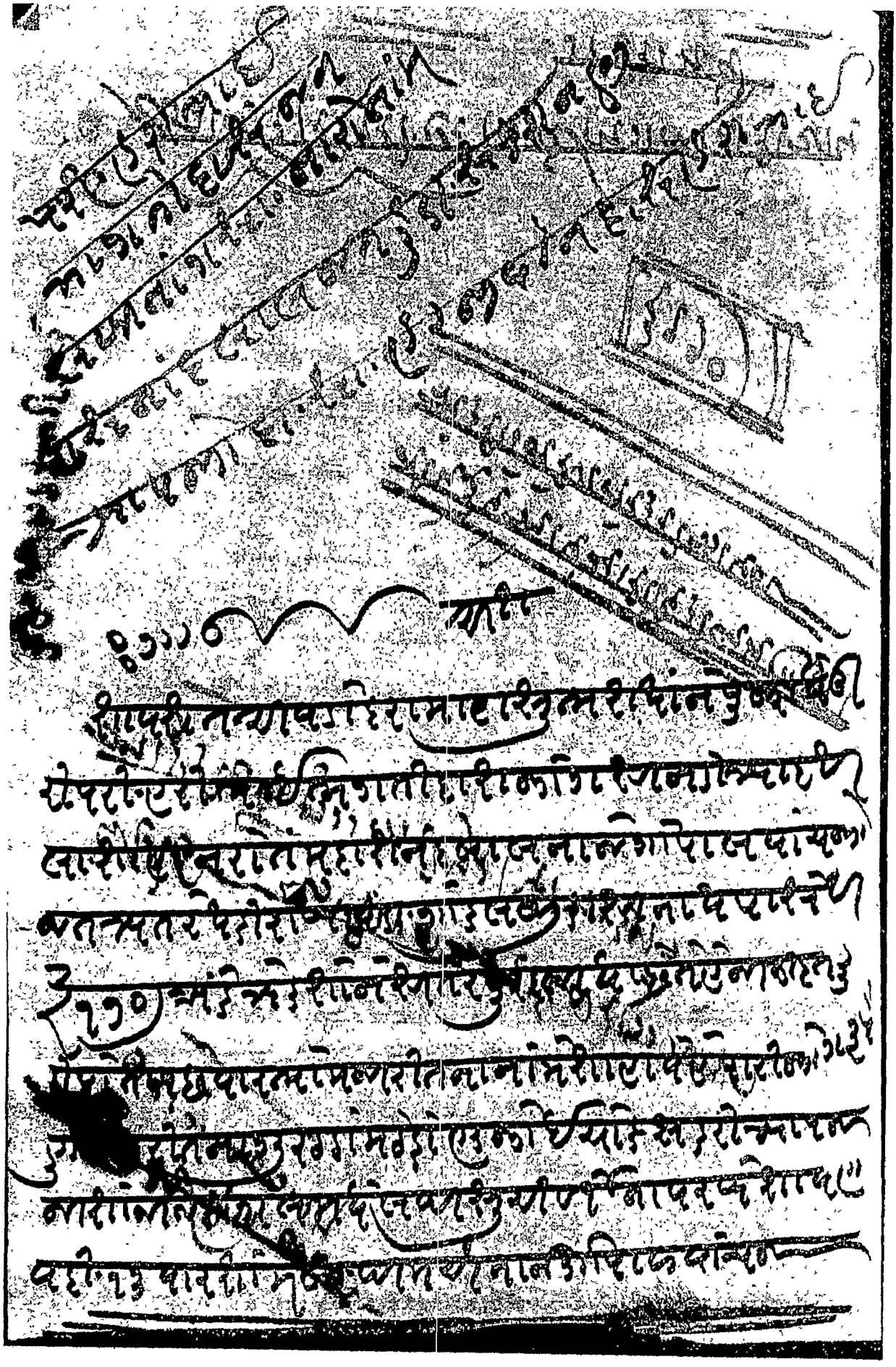
During the formation of the Bank of Baroda, the community had shown unprecedented unity under the leadership of Maganbhai Purshottam of the firm of Hari Bhakti. Probably, by this time they might have realized that they should respectfully lay aside their differences and contribute towards the positive change in the course in future, thus providing the British and the Gaikwads the opportunity to divide and rule.

The banking community had therefore stayed divided and aloof. This could have been an important cause for their waning influence. However, in the end, together they submitted their powers.

This entire section has laid focus on the social participation of the indigenous bankers as individuals and in the form of a community. The banker of Baroda had quiet in common with the behaviour and lifestyles of their counterpart in northern part of India in the 18th century. They almost followed similar, community, trading, and religious practices. The differences are found in the case of the participation of women in the banking activities. Very little information is available regarding their contribution in the business activities. The women of the indigenous banking family-firms had involved themselves in the affairs of the firm. Though their involvement is not that clearly mentioned in the records except when one looks at the court cases. Besides this major difference, the banking family-firms of the Baroda State were not involved in trading and commerce in the State, they were essentially bankers and some of them, at a smaller level, performed the trading activities. Perhaps, this was the reason why Baroda State remained under developed as far as trading and commercial activities were concerned, till 1875. They solely remained banking institutions, throughout the century.

APPENDIX 5.1

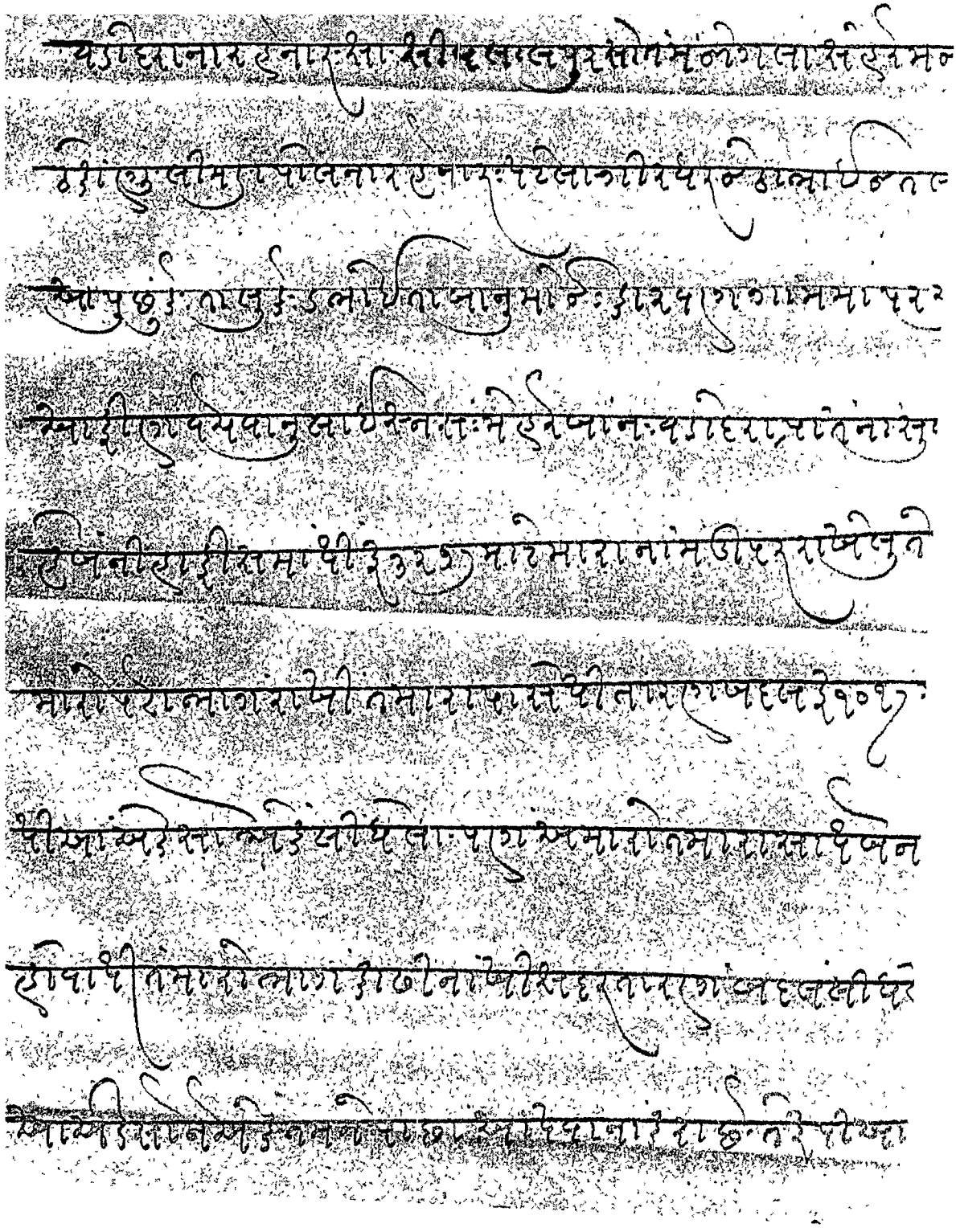
A HUNDI



APPENDIX 5.2

A CHITTI

325b.



APPENDIX 5.4.

DEPOTS OF OPIUM IJARA (HARIBHAKTI)

325 d(i)

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

१३५) [illegible] पटलाहनाथ ठिकदार

४) मोर्नि[illegible] नाथ ठिकदार

५) मोर्नि[illegible] नाथ ठिकदार

३४) मोर्नि[illegible] नाथ ठिकदार

१३) मोर्नि[illegible] नाथ ठिकदार

३३) ३१२ मोर्नि[illegible] नाथ ठिकदार

२०) मोर्नि[illegible] नाथ ठिकदार

३६) मोर्नि[illegible] नाथ ठिकदार

५) मोर्नि[illegible] नाथ ठिकदार

३६) ५८ मोर्नि[illegible] नाथ ठिकदार

१२) मोर्नि[illegible] नाथ ठिकदार

१८) मोर्नि[illegible] नाथ ठिकदार

५१) मोर्नि[illegible] नाथ ठिकदार

२६११ मोर्नि[illegible] नाथ ठिकदार

१६) मोर्नि[illegible] नाथ ठिकदार

१०) मोर्नि[illegible] नाथ ठिकदार

५३११ मोर्नि[illegible] नाथ ठिकदार

५२) [illegible]

Contd..

(५) ~~मौजे [illegible]~~

(३०) ~~मौजे [illegible]~~

९॥ ~~मौजे [illegible]~~

(४२) ~~मौजे [illegible]~~

(७०) ~~मौजे [illegible]~~

(१०) ~~मौजे [illegible]~~

(८६) ~~मौजे [illegible]~~

(४६) ~~मौजे [illegible]~~

४६॥ (२५) ~~मौजे [illegible]~~

(२०) ~~मौजे [illegible]~~
(१३) [illegible] - ३) [illegible]

३९॥ ~~मौजे [illegible]~~

(२७) ~~मौजे [illegible]~~

॥ ~~मौजे [illegible]~~
१६॥ [illegible] - २) [illegible]

~~मौजे [illegible]~~
[illegible] - ६) [illegible]

०॥ ~~मौजे पाटगाव [illegible]~~

(३३) ~~मौजे [illegible]~~

५॥॥ ~~मौजे [illegible]~~

१०॥ ~~मौजे [illegible]~~

(२२) ~~मौजे [illegible]~~

~~मौजे [illegible]~~

(४२) ~~मौजे [illegible]~~
(४६) [illegible] - ७) [illegible]

२२॥ ~~मौजे [illegible]~~

३॥॥ ~~मौजे [illegible]~~
३॥॥ [illegible] - ६) [illegible]

(४६) ~~मौजे [illegible]~~

(३५) ~~मौजे [illegible]~~
(३०) [illegible] - ६) [illegible]

(६६) ~~मौजे [illegible]~~

(४२) ~~मौजे [illegible]~~

मौजे [illegible]

(१३) ~~मौजे [illegible]~~

contd...

APPENDIX 5.3.

LETTER OF OPIUM IJARA (HARIBHAKTI)

325c

[illegible] (33) पॉम - 5 रुपये

(6) पॉम - 5 रुपये

(22) पॉम

(26) पॉम - 5 रुपये

(5) पॉम

(3) पॉम

(33) पॉम - 5 रुपये

(24) पॉम - 5 रुपये

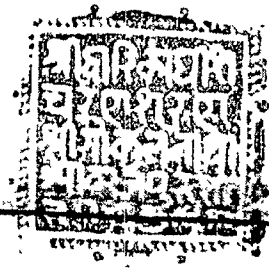
APPENDIX 5.5

RELIGIOUS CHITTI ASKING FOR DONATION

325e

॥श्रीहरिकेशोजयती॥

॥श्रीकृष्ण॥



॥स्वस्तिश्रीमजोस्वामिनीश्रीपदमावतीबहुजीनांस्व
कीयेषुपरमवेहवेषुश्री२सेवहरीभाईभगतीदासत
थापुरुषोत्तमभाईसपरिवारेषुशुभाशिषः शमिह
तत्रास्तुसर्वदा---सेव्यसमतव्यिपश्चत्रपंचसुभने
ऊंडी१श्रेकरुपीया१०००)श्रेकहजारकीमुंबईकीलिखि
यारगछोडदासहस्तेपवाईसोआयपहुंचीतुमारेखा
तेश्रीभंडारजमाकरीहिसोजानोगेतुमहमारेहोतुमा
रीसेवाभूलनानाहीसेवाविषेजेसोचितरारखतहो
तेसोहीरारखोगेकुशलपत्रलिखोगेकुशलपत्रलि
खोगेमितीआश्विनकृष्ण१३संवत्१८/१४

॥श्रीगोवर्धनदासजीकाप्रणाम॥

APPENDIX 5.6

RELIGIOUS CHITTI FOR INVITATION FOR MARRIAGE.

3257