

CHAPTER-III
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"Modernity" generally refers to the "advanced, developed, and industrial" kind of democratic, capitalist society; as well a society which exemplifies systematization and institutionalization.¹ Break from traditional restraints, logical thinking, use of advanced technology, establishment of modern central institutions, promotion of formal education, prevalence of law and order etc, generally refer to be the characteristics of modern society. However, the process of shift from medieval to modern was not sudden but was slow and protracted through the post medieval and pre-modern phases. Pre-modernity is a condition to modernity. It prepares a ground or base for modernity. It witnesses occurrence and reoccurrence of aspects of modern society; and also continued them on theory of trial and error till it attains the desirable form of it to be called 'modern'. The 'pre-modern' is an important phase in the process of modernization of Baroda State too. In the previous chapter discussion has been made about the basis of pre-modernity. In the early nineteenth century, the reforms brought in by Col. Walker, Resident, in the Gaekwad's dominion can by and large be called the beginning of creation of basis for pre-modernity. The process was carried forward by succeeding Gaekwads upto 1875. The year 1875, marked a defining feature in the history of Baroda state, as it saw the 'selection of a young boy' to be the head of the Gaekwad state. It also led to the appointment of Sir T Madhav Rao as the regent-dewan, who ushered the new age of modernization.

This chapter 'Transition from Pre-modern to Modern' deals with the efforts made by the Regent-Dewan Sir T Madhavrao (1875-1881) who had strove to create a concrete foundation on which an edifice of a modern State could be built. The reorganization of state affairs and introduction of certain reforms by the Madhavrao proved to be like a blue-print. This was continued and improved upon by Sayajirao-III in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In order to understand this transition to modernity, it is imperative to enumerate and analyse the foundational measures of Regent T Madhavrao. This chapter has been divided into two sections. Section I focuses on the transformations in administration of Baroda State under the Regent-Dewan T Madhavrao. The second section deals with making of Maharaja Sayajirao-III-modern-

¹ Guru S (2015), *Characteristics of Modernity* (extract from an article of Sociology uploaded on www.yourarticlelibrary.com)

visionary ruler. It focuses on the socialization and 'training' of the young Maharaja as a 'model' ruler.



Portrait of Sir T. Madhav Rao, Dewan of Baroda²

Section-1 Administration of Baroda State under Dewan T Madhavrao (1875-1881)

Malharrao Gaekwad was deposed on grounds of maladministration in 1875. To solve the problem of rightful heir after Malharrao, Maharani Jamnabai, a widow of Khanderao, volunteered a solution by requesting a right to adopt a male child. She invoked her late husband's reward of a *sanad* 'right to adoption' as an acknowledgement of loyalty during the revolt of 1857. In 1875, the Government of India sanctioned the right on a condition that the boy to be adopted

²<https://www.google.co.in>

should be from Gaekwad clan. After a great deal of search, selection was shortlisted to three sons of Kashirao Gaekwad, who was one of the five brothers descended from Prataprao, younger brother of famous Damajirao Gaekwad. Sir Richard Meade on May 25th 1875 announced the adoption and investiture of the Gopalrao (middle 12 year old brother of the three selected) on May 27th 1875.³ Gopalrao was, handed over by his parents and was formally adopted by the Maharani Jamnabai as her son. Thus Gopalrao was chosen by to be the Maharaja of Baroda, and was given the title of Sayajirao III and T Madhavrao (age-47) was appointed as the Regent-cum Dewan to run the minority government.

Madhavrao Tanjorkar, generally known as Sir T Madhavrao, hailed from the district of Tanjore. He had studied in the Madras University and worked as a professor in the same university in his early career. He served in the court of Travancore as a Dewan for almost fourteen years. After retiring from the service of Travancore in 1872, he was invited by Holkar to be his Prime Minister in 1873.⁴ But it was in 1875 that the Government of India transferred him to Baroda to administer the State as Dewan, the post which he retained till September 1882.

Before his appointment in 1875 he had already been invited by the British to submit an unofficial report on the Baroda affairs during the period of maladministration of Malharrao Gaekwad. The suggestions in his report for reorganizing of Baroda affairs were considered to be very advanced to be safely adopted. But the Government of India were highly impressed by his suggestions therefore decided to recommend him as the Dewan-Regent for the Baroda State, hoping that he would be a positive influence on the young Maharaja in making.⁵ T Madhavrao's extensive experience of Dewanship helped him to clear the chaotic condition of affairs in the State. As soon as he took charge, he started his work on following objectives.⁶

- i) To maintain public order and tranquility with firmness and moderation.
- ii) To redress the accumulated complains arising out of the past maladministration, whether of the *Sardars*, bankers, *ryots* or others.

³ Sergeant P W, (1928). *The ruler of Baroda: an account of the life and work of the Maharaja Gaekwar*, London, J. Murray, 24

⁴ Elliot F A H, (1879). *The Rulers of Baroda*, Baroda State Press, 259

⁵ Clark A C & Desai G H, (1923), *Gazetteer of the Baroda State*, Vol- II, Bombay, 211

⁶ *Baroda Administration Report*, 1879-80, Baroda State Press, Baroda, 45

- iii) To establish a proper and sufficient machinery for the dispensation of justice.
- iv) To provide police, commensurate with extent of the country and with the density and character of the population.
- v) To provide for the execution of necessary or useful public works.
- vi) To promote popular education.
- vii) To provide suitable medical agencies for the benefit of the people.
- viii) To reduce the burden of taxation where it was excessive, to readjust taxes where they were required, and to abolish such taxes as were totally objectionable.
- ix) To enforce economy in expenditure, to restrain waste, to reduce extravagance, and to prevent losses arising from corruption and maladministration. This was preeminently to keep the expenditure below the receipts, so that a surplus may become available as a provision for adverse season and available also for further administrative improvements.
- x) To greatly strengthen the executive establishment, so that the Government may pervade and be co-extensive with the country and population and may make itself felt throughout these dominions.

T Madhavrao had done substantial work to bring unruly administration of the State into order and to reorganize different departments of the state. His measures to bring different departments into streamline are discussed as under.

1.1 Revenue:-

Revenue being a major source of economy had to be given priority. The deteriorated condition of the agriculturists owing to the exorbitant demands made by the revenue officers was firstly worked upon by the new administration. The Dewan adopted a process of summary reduction of land assessment where Agriculturists had to pay a fix assessment. As a general rule, the maximum rate of reduction was 25% and the whole reduction was estimated to amount to twelve lakhs. The iniquitous revenue farming system was abolished and *Ryotwari* established in its

place.⁷ However the survey had certain demerits as it was not uniformly implemented. It was hurriedly made solely on guide of general information and not fine tuned to gather specific details.⁸ However to the public satisfaction the land assessment was lowered after a long period of time. The result of this survey was reflected in many fold changes:

- i) easy collection of revenue
- ii) deserted or arable lands were being gradually brought under cultivation
- iii) Occupied land was acquiring value and was an object of greater desire and competition than before, thus leading to the contentment of the *ryot*.

Further he did away with the *nazarana* wherein the ruler was offered money in return for recognition to highest bidder. He took steps to nullify bribery of all kind and at all level. First of all, right at the top demanding of *gadi nazarana* by the ruler was abolished. Secondly *izaradars*, *sardars*, and other officers were instructed not to take bribes and thus freeing the *ryot* from the several undefined exactions incurred on them by these dishonest officers. T Madhavrao did away with the extravagancy of state affairs such as curtailment of special privileges and pensions of such officers as *sardars*; and withdrawing of this special privilege from being passed to their next generation. This started the process of disempowerment of the notorious *sardars*. Some progress was made in consolidating the numerous and varying items of allowances drawn by the same person from different places, at different times, sometimes indeed under different names, and reasonable reductions were made wherever possible.⁹ T Madhavrao was so determine to curb the power of *sardars* that he reported his views on it even in Administration Report of 1878-79 saying “*The administration cannot let loose a number of Sardars with bodies of armed followers to roam aimlessly over the realm without any guidance and control from the local magistrate.*”¹⁰ He desired to sort out the problem of *barakhali* land that but he dropped the matter as he visualized unending tensions with classes--like royalties, *sardars*, *shiledars*, *darakh-dars*

⁷ Baroda Administration Report, 1875-76, 49

⁸ Bajpai G, (1979), *Baroda in Transition 1860-1884* Vol-I, (Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis) The M. S. University Baroda, 193

⁹ Clark A C & Desai G H, Vol-II, 86

¹⁰ Baroda Administration Report 1978-79, 56

vatandars, *parekhs* concubines, dancing girls, *karkuns*, *bargirs* and a host of many others difficult groups.

Measure were taken during T Madhavrao's time to give relief to *ryot* at the time of famine with special concessions and even writing off the arrears, in the famine of 1877 when the agriculturists were hit hard both materially and financially. This famine lasted till 1878.¹¹ He did away with many objectionable miscellaneous taxes to name some of these were *kanthi vero*, *dalali* (a tax imposed on agricultural products), *uchka* (a tax on cotton export) etc. Other agricultural separate levies were amalgamated with the land assessment and the land assessment had to be moderate. However the taxes that existed in *bagbatai* of *izara* days continued to be levied.¹² He was very cautious in their removal, for taxes once abolished thoughtlessly could not be easily re-imposed.

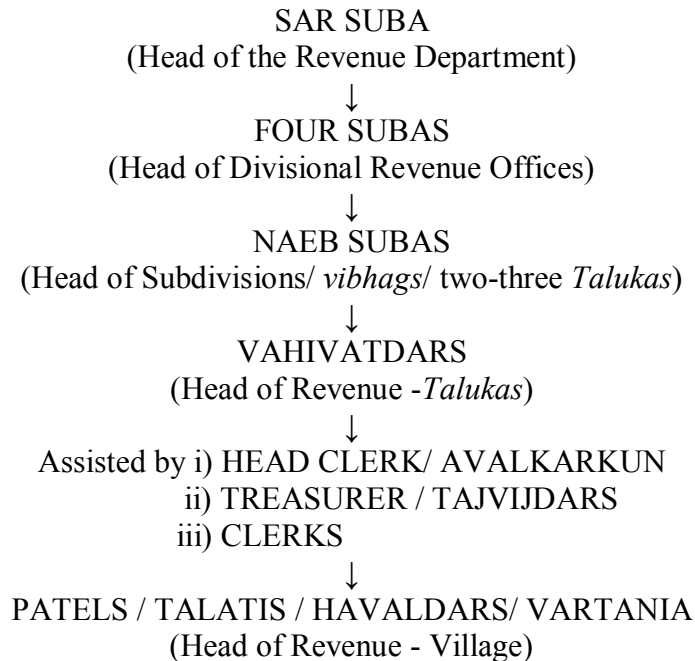
Previous to T Madhavrao the system of keeping revenue accounts was vague. The records were maintained through the day-book, ledger, *lavani-patraka* and even on loose slip of paper which frequently happened to have lost, more over no inspection was made of these records. The account for land revenue, cesses, and liquor-farms was not maintained separately. T. Madhavrao introduced admirably simple system of account and to insure their keeping village accountants were strengthened. A set of forms were introduced for village including regular registry of each occupant's name. Revenue demands were fixed every year for each cultivator,¹³ and *jamabandi* or settlement was regularly made. Records of increase and decrease of the holding was kept. The forms or *pahanipatraka* were being inspected to confirm the actual size and state of holding.

He attempted in reorganising the administration of the Revenue Department on the British lines. *Sar Suba* as the head of the Revenue Department was a counterpart of the Revenue Commissioner in British India. The following flow chart shows the administrative mechanism of Revenue Department

¹¹ Bajpai G, Vol-I ,194

¹² Ibid, 195

¹³ Ibid, 220



The old hereditary sub-divisional officials such as the *desais* and *mazmudar* were appointed as the *tajvijdars* and accountants in the *mahal Kachery* or *vahivatdar's* office as well as in the *jamabandi* or settlement offices.¹⁴ Moreover great care was taken in fixing the powers of the different officers and the minute attention was paid to enforcing of these rules. Another important aspect was that no definite limits were set to the authority of reform of any grade of public servant. Thus it provided an incentive for improvement to capable officers.

1.2 Customs

Before 1875-76 the country proliferated with numerous *nakas* or custom stations in each *taluka*. Sometimes each sub-division of the *taluka* had a separate schedule of duties. The levies were made according to prescribed schedules, but, in as much as the duties were farmed out, and the farmer was not subject to any adequate control, great irregularities prevailed.¹⁵ Town duties in every town were levied on almost all goods imported, and, except in the city of Baroda, on all the goods exported. Moreover the rates differed everywhere. The rates of the transit duties also differed in every town, depending on the destination where the merchandise to be transported and even as per the means of transportation i.e. road or rail. Thus, though the Baroda *prant* was

¹⁴ Clark A C & Desai G H, Vol-II, 210

¹⁵ Ibid.

connected to the outside market by railways there was little traffic carried on and advantage couldn't be taken by the traders. They instead of taking the regular routes took the circular route and so avoided the *nakas*.¹⁶ This system custom thwarted the growth of trade and industries.

To curtail this problem T Madhavrao abolished hundreds of customs post which studded the country and series of posts were established round the frontier only. The inland *nakas* were also abolished. The tariff of the duties on the imports was simplified and reduced, and the duties on export were abolished with some exemptions. Private and unauthorized levies of duty by individuals were stopped. No more than one import and one export duty were to be levied at the railway stations and on the frontiers. The duty was made uniform to three per cent on imports and exports except with certain articles subject to higher duties.¹⁷ These reforms proved beneficial as they:

- i) encouraged the development of trade,
- ii) checked laxity and malpractices,
- iii) brought uniformity in rates which made the task easy and
- iv) Diminished the inducement to smuggling.

1.3 Income Tax

Although that Raja Sir T Madhavrao complained bitterly against the numerous and vexatious petty *veros* (Taxes), nothing much was done to bring reform in the system of taxation during his administration. He opined that "*it is not unfair to levy such taxes from the people as are imposed upon professions and which the people are habituate to pay since a long time; such veros should be systematized rather than abolished*".¹⁸ He was in favour of reducing tax if it was a hindrance in the growth of local industry or trade and if it was extremely necessary. He no doubt reduced *veros* in the Baroda, Navsari and Amreli districts. He prohibited increase in existing *veros*; and the imposition of new *veros* was forbidden.

1.4 Judicial Reforms

¹⁶ Bajpai G, 175-76

¹⁷ Clark A C & Desai G H, Vol-II, 213

¹⁸ Clark A C & Desai G H, Vol-II, 146

T Madhavrao created a new judicial department based mainly on the system that existed in British India. Civil (*munsiff*) courts were instituted for civil cases in each *taluka* or for a group of two or three smaller *talukas*.¹⁹ Criminal work up to second class was to be done by the *vahivatdar* under the designation of *Mahal Fauzdari Nyayadhish*, while the Divisional *Naeb Subas* were first class magistrates for their sub-divisions. In each district, a district court was opened for original work above the powers of *munsiffs*, for hearing appeals from the *munsiff's* decisions, and for the trial of Sessions cases and criminal appeals on the magistrate's orders.²⁰ Minor offences with regard to sanitation, petty quarrels etc, were disposed of by the village *patels*, who could fine up to rupees five, and inflict forty eight imprisonment in the village lock-up.²¹ The revenue officers were entirely deprived of the judicial powers which they had before.

T Madhavrao attempted to exercise some amount of control over the landed gentry but was partially successful. Amongst the landed gentry were the members of the Gaekwad's family, the nobles and the *sardars*. It also included the representatives and servants of the royal family, nobles and *sardars*. A *Sardar's Court* was established in Baroda amidst stiff resistance from all the nobilities.²² This was a special court, for the trial of civil and criminal cases affecting certain privileged persons, such as *sardars* and *darakdars*.

A High Court was established in the Baroda City with a Chief Justice and one judge. It could sentence up to fourteen years' imprisonment and fine as per offence. Higher sentences were subject to confirmation by the *Huzur*.²³ Apart from that it had general power of superintendence and revision over all civil and criminal courts; power of hearing appeals against acquittals and for enhancements of punishments. The courts of the District Judges were the new institutions where the powers that had been vested in the revenue authorities were taken away and were granted to the powers of a Session's judge of the *suba*, or to the *subedar* (Collector).²⁴ However this system and structure had some demerits. For instance, the district officials and their assistants, like their counterparts in British India, were also given judicial powers and this to the harmful practice of the prosecutor and the judge being always on the same side of the bar

¹⁹ Natesan G A, (1927), *Indian Statesmen, Dewans and Prime Ministers of Native States*, Natesan & Co, Madras, 217

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Hunter W W, (1908), *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol-7, Clarendon Press, London, 62

²² *Baroda Administration Report*, 1877-78, 62

²³ *Report on the Political Administration of the Baroda State* (1876), Foreign Department Press, Calcutta, 24-25

²⁴ Ibid., 67

and more than often the same person.²⁵ For legislative work he ordered that "*if any of the lower courts found the State laws to be defective, a reference should be made to the Varisht Court which on passing its decision, was to follow the spirit of the British Indian Law in most instances. In particular the Indian Penal Code was consulted*".²⁶

1.5 Agriculture

The Dewan had endeavored to encourage agriculturists by remitting land revenue and even by writing off the arrears. He extended his efforts to assist agriculturists by offering agricultural schemes and incentives. He espoused the digging of wells for irrigation. Land irrigated from new or repaired wells was exempted from *bagayat* or water rates for various terms commensurate with the cost of the work. The maximum period of exemption was twenty years. It was contemplated to supplement this advantage with the offer of *takavi** advances and Rs. 75,000 were placed at the disposal of the *subas* to start operations.²⁷ The policy of leasing out land at reduced rates for agriculture purpose was adopted. The large area of waste land in the State was eagerly sought for when the administration showed signs of reforms. T Madhavrao refrained from throwing open these waste lands to any outsiders and gave preference to the holders of any land established on the spot or in the neighborhood. This inclined cultivators to take up the waste land at low rent for cultivation which helped increase the area under cultivation. However the system of giving lease at reduced rate was discontinued. It was affecting the state treasury and there was limited area of waste land remained at the disposal of the state as much was brought under cultivation.²⁸

1.6 Redistribution of Land and Boundary Disputes

T Madhavrao took up the matter of redistributing the land for administrative convenience. Some of *talukas* were too small while others were too large. For the officer like *vahivatdar* it was difficult to administer the large *talukas* like Patan which consisted five 500 villages and had an ample work load; on the other hand there was no work for the one in the *talukas* like Padra

²⁵Gaekwad F, (1989), *Sayajirao of Baroda, the Prince and the Man*, Bombay, Popular Prakashan, 65

²⁶ *Report on the Political Administration of the Baroda State* (1876), Foreign Department Press, Calcutta, 24-25

* *Takavi* was an agricultural loan given by the Government especially during famine years.

²⁷ *Gazetteer of Baroda State*, Vol-II, 19

²⁸ Bajpai G, 221

consisting seven villages.²⁹ Some villages administratively belonging to one *taluka* were geographically situated in another. While redistributing the *talukas* it was maintained that each *taluka* should possess as far as possible same number of villages, and the revenue to be collected should be of a certain magnitude. However there were other problems to be faced in redistribution of the *talukas* like geographical conditions, the nature of population on the border, similarity or dissimilarity of the tenures in the group, and the necessity of grading the officers employed. The question of the *inam* villages and such other was confronted during the redeployment of the land. These village were adjoined geographically to the nearby *talukas* but were considered segregated. The administration of these villages was becoming inconvenient and strenuous. To curb this problem, these lands, even if given to the royal family members as *nemnuk**, were taken back and retained as Maharaja's private property. T Madhavrao ordered to amalgamate these villages into nearby *talukas*.

The boundaries of Baroda State were interlaced with the neighbouring British territories or the other State; which was often causing irresolvable boundary disputes. It was important to have clear boundary demarcations, guidelines and rules in its relation. To resolve this issue T Madhavrao accepted the British desirability of appointing a Boundary Commissioner for solving the cases. After careful and complete consideration, rules for the settlement of boundary disputes were framed on the model of similar made for the settlement of the disputes over boundaries between Indian States in Rajputana and Central India. These rules were known as the Boundary Rules of 1878.³⁰

1.7 Finance

The finances of the State were in pitiable condition when T Madhavrao took the charge. Land revenue did not meet the growing financial demands. The system of taxation was complicated and vexatious and it weakened the state finances rather than augmenting it. No limit was fixed on the public or private expenditures. Reckless purchases were made and favourites were given appointments and allowances ignoring the dire state of finance. Payments were made yearly which was accumulating uncontrolled and unnecessary expenses. The *potedari* was demoralizing

²⁹ Clark A C & Desai G H, Vol-II, 19

* *nemnook* was a special privilege given to the member of royal family in the form of land or money

³⁰ Clark A C & Desai G H, Vol-II, 139

for private trade. There was a lack of reserves or back up design to meet the financial needs of the adverse seasons or any such jeopardy.

T Madhavrao introduced land assessment system in land revenue which made a fix yearly income at the state's disposal and it weakened the middlemen who were siphoning away a large part of the state's share. Various vague taxes and internal duties were abolished and simpler taxation system was brought in. However he retained import and export duties significantly to meet rising financial demands. To prevent careless expenditure a limit was fixed for every department. The task of restraining the palace expenditure was also attended by curtailment of the purchase of costly jewels, reduction in Privy Purse and religious and charitable donations.³¹ The *nemnuk* could be asked only if it was urgent. The munificent practice of giving appointments and allowances to the favourites was held back. The payments were made monthly or at least quarterly to avoid accumulation in the treasury, to stop extravagance and to bring money into circulation. The old cumbersome and obstructive banking procedures which were detrimental to the private trade were abolished. The *potedari* system was also done away with. All financial dealings on behalf of the state were transacted through the state treasuries which were established in all the *mahals*. A reserve was created to handle the situations of calamities. It was maintained that in an average year there had to be a surplus of not less than six lakhs to accumulate in the reserve. These surpluses were accumulated until a basic reserve of 75 lakhs was reached.³² In the ordinary years when the reserve was not required, it was not kept idle in the treasury but was being invested in British Indian Securities or spent on productive works such as railways or irrigation. Within six years of Sir T Madhavrao's dewanship the previously bankrupt treasury showed a reserve of one and a half crore of rupees.

Reforms were introduced even in financial account keeping. Prior to 1875 the official financial year in the state commenced with the *mrignakshtra* and ended with *rohininakshtra*. The dependence on the Hindu calendar with its shifting *nakshtras* brought uncertainty of the commencement and end of the official year. To this uncertainty was solved by the adopting of the Gregorian calendar and the financial year would begin with 1st August and end on 31st July. The principal account books of the state were:

³¹ Maharashtra State Archives (MSA), Mumbai, *Political Department* Vol.-11, Annual Report ,1879, 117.

³² MSA , *Political Department* Vol.-11, Annual Report, 1879, 117

i) *nemnukiyadi*

ii) *bot khat*

iii) *Jhadati*.

None of these books maintained accounts under separate heads, leading to difficulty in checks and balances. In 1876 separate heads of the accounts within each category of books were introduced. In 1879, the district account offices were opened to maintain the records.³³ There were four account offices under the four *Subas* of the districts. Each *taluka* was to prepare a monthly *taleband* (balance sheet) and send it to the *Suba's account* offices, to which it was subordinate. The district *talebands* were further sent to the *Huzur* treasury for the compilation of state accounts. The compilation of accounts was transferred to the Audit Office in 1880-81 which had been established in 1875-76.³⁴ It was about this time that the auditing of the expenditure was also introduced. The Audit Office continued to be under the supervision of the *Sar Suba*. The Audit Office had to perform the duty of auditing expenditure as well as of preparing the accounts of the state.

1.8 Education

In 1875 the Vernacular Education Department under *Vidyadhikari* was formed, it was the first attempt made to establish an Education Department of any kind in the State. In 1875 a Gujarati school for girls, a Marathi school for girls, and an Urdu school for Muslim boys came into existence. In 1875 there were nine Sanskrit schools, three Marathi, three Gujarati, one Urdu and one High School in Baroda city. Schools were also opened at Petlad, Patan and other places. The Education Department was administered fifty five schools in 1875; seventy in 1867; hundred and five in 1877; and hundred and forty five in 1878. In 1880-81 there were 180 schools, with 7,465 pupils throughout the state.³⁵

1.9 Medical Facilities

³³ Clark A C & Desai G H, Vol.-II, 435

³⁴ Shah R J, (1992), *Administration of Baroda State*, (Unpublished Ph. D Thesis) The M. S. University of Baroda, 60

³⁵ Clark A C & Desai G H, Vol-II, 309

T Madhavrao established a Medical department in the State in 1876. Before this there already existed a hospital at Baroda; a hospital and a dispensary at Dwarka and Dhari; and Malharrao Dispensary was opened in 1874 at Amreli. People generally took advice and treatment from indigenous medical men such as *vaid*s and *hakims*. In 1876 two dispensaries were opened: one in Songadh *taluka* of the Navsari District, the other at Manekvada. A midwife was also appointed on 21st of September 1875, for the city of Baroda. Major T Cody was appointed specifically to organize a medical department. In 1876 Cody pensioned off many *vaid*s and *hakims* from the army and they were replaced by medical graduates with a proper establishment.³⁶

The Sayajirao Military Hospital on the Varashia parade ground and Jamnabai Civil Hospital were opened in 1877.³⁷ A civil hospital was also opened at Navsari. Special hospital assistant was appointed in the palace dispensary. A fund was provided for the conversion of the Malharrao Charitable Dispensary at Amreli into a full-fledged Civil Hospital. Another hospital was started in Dwarka by a philanthropic citizen, Vishram Mavji at his own expense. A central medical store depot was opened at Baroda and services of a Chemical analyzer were taken.³⁸ A plan was started to open civil hospitals at the headquarters of each of the four districts and first and second class dispensaries at the *taluka* headquarters towns.

1.10 Public Works

Before 1875 the Department of Public Works was known as the *Imarat Karkhana* managed by Gulamalli Lukmanji Vohora with a small establishment. The whole establishment from the manager downwards had no professional knowledge and its work was confined to palaces, temples and *dharamshalas*. In 1875 T Madhavrao abolished the *Imarat karkhana* and instead a Public Work Department (PWD) was established under Mr G F Hill, (C.E.) as the state engineer. The City Division of PWD was placed in the charge of an Assistant Engineer, and the District Offices were put in the charge of Sub-Engineers.³⁹ The Department was placed at first under the control of the Secretary, P W Department and then was positioned under the *Huzur* Assistant or *Naeb* Dewan who was called as P. W. Minister or the administrative head of the P. W.

³⁶ Ibid., Vol-II, 363

³⁷ Baroda State Archives (BSA) *Huzur Political Office* section-199, General Daftar No. 479, File No. 32, 17

³⁸ Ibid, F. No.-29, 1

³⁹ Clark A C & Desai G H, Vol-I, 332

Department. The principal roads in the city were repaired, the drains were kept in order, streets were well lighted and well watered during the hot months, and tax on building material was reduced to encourage building better *pacca* houses.⁴⁰ The total expenditure incurred during the period of six years from 1875 to 1881 amounted to Rs. 49,20,106 that gives an average of Rs. 8,20,002 per year.⁴¹ These figures show how far public works was undertaken under the administration of T. Madhavrao.

1.11 Police

Before Sir T. Madhavrao undertook his reforms, there had been no clear line of demarcation between the army and the police. Madhavrao created a regular police force of modern type for Baroda. He brought following changes in the Police administration:-

- i) Magisterial and police functions were separated.
- ii) A police *naebsuba* was appointed in each district under the *suba*.
- iii) Police inspectors were appointed for sub-divisions.
- iv) *Fauzdars* were placed at *talukas*.
- v) *Naeb fauzdars* were appointed for *tappas* or *thanas*.
- vi) A police superintendent was appointed for a city, supported with eight inspectors, each having the status of a *fauzdar*.
- vii) At the village level *thanedar* was to be assisted by *naeb fauzdars*.
- viii) The Police force was provided with uniforms, the initial and recurring cost of which was defrayed from a fund made up partly by monthly deduction from salaries, and partly by annual grant from Government.

1.12 Railways

⁴⁰ MSA, Political Department, Vol-12, *Annual Report*, 1877, 48-49

⁴¹ Clark A C & Desai G H, Vol-I, 333

T Madhavrao continued the progressive work of railway construction started about two decades back. He wanted Baroda to take leap towards industrial advancement and railways were to play a key role. Railway extensions of lines from Dabhoi to Chandod were undertaken in 1879, Dabhoi to Bahadarpur in 1879, Dabhoi to Baroda 1880; and Goyagate to Vishwamitri in 1881. The construction of the Dabhoi-Karjan railway had been initiated during his time.⁴²

1.13 Relationship between Sir T Madhavrao and Sayajirao-III:-

Sir T Madhavrao had played an essential role in preparing Sayajirao-III as 'the Maker of modern Baroda'. He provided Sayajirao with a vision and a direction on the path of being an enlightened ruler. He gave him major directives of good governance through his lecture in '*Minor Hints*'. A few important of these directives proved very insightful guides to the young Sayajirao-III to carry through his 'Project of Modernization' are as under:⁴³

- i) The first necessary condition is to get a clear conception of the end to be accomplished.
- ii) The best means that help in the accomplishment of the indispensable end should be considered.
- iii) Ample considerations must be paid to time, place and circumstances.
- iv) A pre-arranged program should be carefully followed.
- v) A wise ruler should be firm in determination and unfailing in his convictions; he should receptive to arguments and have the readiness to change his view, when shown to be wrong.
- vi) He should heed to wise advice, and not be egoistic. A wise ruler will freely consult his trustworthy and responsible counselors and compare their conclusion with his own, because at times his judgments' may suffer from inaccurate or incomplete facts. Many a

⁴² Bajpai G, 173

⁴³ T Madhavrao, (1881), *Minor Hints: Lectures Delivered to H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar Sayajirao-III G. C. S. I* by Raja Sir T. Madhavrao, K. C. S. I- (compiled for private circulation), British India Press, extracts from personal and general conduct.

times he may be unaware of the ground realities of the problems, and thus not in touch with the people's conditions.

The pattern of work that Sayajirao-III adopted was reasonably on the same wavelength with the above directives, which will be discussed in the succeeding chapter. T Madhavrao advised Sayajirao-III that, *"...the Maharaja should do every possible thing to promote the happiness of all his people, whether Hindus, or Muslims or others, whether rich or poor, whether Sardars, Darakdars or the common people. The Maharaja should be the father- not only of any section of his people-but of all his people irrespective of his class and creed."*⁴⁴

The relationship of Sayajirao-III with T Madhavrao was resolutely formal and maintained the decorum of a ruler-Minister equation. Sayajirao-III could never look upon T Madhavrao with the same affection that he had for Mr F A H Elliot, his tutor, who played an equally important part during his formative years. T Madhavrao was a part of a pattern of authority of discipline; good, diligent, stern man of admirable probity, but was not capable of warmth or affection.⁴⁵ Hasit Butch in his work 'Maharaja Sayajirao-III' has written that, *"Many researchers have compared Sayajirao-III with Mughal Emperor Akbar from their circumstances and their perception. Both were enthroned at the age of 12, if Akbar at his tender age had Behram Khan by his side to guide him so had Sayajirao-III in the name of the great administrator Sir T. Madhavrao. Both were secular in their treatment towards their people."*⁴⁶ But one more common point need a mention that both rulers developed differences with their mentors later on—as had Akbar with Behram Khan, so had Sayajirao-III with T Madhavrao.

The conflict of wills between a young ruler & an old minister has been seen as a frequent occurrence in history. The differences between the two were many but the one which annoyed Sayajirao-III the most was the pro-British attitude of the Dewan. Before the equation between the two got worst, a decision was made to hand over the reins of the state to Sayajirao-III in 1881 at the age of eighteen. Within one year of the transfer of powers i.e. October, 1882 T Madhavrao retired from State service, and was succeeded by Kori Sahabuddin, the former revenue commissioner. Though T Madhavrao might have felt that he was no longer required for the

⁴⁴ T Madhavrao, 105

⁴⁵ Gaekwad F, (1989), *Sayajirao of Baroda, the Prince and the Man*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 57

⁴⁶ Butch H S, (1988), *Maharaja Sayajirao-III*, Oriental Institute, Vadodara, 7

Government of state, he left with a proud record of accomplishments that he had achieved for Baroda, and on the foundations which Sayajirao-III built the modern progressive state of Baroda. This is also a fact that if T Madhavrao had not volunteered to leave, then he may have suffered a humiliating ouster. Sayajirao who early in his manhood ‘developed as a lion’ would not harbor another member of the same species with himself.⁴⁷

Section-2 From Making to Being Sayajirao-III



Sayajirao-III Gaekwad⁴⁸

Sayajirao-III was born on March 17th, 1863. His adoption at the tender age of twelve was premeditated move—to select a child of malleable age: full of curiosity, adaptive ability and simulation which was necessary to mould him into an able ruler. These characteristics were all the more imperative for Gopalrao, as he was to go through the process for being Sayajirao-III. T Madhavrao's report to Governor General confirms that Sayajirao had adjusted well to the new settings, he wrote, "*...the boy feels no embarrassment or awkwardness, but deports himself as if*

⁴⁷ Gaekwad F, 59

⁴⁸ <https://www.google.co.in>

he had been born in purple."⁴⁹ He was like clay which could be molded easily in a desired shape. His upbringing was strategically planned to make him ready to shoulder the responsibilities of a ruler when he would attend the full charge of the State. His training and instructions were structured to befit and benefit the British. However it was not only his training which had an influence on him, along with his education, his personal life, his foreign trips and his relation with the British had played a role in making to being Sayajirao-III. These aspect of influence has been discussed in ensuing paragraphs.

2.1 Education and Early Years of Sayajirao-III

The formal education of Sayajirao-III began on June 7, 1875. The two teachers who had been assigned were Keshavrao Pandit and Vyomkesh Joshi, generally known as Bhau Master. A room on the top floor of the Sarkarwada (now Central Library) was made his school-room.⁵⁰ But later a special school--Raja's School was started to provide him better ambience and healthy environment. In the school admission was open to the sons of nobles and officials, approximately of equal age to the young prince. All the young pupils were treated equally in the classrooms and on the playground. F A H Elliot was appointment as the principal of the school. Prior to this appointment he had been the director of public instruction in Beran.⁵¹ Initially there was no change in the subjects taught, lessons in Marathi were supplemented by lessons in Gujarati, the language of majority of Baroda people. Eliot was a tutor, guide, and a well wisher of Sayajirao-III. Just like T Madhavrao, Elliot played a pivotal part in making Sayajirao-III. However the only difference between the two was that T Madhavrao advised Sayajirao-III not to defy the British whereas Elliot was in favour of inculcating independence in decisions in the young ruler. The academic curriculum included four languages, Gujarati, Urdu, Marathi and English; later Indian history, chemistry, geography, arithmetic and elements of political economics were added. Training was also given to him in billiards, horse riding, *farigadgal*, marksmanship, *Malkhambh* (greased), wrestling and other physical exercises. In addition to this were added

⁴⁹ MSA, *Political Department*, Vol-12, Annual Report, 1877, 49

⁵⁰ Apte D N, (1936), *Sayajirao Gaekwad-III Yanche Jeevan Charitra*(Marathi), Vol-I, Apte D N, Baroda, 191

⁵¹ Parikh R G, (1973). *Social, Economic and Political Ideas of Maharaja Sayajirao-III of Baroda*, (Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis) The M. S. University Baroda, 69

swimming, shooting, hunting, and military exercise.⁵² His education was encompassing all possible knowledge gathering--languages, administration and good governance '*Minor Hints*', life skills, physical exercise and more importantly of being pro-British. His schedule was very hectic for a boy of his age, which he followed successfully.

The course of his studies was broken twice for making political tours first at Bombay to meet the Prince of Wales, the future King Edward VII, in 1875 for about a month; and the second in 1876 to attend the great Durban at Delhi, where Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India, where he was informed that the Queen had been pleased to bestow on him the title of Farzand-i-Khas-i-Daulat-i-Inglusia ("Own favoured son of the British Empire").⁵³ While returning from Delhi, Sayajirao visited Agra, Lucknow, Benares, and Allahabad. He continued his studies on his return. However, the decision was made by the Viceroy suggested that Sayajirao should complete his studies as soon as possible so that he can take charge of his State. Many years later Sayajirao-III lamented that his education, though intensive, was obtained very hurriedly. Along with Sayajirao's formal education the one which carries the most importance was the lectures delivered by T Madhavrao, on the art of good administration. All these lectures were spread over the period of seven months from June to December 1881.⁵⁴ These lectures were later compiled and printed under the heading '*Minor Hints*'.

Sayajirao's education and training were successfully accomplished. During this time he had constant motivation and supervision of the British, T Madhavrao, F A H Elliot and mother Jamnabai. Jamnabai was aspirant of good fortune for her State, which led her to be constant support to the future 'Raja' in his formative years and even later. The British Resident in his letter to Viceroy wrote that, '*Jamnabai is a lady of strong and cultivated intellect, and as such is able to appreciate and promote the training of the future ruler of Baroda*'.⁵⁵ In the opinion of his guardians the time had risen when Sayajirao-III might be permitted to exercise, the powers of his position. It was on 28th December, 1881 that Sayajirao-III was invested with full powers on Baroda *gadi*. After the investiture, Sayajirao's toured different districts of his state from 1881 to

⁵²BSA, Section No-1, Gen Daft No-1, File No-3A, Dewan Tekchand, (1910), *Memoir of H. H. Sayajirao Gaekwad*, 6 ; and for greater details see Gaekwad F, 55-56

⁵³ Sergeant P W, 33

⁵⁴ Gaekwad F, 81

⁵⁵ MSA, *Political Department*, Vol.-12, Annual Report, 1877, 49

1886. This visitation included Kadi November 1882; Navsari in 1883-84; Baroda prant in 1884-85; and to Amreli, then Kathiawar section of his state in 1886-87.⁵⁶ This trip was essentially undertaken by new ruler to acquaint himself with the State, its people, their problems and the possible improvements to be brought about. Along with making visits the work of re-organizing and restructuring of the administration on the British line had also begun. After acquainting himself with the state and its people, Sayajirao-III, embarked on his great mission of modernizing Baroda.

2.2 Personal Life

Sayajirao-III was a great success as a ruler and is still remembered for his work and reforms. But he was not satisfied for the way he lived his personal life. He lamented that in his role as the maharaja he did not get the pleasure of being a son, a brother, a husband, a father, a friend and so on. As soon as he was chosen to be the Maharaja of Baroda State, he started making compromises from that tender age. Separation from his parents and siblings was the first amongst the several strokes that he abided. He could not be in touch with the relations of Gopalrao as he was then Sayajirao-III-the ruler. He had to leave behind all his loving memories of being and living as Gopalrao. He, no doubt, had tried to accept being Sayajirao-III and went ahead with his new life and new relationships. He had with him his adorable mother in the name of Maharani Jamnabai but, she had to release her control over the Maharaja's actions to make him abide his training, and most properly surrendered her own pleasure for the good of the boy to.⁵⁷ He was there to be a Maharaja and so had to go through frantic schedule of training from sunrise to sunset. But no training, no education, no relation, not even the passing of time could kill the emotion that a child of Kalvana carried on till the end. After every successful day as ruler, he used to mourn the failures of personal life.⁵⁸

Sayajirao-III's marriage with Chimnabai-I brought some reason to smile, unfortunately that too did not last long. It was, in fact, in distant Tanjore that the Dewan of Baroda discovered a suitable bride. She was princess Laxmibai of the Mohite clan of the Marathas, niece to the

⁵⁶ Shah R J, 86

⁵⁷ *Baroda State Administration Report*, 1875-76, 9

⁵⁸ Gaekwad F, 61

husband of the Maharani of Tanjore. She was a year and a half younger than Sayajirao. The alliance seemed all that could be derived, as the Tanjore family was well known and announcement of choice was welcomed in Baroda. The Bombay Government also signified its approval.⁵⁹ After marriage Laxmibai was given the name Chimnabai. In the year 1885 Sayajirao suffered a great domestic affliction—in the untimely demise of Chimnabai, which has also a considerable effect on his public life. On May 7th, soon after the Prince's birth (Fatehsinghrao), Laxmibai died. Maharaja went through a nervous breakdown, and suffered severely from insomnia. Before the end of the year he agreed to contract a second marriage, & on December 28th he married princess Gajrabai, daughter of Bajirao Amritnrao Ghatge, member of a well-known Maratha family of the Dewas State.⁶⁰ His marriage with Chimnabai-II was stable and he encouraged her to educate and update herself with the world outside the Palace. They together carried on many reforms and also had been the patron of many institutions. Apart from few happy movements, Sayajirao-III had received great despairing moments in life, like: the demise of his sons; painful marriage episode of daughter Indira Raje; allegations of sedition from British; criticism for being absentee ruler and so on and so forth. He must have remembered throughout his life the words of the shrewd man, T Madhavrao that, "Statesmanship is a series of compromises."⁶¹

Sayajirao-III continued to suffer from nerve breakdowns and insomnia. On advice from Sir William Moore, head of the Bombay Medical Service, he decided to take a holiday trip to Europe.⁶²

2.3 Influence of Foreign trips on the works of Sayajirao-III

Sayajirao-III made his first tour abroad owing to his health problems in 1887, but gradually touring became a frequent feature of his life. When he decided to make his first voyage abroad he un-nerved his conservative critics, as crossing sea was considered to be ominous in India; but by doing so he undoubtedly broke barriers lying down the way of progress of Baroda State. From

⁵⁹ Sergeant P W, 40

⁶⁰ Deshpande S V, (1933), *Shree Sayaji Gaurav Granth*, Baldivas Mandal, Baroda and also cited by Pandya S J, (2003), *Contribution of Gaekwad Maharanis in the Modernization of Baroda State*, (unpublished Dissertation thesis) The M. S. University of Baroda, 50

⁶¹ T Madhavrao, 44

⁶² Gaekwad F, 117

1887 to 1937 he made more than twenty seven tours abroad viz. Europe, America, Asia and Africa. After 1911-12, he passed most of the time of his life in Europe.⁶³ His constant absence from State was the reason for which he was often criticized and was tagged as an 'Absentee Ruler'. It was the general view of his critics that "the people of Baroda suffered humiliation like a herd without a master; and Maharaja seemed to have been strongly impressed by the marvels of Western civilization and development fascination to see it again and again."⁶⁴

The criticism was not unfounded though, they did influence him to liberalize and develop his state on the new knowledge that he gained from his foreign trips. They provided him with opportunities of comparing the conditions of his State with the most advanced countries. These tours had encouraged him to undertake the task of modernizing his State by introducing modern industries, institutions, libraries, museum, effective public work, social reforms and so many things to add to the list. He regarded travel as a highest form of education and promoted it the most. "Travels in foreign countries is one of the chief sources of knowledge" said Sayajirao in 1915 at Nasik.⁶⁵ He had sponsored foreign visits of many students and officers for self development and gathering new information and knowledge which would benefit the Baroda State in the long run. While delivering his Presidential address, in 1924 at Banaras Hindu University, he said 'we should encourage people to travel abroad, to make themselves acquainted with other land, other races and other culture, our ancestors, Indian traders, the Buddhist missionaries and teachers, traveled far and wide spreading our ancient culture throughout Asia' we have kept ourselves in dignified seclusion'.⁶⁶ His quest for the best, made him travel the world. And as a part of this quest many foreign experts rendered their service to Baroda to make it an advanced state. Thus Sayajirao's endeavoured for advancement of State speaks louder than his critics. His absence had hardly done any damage to the State as his choice of ministers was always worth who administered the State efficiently even in his absence.

2.4 Sayajirao-III's Relations with the British

⁶³ Parikh R G,88

⁶⁴ Ibid., 89

⁶⁵ Widgery A G,(Ed.), (1928), *Speeches and Addresses of Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekwad*, Vols- I & II, 1877-1927, Edited, London, Vol-II, 438

⁶⁶ Ibid, 487

British-Gaekwad equation had played an important part in formation of Baroda State and its survival. History of this relationship had seen many an ebb and tide. British rapport with Ganpatrao and Khanderao (see chapter-II) was good whereas their relations with Sayajirao-II and Malharrao were soured (discussed earlier). Sayajirao-III's reign was most outstanding for aiding the emergence of Baroda a progressive state, yet was not free from conflicts and irritants in his affiliation with British. British Government had envisaged a total control over his education, upbringing, and later, to an extent over his reign. They indirectly asserted their control through their Resident over the minority government headed by the seemingly compliant Dewan, T. Madhavrao, and Rani Jamnabai.⁶⁷ Contrary to the designs of the British masters, Sayajirao had been trained by his mentors to be British-friendly and not British-loyal for the wellbeing of his people.

In order to ensure the continued existence of the Baroda State, T. Madhavrao had to adopt a pro-British attitude. He kept reminding Sayajirao-III, "... that the British Government was decidedly superior to the Native Princes in many essential respects, and especially in respect to power and influence; and it would be the greatest folly of any Native prince to provoke paramount power."⁶⁸ But Sayajirao-III was a conscientious ruler and was bent upon securing his 'legitimate' rights befitting his prestige, dignity and privileges. But the British Government thought otherwise. It was, therefore, natural for Sayajirao to protest against the attitude and dictates of the British Government. This led to frequent clashes between the two Governments. Consequently the British Government always staked out to find the fault of the State Government in one or the other ways. There had been many incidents which reflected the confrontational relationship between the two. Out of the many, some famous episodes exposing the antagonism between the two Governments were: the Bapat case, Lord Curzon's circular over foreign trips, seditious accusations on Sayajirao-III for encouraging revolutionaries, flouting of protocol at the Delhi *Durbar*, and frequent interference of British in State affairs.

British attitude of supreme paramountcy manifested in being the 'Master of Master' was not very palatable to Sayajirao-III, as he valued his independence. He could never think of

⁶⁷ Pandor G A & Shah R J, (eds.) (1997), *SAYAJIRAO-III: The Man and His Time (1875-1939)*, The M. S. University Press, Vadodara, 2

⁶⁸T Madhavrao, 296

capitulating to the British egoist posture of superiority. However, gradually Sayajirao-III exhibited a mature, shrewd and diplomatic approach rather than open antagonism. With the passing of time, he transformed from a belligerent opponent to a man unperturbedly frustrating British intentions. On the other hand he continued to strive towards good governance, so as to deprive the British of a chance to accuse him of dereliction of duties. He employed all his energies in implementing progressive measures for his State rather than brooding and conniving to deal with meaningless enmity. He managed to retain a tenuous hold on his State and administration by adroitly avoiding any open confrontations, whilst showing his strength of purpose and character. The Maharaja transformed Baroda into a model of progressive State which was well in advance in many fields than British India for example, in the matter of social legislation which galled the British the most.⁶⁹ Sayajirao-III, forged ahead, leaving behind his past bitterness, and attempted to develop friendly relation with the British in the later period of his reign.

Sayajirao-III had matured gradually from a ruler to the reformer-cum-enlightened ruler. Under the tutelage of F A H Elliot; his Indian preceptor like the Dewan of Baroda-T. Madhavrao; and role model like Maharaja Chamarajendra Wodiyar (1863-94) of Mysore Sayajirao imbibed a passionate yearning to modernize his state.⁷⁰ The support of mother Jamnabai and wife Chimnabai-II enhanced his morale to carry forward his plans of reformation. His un-relentless efforts had helped the Baroda State to carve a niche among the most progressive and modern States of India. The subsequent chapters investigate comprehensively the measures taken by Sayajirao-III to modernize his State.

⁶⁹ Pandor and Shah, 2

⁷⁰ Chandavarkar A, (2007). The Modern India's Pioneer Economic Adviser, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 42, No. 51, 56-58