CHAPTER X

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The political ideas of Sayaji Rao expressed through speeches, letters and communications, reflect his political awareness, views on constitutional aspects of the Indian rulers and of India vis-a-vis the Exchant R British Paramount Power. They also reveal the nature of his relations with the British Government which originated on the issue of his foreign travels and absence from the State and the assertion of his rights as an Indian ruler on the basis of the treaties, engagements and others signed with the East India Company. Another aspect that is marked is related to his spirit of nationalism and the scope of the working of the government on democratic lines in his State. His ideas may be examined in two broad aspects, namely, Nationalism and Democracy and his Rights, Conflict and Relations with the British Government. The former aspect may be taken up first in this Chapter as a necessary precursor to the latter.

<u>Nationalism</u>

In the Mineteenth Century the political framework evolved by the British under the East India Company during 1799 and 1819, manifested that the British were in a position of Supreme or Paramount Power. The Ruling Chiefs and Princes of India were subordinated to it. The obligations arising from the treaties, engagements and others signed between the two were removed by the British. The Indian Princes were made to accept this and they also reconciled with the situation. But Sayaji Rao as will be examined in the next Chapter, took exception to such established position and came into sharp conflict with the British. His spirit of nationalism and democratic leanings are to be examined in this wider context.

Concept of One India

Though Sayaji Rao was intent on seeking his legitimate rights from the British, his concept of one India and national feelings are to be observed in a private conversation with Aga

Khan at Poona in 1908. They were both the guests of Sir George Clarke, the then Governor of the Bombay Presidency and who was at Poona at that time.

As a reminiscence, Aga Khan related the above conversation. He stated that one night when everyone had retired for skeep, Sayaji Rao told him, "British Rule in India will never be ended merely by the struggle of the Indian people. But world conditions are bound to change so fundamentally that nothing will then be able to prevent its total disappearance." "The first thing that you will have to do when English are gone, is to get rid of all these rubbish states. I tell you, there will be no Indian Nation until so-called Princely Order disappear. Its disappearance will be the best thing that can happen to India - the best possible thing. The events of 1947 and 1948 which led to integration of Indian States with the Indian Union seemed to have fulfilled Sayaji Rao's prophecy.

All-India Federation

In 1931, Sayaji Rao attended the First Round Table Conference in London. The proposal of an All-India Federation was unanimously accepted not only by the Princes and the States, but by the British India representatives also. The Indian National Congress, the major political party in India, was absent. The political parties in Britain supported the move. In his speech on the conclusion of the Conference, Sayaji Rao recalled that his idea of Federation for India developed in 1917. Reiterating it he said, "I refer to the conception of a United India, wherein the British India and the Indian States will co-operate as partners for the welfare of India as a whole,

^{1.} Kirk MSS. of Notes for a History of the Freedom Movement in India sent by G. K. Gokhale from the Records Office on December 28, 1955 bearing No. 48 to the Executive Secretary, Bombay State Committee, Gazetteer's Office, Bombay.

while each unit will retain its individuality and its right to develop in accordance with its own particular genius. As he put it, he did not believe in uniform federal structure which according to him would be a "mistaken policy." His conviction was based on the point that full freedom should be given to each unit to develop along its own peculiar lines. He thought that the Indian States cherished their internal autonomy and therefore, they would insist on that point and would want to remain intact. The States would also insist on the removal of out-of-date restrictions which had proved injurious to their development.

Further, he expressed that these States advocated for the establishment of responsible government at the Federal Centre with a view to facilitating the solution of common problems and the solution of a common policy for India as a whole.

Three significant points emerge from this speech. Firstly, the unity of India can be achieved by introducing the federal structure in India. Secondly, the federation should consist of British Indian Provinces and the Indian States and thirdly, the Indian States should retain their autonomy and hope their relations established on new and improved lines with the federal government. These points clearly suggest that Sayaji Rao was taken keen to maintain the rights, authority and status of the Indian States distinct in the proposed federation of India.

Sayaji Rao repeated his views at every opportunity. He visualised a united India evolved after definite steps were taken and wherein the British India and the States were to be equal partners. In 1936 at a banquest given in honour of Viceroy Lord and Lady Willingdon at Baroda, Sayaji Rao repeated his idea of an All-India Federation. He suggested a scheme of adjustment of the relations of the Indian States and indicated two principles

^{1.} Saunders, SAMSG, p. 595.

^{2. &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., p. 598.

^{3.} Ibid.

on which he based his scheme. Firstly he stated that the powers and privileges of the states and estates should on no account be reduced but their financial powers should be strengthened by the abolition of the tributes which were fixed on no logical basis and were unequal in their incidence. Secondly he stressed on furthering the interests of good government and economic development in India.

It may be stated here that the envisaged All-India Federation under the Act of 1935, did not become operative because of the opposition of the all political parties including the Muslim League and also of the Indian States who were unwilling to join the Federation. Under the fircumstances, the Governor-General suspended that part in 1939 (September 9) from the Act. As the War had begun by that time, no significant constitutional progress was achieved till 1947.

Indian States, India and the British Commonwealth

India had no place as a member in the British Commonwealth of Nations. Sayaji Rao had considered this aspect, and in 1933 at a reception held by the East India Association in London, he expressed his views on the rightful place of the Indian States in the polity of India, that is, in the proposed Federation.

He said, "If I have fought for their rights (i.e. of the States) I have never ceased to insist on their duties. Federation without Frustration: Development without Domination: let this be our motto. A partnership of free peoples - this is the Commonwealth.

... a proper solution can be found for India's problems, and that the edifice of a self-governing India within the Commonwealth must be built on these wider and deeper foundations." The States he felt had a role "with their distinctive tradition" for the benefit of India and of the Commonwealth.

Four years later, in 1937, speaking at the Oxford University Ralegh Club, he mentioned the possible role of India in the

^{1.} Newham, SAMSG, Vol. IV, p. 814.

^{2.} Saunders, SAMSG, Vol. III, pp. 663-64.

Commonwealth. He said, "The British Commonwealth is based upon one fundamental conception - freedom. ... each nation is free within the Commonwealth - free to develop according to its own genius and to determine its own destiny. The British Commonwealth stands before the world as a British League of Nations and as such is a factor of ever growing importance in preserving the world's peace. Dut the more important part of his thought was expressed in relation to India. He predicted that "India as a contented member of the Commonwealth will be an effective safeguard against any clash between East and West, and I am confident that statesmanship in England and India will work steadily to secure that contentment. He also suggested that "... an eventual clash between Europe and Asia is inevitable. But with India as a free autonomous unit in the Commonwealth such a clash cannot occur and is indeed inconceivable.

The optimism expressed in these statements and assertions reflect Sayaji Rao's faith in the strength of India and the possible help which she would render to Britain as a contented partner of the British Commonwealth. However, the events show that India was not accorded a place in the British Commonwealth and a great 'clash' involving the countries of Europe and Asia, inevitably occurred.

Sayaji Rao pleading for India's inclusion in the British Commonwealth also expressed his trust in British statesmanship. He said, "I feel that if broad-minded statesmanship demonstrates that there is room for India and all that India stands for, ... then only will the Commonwealth achieve its highest mission." He also gave some an ominous hint to the British people by saying that "... any undue or unnecessary check to an inevitable development would not be in accordance with the ideals of the great

^{1.} Newham, SAMSG, Vol. IV, p. 859.

^{2.} Ibid., p. 860.

^{3.} Ibid.

Commonwealth. History shows that the checks did come and they were in the form of repressive measures to throttle the national movement in India.

In 1937, when the European countries were highly disturbed by the militant moves of the totalitarian governments of Germany and Italy, Sayaji Rao spoke at the Opening of the Imperial Conference in London wherein he gave his observation on the changes that were seen in India. He said that during his long tenure as a Ruling Prince. "... I have striven to watch events and, what is more, to interpret them with detachment - to divine those unseen currents of ideas, emotions, aspirations which ultimately determine the course of history." He added that "Nowhere do these currents flow more strongly than in India to-day ... It is not too much to say that the whole of India pulsates with life. And this vast energy which is being realised - to what goal is it to lead her millions? I answer - politically, towards the attainment of her full stature as an autonomous unit of the British Commonwea-1th of Nations; socially - towards the attainment of the ideal inseparably bound up with that Commonwealth - freedom protected by order, order perfected by freedom. As he put it, no two nations or two races would interpret and realise precisely the meaning of "Order" and "freedom" in the same way. It is evident that he was referring to the British Commonwealth.

The idea of reciprocity, which he expressed is also significant. He said, "If India has received and a will continue to receive much from the Commonwealth, she has equally much pto give."

The relevance of the ideas of Sayaji Rao about India's place in the Commonwealth of Nations, is to be found in his nationalist feelings and the relations he wanted to exist between Britain and India.

^{1.} Newham, SAMSG, Vol. IV, p. 860.

^{2. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 858.

Idea of One World

The idea of one world expressed in 1934 by Sayaji Rao, speaks of his noble concept. He felt that "We are not living in different continents or different countries, but in one united world where the interest of all have to be equal and sympathised with." This is because of the fact that what were continents before have now become countries and the countries have now become continents in themselves. On the basis of this transformation he suggested that, "... material and moral interests are inseparably intermixed, and it would be but a short-sighted policy not to recognise that fact and give weight to it in practical life and in the policies of States."

In the context of political situation prevailing in the 1930's in the world, the idea of one world of Sayaji Rao should be considered as thought provoking.

Nationalism of Sayaji Rao

Saya ji Rao was one of the few princes who dared to speak on politics with an open mind. He linked political problems with the national problems of the day and talked like a patriotic prince. These are illustrated in the speeches and incidents of help to the nationalists.

In 1901 presiding over the Annual Prize distribution at the Grant Medical College in Bombay, he said, "However we may be divided by geographical circumstances or administrative divisions, yet our customs, traditions, aspirations, and the forces that mould our character and fortune are really the same. Whatever tends to the improvement or advantage of one part of the community must profoundly affect and therefore interest another. Through this nobler sympathy the education bestowed by this College on my countrymen must interest me in its favour quite apart from any advantage to myself as the ruler of my State. To

^{1.} Ibid., p. 768.

^{2.} Italics mine. Widgery, SAMSG, p. 64.

Sayaji Rao, the geographical barriers between the territories under the British rule and those of the Indian State, meant nothing in the development of one community or the country at large.

In 1902 delivering a speech at the Opening of an Industrial Exhibition at Ahmedabad, Sayaji Rao analyzing the economic condition of India as a nationalist said, "We are to be restricted to a humble subordination, a servile imitation, and to the production of raw material for their markets." He did not hesitate in accusing Europeans of having taken India's trade, industries and railways and their management under their control. "The Government is European and it is from Europe that we imitate all that we call civilization." But he was not pessimistic, when he said that "To suppose that any nation can be shut out from the operation of the law of Evolution is utterly unscientific, and in the light of history, absurd. "It may be pointed out here that the Industrial Exhibition that he opened was closely connected with the Indian National Congress which was then holding its Session at Ahmedabad.

In 1903, at the Dayanand Arya Vedic College, Lahore, Sayaji Rao emphasised "the absolute necessity of Indians leaving behind all provincial, sectional and local prejudices" and to be actuated by a truly national spirit. He made it clear that in his public actions he was never influenced by sectarian or religious sentiments.

Sayaji Rao's non-sectarian outlook is to be observed in his speech at the Madrassa Nusrat-ul-Islam, a Muslim institution in Kashmir. He visited this Institution in 1903 and expressed his belief that, "The Hindus and Muslims must go on progressing

^{1.} Meaning the markets of superior races that is Europeans.

^{2.} Widgery, SAMSG, p. 86.

^{3. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 87.

^{4.} Ibid., p. 125.

side by side as two brothers, for the interests of the two are closely interwoven, and the rise and fall of one must affect to some extent the other as well.

In the same year he paid a visit to the Islamia College, Lahore and spoke of Muslims as brethren in India. He admitted that there might be differences of principle and action between the Hindus and the Muslims but their ultimate interest should be to try to secure the advancement not of one community but of the whole of India. He said, "Division has ruined India and must ruin it as long as it exists," but he hastened to add that he did not mean it politically, but socially and materially. Defending his idea of nationalism, he said, "My interests are not limited to one province or one community. I do not consider provinces and communities separately. I regard them as parts of one whole. If the parts improve and become perfect, the whole is bound to be complete. I wish therefore to encourage every good movement and every good institution.

These citations show that Sayaji Rao had given good thought to the problem of Hindu-Muslim unity and to the national problems in that context.

In 1906, Sayaji Rao made a notable speech on the Needs of Indian Industries and the Lines of Advance in Education. He delivered the speech as an Inaugural Address at the Second Indian Industrial Conference at Calcutta. It was a period when revolutionary feelings were high in Bengal. In 1905 and 1906 Calcutta was affected due to the Partition of Bengal. At the close of the year 1906, the Congress Session coincided with the Second Indian Industrial Conference, also. In this Session, the Swadeshi movement was given the priority in the revolutionary

^{1. &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., p. 120.

^{2. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 122.

^{3.} Essaing the Ibid., p. 180.

^{4.} Valentine Chirol, Indian Unrest (London, 1911), p. 50.

programme. It was supported by Arabindo Ghose, a disciple of B. G. Tilak.

Sayaji Rao, in his speech, presented a dismal picture of the Indian industries. He was prepared to admire the Swadeshi movement if it brought some relief to the villages meaning to the weavers, braziers, coppersmiths, potters, ironsmiths, carpenters and others. To him the Swadeshi movement must create a large demand for their manufactures and widen the area of their labours. With patriotic fervour he appealed to the industrialists of Indiah foster and help also the humbler industries in which tens of millions of village artisans are engaged. Sayaji Rao restricted himself strictly to economics while speaking on Swadeshism. He said, "The genuine Swadeshi ought to secure the maximum of production at the minimum cost. Patriotism demands that the greater cost and the slight discomfort of using indigenous goods should be cheerfully put up with at the outset.

While revealing his idea of Swadeshism, he also wanted the industrialists to be in mind that "... no such movement can be permanently successful unless it involves a determined effort to improve their quality and cheapen their cost, so as to complete successfully with foreign products."

Sayaji Rao's national spirit is seen when he said, "Our serfdom to foreign capital and to foreign enterprise could scarcely be more complete. Our railways are financed by capital from Europe; our mines are exploited by savants from America, and even in our daily household needs our dependence upon products of foreign marts from day to day." Consequently he felt that the problem of saving the country from such a perilous plight and "to find a cure for this malady has become the one anxious thought of every patriot and every statesman."

^{1.} Widgery, SAMSG, p. 194.

^{2. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 195.

^{3.} Ibid., p. 180x 195.

^{4.} In Ibid., p. 197.

He expressed his belief that the nation which discriminated against its humblest classes and provided them no opportunity to rise in the social scale and in self-esteem, is building its house upon sand. He felt that the wealth of a nation is determined by the quality of manhood. He quoted the examples of ancient Egypt, Rome and Greece that had adopted discriminatory attitudes - which had led to the end of their power. The point that can be highlighted in Sayaji Rao's thinking is of developing a spirit of co-operation between the classes in a country.

Sayaji Rao did not consider foreign government "...necessarily a bar to the political advance of a country," because to him, any government that works for "the best interests of the people which it governs" and so long as "..if identifies their interests with its own, so long as it works for their encouragement with an efficient administration and true zeal for national progress, that Government is national." This was his idea of a good government and is significant in the existing political situation of India.

In 1909, Sayaji Rao went further and expressed his idea of government. According to him the best form of the Government was the Government through the people themselves. Explaining his belief, he stated that the village communities in India, enjoyed such type of government from the ancient period. In the modern period the State had assumed many of the functions of the village communities and it shows the centralisation of administrative duties. Therefore, he felt that these functions needed decentralisation. Moreover, if the delegation of powers is rationally farried out if "... would form part of a complete system of decentralisation and representative government. But before it could be done, he wanted to create sense of responsibility within to the people which could be instilled in them only through the general

^{1.} Ibid., p. 210.

^{2.} Ibid., p. 176.

^{3. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 241.

education of the masses. As alluded before, Sayaji Rao considered education as the prime factor in the overall uplift of the nation.

Sayaji Rao spoke on the improper education given by the British in India, at a banguet given in honour of Viceroy Lord Minto and Lady Minto at Baroda in 1909. It was a period of political upheaval in India. Sayaji Rao also faced the charges of fostering and abetting the "sedition" activities against the British in his State. He was looked at with suspicion by the Government quarters. Despite this, Sayaji Rao, in the presence of Lord Minto, spoke unhesitantly that, "the education imparted in this country is not exactly of the right kind. Its effect is superficial; it does not sufficiently penetrate society. It should train up men to a full sense of responsibility of their duties as men and as citizens; it should not be confined to one class, but should reach the masses."

In 1910, in a talk before the Aryan Brotherhood at Bombay, Sayaji Rao expressed his idea that unity becomes strength only when there is love and sympathy between the members of a society-and these can be achieved only by bringing the people together. To achieve this goal, he found no other "royal road" more effective than "breaking bread at the same table. This clearly manifests that a form of nationality is attained through social intercourse.

Patriotism of Sayaji Rao

The political awareness and the patriotic spirit of Sayaji Rao are seen through some incidents and events which had bearing with the Indian national movement. It will be also observed that he did not cross his limits while helping the cause of the country. Being a ruler of an Indian State, he knew his limits and did not cross them.

Late Shri G. K. Gokhale, foremerly Research Assistant in the Baroda Records Office, Baroda, in his article has claimed

^{1. &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., p. 249.

^{2. &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., p. 266.

^{3.} The article appeared in Sanskar, a Gujarati monthly, from Baroda, Volume No. 42, current issue VI, March 1967, pp. 5-14.

that Maharaja Sayaji Rao was a staunch patriot and was equal to those patriots who sacrificed everything for the cause of nation. It is difficult to agree with this contention though instances of Sayaji Rao's national and patriotic deeds are none the less wanting.

Financing the Delegation of the Bombay Presidency Assocition

The Bombay Presidency Association was established on January 31st, 1885. The Association "... showed considerable activity in the early years of its existence. It By resolutions, memorandums, and public meetingsit focussed the general feeling of the community on all matters of common interest. 10 The Association took advantage of the forthcoming General Election in England and to carry on propaganda in that country on behalf of India. With the co-operation from two other Presidencies and the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, it was decided to send a delegation of three members consisting of Narayan Chandavarkar, Man Mohan Ghosh and Ramaswamy Muddaliar for the purpose. The delegation was to support those English Candidates for Parliament who supported the Indian cause the British people were to be acquainted with the real condition of India and the hopes and aspirations of the people through speeches and leaflets. On being approached for financial assistance to the delegation, Sayaji Rao contributed a sum of Rs. 2500/- for the expenses of the delegation.

On Attending the Congress Sessions

It was but natural that the political agitations in British Indian territories should have some influence on the people of the Baroda State. The Sessions of the Indian National Congress which were held in Western India, were invariably attended by the Baroda State Officials or pensioners and citizens as delegates or as visitors.

^{1.} Ibid., p. 5.

^{2.} H.P. Mody, op. cit., p. 166.

^{3.} Gokhale, Sanskara, p. 6.

In 1889 Rao Bahadur Madhavlal Nandlal, a judge of Sadar Court, Baroda and Rao Bahadur Harilal Harshadrai Dhruv, also a judge of the Baroda Territory Court, attended the Congress Session as delegates, of Broach and Surat Districts respectively. The Political Department of the Government of India, took a serious view of their presence at the Session and wrote to the Resident at Baroda in this regard. The Resident Prendergast in his turn wrote a "Confidential and Immediate" letter to the Dewan of Baroda.

The Resident in his letter stated, "I would take this opportunity of explaining to you that in the opinion of H.E. the Viceroy, it is undesirable for Native Chiefs to be connected in any way with political agitations amongst Her Majesty's subjects, .. Out of their own territories .. there would be something incongruous, in a Chief's mixing himself up in such matters in any way, by subscribing to the Congress or to Sir Sayad Ahmed's Patriotic Association.

In reply to this letter, Dewan Laxman Jagannath wrote that M/s. Madhavlal and Harilal have already gone on leave therefore, he is unable to communicate with them in this regard. He promised to see that henceforth these persons do not appear as delegates but simply as spectators in such conferences. Such kind of attitude shows how the State authorities viewed problems connected with the national and patriotic feelings of the people.

Financial Help to the Congress

In 1895, the Session of Indian National Congress was to be held at Poona under the Presidentship of Surendranath Bannerjee. The Congress was short of funds. The Congress workers sent one Kirtane to Maharaja Sayaji Rao for financial help. Sayaji Rao gave Rs. 2,000 towards the expenses of the Congress Session.

^{1.} Source Material For a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. II, (Bombay, 1958), p. 557. Cited.

^{2.} Ibid.

^{3.} Gokhale, Sanskar, p. 7.

Help in Finsbery Election

It will be recalled that Dadabhai Naoroji had served the Baroda State as Dewan during the period of Maharaja Malhar Rao. Sayaji Rao helped Dadabhai during the Finsbery election in England in 1892 by providing him with twenty vehicles on the election day. Dadabhai won the election only by a margin of three votes (2959 against 2956). His rival Captain F.T.Panton went to the Court seeking to annual the election on the plea that Dadabhai had resorted to mal-pratices in the election. Sayaji Rao again came to the help and gave £ 1000 to him for deferring the court expenses.

In 1895, Sayaji Rao once again, helped Dadabhai with £ 1000 as a mark of appreciation of the work that the was doing in England.

Information regarding Sayaji Rao's connections and help to Dadabhai had reached the Government circles in Delhi. Lord Curzon had a meeting with Sayaji Rao at Simla on June 28, 1899. He noted that the Maharaja had "... denied in toto the former impeachment (i.e. he was supporting native people who were notoriously disloyal to the Government), but admitted, after a good deal of fencing, that he had originally given £ 1000 towards Mr. Naoroji's election expenses and had subscribed &s. 1000 annually towards the Congress funds. He attempted to defend these contributions on a number of different and sometimes inconsistent grounds, viz. that the Congress was a social and not a political movement; that no indication had ever been given of the disapproval of the Indian Government; that the bulk of educated native opinion was in favour of the Congress; that his contribution was a small one; that other chiefs did the same; that a subscription did not mean agreement with the principles or policy of the Congress; and so on the

^{1. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 7-8.

^{2.} Foreign Department, Government of India, Proceedings, Secret I, No. 8-11, December, 1899- p.52. (Hereafter as EDGINS - 1-P).

This notings of Lord Curzon need no comment as they clearly reflect how Sayaji Rao was understood in the official circles.

Help to Gopal Krishna Gokhale

A Parliamentary Commission (Indian Expenditure Commission) known as Welby Commission, on the name of its President Lord Welby, was appointed at the end of 1895. Many noteworthy leaders were deputed to represent India's case before it. The Deccan Sabha of Poona resolved to send Hon. Gopal Krishna Gokhale for that purpose. On the recommendation of Justice M.G.Ranade, Sayaji Rao gave a sum of Rs. 2500/- towards Gokhale's travel expenses. Before leaking for England in April 1897, Gokhale came to Baroda to appraise the Maharaja with his work in England.

Ganesh Festival in Baroda

The necessity of celebrating the Ganesh festival in Maharashtra arose out of communal riots in 1894 and as an attempt by B.G. Tilak and his associates to provide an alternative to the Hindus as against their usual participation in Muharram celebrations. The festival was given a form of national and democratic our for the intellectual, cultural and artistic uplift of the people. Within two or three years it spread to the States of the Hindurulers and came to be recognised as a national festival. Even the British Residents or itical Agents did not keep themselves away from the festival celebration.

Sayaji Rao liberally allowed this festival to be celebrated in the State and also made it a royal celebration and a public festival.

Shivaji Festival

B. G. Tilak had a political motive in promoting a festival after Shivaji. He wanted to appeal to the fighting instincts of the Mahrattas and stimulate activity by reviving heroic memories.

^{1. &}lt;u>Ibid</u>., p. 131.

^{2.} Parvate, op. cit., pp. 115-17.

^{3.} Gokhale, Sanskar, p. 11.

^{4.} Parvate, op. cit., p. 126.

The movement received wide support and Maharaja Sayaji Rao donated a sum of Rs. 1000/- towards the fund of the movement.

Poona Gaekwadwada Sold to Tilak

Sayaji Rao had soft corner for Tilak. In 1904, he sold his big property named Gaekwadwada in Poona to Tilak for his <u>Kesari</u> establishment. In order to escape the eyes of the British Government, he effected a regular sale deed and gave official receipt for the money. In fact, he had taken nominal price in the deal.

On Bengal Partition Movement

The Bengal Partition Movement started in 1905 was characterised by political unrest and the Swadeshi movement. Referring to this Movement, Sayaji Rao in a letter to Dewan Kershaspji stated, "I don't attach much importance to the sense of restlessness in India. It is a storm in a tea-cup - a logical outcome of certain forces. To realise this one must visit other civilized countries. India requires a more liberal Government. I think we need take no steps in our State to pacify the exaggerated feelings of uneasiness." Further he added that "Our attention should concentrated on progress in our Raj. The progress should be carried out with tact and freedom."

The letter reveals that Sayaji Rao attributed the responsibility of the measures taken to the British Government which had caused uneasiness in the country. It is also apparent that he did not want to create troubles in the State by taking wrong measures. He justified the restlessness of the people by calling it "a logical outcome of certain forces."

Mahatma Gandhi and Sayaji Rao

Sayaji Rao was in contact with Mahatma Gandhi and knew his work since 1908. Mahatma Gandhi who was then practising law at Johannesberg, had started an agitation against the "Asiatic

^{1.} Gokhale, Sanskar, p. 11.

^{2.} File No. 422. Letters Addressed by H. H. The Maharaja to H. E. the Dewan Saheb. Letter dated June 14, 1907 from Ooty. (Confidential Section, Baroda Records Office).

Registration Act" enacted by the South African Government. There were a good number of subjects from the Baroda State in South Africa.

On the question of the above Act, Mahatma Gandhi requested Sayaji Rao to move the Government of India against that Act and to do something for his subjects residing in South Africa. Sayaji Rao took the matter with the Resident at Baroda who forwarded it to the Government of India for necessary action.

In 1921-22, Gandhiji undertook a tour of Gujarat for propagating the Non-Co-operation Movement. While at Sojitra (now in Kheda District), Satyavrat Mukherjee the Vahivatdar of Petlad, then under the Baroda State, garlanded the Mahatma. A reference has been already made that the State Government had assured the British Government of non-association of the State Officers with any anti-British activity. The feelings of Satyavrat Mukherjee are quite understanable. His action depicted that he sympathised with the political movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi. In this case, Dewan Manubhai Mehta gave a mild rebuke to Satyavrat Mukherji for his action.

In 1922, Mahatma Gandhi passed through Navsari (South Gujarat) then a Baroda State territory and gave a public lecture. The Mahajan of Navsari presented him with a sum of Es. 1000 p-.

On the 71st birth anniversary of Maharaja Sayaji Rao, Mahatma Gandhi congratulated him for his work in abolishing the class distinctions and ameliorating the conditions of the Harijans - the untouchables.

It may, however, be noted that Sayaji Rao avoided meeting Mahatma Gandhi personally in India, though he had high respect for him. It was in 1931 that they met each other for the first time in London, where they had gone to attend the Second Round Table Conference. Mahatma Gandhi accompanied with Sarojini Naidu, went to see the Maharaja on the 25th September.

^{1.} Gokhale, Sanskar, p. 11.

With the Arya Samajists

The work of the Arya Samajists in India seemed to have greatly impressed the Maharaja Sayaji Rao. On various occasions, he used to visit their institutions and gave lectures on topics of national interest. Inspired by the zeal of the Maharaja several Arya Samajists like Tehelram Gangaram, Swami Nityanand, Swami Vishweswaranand, P.B.Pathak, Jamnadas Pande, Badridutt Sharma, Pandit Atmaram Bedi, came to Baroda and delivered lectures on Hindu religion and philosophy. Swami Vishweranand and Swami Nityanand often visited Baroda and sought help from the Maharaja in their work of preparing dictionary of Veda and coining synonyms of the words in Sanskrit, Hindi and English language.

Sayaji Rao inaugurated the Arya Samaj Conference at Ranoli near Baroda in 1911. Pandit Atmaram made Baroda his home after 1911 and established the Arya Kanya Vidyalaya (A Girls' School).

Apart from political motives, Sayaji Rao was inclined towards the Arya Samajists because of their social services in education and in the uplift of the untouchables and the poor. He regarded the Arya Samaj as a religious brotherhood opposed to idolatry, fanaticism, superstition and castism. The Samajists also infused among the people a feeling of unity, patriotism, political advancement and national progress.

Demo cracy

Process in the State

In the second chapter, on the biographical sketch of Sayaji Rao, a review has been given on the beginning and growth of the public bodies with elective elements and wider functions in the Baroda State.

^{1.} In 1903 at Lahore he addressed the gathering of the Arya Samajists. In 1933, he gave an address to the Annual Celebration of the Arya Kanya Vidyalaya at Baroda.

^{2.} S. Mehta, op. cit., p. 129.

^{3.} Widgery, <u>SAMSG</u>, pp. 270-82.

From 1884 when the land settlement operations were undertaken in the State, Sayaji Rao conceived to preserve as much as possible the ancient form of self-government in the villages. A clear directive was given to the officers conerned tonreport on this issue. As a result, the formation of the village Panchayats with half elected and half nominated members, was decided. This is observed in a letter to Colonel E.R. Bradford.

In the letter he wrote, "I look upon the introduction of the elective principle as a grave change in the policy followed up to this time by the Government of India." He stated that the principle should be cautiously introduced. Writing further he stated, "I am in favour of granting a limited number of elected members. A combination of elected and nominated members, in propertion, ought to meet all requirements for the present. I should have a certain number of persons as permanent member, to represent the significant and widespread interests of India, like agriculture, commerce etc., and special members whenever a special question is raised."

Writing from Nice (Italy) to Dewan Manubhai on January 28, 1894, Sayaji Rao asked him to tell Mr. Elliot, the then Revenue and Settlement Commissioner to introduce at least in hundred villages the elective village councils before he left India. He stated, "I hate to have a constituion which will weaken the hands of the already feeble Rajas. In their solid strength lies the interest of the people. The policy curtailment of people's right, however, is weakening the Raja, but this is done for selfish reasons. "In spite of such views, Sayaji Rao had an idea of making the Taluka and Prant Panchayats something like representative assemblies of Mysore and Travancore. This is gathered from the letter written under the instructions of Sayaji Rao by L. N. Limaye, Naib Huzur Kamdar who was with him at

^{1.} SL, Vol. I (Letter No. 98, April 15, 1890) p. 69.

^{2. &}lt;u>Ibid.</u>, Letter No. 140, p. 103.

Ootacamund. Limaye, explaining the idea of the Maharaja, stated, "With this view they are to be given the powers of interpellation and they should also make suggestions for reforms and point out any defects in the present system of administration in a clear, definitive, polite and business-like way."

A regular State Legislative Assembly (Dhara Sabha) was formed in 1907. A State Executive Council presided over by the Dewan had been in existence since 1887. In 1904, Sayaji Rao ordered a scheme to be prepared for an additional council with one elected member from each of the districts of the State. It was to resemble with the Legislative Council of the Bombay and Bengal Presidencies.

The ideas and attitudes of Sayaji Rao to develop local self-government institutions in that the Baroda State on democratic lines also bear testimony to the writings of R.C.Dutt. Dutt had retired from the Government of Bengal's service in 1903 and was appointed by Sayaji Rao in August 1904 as Amatya or Minister of Revenue, with a view to introducing the reforms matching with with those of Lord Curzon. Dutt contributed much in reorganising and reforming the Revenue Department. He was close to Dr. Sumant Mehta who was very near to the Maharaja, being a Medical Officer in the State Service.

Dr. Mehta in his Autobiography has stated that Dutt confided to him about the <u>bonafides</u> of Sayaji Rao in introducing democratic institutions in the State. Dutt had made it clear that though the Maharaja was keen for developing self-governing institutions, he shrank from lessening his authority. For instance, he would himself make appointment of a person in the lowest cadre of the State service. This would mean that he was not prepared to see his powers and authority reduced.

Under the Montague Chelmsford Reforms of 1919, there were changes in the structure of the Central and Provincial Legislatures. The principle of dyarchy was introduced in the provinces.

^{1.} DKHO, 1906-07, p. 237.

^{2.} S.Mehta, op. cit., p. 156-57.

Keeping in view such developments in the country, Sayaji Rao in 1922, appointed and asked a Committee of three members - C. N. Seddon, G. B. Ambegaokar and A. B. Clarke - to prepare a Memorandum containing a draft constitution for the State, with upper and lower Houses of Legislature.

The Committee in its Memorandum stated, "The people are not yet ready for complete democracy: We are of the opinion that neither the political experience nor the political education of the people, or of their leaders, has yet advanced so far as to justify the extension to them at present of any form of real democratic government." The Committee also warned against withdrawing political concessions once granted to the people because that would be a difficult and dangerous. Each course. However, the Maharaja should consider seriously before granting democratic constitution to the people.

Sayaji Rao's reaction, perhaps, against the Memorandum, is to be found in the early period of the 1920's. He held that the time had not yet come for a further extension of democratic principles in Baroda. The people were not educated upto such a point, and those who talk so much about the necessity of the popular government "are not the people" but a small class of literates.

In 1936 (January 1), in a reply to the Address of the State Legislative Assembly, Sayaji Rao indicated his views on the enlargement of the Dhara Sabha namely assembly under a democratic constituion. But he failed to show any basic change in his views which he held before. Eight days later he said, "Nothing in this world is permanent. The world is always changing, and in conformity with the needs of the times changes have been made and will continue to be made in the constitution of the Dhara Sabha."

^{1.} File No. 473. Constitutional Reforms and Other Matters, Notes by Sir Manubhai N. Mehta. (Confidential Section, Baroda Record Office).

^{2.} Sergeant, op. cit, p. 256.

He expected the people "... to strengthen the body, corporate, seek unity, facilitate mutual confidence and co-operation," before the would introduce changes.

Perhaps, owing to the needs of time, Sayaji Rao in 1938 appointed a Committee to suggest constitutional reforms in the State. Though the Committee submitted their Report in December 1938, Sayaji Rao on account of his serious illness, could not consider it. Before he could do anything with the Report, he passed away on February 6, 1939. His successor Maharaja Pratapsingh Rao announced on February 20, the acceptance of the proposals of the Committee and introduced constitutional reforms accordingly. An act was passed in 1940, under which the State Legislative Assembly was enlarged.

In order to understand the popular movement in the Baroda State, it is essential to outline here the Congress policy towards the Princes and Prajamandals of the Indian States. It is also necessary to say something about Popular Movements in the Indian States, and the Congress policy towards them.

The Congress Policy

Before Gandhji became the supreme leader of the Congress in 1920, the attitude of the Congress towards the Indian Princes was that of administrative and respectful support. In 1918 at its Nagpur Session, the Congress reversed its old policy towards the Indian States in theory. For the organisational work, the country was divided into twentyone provinces and the Indian States were incorporated in the adjoining provinces. The people of the States were allowed to become the members of the District Congress Committees and of the All-India Congress Committee and could attend the Sessions of the Congress as delegates. But a clear provision was made by which the inclusion of people of the States would not mean any interference by the Congress in the internal affairs of the States. This policy was not altered in spite of disappointment and loud protests of the people of the States.

^{1.} Newham, SAMSG. p. 819.

During 1920 and 1947, Gandhji spoke and wrote frequently about the problems of the Indian States. He was also in correspondence with the leaders of the states and allotted considerable space in the 'Harijan'in ventilating the grievances of the people of the State.

In 1925, when Gandhiji was the President of the Congress, he happened to preside over the Session of the Kathiawad Political Conference. In his Presidential Address he spoke not as the Congress President, but as an individual. Reiterating the Congress policy towards the States he said, "... the Congress clearly cannot have an effective voice in the relations between the Indian States and their subjects. The Congress did not change the policy till 1928 when its Session was held at Calcutta. The clause relating to non-interference was deleted and the Indian Princes were urged "... to introduce Responsible Government based on representative institutions in the States, and to issue immediately Proclamations or enact Laws guaranting elementary and fundamental rights of citizenship, such as rights of association, free speech, free Press and security of person and property. 12 This resolution of the Congress was regarded by states people as their Magna Carta.

The states people responding to the call of the Congress participated in the non-co-operation movements and courted imprisonments in thousands. Till the period of the Jabalpur Session of the Congress, Gandhji had warned continuously the Indian Princes, to march with the times and give up "an undiluated autocracy," for the unity of the country and in the interest of the states

^{1.} M.K. Gandhi, The Indian States Problem (Ahmedabad, 1948), p. 9.

^{2.} B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, The History of the Indian National Congress, Vol. I (1885-1935) (Bombay, Reprinted in 1946), p. 329. Quoted.

The overwhelming success of the Congress at polls in 1937 in the British Provinces, enthused the states people to agitate with fresh vigour for civil liberties and responsible government. It was under these circumstances that Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was invited by the Vadodara Rajya Prajamandal (Baroda State People's Conference) to preside over its Session at Bhadran (Kheda District).

Popular Movements in the Indian States

In the early part of the twentieth century, there was comparative absence of public activities in the Indian States. It was after 1920 that the political movements in the British India had their impact on the people of the Indian States. In the States of Mysore, Travancore, Cochin, Kashmir, Jaipur, Udaipur and Baroda, public bodies named Prajamandals (State People's Conference) were formed with a view to seeking political and social reforms in their respective territories. Soon these bodies incurred the displeasure of their rulers.

The changing trends and progress of the people in carrying out the movement in British India in the 1920's and the 1930's necessitated mutual consultations between these Prajamandals as a result of which regional political conferences were formed. The establishment of the Deccan States Conference, the Kathiawar States Conference, the Rajputana Seva Samaj, the Gujarat Political Conference showed that trend. These regional groups of the Prajamandals worked for the political rights of the people of one state or group of states and carried agitations for reforms on the lines of the Indian National Congress. Gradually, as the problems were discussed on a common platform, the idea of forming and All-India Organisation took shape so that their problems could be represented in a manner similar to the Congress with which they had close though infimal links. The process started in 1922 at Poona and it led to the calling of the First Session of the All-India State People's Conference on September 17, 1927,

at Bombay. 1 It is not necessary here to discuss the work of these Prajamandals and the regional as well as national conferences. The formation of these bodies has been traced here to provide a better understanding of the formation and work of Vadodara Rajya Prajamandal.

Vadodara Rajya Prajamandal

The beginning of the popular movement in Baroda may be traced to December 1916, when a meeting was held at Navsari (South Gujarat) of the representatives of the people under the Presidentship of Rao Bahadur H.D.Kantawala and was called informally as the "Baroda State Panchayat Conference." At the instance of the President, it was named "Vadodara Rajya Prajamandal." The main objective that was underlined, was to achieve political progress while co-operating with the administration of the Baroda State.

Next year the constitution of the Prajamandal was adopted. The objectives that were defined were: to co-operate with the Government in educating the people and to arouse more and more interest in the work of public institutions like the Municipalities, Panchayats and others; to dispel misunderstandings among the people about State's policies; to co-operative with the Government Officers; to remove obstacles through negotiations and to use legal remedies to achieve the overall advancement of the people.

Handa has observed that "Baroda was probably the first State to have praja mandal. Its example was soon followed by Bhavnagar, Junagadh, Rajkot and Gondal etc., in Kathiawad and

^{1.} R. L. Handa, <u>History of Freedom Struggle in Princely States</u> (Delhi, 1968), p. 123.

^{2.} Henceforth referred to as Prajamandal.

^{3.} Doctor, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 509.

^{4.} Vadodara Rajya Prajamandal Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume, p. 4.

Jodhpur, Jaipur, Bikaner, Alwar, Uadaipur and other States in Rajputana. The Baroda State Prajamandal endorsed the welfare policies of Maharaja Sayaji Rao.

During the reign of Sayaji Rao that is between 1916 and 1938, the Prajamandal held fifteen Sessions in different parts of the State. They were presided over by prominent workers of the Prajamandal or by the political leaders of repute from the British provinces. The Prajamandal was active till 1949 when the Baroda State was merged with the Bombay State. Its methods were peaceful, non-violent and co-operative with the State.

It may be noted that in its Second Session at Baroda in 1918, held under the Presidentship of Vithalbhai Patel, that a demand for responsible government under the aegis of Sayaji Rao's rule, was put forward. The Session was attended by Dr. Sumant Mehta, Mukherjee and Pinakiprasad who were then State Officers. In the subsequent Sessions, resolutions concerning the social and economic welfare of the people were passed.

At its Amreli Session in 1926, the Prajamandal, plarified the aims and objectives in achieving responsible government under the Maharaja's aegis and resolved to launch struggle after mobilizing public opinion. A constructive programme was drawn up and it was decided to implement it. In 1933, at the 11th Session at Amreli, Shri Chunilal P. Shah, a social worker of Karjan, took a vow to give up his legal practice and to devote himself for life entirely for the cause of the Prajamandal. The second decision that was taken at the Amreli Session, was to publish 'Prajamandal', a mouthpiece of the Prajamandal. The first issue of the Prajamandal appeared on October 15, 1933. It was edited by Pranlal T. Munshi.

At this stage it is worthwhile to refer to the policy shown towards the Prajamandal by the Baroda State.

^{1.} Handa, op. cit., p. 89.

^{2.} Sumant Mehta, op. cit., p. 329.

Policy of the Baroda State

From the beginning to 1933, Sayaji Rao maintained a liberal policy towards the Prajamandal and allowed it to flourish and expand its activities to the extent that they would not embarrass the State. The State administration, permitted Prajamandal's activities so long as they were confined to the Baroda city. But during 1930-34, the Prajamandal expanded its activities to include the villages also. This trend led the Prajamandal to fall in disfavour of the State authorities. The agitations in the State gathered momentum under leaders like Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Mahatma Gandhi.

In 1936 it was decided to hold the 13th Session of the Prajamandal at Kathor, a village in the Navsari District. This Session of the Prajamandal proved to be eventful.

Session At Kathor

The Session at Kathor was presided over by Dr. Sumant Mehta, who was no longer in the Baroda State Service. The State authorities were annoyed because they did not want the Prajamandal to go to villages and mobilize the prasants against the State. By a Government order, the President Session was asked not to read certain paragraphs contained in his Presidential Address as they were considered objectionable. But the Prajamandal's resolution to go to villages inquire into the validity and non-validity of the land revenue, greatly annoyed the State authorities. Stringent measures were taken against the leaders. In the end, the Dewan permitted the Prajamandal to inquire into the land revenue problem but only from the cities of the concerned Districts, instead of by going to the villages.

^{1.} N. H. Parikh, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 399.

^{2.} The previous Sessions were held in the cities only. So a change in the place was decided in order to focus the attention of the rural masses on the activities of the Prajamandal and to make them conscious of their rights.

^{3.} Sumant Mehta, op. cit., p. 400.

The State Officials treated the Prajamandal's workers with high handedness and a made efforts to belittle its prestige. Prantal T. Munshi, the 14th President, advised the people to tolerate the excesses committed by the State authorities. The people followed the directive but it resulted in the decline of the prestige of the Prajamandal. In order to infuse new spirit in the people and to revitalise the activities of the Prajamandal, some workers thought of inviting Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel to preside over the ensuing Session of the Prajamandal at Bhadran which was scheduled to be hold on October 29, 1938.

The Sardar at Bhadran

Sardar Patel in his Presidential Address, asked the people of Baroda to protest against the excessive burden of the land revenue in the State and exhorted them to fight for the right of the Prajamandal to educate the masses on the State policies and for the sufferings of the peasants. He advised the people to start civil disobedience movement against the State if it deprived the workers of the Prajamandal of their right to educate the people.

He complimented Sayaji Rao of being the most progressive and experienced Prince in India. He wondered why the Maharaja should deny the demand of the people for responsible government, when he himself had imparted the lessons in that direction and called the people unfit for responsible government. He pointed out that even the unfit subjects have a right to govern the State according to their needs.

He reiterated the Congress policy of allowing the existence of the Indian States and maintaining friendship with them. But he repeated the Congress policy of supporting the people who

^{1.} N. H. Parikh, op. cit., p. 402.

^{2.} N. H. Parikh and Uttamchand Shah, <u>Sardar's Speeches</u>, 1918-1947 (Gujarati) (Compiled, Ahmedabad, 1949), p. 389.

would be tortured while fighting for their freedom. He decried the absolute and autocrat behaviour of the high officials and the apparent weakness of the people to force their demands on the Maharaja. He held Sayaji Rao's old age and his prolonged absences responsible for the deterioration in the condition of the State.

He expressed his optimism that Sayaji Rao in the twilight of his life should realise the winds of change and concede to the people's demand for responsible government under his aegis. He felt that that would be in the fitness of things and it would bring him the same prestige and honour which he had earned before.

Rt in The speech of Sardar and the resolutions at the Bhadra Session had considerable impact on the minds of the people.

It is difficult to assess whether the decrease in land revenue in the last days of Sayaji Rao and the extension of franchise and the expansion of the State Legislative Assembly under the Government of Baroda Act of 1940, were mainly due to the activities and pressures of the Prajamandal. However, the Prajamandal can be considered partly responsible for these achievements.

In the end, is may be stated that the Congress at its Haripura Session in 1938 under the influence of Gandhiji relaxed its stand some extent about the relationship between the Congress and the freedom struggle in the States. The resolution that was passed was milder and moderately worded, yet it explicitly stated that "The Congress will always extend its goodwill and support to such struggles carried on in a peaceful

^{1.} Ibid., p. 392.

^{2.} Parikh, op. cit., p. 404.

^{3.} Parikh and Shah, op. cit., p. 398.

and legitimate manner, but that organisational help will inevitably be under existing conditions, moral support and sympathy.

The question of actively interfering in the States did not arise for the Congress as the political situation in the world was rapidly changing and the war was inevitable. The beginning of the War and the consequent position of the Congress, shelved this issue permanently.

The ideas of Sayaji Rao relating to nationalism, constitutionalism and democracy offer two distinct yet significant patterns in his thinking. His spirit of nationalism is reflected when he spoke of India and for India. He demanded unity of India, appealing to all sections of the country. He cherished an All-India Federation for a noble purpose. His vision of India's prospective role in the British Commonwealth reveals his optimism and nationalistic feelings. His help to nationalists and the cases in which he deplicted his patriotic feelings, all lead to this conclusion. So it may be observed that he was both a nationalist and a patriot in so far as India as a whole was concerned. But he adopted different attitude in the case of his own State.

Though he gave a start to the constitutional and democratic reforms in his State, he shrank from pushing them to the expectation of the people. He understood well the idea and meaning of the good and popular government, but he was not prepared to weaken his position by sharing with the people. The point which needs consideration here, is about the concept of responsible or popular government and its feasibility, particularly between 1919 and 1939. The concept seemed good from academic point of view, but was not applicable and workable in the conditions then prevailed in India. Even the British Rulers had shown cold attitude in granting even Dominion Status to India, when the Indian people demanded complete freedom in 1929. Therefore, the demand of giving popular or responsible government in the State

^{1.} Handa, op. cit., pp. 110-13.

was out of question to Sayaji Rao.

Sayaji Rao's liberal policy towards the Prajamandal and benevolent attitude towards the people of the State leads us to conclude that he preferred paternal government for the State. Though he favoured an All-India Federation, he wanted to retain the separate entity of the Indian States with powers. This implies that the status of the Indian Princes as "absolute" rulers, should not be endangered in thee context of political situation then prevailing in India.