

Chapter II

A BRIEF HISTORY OF BARODA.

It is proposed to give a brief history of Baroda for the light it can throw upon the traditional social structure. It will enable us to understand something of the religious, the linguistic, and, to a lesser extent, the caste composition of the town. More important than this, we will be able to physically locate each one of the major social groups in the town, as incoming groups extended the town outwards from the nucleus of the old citadel. We shall see later that the relation between a traditional social group and locality is very clearly reflected in the answers given by the students in my sample. The historical and the statistical data, therefore, corroborate and complement each other.

Introduction

The plan adopted by B. Subbarao in the final section of his Baroda Through the Ages, M.S.University of Baroda, 1953, where he gives a historical survey of Baroda, will be followed here. Subbarao divides the history of Baroda into six periods - the Prehistoric, Early Historic, Early Medieval, Late Medieval, Muslim and Maratha. To this, a seventh will be added - the British, although this is in many ways merged with the sixth, the Maratha period.

Prehistoric

Baroda city of today is located in Lat. 22° N and Long. 73° E. It is situated on the coastal alluvial plain formed by the deposits of the rivers which drain Gujarat, Malwa and South Rajasthan. This plain is widest at Baroda.

Baroda lies to the south of the Mahi river on land that is raised above the valleys surrounding it. These are the valleys of the Mahi, the Narbada and Dhadhar. Baroda grew on the banks of the river Viswamitri which rises from Pavagadh and flows southwards through Baroda.

The earliest evidence of human beings is to be found in the Mahi valley. But these Old Stone Age or Palaeolithic men do not seem to have come to Baroda itself. The makers of the microlithic tools of a later period however have left rich evidence of their presence in Baroda, of which they were the very earliest human settlers. This culture dates to before 1000 B.C.

Early Historic

Baroda, or, more correctly, the region of Baroda, was strategically placed on a coastal plain which provided a corridor for movement from Northern India to the Deccan and for trade with countries across the Arabian Sea from Broach. From very early times, therefore, we find Baroda caught up in the political currents of the country.

Gujarat was conquered by Chandragupta Maurya, presumably including Baroda, though there is very little evi-

dence of this.

After the decline of the Mauryan empire, Demetrios, a Greek, sent Appolodotus southwards from Taxila, and Gujarat became part of the short-lived Greek empire, largely because Broach was an important port for overseas trade. The Greeks were followed by the Kshatrapas (from the Persian term for governor - "satrap"). The Kshatrapa of Nasik was followed by his successor Nahapāna who called himself Mahakshatrapa and who conquered western India. The names of important towns here were mentioned in a Nasik inscription, but Baroda did not then exist as a town.

Nahapāna had to give way to the Andhra Sātavahanas in 119 A.D., but they were in turn driven out in 150 A.D. by the next Mahakshatrapa. Baroda at this time formed part of the province known as Aparanta. Kshatrapa coins have been found in large numbers in Baroda.

The Baroda area became important because it lay on the onyx route from Broach to Ujjain. That it was affected by the overseas trade is evident from Roman and Graeco-Roman objects found here. A settlement grew up on the banks of the Viswamitri, and the people lived in houses of burnt brick. The remains of this early settlement are to be found under the mounds between the railway line and the river bordering the village of Akota which are known locally as "dhan tekri", or treasure hill. On the other side of the river, a hamlet that was actually an offshoot of the larger village Ankotṭaka was growing up. This hamlet is

known to have existed in the times of the Kshatrapas. Its history before that is not known. This is the hamlet out of which Baroda grew. Its ancient name, Vadapadraka, is the precursor of 'Baroda' or વડોદરા in Gujarati.

After the Kshatrapas came the rule of the Gupta dynasty. When the Guptas fell, a northern tribe known as Gurjaras established itself in South Gujarat. Actually, South Gujarat was divided into three small kingdoms and one of these was ruled by a Gurjara family, while North Gujarat was ruled by the Maitrakas of Vallabhi. The boundary dividing these two kingdoms is unknown, but Baroda may have been included in the more powerful northern kingdom. The Chālukyas of Badāmi made inroads into Gujarat, but the Vallabhis continued in power till they were sacked by Arabs in the 8th century.

Early Medieval

The Chālukyas were displaced in the Deccan by the Rashtrakutas who also followed into Gujarat. They ruled in Gujarat till 900 A.D. Baroda formed part of the Rashtrakuta kingdom. It was Karka Suvarnavarsha, a ruler of the Gujarat branch of the Rashtrakutas, who, in 812 A.D. made a bequest of Baroda village to Bhanu, a Madhyandin Chaturvedi Brahmin of Vatsyāyana gotra who had come from Vallabhi to Ankoṭṭaka, in the following words : अङ्कोट्टकचतुरशीत्यन्तर्गतवडपद्रकनामात्रिधानो ग्रामः यस्याध्यात्मनानि-पूर्वतो जम्बुवायिकाग्रामस्तथा दक्षिणतो महासेनकारव्यं तडाजं । तथा पश्चिमतोऽङ्कोट्टकं तथोत्तरतो वर्ध्याच्छग्रामः ।

The deed was found in the vada of Venirambhai in Salatwada. Vadapadraka, the village which was being granted to the Brahmin, is said to be located within four boundaries. To the east is Jambuvapika village, probably the Jambubet of modern times, situated in Dandia Bazaar. To the south is the Mahasenak tank, believed to be the Bhesana talav of old maps now shown as part of the Pratapsinharao Coronation Gymkhana grounds. Ankottaka village was the western boundary, while to the north lay the village of Vagghaccha which has not yet been identified.

Ankottaka, on the banks of the river, from the time of the Vallabhis was a prey to monsoon floods, and the habitation area began to shift away to the south and west in the direction of modern Akota, separating from Vadapadraka.

This latter settlement appears to have started as a hamlet in the 7th century in the area now occupied by the Medical College, and was inhabited continuously till the 16th century.

The Rashtrakutas were themselves displaced by their former enemies, the Chālukyas, but the Chālukyas in Gujarat had to face the growing power of the Solankis of Anhilwada. Baroda was, throughout this period of warfare, under the Chālukyas and saw a great rise in importance. Ankottaka lost its position as the headquarters of 84 villages, and was replaced by Vatapadra Vishaya of the Nāgasārika (Navsari) Mandal. This shift occurred towards the end of the 10th century.

Late Medieval

The Solankis now became powerful in Gujarat. This period saw the domination of Jainism in Gujarat and well-documented Jain literature refers to Baroda as a great centre of Jains and Jain scholars. The Baroda of these times, in the present Kothi and Medical College area, was rich in construction, and several archaeological finds have been made. During this period, Muslim influence began to extend in western India, and several Muslim settlements, mostly of traders, grew up along the west coast. The first attempt at conquest by a Muslim came from the Arab governor of Sindh, but was frustrated. Muslim traders, however, went on peacefully in their coastal settlements. Baroda too may have had some Muslim settlements.

Muslim

(a) The Delhi Sultanate - The first effective Muslim invasion of Gujarat was made by the generals of Allaudin Khilji who destroyed Baroda in 1098 A.D. One of the generals, Alap Khan, continued as Viceroy of Gujarat for 20 years. During the reign of Muhammad-bin-Tughlak at Delhi (1345-51), the Amiran-i-Saddah, foreign nobles, rebelled against Delhi. They intercepted a convoy of horses and treasure passing through Baroda en route to Delhi. The rebellion was quelled, and Baroda was ruled from Delhi till 1403.

(b) Gujarat Sultanate - Gujarat became an independent province in 1403 when the governor Zafar Khan assumed the

title of Muzaffar, and ruled till 1419. Baroda was one of the twenty-five sarkars or districts which were ^{either} assigned to nobles who in return supplied troops, or were assigned to paid officers. The next ruler was Ahmad Shah (1411-41) who started his career by facing successfully a revolt of the governor of Baroda aided by Broach and Cambay. Ahmedabad is named after him. He was succeeded by his son Muhammad II (1441-52). This ruler had to give way to his son Kutbuddin who was placed on the throne by the nobles.

Kutbuddin, and his uncle Daud, ruled for a short time. They were succeeded by Muhammad Shah Begra, son of Ahmed Shah, who became famous for winning the long-coveted citadel of Pavagadh. He gave Baroda as a jagir to his son Khalil Khan. After Khalil Khan became Sultan as Muzaffar Shah II in 1511 A.D., he built a new town to the east of the old Vadapadraka and called it Daulatabad. The old town had suffered at the hands of Mohammed Khilji of Malwa, 1451, prior to the ascent of Begra, and its population now shifted to the comparative security of the new walled city. The tomb of Sayad Tahir, the patron saint of Muzaffar II, is located in the old unwalled town, and his memory is now enshrined in the name of a road - Piramitar (for Pir Amin Tahir) in this area.

The new town is said to have been built after the fall of Champaner. A local saying has it that *only after the fall of Pavagadh could Baroda be conquered.* It is certain that Baroda grew in importance after the conquest of

Pavagadh as it lay on the route from Champaner to the south. It was natural too that Muzaffar II should built his new fort near to the village where his pir had stayed. The shift from the old village to the new fort is testified by Geleynssen de Jongh, a Dutch official who came to Baroda a century later in 1625. The architecture of the gates of Lehipura and Champaner is also of the period of the Sultans.

After the death of Muzaffar II, the Sultans got involved in quarrels with the Mogul emperors and they began to lose power. Because Gujarat had a strong government, disaffected nobles of the Mogul court were attracted to it. Bahadur Shah gave asylum to the son-in-law of Babar, Zaman Mirza, and his refusal to surrender him led to an invasion by Humayun (1533-56). Humayun soon after had to face Sher Shah Sur, and this enabled Bahadur Shah to recover his empire. There followed a series of weak Sultans, and strife became acute between nobles. Taking advantage of this situation, the descendants of Zaman Mirza began to gain control over the region south of the Mahi river and caused Akbar to invade Gujarat.

(c) Mogul - During the reign of Akbar, Gujarat came under the sway of the Moguls, and with it Baroda. The new town of Muzaffar II continued to be called Vadapadraka by a local population familiar with the old village. The population was contained within the fortified area throughout the rule of the Sultans, and it is likely that only the graveyards were located beyond the walls. During the

rule of the Moguls a few extensions were made. Thus Bavamanpura and Mahmudvadi, to east and south of the city, date to Mogul times. Bavamanpura is named after the saint Babaman whose dargah is located here and who may have lived here. Old Persian manuscripts with the keeper of the dargah seem to prove that Babaman lived in the days of Akbar and Jahangir. Mahmud was also a Muslim saint.

To the west lay the graveyards and dargahs. In the deed of sale issued by Emperor Alamgir in 1754, which records the purchase of land by Sureshwar Dabhai Pandya for the purpose of constructing the tank of Sursagar, we are told that to the south is the Chandan Talav and a graveyard. The western area, now the hostel of the Women's Training School, was the site of the dargah of Ladli Shahid and a graveyard. To the north of the proposed tank were Aminpura and Kutbpura, between Maharani Girls' School and Pratap Talkies of today. Here ~~was~~ there was again a graveyard, and the dargah of Ziauddin Shahid. This area probably extended to Jubilee Bag, where Mogul coins have been found. This may have been the first area to be inhabited beyond the Lehripura gate of the fort.

We find that after 1664, when Shivaji made his raid on Surat, the Marathas made frequent forays into Gujarat and in 1699 Senapati Khanderao Dabhade began to collect chauth and sardesmukhi. In 1705 Damaji Jadhav defeated the Moguls on the Narbada. In 1715, the Muslim governor of Surat re-established himself.

The Europeans, Dutch and British, had established factories in Baroda, but withdrew when the Maratha incursions began.

Marathas

After the death of Aurangzeb in 1706 A.D. the Moguls rapidly lost their power, and the Babis who administered Gujarat for the Moguls, began to claim independence. At this time two local Gujaratis came to the fore as influential men. One was Dala Vaghji Patel who had some contact with the Marathas, and after whom one of the 'pols'^{*} of Baroda has been named. The other was Sureshwar Dabhai Pandya who became Desai of Baroda and constructed Sursagar tank.

In 1720, Damaji Gaekwad was made deputy to the Senapati Khanderao, and a few months later, his nephew Pilaji established himself at Songadh in south-east Gujarat. The Marathas began to interfere in the quarrels of Mogul officials -and as a result won the right to collect chauth north and south of the Mahi. Bajirao Peshva, however, alarmed at the growing strength of his chieftains, lent his support to the Muslims but in 1727, Pilaji captured Baroda, while Kantaji Kadam captured Champaner in 1728. In 1731, Bajirao made a concerted attempt in alliance with the viceroy of Ahmedabad to rout Pilaji and Kantaji, but had to return to the Deccan to face Nizam-ul-Mulk. The viceroy had Pilaji assassinated and recovered Baroda in 1732.

On hearing of the assassination, the widow of Khanderao,

* A pol is a road ending in a cul-de-sac. Sometimes it may have a gate at one end which can be locked at night.

Pilaji's brother Madhavrao, and his son Damaji, marched on Baroda where the Desais of Padra stirred up the Bhils and Kolis to their support. They captured Baroda in 1734 and ended Mogul rule. Mandvi gate was erected to celebrate this conquest. Damajirao the Second established himself in Songadh and moved later to Anhilwada Patan from where he ruled Baroda. The period of predatory raids was over for Baroda, and now the Maratha tried to rule by playing off the local Mogul factions against each other and enriching themselves in the process.

Damaji continued to acknowledge the authority of Khanderao Dabhade's family, and, instigated by them, attacked Poona in 1749. His defeat at Venya forced him to acknowledge the authority of the Peshvas.

The Gaekwads first settled in the Old Gadhi area of Baroda, which had been built by the Sultans, and the Bhadrakali temple is dated to the days of Damajirao II. He is believed to have brought the image of the goddess from Pavagadh. The Marathas then settled in Sarkarvada, now known as Kumarshala, and in the area occupied by the Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya and the Sindhi cloth bazaar. This lies on the eastern extremity of the city. After this they spread out northwards into what is known as Fatehpura, just outside the Champaner gate, and named after Fatehsinhrao (1778-1789), one of the sons of Damajirao II. People were encouraged to live in this sparsely populated area, but the only consequence seems to have been that it attracted the lawless. A

sentence in a garba song says : શીડાડિયા બહુ કુત્તેપુરામાં
 દેવાળિયાનું છેડાણું * Kalupura and Yakutpura also date to
 this period.

After the death of Damajirao in 1768, Baroda became the state capital of the Gaekwads. The northern areas of Fatehpura, Kalupura and Yakutpura developed around the ponds of Varasia and Sarasia. But a more striking development occurred to the west of the old city. The Gaekwads, now established in Baroda, set up their troops and the residences of the Sardars to the south and the west in the proximity of Sursagar Tank, Maduri Talav and Siddhanath. Babajipura and Raopura, which cover the whole area between the old city and the modern camp, university and residential areas, were named after Senapati Babaji Appaji and Diwan Raoji Appaji respectively. These areas are covered with the names of Maratha Sardars and Inamdars and important personalities. 'Pols', lanes, streets, bear Maratha names, and the typical Maharashtrian vadas are found bearing the names of Maratha families and individuals. The Sardars were allotted pagas or stables, also named after them. These names are still found in Baroda in the areas developed by the Marathas. The topkhana at Vadi also dates to this time, as does the modikhana, or grain store, near Jubilee Bag.

After Fatehsing died, disputes followed between his brother Govindrao who succeeded, and Govindrao's illegitimate

* R.N.Mehta "વડોદરાનાં સ્થળનામો" essay read
 to the Gujarat Place-Name Conference, Baroda, 1957,
 printed by Aditya Mudranalaya, Raykhad, Ahmedabad 1.

son Kanoji. Govindrao was succeeded by his imbecile son Anandrao who also came into conflict with Kanoji. The Arabs, mainly mercenaries, stepped in and occupied the four gates of the city. In 1802, the British under Major Walker defeated the Arabs who agreed to leave Baroda. As a result, the Gaekwad accepted the subsidiary system of the British, a British resident was stationed in Baroda, and henceforth, the British arbitrated in all transactions of the Gaekwads with outsiders, including the Peshwas. Subsequent treaties were signed in 1817-18 with the Gaekwad, and with the Peshwas in 1819. The connection between Baroda and Poona was finally cut.

The first Residents stayed in Kothi in the western part of Raopura. In 1835, they moved further west, to the new Residency building in what came to be known as the Camp area.

Till 1875, the history of the Gaekwads is one of constant strife, punctuated by intervention by the British.

In 1875, Sayajirao III ascended the throne. He initiated a period of constructive activity in Baroda.[×] In 1877, the public works department was reorganised and a city branch added. The latter undertook the development of the city, and the maintenance of the town was handed over to a newly created municipality in 1892. In 1904, an Improvement Committee recommended a scheme of development

× H.C.Malkani, A Socio-Economic Survey of Baroda City, 1957.

which was entrusted to a City Improvement Trust in 1910.

The relatively new localities of Anandpura, Shiyapura, Fatehpura, Babajipura and Raopura were developed. Good roads were built and fine buildings were set up to house government schools, colleges, offices, etc. The result was that Baroda became one of the cleanest cities of Gujarat. The old city was relatively untouched, but the extension of Baroda westwards reduced the problem of congestion in the city, and many Gujaratis who came later to Baroda have settled in these new areas rather than in the overcrowded old Gujarati city.

Developments occurred also in the fields of industry and commerce. The Kalabhavan was started in 1890 to give technical training. Today it is part of the Faculty of Technology of the University. Further steps were taken in the establishment of a cotton spinning and weaving mill in 1885, a Department of Commerce and Industry in 1905, and the Bank of Baroda in 1908, which was specifically meant to finance new projects. In 1914, an Industrial Advisory Committee was set up. This policy was fruitful and Baroda today has a large number of industrial establishments, which produce chemicals, textiles, soap, and so on.

All these recent developments have their locus in the western part of the city through which the Western Railway runs, and in which the two most recent political powers, the Gaekwads and the British had their buildings and palaces.

Sayajirao III also took an interest in education.

The Gazetteer of the Baroda State, 1923, compiled by G.H. Desai and A.B. Clarke, says, "In no department of the administration has the farsighted policy of the wise Ruler been more conspicuous than in education, in none have the results been more real and tangible. Primary schools were set up by the State Government in the city and the surrounding villages, and the first steps were taken towards making education upto the first three standards compulsory for all. Schools for girls were encouraged. We find that Baroda in 1931 had actually a higher literacy rate than in 1951.

Table 5

<u>Year</u>	<u>Literacy percentage</u>
1931	49.6
1941	51.6
1951	43.6

The downward trend may be due to the sudden influx of outside groups like refugees from Sindh and mill labour from U.P. after Independence. There is no doubt, however, that in the sphere of education as elsewhere, Baroda State was one of the most advanced territories in India.

To anticipate, in Chapter III, figures are presented to show the spatial distribution of our sample. The locality from which students come is correlated to the language they speak, and to their caste. This shows us how far the strictly statistical material bears out the historical facts and vice versa. We also get a view of the most recent

history of Baroda by correlating secular facts like occupation and income to locality and more clearly in the set of tables correlating various social facts, both secular and traditional, to the period of time that a student's family has resided in Baroda. The reason why these tables are not given at the present stage is that they represent only a part of the total population of the town, mainly the higher status levels. Though we can infer history from these data, they pertain directly only to our sample.

A Socio-Economic Sketch of Baroda.

As Baroda was a completely strange city to me, I have had to rely entirely on census reports for the present section. Some knowledge of the town was gained by conversations with local people. But as no record was kept of these, and I have only one letter from Shri A. M. Shah on this subject, which I shall later quote, the censuses have been drawn upon for the socio-economic data. Malkani's survey is sociologically inadequate, and the histories of Baroda are mainly chronicles of the activities of the Gaekwads.

The traditional structure will first be presented. This involves a consideration of religion, language and caste. Of these, the latter two represent groups that cannot be normally changed. Caste is perhaps the most stable. Language is, broadly speaking, almost as stable. If a man says his mother tongue is Gujarati, we can safely presume that his predecessors for some centuries have also had Gujarati as their mother

tongue. There are instances of castes which migrate to a different linguistic area and adopt its language. But the caste name, its traditions and its way of life mark it as a foreign group. Religion at the present time is also stable, as conversions are rarely made. The ancestors of the Christians and Muslims in Baroda must have been mostly Gujarati Hindus, probably of low caste. But these groups are at present stable, and add to their numbers only by reproducing themselves, and not by converting outsiders.

The total population of Baroda city in 1951 was 2,11,407. Of these, 1,13,518 are men and 97,889 are women, i.e. 53.5 per cent are men and 46.5 per cent are women.

We shall first of all see how this population is split between the different religions in 1951.

Table 6

Religion	Men	Women	Total	Per-centage	Percent-age (1941)
1. Hindu	93,561	80,307	1,73,868	82.3	83.0
2. Muslim	15,865	13,871	29,736	14.0	15.0
3. Jain	2,593	2,491	5,084	2.4)	2.0
4. Christian	898	723	1,621	0.8)	
5. Sikh	305	216	521	0.2)	
6. Parsi	275	240	515)	
7. Jew	10	40	50) 0.3)	
8. Others (non-tribal)	11	1	12)	
Total	1,13,518	97,889	2,11,407	100.0	100.0

The two major religious groups are Hindus and Muslims. The Hindus, however, have an overwhelming majority. A comparison with 1941 figures shows that there has been no significant change in the relative size of these two communities in a decade. This is rather surprising in view of the fact that, in 1947, partition brought in an influx of Hindus from Pakistan (we shall see later that 5 per cent of the population speaks Sindhi, the language of most of the West Pakistan refugees) and there ought, presumably, to have been a movement of Muslims away from Baroda. Even if there was no migration, and we cannot be certain in the absence of data, there certainly was a fair amount of immigration into Baroda. The stability of the figures for religion from 1941 to 1951 is, therefore, difficult to explain.

The next aspect of the traditional structure that will be considered is language.

Table 7

<u>S. No.</u>	<u>Language 1951</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1.	Gujarati	71,099	60,160	1,31,259	63
2.	Marathi	19,602	18,971	38,573	18
3.	Urdu	9,467	8,854	18,321	8
4.	Sindhi	5,262	4,894	10,156	5
5.	Hindi	5,595	3,384	8,979	4
6.	Others	2,493	1,626	4,119	2
	Total	1,13,518	97,889	2,11,407	100

× See Malkani.

Gujarati comes out as the major language. It will not coincide with the Hindu group for two reasons: one, the Hindu group is multilingual; two, Gujarati is spoken by Muslims as well. We see in Table 7 that only 8 per cent speak Urdu, the language of Muslims, compared to 15 per cent known Muslims in the population, in Table 6. Seven per cent of the Muslims, therefore, claim another language, probably Gujarati, as their mother tongue. Marathi is the minority language of Baroda. As the language of the ruling Gaekwads, it represented a powerful minority group. The strength and the rootedness of the local language, Gujarati, however, is sharply revealed in the 1951 census, where data were collected for bilingualism. These apply to the entire state and not the city alone, and the figures for urban groups cover all the small towns of Baroda state.

Table 8

	<u>Gujarati</u>	<u>Marathi</u>	<u>Total</u>
1. Urban	2,02,959	39,894	2,42,853
2. Rural	8,62,208	2,261	8,64,469
Total	10,65,167	42,155	11,07,322

Less than one-fourth of the Gujarati speaking reside in urban areas. Over three fourths are rural. Of the urban Gujaratis, around 60 per cent are to be found in Baroda city,

the rest, nearly 39 per cent, live in other towns. The urban Maharashtrians on the other hand are concentrated in Baroda city, 97 per cent in fact, with only 3 per cent in other towns. The Maharashtrian element in the rural population is almost negligible, which fits in with our historical data and indirectly corroborates it. The Maharashtrians came relatively late in the history of Baroda, and they came as rulers and administrators. Because the two groups are so differently constituted, the urban Gujarati is not strictly comparable to the urban Maharashtrian, as per the census. Nevertheless, we have some revealing figures about bilingualism in these urban groups.

Table 9

	Urban population	Bilingual	Per- cent- age	Language spoken
1. Gujarati	2,02,959	3,650	2	Of which 17 per cent speak Hindi
2. Marathi	39,894	16,149	40	Of which 38 per cent speak Gujarati
3. Urdu	-	-	61	Probably Gujarati

Of the 3,650 or 2 per cent bilingual urban Gujaratis, one half speak Hindi in addition, and only 466 persons, probably all in Baroda city, speak Marathi. The Baroda area is the home of the Gujarati, and he, therefore, feels no

pressure to learn another language. When one remembers that Marathi was the language of the ruling power, and yet acquired no standing in local society, one is tempted to draw a parallel with the India-wide phenomenon of English which was the language of the rulers, and which was compulsorily taught in schools and colleges, but which never really displaced the local languages. The Maharashtrians, on the other hand, are known to be insular and a Gujarati proverb has it that અગિયે અગિયાર ન હોય, દસાણી મિત્ર ન હોય. Yet quite 38 per cent of them speak Gujarati. The strength of numbers, backed heavily by tradition, appears to give a weight to Gujarati that mere political power won by military might was not able to give to Marathi. If the Maharashtrian is to make any local transactions, he must learn Gujarati. It must be remarked here however that though Maharashtrians show more bilingualism compared to Gujarati, yet 60 per cent speak only Marathi, which is quite a large figure for a 'foreign' community.

Caste is a type of social grouping that is basic to Hindu society, and much of our data can only be understood with reference to caste. We do not here propose to discuss the nature of caste. It would, however, be useful to keep in mind what Dr. I. Karve says about caste in her Kinship Organisation in India, Deccan College Monograph Series No.11. She has shown very clearly that each linguistic region has its own system of castes, a thesis she extends also to kinship which however does not concern us here. This, once accepted,

makes it impossible for us to view castes as so many separate entities, to be classified together merely because they have similar names or occupations. This latter mistake is made constantly by the censuses. Thus, in the 1931 census in Baroda, all Brahmins are listed together. Whereas no sociologist would regard the Maharashtrian Brahmin in Baroda as forming any kind of a common group with the Gujarati Brahmin. The Maharashtrian Brahmin can only be understood if he is seen as heading the hierarchy of Maharashtrian society. So too in the case of the Gujarati Brahmins. We will, therefore, wherever possible, separate the Gujarati from the Maharashtrian castes. This will give us a more correct perspective of statistical material, and though it will not be possible to present a 'construct' of Gujarat society, i.e. of its exact, or inexact, hierarchy in action, it does enable us to avoid mixing up indiscriminately data that refer to two separate societies.

No questions on caste were included in the census inquiries of 1951. This was a direct consequence of the 'anti-caste' policy of an enlightened government. This means that the social scientist has been deprived of a fairly reliable, even if sometimes clumsy, source of data on caste, and at the same time he cannot ignore caste as it is very much alive.

The most recent work on Baroda, The Socio-Economic Survey of Baroda City, 1957, conducted by H.C.Malkani, an economist, for the Planning Commission, has no figures for caste. I have, therefore, had to refer to the censuses of 1931 and

1941 for this data. Baroda had a census in 1941, unlike British India, where it was suspended due to the war. Although the city has grown considerably since then, and there may have been changes in the size, or the dominance, of some castes, for lack of any more recent material we must find out what kind of caste society existed in 1941, accept this as our basic view of a fairly stable urban society, and make allowances for recent changes. In this last task, our table showing correlation between a student's caste and immigration into Baroda may be of some help.*

We first give a very general picture of caste in Baroda State from the 1931 census. The table given here shows a consolidation of castes into categories. The figures for individual castes in Baroda city will be given later from the 1941 census.

Table 10 : Caste in Baroda State, 1931.

Serial number	Caste	Population	Percentage
1	Patidar and Anjana	484,491	20
2	Baria Talabda etc.	435,087	18
3	Ramparaj (tribal)	312,181	13
4	Depressed	203,043	8
5	Artisan	149,343	6
6	Brahmin	123,714	5
7	Vania	86,477	4
8	Muslim	182,630	7
9	Rest	466,041	19
	Total	2,443,007	100

* See Chapters IV and V.

The information contained in Table 10 relates to the entire state. It, therefore, provides some knowledge of the social hinterland of Baroda. Although castes, even the major ones, are grouped together, they give us an interesting background to the castes that make the largest showing in our sample, namely the Brahmins, the Baniyas and the Patidars among the Gujaratis, and the Brahmins among the Maharashtrian. In the table, it must be noted, all Brahmins, regardless of linguistic affiliation, go into one category.

The first point of interest is Patidar domination in numbers. The Patidars are traditionally a rural caste and appear, in 1931, to have been a sort of dominant caste in the Baroda region. They are a wealthy and enterprising caste of agriculturists, and we get indications from our data that they are availing themselves of higher education and good jobs, and growing industry, and on the whole are making a strong entry into urban society. It is highly likely that they have been moving into the town from the surrounding villages and from Charotar in recent years, although nothing can be said for certain in the absence of any study of caste after 1931 and 1941. We can, however, from the present material state that the Baroda area is predominantly Patidar in the rural areas. An urban representation would not be enough to account for the high proportion of these castes in the total population of the State. The Baniyas and other castes are of tribal origin, and live mostly in the forested Panch Mahals area,[×] though they are not absent in

[×] See A.M.Shah's "Caste, Economy and Territory in the Central Panchmahals".

the towns. After the Patidars and Anjanas, Barias and allied castes form the second largest group. We know from general observation that the Brahmins and Banias are very important castes, and their relatively small numbers are probably offset by their predominance in urban life. Of the Banias, A.M. Shah, himself a Bania of Baroda district, writes in a personal communication, "There were many urban centres in Gujarat by the time the British came...[the] administrative centres were big or small trading settlements because trade got safety and security there. Now these trading settlements had a distinct caste composition.... Most Banias lived in the trading-cum-administrative centres.... Even though Banias kept shops in villages...they kept their families in towns... These urban centres moreover contained the ruling and fighter caste (Rajputs), their courtiers, the officers (mostly Bania, Brahmins and Nagars, etc.), landlords, i.e. jagirdars, talukdars, inamdars... non-agricultural artisans, skilled craftsmen, and other non-agricultural servant castes. Coming of Patidars to urban areas is comparatively recent. The Patidars who formerly lived in towns were mostly jagirdars."

Our next set of figures about caste gives the major castes separately and the minor castes in categories of low, depressed, etc. These are taken from the 1941 census, which was the last census to include caste in its schedules.

These figures are for Baroda city only.

Table 11.

Gujarati			Marathi		
Caste	No.	Per-centage	Caste	No.	Per-centage
1. Brahmin	12,105	16.5	1. Brahmin	10,660	32.3
2. Bania	12,449	17.0	2. C.K.P.	2,669	8.1
3. Patidar	8,718	11.8	3. Maratha Kshatriya	16,905	51.3
4. Other advanced castes	3,645	5.0	4. Maratha Kunbi	2,084	6.3
5. Artisan and Craft castes	11,832	16.1	5. Depressed	667	2.0
6. Rajputs, allied castes	8,540	11.6			
7. Low castes	9,179	12.5			
8. Depressed	6,927	9.5			
Total	73,395	100.0		32,985	100.0
	Tribes x = 1,858				
	Others x = 16,997				

x The tribals are very few, and, as they are not full-fledged Hindus (since they are listed as tribes), and we do not know how far they have advanced on the road to absorption into Hinduism, they are not included with Gujarati castes. The 'others' make up a very large number, but as they include all sorts of minor castes, many from outside Gujarat, and not Maharashtrian, they also are excluded from our analysis.

Among the Gujaratis, the Brahmin, Bania and Patidar castes at once stand out as the major groups in the Gujarati structure. The Banias are the largest single caste, followed by Brahmins. The Patidars are a smaller caste in Table 11, but since 1941, this caste must have grown considerably. We have evidence in our data of considerable changes among the Patidars which we shall note in due course. There are very few high castes besides these three. Artisan castes, and castes of craftsmen, such as Suthar, Soni, Lohar and Kumbhar form a fairly sizeable block. So do the Rajputs and allied castes. These two groups of castes fall somewhere in the middle of the hierarchy. In the former category, there is probably some push upwards as they have high rates of literacy. The 'low castes', vegetable-sellers and others, come next, last come the untouchables.

In this caste hierarchy, the lower levels consist of a large number of relatively small castes, while the upper levels consist of just a few large distinctive castes each of which is differentiated into several sub-castes. And if we add up the different levels, we find that the high castes (the first four items in Table 11) make up one-half of the Gujarati Hindu caste population (this excludes the possible Gujarati castes included in the category of others). The middle levels, Nos. 5 and 6, constitute 27.7 per cent and the low castes and the depressed castes constitute 22 per cent. We get here a rather clear instance of what Leach considers a distinguishing characteristic of a caste system in his

"Introduction : What Should We Mean by Caste?"[×] He refers to the existence of an elite of castes that is also numerically predominant, with the upper castes competing for the services of the rather smaller lower castes. This view of caste appears to have some validity, for we know that not only are upper castes numerically large, unlike the restricted elite in a pyramidal class structure, but also they do not draw services freely from the lower castes. For particular services they must go only to a particular caste which has a monopoly over that service. To illustrate, whereas upper castes form 50 per cent of the population, a caste of craftsmen like the Suthars for example may not exceed 3 per cent to 4 per cent. The entire upper group of 50 per cent and many others besides, draw upon the small caste of Suthars for their carpentering needs. This indicates a competition for the services of Suthars because their number is limited, and because, traditionally this occupational group cannot be expanded to meet any increased demand for carpenters. Lower castes who work for the rewards the upper castes offer cannot compete freely with each other to render services to the upper castes. Each caste traditionally, offers only its own particular kind of service, and, presumably, will never lack patronage, because of its limited numbers.

[×] From Aspects of Caste in South India, Ceylon and North West Pakistan, ed. by E.R. Leach.

We cannot say how far this situation obtains in other parts of India, and whether Leach's analysis applies to caste in general. Any possibility of using the data for Maharashtrians as comparative material is ruled out, as they are not indigenous to Baroda, and their immigration into Baroda from Poona and elsewhere has been highly selective.

The largest Maharashtrian caste is that of the Maratha Kshatriyas. The ruling Gaekwads, who came from Dhāvadi village near Poona belong to this caste. It is also the largest caste in Poona (re: I.P.Desai). It makes up one-half of the Maharashtrian community in Baroda. Brahmins, the next largest caste, make up about a third of the Maharashtrians. The remaining castes are C.K.Ps., Maratha Kunbis and untouchables. C.K.Ps. are a small community even in Poona, but the proportion of Maratha Kunbis and untouchables in Baroda is probably much smaller than in Poona. There are very few other Marathi castes in Baroda. The Vanis are not very important, and only a few of the service castes, like Sonars, or Mochis, are to be found here. We have no details about the numbers of Marathi castes of artisans and craftsmen, but it is extremely likely that the learned Brahmins and C.K.Ps. and the warrior Marathas availed themselves of the services of local service castes. This would account for the high rate of bilingualism among the Maharashtrians. They are not merging with the Gujaratis, they keep to their own localities, their schools, their language, and the only reason they learn Gujarati must be a utilitarian one.

To study the distribution of the population over the different wards of Baroda, we have to go back to the 1931 census.

Table 12

Ward	Population	Density per square mile	Percentage
1. City	19,856	79,424	17.6
2. Fatehpura	10,788	10,788	9.6
3. Wadi	16,013	9,150	14.2
4. Raopura	31,609	10,536	28.0
5. Babajipura	25,626	11,345	22.7
6. Others (Camp, etc.)	8,968	10,542	7.9
Total	1,12,860	10,964	100.0

In terms of sheer numbers, Raopura has the largest population, followed by Babajipura. Next come the City and Wadi. These are followed by Fatehpura and other areas. In our sample, the largest number of students comes from the City and in a descending order of numbers, from Raopura, Babajipura, Wadi, Sayajiganj, and others. As our sample dates to 20 years after the 1931 census, it is not strictly comparable. And yet, the City area which was so congested in 1931 - nearly 20,000 persons in two square furlongs - could not have grown much in numbers. Our sample indicates

an upper caste concentration in the City ward. We may, therefore, deduce that the City area as a whole has large numbers of upper castes. Raopura and Babajipura have a much larger though more scattered population yet in 1951 they send up fewer students to high schools than the City. This may be due to the presence of more lower castes who never reach the high school stage, and therefore reduce the representation of these two localities in the sample. The density is medium, and Raopura covers about three square miles while Babajipura covers over two square miles. Fatehpura, which hardly sends up any students, is also an area of medium density, and covers about one square mile. Wadi has the lowest density and covers less than two square miles. The other areas, such as Camp, etc., together show a greater density than these areas, though much less than the city.

The City appears as the heavily populated core of the town. Although other areas have probably absorbed the additions to the population of Baroda, it is hardly likely that any of them approach the congestion of the City area. Some of the localities in immediate proximity to the City tend to be congested, but the rest of Baroda is fairly well spread out.

The City emerges as a highly literate area even in 1931. It has more literate persons per mille than any other ward. It is followed by Raopura. In our sample, Wadi appears some way behind Babajipura. In the 1931 census, however, it was even. Either Wadi has a large number of the merely

literate but does not go for higher education, or it has fallen behind over the years. We have no way of proving or disproving either hypothesis, but the latter appears more likely as Wadi has not grown as much in the two decades since 1931 as other areas. Fatehpura is the most backward.

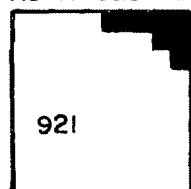
In the case of women, the City again leads, followed by Raopura. Wadi, however, even in 1931, is behind Babajipura in female literacy. Fatehpura is extremely backward in this respect.

The literacy rates have been studied in relation to age groups in 1951. A sample of 20,106 was taken and it was found that 43.6 were literate and 56.4 were illiterate. The actual figures are 8766 and 11340 respectively. Of the literates, only about a third are women. Of the illiterates, well over one half are women. In spite of the educational policies of Sayajirao III, and of the Bombay Government after Baroda was merged, we find that literacy is not anywhere near universal, as not enough time has lapsed for the older largely illiterate generation to be replaced.

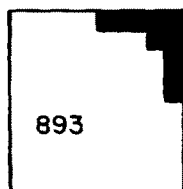
Omitting infants of upto 4 years, we find that there are more illiterate than literate in the 5 years to 9 years group. This is probably due to late entry to schools. From 10 years upwards, to 44 years, literates outnumber illiterates. This is markedly so in the 15 to 24 years group. Among persons over 45 however, the illiterates outnumber literates and they increase in proportion to the age of the group thereafter. The actual number of all those over 45 is small com-

LITERACY AMONG MALES (41 CENSUS)
PER CASTE PER MILLE .

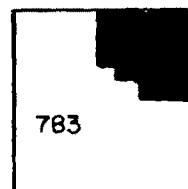
ADVANCED CASTES



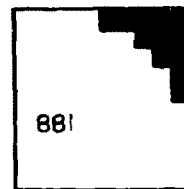
DAKSHINI



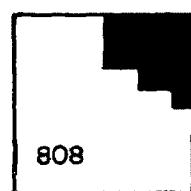
BRAHMIN (GUJ)
(ANAVALA, NAGAR)



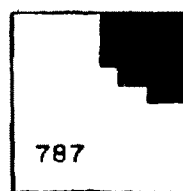
MODH, AUDICH
(GUJ. BRAHMIN)



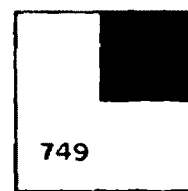
VANIA



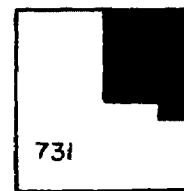
SONI



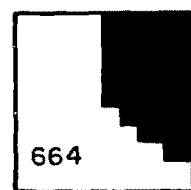
LUHANA



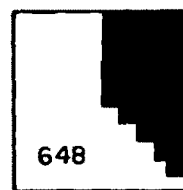
GHANCHI



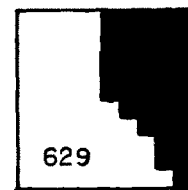
KACCHIA



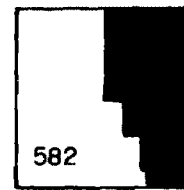
LEVA PATIDAR



BRAHMABHATT



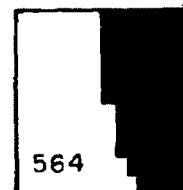
SUTHAR



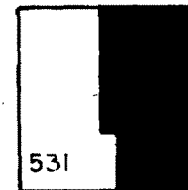
DARJI



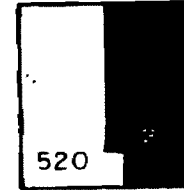
MARATHA



MOCHI

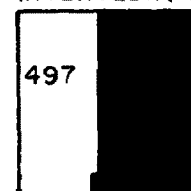


LUHAR

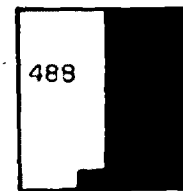


BAVA - GOSAIN

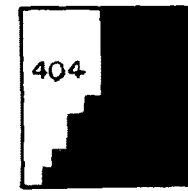
INTERMEDIATE CASTES



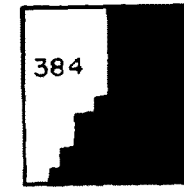
VALAND



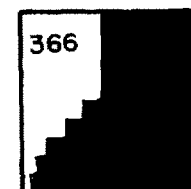
KADWA PATIDAR



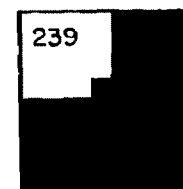
RAJPUT



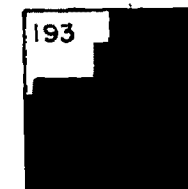
KUMBHAR



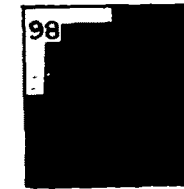
BARIYA



CHAMAR



BHANGI



VAGHRI

BACKWARD CASTE

-pared to the number who are below 45. Half the sample is between 15 and 44 years of age, with the 15 to 24 category claiming the largest number. It is the groups below 10 and those above 45 who bring down the literacy rate for the general population.

As far as literacy among women is concerned, they are always more backward than the men, except in the 5 to 9 years group where they exceed. This is significant as it shows that the young girls do not suffer greater handicaps than boys, as at the time of the census. The slight excess of girls may be due to their larger numbers in the general population in this age-group. In all other age groups, more women are illiterate than men.

There is some information in the 1941 census about the literacy of different castes. The most literate are the men of the Dakshini castes, i.e. Maharashtrian Brahmins. Every 921 out of 1000 men is literate. Next come certain Gujarati Brahmins, such as Nagars and Anavalas, followed by Vantias. The former have 893 literate in every 1000, while the latter have 881. Then follow the Sonis, a very advanced caste of craftsmen, with 808. The Luhanas, with 787 are followed by such Gujarati Brahmins as Modh and Audich with 783. The Gujarati Brahmins appear not to have the same high and consistent level of education as the Maharashtrians.

Ghanchi (749) and Kacchia (731) both follow low occupations - the latter sell vegetables - but are more literate than the Patidars who are considered one of the upper castes.

The Patidars are divided into the Lewa and the Kadva. The Lewa have a higher rate of literacy - 664 - than the Kadva who have only 488 literate males to 1000 and are therefore, classed as an intermediate caste. The Kadvas are socially inferior to the Lewas as well. In our analysis however, we have not differentiated between them.

The Brahmbhatt and the Suthar have 648 and 629 literate males per 1000 respectively. Other castes with a literacy rate ranging from 582 down to 520, and included as advanced castes are the Darji, Maratha, Mochi, Luhar and Bava-Gosain.

The intermediate castes with a rate between 500 and 100 are the Valand or Barbers, the Kadva Patidar, Rajput, Kum-bhar, Bariya, Chamar and Bhanghi castes. The last two have the very low rate of 239 and 193 respectively. The only backward caste is the Vaghri with just 98 literate males in a 1000.

We do not find a close relation between literacy and hierarchy among the Gujaratis. It is true the Brahmins and Baniyas rate fairly high on both scores, but the Lewa Patidars, one of the dominant, if rural, castes in the area, is outshone on the score of literacy by castes of not very high social standing like the Ghanchi and Kacchia. Castes that occupy the middle and lower echelons of the hierarchy, artisans, craftsmen and so on, are literate enough to be classed as advanced. Quite low castes like Valands, Chamars and Bhangis have intermediate standards, and only one caste is backward - the Vaghri. Even in 1931 the Vaghri had only

38 literate males in 1000, and rated the lowest.

Maharashtrian castes however appear to reflect rank in literacy, for the Brahmin is far in advance of the Maratha. The Prabhus, not listed in 1941, had a literacy rate of 896 in 1931, the highest in that year. They are in many ways akin to the Brahmin with whom they have traditionally been in acute conflict and from whom they differ only in varna rank. We have no data about the other Maharashtrian castes, or untouchables.

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Kingsley Davis has some interesting remarks to make about caste and education in Baroda. He drew on the Census reports of 1921, 1931 and 1941. In 1921, the official report said that the spread of education had helped to "enforce and even widen the existing cleavage between the classes in the community." By 1931, however, it was found that the lower castes benefited the most. Educational reforms hardly affected the upper castes which already had a high degree of education. Ten years later, in 1941, the census findings are that big artisan castes like the Sonis and Suthars are now classed as advanced castes, and even such low castes as Luhars, Darjis and Mochis are included with Brahmins as advanced castes because over 50 per cent are literate. Even an untouchable caste, the Garodas, reached the level of an advanced caste, while the untouchable Chamars and Vankars

× See Kingsley Davis in The Population of India and Pakistan, pp. 156-157.

were ranked as intermediate. The only backward castes were the "uneducable" Rabaris and Vaghris, both of them wandering communities, without any fixed settlement.

In other parts of India Davis found that the intermediate and advanced benefitted much more than the untouchables and tribals. This was the more typical Indian pattern, and the remarkable improvement of low castes in Baroda is regarded by him as unusual as Baroda has always been a very advanced state.

One further feature of education in Baroda was that 63 per cent of the advanced castes were following traditional occupations, and 37 per cent had changed. Among intermediate castes, only 28 per cent had given up the traditional occupation. This was in 1941. Davis interprets this, rightly, to mean that the higher castes take advantage of their position to enter new occupations, especially the white-collar occupations, as the present survey shows.

The occupational structure is an urban one. Although it is a non-traditional structure in which many new occupations figure, and in which the older occupations that exist are urban in character, such as commerce, and specialised arts and crafts, we find that it is in many ways related to the traditional caste hierarchy.

In 1951, the occupational distribution of the population of Baroda was as follows :

Table 13

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1. Services	91,894	43.5
2. Commerce	45,474	21.5
3. Transport	10,300	5.0
4. Non-agricultural production (industry, cottage industry, etc.)	57,790	27.3
5. Agriculture:	5,949	2.7
(a) Landlords	1.2	
(b) Land owning peasants	0.8	
(c) Tenants	0.4	
(d) Agricultural labour	0.3	
Total	2,11,407	100.0

In 1951, various services such as administration, private jobs and professions, all requiring some amount of education, provide the means of livelihood for 43.5 per cent of the total population. As a state capital, it is natural that services should claim such a large share in Baroda. Commerce and production (non-agricultural), both more productive in returns than service and requiring enterprise and particular skills rather than a formal education, claim 21.5 and 27.3 per cent respectively. Transport claims 5 per cent. There are very few agriculturists in Baroda, just 2.7 per cent, and 1.2 per cent included in these, are landlords who do not have to live on the land. There is

no agricultural land within Baroda. It is probable that a few agriculturists work on the outer edges of Baroda, and are included in the town proper as its citizens.

In 1931, an attempt was made to find out the occupational distribution of persons literate in English. The 1931 census includes comparable figures from the 1921 census. These two sets of figures, set by the side of figures showing the general occupational distribution of the town (in 1931) give a good idea of the role of education in occupation.

Table 14

Occupation	Occupational distribution in general	Occupation of English in 1931	Literates in 1921
1. Public Administration	1.0	16.8	20.6
2. Professions	2.4	13.5	19.6
3. Public Force	1.2	2.8	2.8
4. Trade	5.5	16.9	14.5
5. Transport	1.3	9.1	9.7
6. Exploitation of Animals and vegetation	70.7	13.2	12.1
7. Industry	10.7	2.5	4.9
8. Minerals	0.2	-	-
9. Living on own income	0.5	8.2	5.8
10. Domestic service	0.7	0.7	0.3
11. Unproductive	0.4	-	0.5
12. Insufficiently described	5.4	16.3	9.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0

These figures speak for themselves. Regarding the general occupational distribution, we have more details for 1931 than for 1951, but it is possible to make some general comparisons. There appear to have been a great many ~~changes~~

changes in the two decades between the 1931 and 1951 census. In 1931, the "exploitation of animals and vegetation" is the overwhelmingly predominant occupation. Quite 70.7 per cent live by this means. This would include all kinds of cultivators and stock farmers, sellers of the produce and so on. By this criterion alone one may define the economy of Baroda in 1931 as backward and characterise it as a provincial economy, still dependent on exploitation of natural resources and trade. Only 5.5 are in trade and 10.7 in industry. Even the services account for barely 4.6 per cent.

By 1951, the picture has changed completely and Baroda emerges as a fullfledged urban centre of a partly commercial, partly industrial, and partly administrative town as we have already seen.

The position of literates in English has not been taken in 1951, and seems to have been inspired in 1931 by a British government. At that time, trade and public administration both are followed by nearly 17 per cent each of literates. This is very much higher than the proportion of these occupations in the general population. Professions, transport, and a private income, are also more restricted to the English knowing. The reverse is the case with industry and exploitation of natural resources which are the most important occupations for the general population, but which are followed by about one-fifth the proportion among the English knowing. The situation is more or less similar in 1921, except that the percentage of the English knowing is

a little higher in public administration, professions, transport and industry, and a little lower in trade and in private incomes than in 1931.

Our final table is concerned with the household which we shall consider as roughly designating the family. As our data gives merely the size of the household, and not the nature of the group, its kin composition, and so on, we include it as 'secular' material, and not with traditional caste and language.

The household population of Baroda in 1951 is 2,08,996. About 2,400 persons are not members of households.

A sample was taken of 1,801 households. The total number of persons in these 1,801 households is 8,045.

Table 15

Number of members in household	Number of house- holds	Percent- age	Number of persons	Percent- age
1. 3 or fewer members	735	40.85	1486	18.4
2. 4 to 6 "	737	40.95	3611	44.9
3. 7 to 9 "	234	13.00	1834	22.8
4. 10 or more "	95	5.20	1114	13.9
Total	1801	100.00	8045	100.0

The size of the average household works out around 4.4. The smaller households, upto 6 members, make up 81.8 per cent of the sample. Taken by the number of persons, 44.9 per cent of the persons in the sample live in families of 4 to 6 and only 22.8 per cent in families of 7 to 9.