

PATTERN OF STATE FORMATION IN BARODA: 1720-1939

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INTRODUCTION

There is a long history of state formation in the region of Gujarat from the early medieval period to the modern period of Indian history under various illustrious dynasties.

State formation in Gujarat began in a true sense in the early medieval period when the Chalukya dynasty established its political control over Gujarat under the first ruler of the dynasty Mularaja I (941-96) in 942.

State formation in Gujarat in the early medieval period reached its peak under the greatest of the Chalukya kings Siddharaja Jayasimha (1094-1143) and from his reign onwards Chalukya political control was established in north Gujarat, parts of Mewar, and the eastern strip of territory from Anhilwara Patan to Cambay. Siddharaja Jayasimha was a great conqueror and in the early twelfth century he conquered Malwa, southern Rajasthan, Kutch and Saurashtra and incorporated them into the administrative structure of mandalas (provinces). Thus the Chalukya State of Gujarat acquired maturity under Siddharaja Jayasimha. Whilst Malwa and southern Rajasthan later seceded from the kingdom of Gujarat when weak rulers ascended the throne, nonetheless, the Chalukyas continued to control the peninsula of Saurashtra, at least nominally, until 1296.

In 1299, Alauddin Khalji (1296-1316) annexed the region of Gujarat and it became a province of the Delhi Sultanate. The epicenter of this administrative unit was largely eastern Gujarat with Saurashtra and the eastern hills bordering Malwa being distant outposts over which the governors of the Delhi Sultans exercised only tenuous control. Gujarat remained a province of the Delhi Sultanate for little over a century (1299-1407) and during this period state formation was halted in the region. Gujarat re-emerged as an independent kingdom, when following Timur's sack of Delhi in 1398-99, leading to the disintegration of the Delhi Sultanate, the last governor of Gujarat, Zafar Khan, declared the independence of Gujarat from the Delhi Sultanate in 1407 and assumed the insignia of royalty under the title of Muzaffar Shah I (1407-10) thus laying the foundation of the Muzaffarid dynasty. However, state formation in Gujarat under the Muzaffarid sultans commenced during the reign of the grandson and successor of Muzaffar Shah I, Ahmed Shah I (1411-42), who founded the city of Ahmedabad in 1413.

Nevertheless, state formation in Gujarat under the Muzaffarid dynasty reached its height of glory and maturity only in the 1480s, when military and political control over the entire region of modern Gujarat, which includes Saurashtra and Kutch, was re-established during the reign of the greatest sultan of the Muzaffarid dynasty, Mahmud Begarha (1458-1511), and during his rule, the sway of the Sultans of Gujarat extended over parts of Malwa, southern Rajasthan, and the southern coastal lands stretching almost all the way to contemporary Bombay.

The rule of the Muzaffarid sultans ended in 1573 when the Mughal Emperor Akbar (1556-1605) annexed Gujarat and deposed the last Sultan of Gujarat, Muzaffar Shah III (1561-72), and the region became a subah of the Mughal Empire.

Hence, state formation in Gujarat was halted again from 1573 to 1707 during the rule of the Great Mughals over the region. It commenced again in the 1720s when following the death of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb (1658-1707) in 1707 the Mughal hold over the province began to loosen and the incursions of the Marathas were on the rise.

This time state formation in the region of Gujarat was centered not in Ahmedabad but in Baroda under the aegis of the Gaekwad dynasty when Pilajirao Gaekwad (1720-32) founded the Baroda State in the 1720s. However, the Baroda State remained an incipient state throughout the eighteenth century and began to be formulated only in the nineteenth century when the then Gaekwad ruler, Anandrao Gaekwad (1800-19) and the British joined hands to counter an increasingly assertive Peshwa. When the rule of the Peshwas ended and the Maratha Empire fell in 1818, the Baroda State emerged as a sovereign state. However, the State went through many ups and downs throughout the nineteenth century and reached the pinnacle of glory and maturity only in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century during the reign of the greatest ruler of the Gaekwad dynasty, Sayajirao Gaekwad III (1875-1939). His long reign ushered in a new dawn in the history of the Baroda State and a break with the past. There was a massive development of public infrastructure and the beginning of the modernization of the Baroda State on such a scale that it began to be counted among the most progressive of the princely states of India.

There were layers in the formation of the Gaekwad State of Baroda. The first layer was the Peshwa who tried to control the Maratha *sardars* who formed the second layer. Among the third layer was the Dabhade family and their lieutenants the Gaekwads.

Khanderao Dabhade of the Dabhade family whose male members had the title of Senapati was one of the members of the *Ashta Pradhan* Council whose powers the Peshwa had paralyzed. Therefore, there was growing enmity between the Dabhade family and the Peshwa from the beginning. Since the Gaekwads were the lieutenants of the Dabhade family they too did not like the interference of the Peshwa in the affairs of Gujarat. So during the First Anglo-Maratha War (1775-82) they sided with the British against the Poona Regency. Even though they did not achieve anything out of the war and were made a scapegoat by the British in the Treaty of Salbai signed at the end of the war on 17 May, 1782, they finally succeeded in extricating themselves from the clutches of the Peshwa with British help after the Third Anglo-Maratha War (1817-18) which led to the downfall of the Peshwa and the emergence of the Gaekwad State of Baroda as a sovereign state.

My rationale behind the title of my Ph.D thesis and the time period chosen for the study is that from the 1720s till the end of the eighteenth century Baroda was an incipient state (my emphasis). It began to be formulated throughout the nineteenth century and it started developing an army, bureaucracy and administration. At its core was the army and control over land. The Baroda State began to mature only after 1875 with the appointment of Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao as Diwan and the accession of Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad III in 1881. The Baroda State reached the pinnacle of maturity during the reign of Sayajirao Gaekwad III. Therefore, the reason for choosing the title **“Pattern of State Formation in Baroda: 1720-1939”** is to examine the pattern in the gradual evolution of the Baroda State from its incipiency in the eighteenth century, to its growth during the nineteenth century and the final maturing of the state in the twentieth century; and 1720 to 1939 is the time frame during which this development of the Baroda State took place.

During the course of my research on state formation in Baroda I will not only look into the involvement of the rulers but also the engagements of their relatives, their ministers, the military nobles, the money-lenders, the farmers of revenue and the clerical classes as well as the Peshwa, the British Residents and their Native Agents.

OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

1. To trace the process and pattern of state formation at Baroda (1720-1939).
2. To study the emergence of the Gaekwad State of Baroda i.e. from a non-state situation or absence of state to state systems.

3. To study the nature of the Gaekwad State of Baroda and its political institutions.
4. To investigate the hypothesis as to whether the Baroda State was a progressive state or not under Sayajirao Gaekwad III.

SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS

The basis of my research will be published primary sources on the Baroda State in the English language which is as yet less explored by scholars.

I was inspired to study state formation in Baroda after reading Romila Thapar's book *From Lineage to State: Social Formations in the Mid-First Millennium B.C. in the Ganga Valley* where she traces the emergence of the Mauryan Empire from the Vedic Period onwards. I therefore decided to do a similar work on the Baroda State which also went through various ups and downs to emerge ultimately as a "progressive" state of princely India.

Government has to do with the management of the population. Society refers to population in its basic form. State is a combination of an abstract idea and certain concrete formations, army, bureaucracy etc. These exist independent of each other but when the state becomes strong the other two falls under its influence.¹

The transition to state takes place when a pastoral society is transformed into a food-producing society. The Vedic society was a clan-based lineage society in which sacrifices led to the destruction of a large proportion of the wealth. Therefore, the *kshatriyas* were not left with enough surplus to maintain a standing professional army because maintaining a professional army requires a regular system of taxes. The formation of a state takes place when the pastoral and householding economy is transformed into a peasant economy where the peasants are able to produce a surplus from which the state can levy taxes to pay a standing professional army.

From the sixth century B.C. there was an increasing use of iron for manufacturing weapons in the middle Ganga Valley which increased the importance of the warrior caste. The use of iron for making agricultural implements in the middle Ganga Valley enabled the peasants to produce foodgrains above the subsistence level which could be used to feed the towns which sprung up in the area around the sixth century B.C. The surplus was also used by kings for military and administrative purposes. Thus the requisites for transition to state systems *viz.*

¹ Romila Thapar (1990), *From Lineage to State: Social Formations in the Mid-First Millennium B.C. in the Ganga Valley*, p. 116.

towns, professional army and a regular system of taxation were present in the middle Ganga Valley in the mid-first millennium B.C. which were absent in the upper Ganga Valley during the Vedic period. So the growth of large states with towns as their operational base was possible in the middle Ganga Valley. People now paid allegiance to the state rather than the tribe; which means that there was a strengthening of the territorial idea.²

The Marathas were also initially a lineage or clan-based society. Shivaji (1674-80) united these clans and established a compact unitary state. There was a demise of this compact unitary state following his death. The Marathas struggled to hold their own against the Mughals during the reigns of Shambhuji (1680-89) and Rajaram (1689-1700) and the Regency of Tarabai (1700-08).

After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, Shivaji's grandson, Shahu (1707-49) who was in Mughal captivity was released and from his reign onwards the responsibility of forming a Maratha State was taken over by the Peshwas beginning with Balaji Vishwanath (1714-20). The Peshwas led a northward expansion of the state into Mughal Malwa and Gujarat beginning with the reign of Baji Rao I (1720-40), the successor of Balaji Vishwanath, by the end of whose reign the Marathas reached the gates of Delhi. Eventually during the reign of the successor of Baji Rao I, Balaji Baji Rao (1740-61), the conquered territories were parceled out between the various Maratha *sardars* with Gwalior going to the Sindhias, Indore to the Holkars, Nagpur to the Bhonsles and Baroda to the Gaekwads. This created a feudal structure for the Maratha Empire. Going against the practice of Shivaji, the Peshwas assigned *jagirs* to civilian and military officers which accentuated the growth of feudalism in the Maratha Empire and became the cause of its downfall.

Within the Maratha Empire there were the Gaekwads of Baroda who from the beginning did not wish to be part of the Maratha Confederacy and incessantly asserted their independence from it. They did not like the subservience of the Peshwa. They wished to carve out their own state independent of the Peshwa and when he impeded them in the process they sought British intervention and with their help began their own process of state formation which culminated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

² Thapar, *Lineage to State*, pp. 70-115.

REVIEW OF THE SOURCES

I have referred extensive historical literature for writing my thesis. Some of the sources were downloaded by me online, some were purchased by me online and the rest were obtained by me from internet archive, Shrimati Hansa Mehta Library, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Vadodara, the Central Library of Baroda, ICHR Library and the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.

The first primary source which I have referred and will be using for writing my thesis is *The Rulers of Baroda* by F.A.H. Elliot which was downloaded by me online. The source is ideally suited to the topic of my doctoral program for it documents the formation of the Baroda State from its incipency under Pilajirao Gaekwad and Damajirao Gaekwad II (1732-68) in the eighteenth century to its growth starting with the reign of Anandrao Gaekwad in the nineteenth century when the contours of friendship with the British were drawn and how under the aegis of the British the Baroda State was formulated throughout the century to reach the pinnacle of glory during the reign of Sayajirao Gaekwad III. The work of F.A.H. Elliot basically covers the period beginning with the reign of Pilajirao Gaekwad and ends with the accession of Sayajirao Gaekwad III. F.A.H. Elliot, in fact, was the tutor of Sayajirao Gaekwad III and wrote this book while educating him in 1879. He was also a close mentor of the Maharaja and continued to serve the Baroda State in different capacities long after the Maharaja was invested with full ruling powers in 1881 till he was transferred by the colonial government in 1896 in the backdrop of the infamous 'Bapat Case' of 1893.

F.A.H. Elliot also gives a background to the origin of the Baroda State and also writes a brief pre-history of Gujarat beginning with the Chavada rulers followed by the Chalukyas, the Vaghelas, the conquest of Gujarat by Alauddin Khalji in 1299, the re-emergence of Gujarat as an independent kingdom under the Muzaffarid sultans in the fifteenth century, its conquest by Akbar in 1573 and the commencement of the Mughal Period of Gujarati history and finally the incursions of the Marathas starting with Shivaji in 1664 and 1670 and culminating with Khanderao Dabhade and Damajirao Gaekwad I, the two illustrious men who laid the foundations of Maratha rule in Gujarat in 1716. This enabled Pilajirao Gaekwad in founding the Baroda State in the 1720s.

The Baroda State was further consolidated by the son and successor of Pilajirao Gaekwad, Damajirao Gaekwad II. Following the death of Damajirao Gaekwad II in 1768 the Baroda

State became a victim of internal strife, family dissensions, and disputes over succession among his sons. For some time his able son Fatesingrao Gaekwad I (1778-89) was able to hold the Baroda State together but following his death in 1789 his successors, Manajirao Gaekwad (1789-93), Govindrao Gaekwad (1793-1800) and Anandrao Gaekwad were not competent rulers, according to Elliot, and the Peshwa would have dismembered the Baroda State in 1793 had the British not intervened in a timely manner. Owing to the impoverishment of the Baroda State during the reign of Anandrao Gaekwad because of the hefty *nazarana* and other dues paid by his father Govindrao Gaekwad to Nana Phadnavis (1775-1800) in order to ascend the throne of the Gaekwad dynasty and to relieve the Baroda State from the incubus of Arab mercenaries, the famous Prabhu minister of Anandrao Gaekwad, Raoji Appaji, sought the aid of the British East India Company.

The East India Company not only liberated the Baroda State from the incubus of Arab mercenaries but also managed to steer it away from the acute economic crisis into which it had fallen. Although there were some problems between the British Government and the Baroda State during the reign of Sayajirao Gaekwad II (1819-47) they were ultimately resolved towards the end of his reign and since then the process of state formation proceeded seamlessly until the reign of Malharrao Gaekwad (1870-75) whose bad governance caused resentment in British bureaucratic circles. However, the British successfully deposed him in 1875 and in his place, Jannabai, the widow of the predecessor of Malharrao Gaekwad, Maharaja Khanderao Gaekwad (1856-70), adopted a twelve-year-old boy named Gopalrao who traced his descent from Pilajirao Gaekwad and ascended the throne of the Gaekwad dynasty on 27 May, 1875 with the title of Sayajirao Gaekwad III.

In addition to *The Rulers of Baroda* I will also utilize the 10 volumes of the primary source *The Gaikwads of Baroda: English Documents* to document the pattern of state formation in Baroda up to the reign of Anandrao Gaekwad which the source covers.

The next primary source which I will use for writing my thesis is *Life of Sayaji Rao III: Maharaja of Baroda* by Stanley Rice. It is a monumental two volume biography of Sayajirao Gaekwad III.

Volume I provide a historical introduction to the history of the Gaekwad dynasty prior to the reign of Khanderao Gaekwad. In Chapter I of the first volume Stanley Rice write about the reign of Khanderao Gaekwad and the deposition of his successor Malharrao Gaekwad and the accession of Sayajirao Gaekwad III.

Stanley Rice then proceeds to describe the minority period of the reign of Sayajirao Gaekwad III when the reins of the administration were in the hands of Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao. He describes the reforms undertaken by Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao to put the Baroda State on a sound financial footing. In the next chapter the author gives a graphic description of the investiture of Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad III with full ruling powers and the next three chapters give an account of the domestic life of the Maharaja and his tours of Europe. Stanley Rice writes about the death of the first wife of Sayajirao Gaekwad III, Chimnabai I, as a result of which he got afflicted with insomnia and on the advice of his doctors started visiting Europe frequently from 1887. The author also writes about the second marriage of the Maharaja with Chimnabai II and the impact of the European tours on the psyche of Sayajirao Gaekwad III. Moreover, the author writes about the family life of the Maharaja and his relationship with his wife Chimnabai and his children.

In the next chapter Stanley Rice describes the epidemic of plague that occurred in the Baroda State in 1896-97 and the disastrous famine that occurred in 1899 and how the administration of the State responded to these crisis situations.

In the following chapter Stanley Rice writes about the Curzon Circular of 1900 which led to a clash between Sayajirao Gaekwad III and the new Viceroy, Lord Curzon.

In the final two chapters of the first volume Stanley Rice writes about the imperial questions pertaining to matters of defense and fiscal issues.

Volume II of the monumental work begins with a discussion of the involvement of the Baroda State in sensitive matters like sedition and the notorious Delhi Durbar incident of 1911 and its consequences for the Baroda State in general and the Maharaja in particular.

The next three chapters describe the reforms undertaken by the Baroda State during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and the issue of Okhamandal.

The following chapter delineates the later reforms undertaken by Sayajirao Gaekwad III and his tours of Europe prior to the First World War.

The next chapter gives a graphic account of the cooperation extended by Sayajirao Gaekwad III to the British Government during the First World War and the title of G.C.I.E (Grand Commander of the Indian Empire) awarded to him in recognition of his contribution to the war effort.

The final four chapters of the monumental work delineate the tours of Europe undertaken by Sayajirao Gaekwad III after the First World War was over, the social reforms initiated by him, his Golden Jubilee celebrations and since the biography was written during the lifetime of the Maharaja in 1931, the remaining years of the reign of Sir Sayajirao Gaekwad after the completion of his Golden Jubilee.

The next primary source which I will use for writing my thesis is another biography of Sayajirao Gaekwad III written by Philip W. Sergeant (also written during the lifetime of the Maharaja in 1928) titled *The Ruler of Baroda*.

The biography of Sergeant is to some extent repetitive of what has been written by Rice but nonetheless sheds light on some new aspects of the life and times of Sayajirao Gaekwad III.

The work begins by describing the early childhood of Sayajirao Gaekwad III in the village of Kavhana and a brief history of the predecessors of Sayajirao Gaekwad III who ruled Baroda.

The following four chapters delineate the transformation of Sayajirao Gaekwad III from an illiterate peasant boy to well-educated prince i.e. the author writes in these chapters about the education received by the Maharaja, his marriage to Laxmibai (name later changed to Chimnabai), the daughter of Haibat Rao Mohite, who was related to the ruling family of Tanjore, and the finishing education of the Maharaja and his investiture with full ruling powers on 28 December, 1881.

The book then goes on to describe the first fifteen years of the reign of Sayajirao Gaekwad III and the reforms and the development of public infrastructure undertaken by the State during these early years. The author also describes the tour of the four Prants of the Baroda State undertaken by the Maharaja. He then turns his attention to the domestic affairs of the Maharaja, namely, the death of his first wife, Chimnabai I, on 7 May, 1885 and his second marriage to Gajrabai, a princess from the small state of Dewas in central India, on 28 May, 1885. Gajrabai's name was subsequently changed to Chimnabai II. At the same time the author also writes about the visit by the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, to Baroda at this time.

The author then proceeds to write about the frequent foreign travel that the Maharaja undertook to cure his insomnia on the advice of his doctors and the resulting troubles that arose between the Baroda State and the British Government which was unhappy with the frequent European tours of Sayajirao Gaekwad III.

Sergeant then discusses the Curzon Circular of 1900 under the provisions of which an Indian prince had to obtain the prior permission of the Government of India before embarking on a tour abroad. The Curzon Circular made Sayajirao Gaekwad III extremely angry and led to his clash with the Viceroy, Lord Curzon.

In the same chapter Sergeant describes the Imperial Durbar of 1 January, 1903 held to celebrate the coronation of King Edward and the objections raised by the Maharaja against participation in the elephant procession to be held at the Durbar. The Maharaja raised these objections because the Viceroy and not the King-Emperor was the central figure at the Durbar and it was being held to glorify Lord Curzon and not the King-Emperor in whose honor it was supposed to be held.

In the following two chapters Sergeant depicts the involvement of the Maharaja in matters pertaining to sedition and the notorious incident of the Delhi Durbar of 1911 and its repercussions for Sayajirao Gaekwad III.

The next chapter describes the role played by Sayajirao Gaekwad III during the First World War by offering his cooperation to the British Government in its war effort and the rewards he received in recognition of his services during the course of the war.

In the subsequent chapter the author writes about the first trip of the Maharaja to Europe after the First World War was over in September 1919 and the news he received during this trip of the death of the widow of his late son, Prince Fatesingrao, namely, his daughter-in-law, Princess Padmavati due to an ulcer and the death of his son, Shivajirao, because of pneumonia.

Sergeant then writes regarding the significance of the fifteenth European trip of Sayajirao Gaekwad III and his subsequent Golden Jubilee celebrations.

In the subsequent five chapters Sergeant delineates the various reforms undertaken by Sayajirao Gaekwad III, his achievements in the field of education, his religious views, his role in the construction and expansion of railways in the Baroda State, and his developments in the sphere of agriculture and industry.

In the last three chapters of the book Sergeant writes regarding the constitutional reforms undertaken by Sayajirao Gaekwad III, the relationship of the Gaekwad Government with

primitive tribes and the separation of the executive from the judiciary, a reform undertaken by the Baroda State in which it was a trailblazer.

I have also managed to lay my hands on an important primary source titled *Speeches & Addresses of His Highness Sayaji Rao III, Maharaja of Baroda: 1877-1927* which I will also utilize for writing my thesis. In other words, I will analyze the speeches of Sayajirao Gaekwad III to build my argument regarding the maturity that the Baroda State attained during his long reign.

The first secondary source that I will use for writing my thesis is the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Volume VII: Baroda* of the year 1883. I will use the *Gazetteer* mainly to delineate the role played by the fraudster, Dhakji Dadaji, in the affairs of the Baroda State.

The next major source which I will use to write my thesis is *A History of Gujarat, Volume III* by M.S. Commissariat which is mainly a study of Anglo-Gaekwad relations during the Maratha Period of Gujarati history.

The next major source which I have referred and will use for writing my thesis is *Sayaji Rao Gaekwad III* by V.K. Chavda which is basically an excellent biography of Sayajirao Gaekwad III written by V.K. Chavda. The source also gives a brief background of the history of the Gaekwad dynasty prior to the accession of Sayajirao Gaekwad III so it is useful in understanding the Definitive Treaty of Baroda, the reforms of Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao apart from the life and times of Sayajirao Gaekwad III and his glorious reign.

I will supplement the work of V.K. Chavda *Sayaji Rao Gaekwad III* in writing about the reforms of Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao in Baroda by utilizing the biography written by the great great granddaughter of the *Diwan*, Urmila Rau Lal, titled *Diwan Sir Thanjavur Madhava Row: Statesman, Administrator Extraordinaire*.

In the same way, I will fill the gaps in describing the reign of Sayajirao Gaekwad III by using the biography of the Maharaja written by his great-grandson Fatesinghrao P. Gaekwad titled *Sayajirao of Baroda: The Prince and the Man*.

Among the other sources referred by me is the unpublished Ph.D thesis from the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda of Indra Saxena titled '**The Early Gaekwads: History of the Baroda State from Pilajirao Gaekwad to Fatehsingrao Gaekwad (1720-1789)**' which was submitted in 1975.

This thesis is a study of initial phase of Gaekwad rule before the intervention of the British i.e. from the founding of the Baroda State by Pilajirao Gaekwad in the 1720s to the reign of Fatesingrao Gaekwad I, the last powerful and independent Gaekwad ruler before the British took over the responsibility of administering the State from the reign of Anandrao Gaekwad onwards.

The next secondary source which I have referred during the course of my study is another unpublished thesis from the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda written by Tara Thyagarajan and submitted in 1988. The thesis is titled **‘Political Relations Between the Gaekwads of Baroda and the Peshwas of Poona: 1707- 1818 A.D.’**.

As is clear from the title the thesis it is a study of the political events of the period 1707- 1818 that is from the accession of Shahu to the fall of the Maratha Empire in 1818.

The next secondary source which I have read while analyzing the historical literature on the Gaekwad dynasty is a published work which came out from the Nagpur University in 1977 and is written by Dr. (Miss) S.V. Kothekar and is titled *The Gaikwads of Baroda and the East India Company: 1770- 1820*. The work studies the relations of the Gaekwads of Baroda and the East India Company during the period of the three Anglo-Maratha Wars.

The next source which I have referred while studying the pattern of state formation in Baroda is written by the former Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences of the S.N.D.T. Women's University, Mani Kamerkar titled *British Paramountcy: British-Baroda Relations, 1818-1848* published in 1980.

The work of Mani Kamerkar examines Anglo-Gaekwad relations during the reign of Sayajirao Gaekwad II, a period which has been less studied by scholars.

The final secondary source which I have read while analyzing the history of Baroda State is *Sovereign Spheres: Princes, Education and Empire in Colonial India* written by Manu Bhagavan and published in 2003. The book examines two princely states of colonial India, Mysore and Baroda who appropriated the British ideas of good governance and (Western) education and remolded them into modern but ‘native’ or non-colonial forms *ipso facto* representing a hidden transcript of resistance to colonial rule.

CHAPTER PLAN

1. INTRODUCTION

In the introduction of my thesis I will first do a review of the existing literature on the Gaekwad State of Baroda. I will then write about my chapter scheme where I will write a precis of each chapter. Finally I will delineate the theme and highlight the vacuum in the historiography and the underlying reason behind a re-examination of the political history of the Gaekwad dynasty.

2. CHAPTER ONE: DIFFICULTIES OF LEVYING TAXES

In this chapter I will describe the struggle among the various Maratha *sardars* for the right of levying *chauth* in Gujarat. I will delineate the adventures of Pilajirao Gaekwad and his struggle to obtain the right of levying *chauth* in Gujarat; the battles he fought for obtaining this right against his fellow Maratha *sardars*, the Mughal viceroys and the Peshwa.

The chapter will cover the period from 1720 to 1732 i.e. the reign of Pilajirao Gaekwad and the commencement of the twilight of the Mughals and the weakening of their hold over Gujarat. The chapter will end with Pilajirao Gaekwad's success in obtaining the *chauth* of Gujarat after a battle with Peshwa Baji Rao I in 1731 and the title of *Sena Khas Khel* or 'commander of the special band' or 'leader of the sovereign's band' and his assassination at Dakor in 1732.

3. CHAPTER TWO: FORGING AN ADMINISTRATION

This chapter covers the period from 1732 to 1805 i.e. from the commencement of the reign of Damajirao Gaekwad II to the commencement of the reign of Anandrao Gaekwad when the Gaekwads were struggling to establish some kind of an administrative setup.

The chapter will describe how the Damajirao Gaekwad II after consolidating the Baroda State was subdued by the Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao to cede half of his dominions in Gujarat to him in 1752 in return for his help in expelling the Mughals from Gujarat which was accomplished by the combined armies of the various *sardars* of the Maratha Confederacy and the Peshwa by 1758. Though Damajirao Gaekwad II was forced to pay tribute to the Peshwa he did not pay it regularly till his defeat at the Battle of Dhodap in 1768 at the hands of Peshwa Madhava Rao I, the successor of Balaji Baji Rao.

Damajirao Gaekwad II died shortly after the Battle of Dhodap and following his death the Baroda State became a victim of family dissensions and succession disputes among the sons of Damajirao Gaekwad II and in a true sense a tributary of the Peshwa. It was the Peshwa who now issued a *sanad* and decided who would succeed to the *gaddi* of the Baroda State after the payment of a *nazarana* to him. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of how British intervention saved the Gaekwad State from dismemberment at the hands of the Peshwa during Govindrao Gaekwad's reign and how subsequently in order to preclude the Peshwa's influence the famous Prabhu minister of Govindrao Gaekwad, Raoji Appaji first signed a treaty of Subsidiary Alliance with the British East India Company on 6 June, 1802 and then the Definitive Treaty of Baroda on 21 April, 1805 again with the East India Company which helped the Gaekwads in establishing an administrative set up with British aid.

4. CHAPTER THREE: RECOGNITION OF SOVEREIGNTY

The chapter covers the period from 1805 to 1875 i.e. from the commencement of Anandrao Gaekwad's reign to the end of Malharrao Gaekwad's reign.

During this period British intervention led to the gradual waning of the Peshwa's influence on the Baroda State and by the Treaty of Poona signed between the last Peshwa Baji Rao II and the East India Company on 13 June, 1817, the Baroda State was recognized as a sovereign state because the treaty released it from the suzerainty of the Peshwa. The chapter will also describe the Supplemental Treaty of Baroda signed between Anandrao Gaekwad and the East India Company on 6 November, 1817 and the subsequent surrender by the Gaekwad of his *haveli* and the Dascroi region in Ahmedabad to the British which led to the consolidation of the British and Gaekwad territories in Gujarat. The chapter will also describe the Third Anglo-Maratha War which led to the downfall of the Peshwa and the emergence of the Gaekwad State of Baroda as a truly sovereign state and the trials and tribulations of its relationship with the British after 1818.

5. CHAPTER FOUR: REFORMS OF RAJA SIR T. MADHAVA RAO (1875-81)

The chapter will trace the career path of Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao, the steps he took to place the Baroda State in a sound financial position during the minority of Sayajirao Gaekwad III.

The reforms include the measures taken by him to liberate the Baroda State from the debt trap into which it had fallen owing to the deeds of the erstwhile regime. The chapter will also

delineate the bad shape in which the Baroda State was and what an uphill task it was for the Diwan to rebuild it from scratch.

The other reforms of Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao which will be delineated in this chapter include those in land revenue administration and curtailment of the power of the *sardars*, the building of a standing army, courts of law, schools and libraries, abolition of useless taxes, burning down narrow insanitary alleys and building clean rows of houses at Government cost etc.

Notable among the achievements of Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao was the building of the Kamati Bagh, the construction of the Gaekwad Baroda State Railway (GBSR) and the Huzur Court.

The chapter will also discuss the problems which the Baroda State faced regarding the production of salt, cultivation of opium and the manufacture of its own arms and ammunition with the British during the tenure of Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao and how he tackled these problems.

The chapter will also mention the draft constitution based on the principle of constitutional monarchy prepared by Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao and will conclude with an assessment of his personality and his contributions to the building of modern Baroda.

6. CHAPTER FIVE: MATURING OF THE BARODA STATE UNDER SAYAJIRAO GAEKWAD III

The chapter will cover the reign of Sayajirao Gaekwad III and trace how the Baroda State attained maturity during his reign through the provision of public welfare and its ambivalent relationship with the British Government to finally emerge among the most progressive of the princely states of India.

The chapter is concerned with the building of modern infrastructure which the Baroda State undertook during the reign of this Maharaja. The State introduced a modern education system with the opening of the Baroda College in 1882 and Baroda became the first state in India to build its own railways which covered 707 miles by 1934-5.

The Baroda State also became a patron of trade and industry and the Bank of Baroda was set up to finance industrial projects. By the end of the reign of Sayajirao Gaekwad III Baroda city was second only to Ahmedabad in terms of industrial development. Industrial

development also led to the growth of an urban middle class in Baroda city, and Baroda began to be counted among the more progressive princely states of British India.

7. CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

The conclusion of the thesis will examine and prove whether the Baroda State was actually a “progressive” state under Sayajirao Gaekwad III or is it simply a misnomer.

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