FIRST AMERICAN LIBRARY PIONEER IN INDIA
There is no more ennobling thing than the reading of good books; it leads men, along flowery pathways, towards earnest and pure lives. I am doing what I can to educate my people to the stage where they can read and appreciate great thoughts of the present and of the past, and the result so far has been very gratifying. But I would do more. I would bring to the poor man or woman, the ordinary man of the bazaar, to the common people everywhere, this wealth of literature now only known to the educated.

Maharaja Sayajirao
(April 7, 1912)
FIRST AMERICAN LIBRARY PIONEER IN INDIA

MURARI LAL NAGAR, D.L.S.
Sahityacharya, M.A.

Indian Library Institute and Bibliographical Centre, Ludhiana (Punjab)
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(1st Edition)

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The study was conducted at Columbia, Missouri, while the author worked as the South Asia Librarian of the University of Missouri. Baroda is half a world away from Columbia, Missouri, and even Columbia University is more than a thousand miles away. Thus the author was separated not only from his subject of study (Baroda Libraries) but also from his advisors who would have provided direct guidance and supervision if the author had lived close to the Alma Mater.

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Note on the Search for the Research Resources” (Appendix B, pages 233-36) names the major sources which have been used to secure the data. These were procured from many libraries in India, England and the United States of America, and the author is highly obliged to their librarians and library staff for their generous help. Special mention should be made of the Libraries Cooperative Society, Baroda, British Library Association, London, and the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

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In the words of India’s great poet Kalidasa:
Klesah phalen: hi punar navatam vidhatte: “Refreshing are the fruits of labor.” It is a truth as great as the poet who speaks it.

Columbia, Missouri
December 10, 1968

Murari Lal Nagar
I determined to introduce into Baroda what we in the United States have recognized as a goal to be ultimately attained, but which we have not yet reached.

...If there is any value in this library co-operation throughout a large state, let it be remembered that it was first introduced, not in the home of the modern library movement, our own country, but way down in India, 10,000 miles from here....

What America could only dream of Baroda could do, and, in a measure, has done.

William Alanson Borden
(1913)
FIGURE 1

GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF BARODA
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Introduction

This is a history of the public library movement in Baroda, the first territory not only among the princely states but also in British India to have been provided with universal, compulsory, free primary education and a state-supported free public library system. While the official accounts of the library movement maintain that it was a success, critics hold the view that its ultimate outcome was a failure. Thus there is a divergence of opinion as to the final results of the Baroda Library Movement.

The annual Report of the Baroda Library Department for the year 1940-41 claims:

By its provision of free library facilities to all citizens of the State, Baroda enjoys a unique distinction not only among the other states of India but among its provinces also. One may even go further and affirm that with England and the United States of America, Baroda occupies a position of leadership in the extension and efficiency of its library service.¹

The Baroda Libraries,² 1943, an official publication issued by the Curator of Libraries, assures its readers that the scheme of village libraries, evolved under the personal direction and fostering care of the Maharja Sayajirao, had “stood foursquare all these years” and was increasingly attracting the attention of all those who were anxious to serve the people through books and libraries.
However, K. Ramakrishna Rao remarks:

This extremely impressive picture of library development did not continue for long even in the State of Baroda. With the death of Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad the Government lost interest and the people were not ready to support and sustain library service.\(^3\)

Rao concludes that decay and not growth was the ultimate fate of libraries in Baroda and that "the history of library development in Baroda should be a revealing lesson to all who are anxious to push library development without regard for the local situation."\(^4\)

It was a challenging problem. Was the movement in Baroda fundamentally a failure, and was the library movement so narrowly dependent upon the Maharaja that with his death in 1939 the movement too died? or did some other factors contribute to the decay, if that was indeed the final outcome of all that the Maharaja had created? A preliminary survey of the literature immediately available revealed that the problem was worth investigating and that there was no ready-made answer. A brief but careful initial study resulted in the following findings:

Baroda was an important native state\(^5\) in direct political relations with the British Government in India. Situated in Gujarat and Kathiawar (Western India), it had a total area of eight thousand square miles and a population of two million in 1910. The principal language was Gujarati; Marathi, English, Hindi and Urdu were additional languages. The total literacy was below 10 per cent when the library movement was launched.

His Highness the Maharaja Sayajirao III, Gaekwad of Baroda (1862-1939), who ruled over the State for more than sixty years, was one of the most progressive princes of modern India. He travelled in western countries extensively and repeatedly and imbibed the new spirit of modern life and culture. The Maharaja invited foreign specialists for the development of the State both materially and culturally. He introduced numerous reforms which transformed Baroda economically, socially, and culturally.\(^6\)

For the establishment of public libraries, Sayajirao chose William Alanson Borden (1853-1931), a leading American
Introduction

Librarian, who had been a pupil-assistant of Charles Cuttter at the Boston Athenaeum and a lecturer-associate of Melvil Dewey at Columbia University's School of Library Economy. Before visiting Baroda, Borden had worked for about twenty-three years in the Library of the Young Men's Institute, New Haven, Connecticut, which served him as a laboratory for various experiments in public library organization and administration.

Borden went to Baroda at the ripe age of fifty-seven with a good background and experience. He was free to plan and organize libraries to the best of his knowledge and ability under the patronage of the Maharaja, who was free to administer his kingdom to his tastes and aspirations, was an enlightened ruler, an educationalist and library promoter, and had full powers to provide all the finances he could spare.

Borden lived in Baroda for three years. Giving an account of his work in Baroda to his fellow-librarians in the U.S.A., he said:

I determined to introduce into Baroda what we in the United States have recognized as a goal to be ultimately attained, but which we have not yet reached... What America could only dream of, Baroda could do, and in a measure has done.

As Director of the newly-created State Department of Libraries, Borden planned a comprehensive network of libraries, constituting a state central library, four district or divisional libraries, forty-five town libraries, and more than a thousand village libraries, all integrated into one chain—a system. While the Central Library was provided with a unique children's reading-cum-playroom and a ladies' library for the women in Purdah, the Country Branch (libraries in the districts) had an extensive system of travelling libraries and a Visual Instruction Branch to reach even the most illiterate masses.

Thus one could reasonably expect that libraries in Baroda would continue to grow and the progress would be sustained throughout. The earlier accounts of the Baroda library movement claim that it was based on sound foundations. Even Borden believed that the plan had been well worked out, that its development was provided for, and that a few more years would see it
accomplished. Subsequent events, however, did not fulfill these expectations. The growth continued up to a certain stage, but then stagnation developed, resulting ultimately in decline, decay, and disintegration. Rao maintained that this happened because "the incentive for the establishment of libraries in Baroda did not come from the people. Libraries, in a sense, were imposed on them."  

Possibly Borden anticipated such criticism, because he said:

These libraries were to be for the use of the people, not for monuments to the Maharaja. In order to have them used, the citizens must first be brought to want them, and to want them badly enough to be willing to contribute a good part of the expense out of their own pockets.

We were not anxious to give away things, but we were very anxious to help those who would first help themselves. It is for just this reason that the library movement in Baroda deserves so much credit. It was not an indiscriminate giving away of libraries by the Government, influenced perhaps by my persuasive tongue, but a movement instituted by the people themselves and backed up by their hard-earned rupees. They wanted libraries and I devised a plan by which they could get them.

It is difficult, in fact, to agree with Rao's theory. The library movement originated as the people’s movement under the leadership of a public leader, Motibhai Amin, in the form of Mitra Mandal (Society of Friends) Libraries as early as 1906, and was accorded a substantial state patronage only in 1910. The rules for grants-in-aid stipulated that the people of a locality had to come first with one-third financial contribution before the State would provide the other two-thirds in association with the local boards. Thus, it is not proper to say either that libraries were "imposed" on the people, or that "the motive to establish a library was clearly one aimed at pleasing the Maharaja."  

Even if it is true that libraries were not "imposed" on the people by the Maharaja and that the initiative came from the.
people, yet it cannot be denied that the growth stopped at a certain level and that permanence could not be secured despite the careful planning. The hope for permanence is shown by an annual report of the Library Department, for example, which maintained:

"...the achievement is all the more remarkable because in its accomplishment Government have not been the only party: the people's part has been equally great. The achievement, therefore, has an assurance of permanence which would have been lacking if a benevolent government had just thrust it on an unwilling or indifferent people."

The consequent question then naturally arises: What were the causes of decay?

An important factor which may have contributed toward the stagnation and decay is the ceiling imposed on the government grant. The district libraries could not receive more than Rs. 700 the town libraries Rs. 300, and the village libraries Rs. 100 per annum whatever might be their own contribution. The population of Baroda continued to grow; by 1949 there was a 43 per cent increase over the figure of 1910. Prices rose higher, quadrupling at least. Services became more costly. Yet the amount of the government grant remained at the level of 1910. In fact, the policy was changed. It was decreed that the larger libraries might be given less! Was this a factor in the decay?

A significant stage was reached when the annual reports of the Library Department started expressing dissatisfaction at the then existing conditions. For example, the annual book grant of the Central Library was originally Rs. 13,200. It was reduced to Rs. 10,000 in 1931-32. A further cut was imposed in 1940-41 which brought the figure down to Rs. 5,000. It was never raised again! Could this be taken as an index of a change in the policy of the Government?

The Baroda Libraries is clear on this issue:

The Government grant cannot be supposed to be a permanent source of income. For one thing, the number of libraries would increase from year to year
without a corresponding increase in Government revenue.\textsuperscript{17} The library department, therefore, rightly envisaged a future when Government grants to libraries would cease, or at any rate diminish into thin proportions.\textsuperscript{11}

Several other issues deserve consideration. Did Borden use the development of libraries in any part of his country as a prototype to initiate a public library system for the first time on Indian soil? The Government of Baroda selected the grant-in-aid system as a means of providing financial contribution from the public funds. The method of distribution, however, was arbitrary and voluntary. There was no compulsion for the Government to give a certain minimum or to give any amount at all. Did Borden recommend any alternative basis? Why did he not think of legislative taxation and an obligatory provision of adequate funds?

The same source (\textit{Baroda Libraries}) speaks highly of the village library “Samsabad” where “some measure of adequate and assured income is secured by laying a library cess on the farm produce.”\textsuperscript{19} Why was “Samsabad” an exception and not a rule?

Was Borden able to implement all that he proposed, or did he meet any opposition? Were all his plans and their bases accepted \textit{in toto}, or were they modified to a harmful extent? A significant remark occurs in one of his early writings (1912) where he says that he came “to Baroda to do for India, so far as he was able (or permitted), what had already been done for the people of his own country, in the way of founding free libraries and of putting good books into the hands of those most needing them—the common people.”\textsuperscript{20} Was he not “permitted” to do all that he wanted? Furthermore, was there any identity between the later developments in Borden’s American prototype, if any, and those in Baroda?

An explanation of the later failures may lie in the dissimilarity of organizational structures. The Library Department of Baroda was a part of the State Government. The management of Baroda libraries was not vested in an autonomous corporate statutory body, such as a Library Commission or Board which would represent various public interests, serve as a parent body,
and uphold the cause of the institution in every possible way. Such a body may have a degree of independent influence on the decisions of the Government, which a governmental department lacks. In brief, libraries like the Young Men’s Institute at New Haven have a permanent life because they have had a powerful, independent corporate body like the Board of Directors. Baroda libraries did not have any such organization. Also there was no authority either to prescribe standards of service or to enforce them. Was this a cause of decay?

Borden was happy that the “code of rules” he drew up “for the formation of free public libraries, upon being signed by His Highness the Maharaja, became part of the laws of the state without any of the usual bother with legislatures or that sort of thing.” Obviously, what was provided by a stroke of the Maharaja’s pen could be withdrawn with equal ease, or be modified in a detrimental way, by another Maharaja, or by the same Maharaja while in a different mood, “without any of the usual bother with legislatures or that sort of thing.”

The personality of the Maharaja Sayajirao did play a vital role and the library movement waned in his later years and after his death. A further question, then, is whether the movement was exclusively dependent on one man’s interest, or whether there were also other bases of strength which explain its continuance. It is necessary to examine the relationship between the personality of the Maharaja and the progress of the Baroda library movement.

Social and economic conditions in Baroda State proved to be an obstacle to the success of the first experiment in India to provide compulsory free primary education. Did the same factors operate against the success of the first experiment in India to provide a state-supported free public library system? The Maharaja expected that “the people must rise superior to their circumstances.” How far did the people do so?

The official reports maintain that the administration advocated the purchase of books, good books. The Department disapproved the disproportionate purchase of newspapers and magazines, the “ephemeral” literature. It was desirable to find out if the libraries were able to provide enough books that could challenge the varied interests and intellectual demands of the people. Why did the
libraries not buy more books and fewer magazines as desired by the Department?

These were some of the problems that needed investigation. It was anticipated that the results might lead the investigator to ascertain what factors contributed to what happened in Baroda, and whether the developments in Baroda could be used as guide-lines for the future library development in other parts of India. The following then became the major goals of the investigation:

Objectives or Goals

Study of the hypotheses below will help to reach these goals:

1. To study the origin and development of the public library movement in Baroda from 1901 to 1949;
2. To identify the major factors facilitating or impeding library development;
3. To determine the nature and degree of development in terms of (a) area, (b) population, (c) finance, (d) readers, (e) books, (f) staff, (g) circulation, and (h) reference use;
4. To ascertain the extent to which early developments were maintained and expanded through 1949;
5. To assess the status of the movement in 1949, and to explore alternative lines of development which might have occurred if Baroda had continued as an independent state even beyond 1949, or if the Government of Bombay had preserved the philosophy of Baroda; and
6. To evaluate Baroda's contribution to the development of the library movement in India.

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses are to be studied in the light of the data collected:

A. Public libraries did not develop in Baroda until the late 19th century since the political, social, economic, and cultural conditions were not conducive:
   1. Advancement of the people through education and libraries was not an objective of the pre-Sayajirao Government.
2. The people were socially backward, economically poor, and culturally impoverished.

3. The people had little experience of public library service and there were few leaders to guide a development.

B. Public libraries in Baroda came to be established and developed during the early decades of the 20th Century through an aggregate of factors:

1. The library movement formed a part of the cultural renaissance generated under the dynamic leadership of the Maharaja Sayajirao.

2. The Government inaugurated programs to educate the masses and thereby promote their advancement.

3. The Government also provided the initiative, necessary finance, and administrative machinery for the establishment of an effective, extensive, and efficient library service.

4. William Alanson Borden, a leading American librarian, provided the professional leadership as the first Director of State Libraries, and developed a public library system incorporating some of the finest ideas and ideals of American librarianship.

5. Educators like Motibhai Amin led the people in playing an effective role, in meeting the challenge of the times, and in promoting the library movement in Baroda.

6. Public Libraries came to be recognized by the Government as an essential component of the scheme of popular education launched by the State, and "a necessity of existence," at least by a section of the society.

C. The Library Movement in Baroda declined during the 1940's because the factors contributing to the growth ceased to operate:

1. The movement was too narrowly dependent upon the personality of the Maharaja to have long survived his personal rule, which ended in 1939.

2. The library policy of the post-Sayajirao Government, especially with regard to the financial provision from public funds, was not conducive to effective library service.
3. The masses were still too under-developed to support public libraries; while the classes, who had been the regular patrons and supporters, gradually lost interest in library use as the services became inadequate and unattractive for want of sufficient funds.

D. The political merger of the State of Baroda on May 1, 1949, into the province of Bombay (which did not subscribe to the philosophy of public library service of Baroda), was a conclusive cause for the disintegration and disappearance of the Baroda Library System, which was already devitalized.

E. Nevertheless, the example set by the pioneer public library movement in Baroda exercised a wholesome influence on many other regions of India.

Related Studies

No systematic study of the kind presented herein has yet been made. Works of Kudalkar and Dutt begin with the year 1910, when the Library Department of Baroda State was founded, and bring the account up to 1928. Waknis continues through 1942, but in a very sketchy manner. However, none has tried to ascertain the possible causes, or factors, that led to the decline and disappearance of the Baroda Library System. Hence, this becomes the first attempt of its kind.

Scope

Geographical. Baroda was the first region in India to develop a state-supported, extensive, free public library system. Her efforts to provide universal library service thus constitute the pioneer library movement in India. The present study, therefore, is geographically limited to Baroda State.

Chronological. The study commences with the year 1901 when the Maharaja Sayajirao first thought of books, reading, and libraries for the people. And it terminates with the year 1949 when Baroda was merged into Bombay and lost its political identity as a free native state of pre-independence India.
Introduction

Synopsis

The study comprises seven chapters divided primarily on the basis of time—by different periods of administration—of the pioneers, Borden, Kudalkar, Dutt, and Waknis. Each period is further subdivided by themes or topics.

The first chapter provides the background to the study—deals with Maharaja Saya'irao and his Baroda, his contribution to the progress of the State, and his determination to provide education to all; and tells why he decided to promote libraries in his kingdom.

Chapter II, Pioneering Libraries, covers the period from 1906 to 1910. It describes the attempts of the Maharaja and Motibhai Amin to initiate early libraries (the Circulating and Mitra Mandal) to preserve literacy and promote cultural advancement of the people.

Borden comes to Baroda in 1910 and establishes the Baroda Library System. Chapter III deals with his work at Baroda—his successes as well as failures to see his plans fully implemented. It ends with a review of Borden's philosophy of public library service and his appreciation of the Maharaja's contribution to library service. The time covered is three years.

Chapter IV discusses the work of Kudalkar, who succeed Borden at Baroda and constructed a super-structure on the foundation laid by Borden. The period here is 1914 to 1921.

"The People Rise : Government Responds" is the fifth chapter, delineating the developments in the field of libraries and librarianship in Baroda during the administration of Dutt, extending through 1934, the longest of all the Curators.

Pratapsinhrao succeeded Sayajirao in 1939 and continued to support the library movement, of course, within the limitations imposed by World War II and the internal political turmoil of India. Chapter VI "Integration Leads to Disintegration" brings out the status of the library movement in the beginning of the 1940's and shows the steady progress maintained by the movement during the reign of Pratapsinhrao.

The seventh chapter "The Ultimate Outcome" examines the contribution of the Baroda Library Movement. It isolates the factors that contributed to the early growth and those others that led to the subsequent decline. It identifies the causes of the
disappearance of the Baroda Library System. That the contribution of the Baroda Library Movement is significant is the conclusion of the final chapter and of the whole study.

Style

American forms of spelling have been used except in quotations. The numbers have been represented as 100,000 and 1,000,000 rather than as 1,00,000 or 10,00,000. In general, Indian words are followed by their meaning. The “Glossary” lists some select Indian words. Words like “panchayat” or “prant” which are frequently used are not generally italicized. Also not italicized are those Indian words which are found in standard English dictionaries.

Only direct quotations and exact translations have been enclosed in quotation marks. Indirect quotations, paraphrases, and free rendering of Gujarati originals are not enclosed in quotes, but footnotes indicate the source.

Abbreviated forms have been used to cite certain bibliographical sources, which are very frequently referred to in the study, e.g. Administration Report; Education Report; Library Department Report; and Ekikarana. Their full forms appear in the Bibliography.

The final appendix presents certain data especially helpful for the readers not familiar with Baroda.

NOTES & REFERENCES

1. Library Department Report, 1940-41. Introduction.
4. Ibid., p. 142.
5. See Appendix, wherein a more detailed summary of political, social, economic and cultural conditions in Baroda is presented.
6. Baroda, Gazetteer of the Baroda State compiled by G.H. Desai and A.B. Clarke (Bombay, 1923); Philip W. Sergeant, The Ruler of
Introduction

Baroda: An Account of the Life and Work of the Maharaja Gaekwar (London: J. Murray, 1928)


16. Ibid., p. 9.

17. This statement is not correct. The revenue continued to increase year after year. The Souvenir of a Visit to Baroda Libraries, (1940), which antedates the Baroda Libraries (1943), has one more sentence here: “For another reason provision of library facilities cannot be regarded as the only means of spreading education as education cannot be regarded as the only uplift activity of a benevolent government.” Since the previous statement is introduced with the phrase “For one thing,” it is likely that this was an inadvertent omission.


Sayajirao and his Baroda

The people must rise superior to their circumstances and realise that more knowledge is their greatest need, their greatest want. They must be brought up to love books, not simply attractive bindings or pretty pictures, but their contents. They must be taught to regard books as a part of their lives. Libraries will not then appear a luxury, but a necessity of existence.¹

Thus spoke His Highness the Maharaja Sayajirao III, Gaekwar of Baroda, before a distinguished gathering of librarians, educators, and officials at a meeting of the Baroda Library Club on October 29, 1912. This became his library creed, his library philosophy. Not only did he preach it, but he also practised it throughout his life, consistently and vigorously. The Maharaja strove continuously to bring his people and books together. It was a mission of his life. And so he is remembered today as the Father of the Library Movement in India.

Baroda was a small yet important native State in India. Situated in the Gujarati-speaking region of the Bombay Presidency and the Peninsula of Kathiawar, it had a total land area of 8,135 square miles. The territories of Baroda consisted of distinct and separate blocks so intermingled with the British districts and other Indian States that it is difficult to perceive their complexity without a detailed map (see Figure 2).

Baroda’s population was predominantly rural, the mani
occupation of the majority of the people being agriculture. The people in general were economically poor and socially backward. They suffered from many social evils. Children were married at a very tender age. Marriage between an elderly man and a very young girl was possible. A male child was regarded as a means of prosperity in life beyond death. Such unequal marriages resulted in the increase of the number of widows who lost their old husbands under the tender age of even ten, and were forced to pass their whole life in misery and hardship. Untouchability and the Purdah system were some other social evils which retarded the development of the people.

The majority of the people in Baroda spoke Gujarati. Other languages in the State were Marathi, Hindi, Urdu, and English. More people professed Hinduism than any other religion. However, there were Animists, Muslims, Jains, Parsis, Sikhs, Christians, and Jews. There was complete religious freedom and mutual tolerance.

Baroda was in direct political relations with the Government of India. The administration was conducted by an Executive Council. The Maharaja was the supreme authority and was assisted by his Chief and other ministers. A number of Departments had been organized, the principal heads of which were the members of the Council.

The State was administratively divided into four prants or districts: Baroda, Navsari, Kadi (or Mehsana), and Amreli, each being further sub-divided into mahals (talukas) and peta mahals (sub-talukas). A subah or collector was in charge of each prant with an assistant called naib-subah, A tahsildar was in charge of each taluka. The sar-subah, or Chief Commissioner supervised all the subahs. Local boards were constituted at various levels. There were Prant Panchayats, Gram (village) Panchayats, and Sudharais or Vishishta Panchayats (municipalities).

A Renaissance

Beginning with the last quarter of the nineteenth century Baroda witnessed a metamorphosis which was only a part of the all-pervasive general renaissance that swept over the entire nation culminating at the mid-century in India’s emergence as a sovereign democratic republic. The people of India attempted to achieve
complete independence in political, social and economic spheres. And in this struggle, Baroda served as an experimental laboratory for testing and implementing many new ideas and institutions, developed in western countries and introduced into Baroda by Sayajirao. The State of Baroda and her progressive ruler, Sayajirao, made a distinct contribution toward the general awakening, which became the corner-stone for the national reconstruction and development.²

Thus the year 1875 A.D. marks the beginning of a new era in the history of Baroda. Modern Baroda was entirely a creation of Sayajirao, who was adopted as the successor to the throne in that year. Gopalrao (as the Maharaja was originally named) was born on March 17, 1862, in a little village named Kavlana about eighteen miles from Manmad, at the confluence of the two great cultures of Gujarat and Maharashtra. A Maratha by birth and subsequently a ruler of Gujarat, he carried some symbolic significance to his place of birth. He was an illiterate rural lad till he was twelve. He was not born as a prince, but adopted as the heir and successor to the throne by Maharani Jamnabai, the widow of Maharaja Khanderao. Philip Sergeant, a biographer of Sayajirao, says:

Gifted by nature with a remarkable power of brain, and a very strong will...lifted, entirely beyond expectation, from the life of a peasant boy to a throne and great riches...His Highness Maharaja Sayajirao III was marked out for a human experiment of the highest interest.³

The Maharaja’s love for the down-trodden, his desire to lift up even the lowest, might be ascribed to his early rural life. The hardships and inconveniences of an Indian village life must have been indelibly marked on the tender mind of the young lad, and these memories must have been a constant spur to the struggle which he conducted for the amelioration of the masses. Stanley P. Rice, another biographer of Sayajirao, says:
Compared with the whole of India Baroda is but a tiny fraction... But it is no mean achievement to have raised Baroda from the position of a medieval state, full of corruption and oppression, and dependent for its life on the whims and caprices of the ruler, to a foremost place among the states of India with a government framed on constitutional lines, with just and reasonable laws, and instinct with all the progress of modern science and modern wisdom.4

The Maharaja Khanderao died in 1970 without issue. His brother Malharrao, who had been undergoing imprisonment for his murderous designs against his elder brother, the ruler, dashed to the throne and occupied it. He was a vicious and tyrannical ruler. The administration of Baroda deteriorated to such an extent under his misrule that the Government of India had to intervene in the name of justice, law, and order. Malharrao was deposed and Gopalrao was adopted as the future Maharaja. The British Government in India not only provided an able administrator in the personality of Raja Sir T.Madhavrao to restore normal conditions, but also an able tutor, E.A.H. Elliot, to educate the ruler and to prepare him for the great task that lay ahead of him. While the former laid the foundations of a good administration, the latter prepared Sayajirao to be an able administrator. Sayajirao was grateful to the British. Writing to Viceroy Lord Hardinge in December, 1911, he said:

To the British Government the Baroda State owes everything, and to that Government my State and I myself personally will always be truly grateful and loyal.6

The young Sayajirao was subjected to an intensive course of education and training. Strenuous studies made him realize his own weaknesses. For moral and spiritual education Sayajirao was indebted to his godmother, Maharani Jamnabai, who introduced him to those realms which are not generally reached through books alone. In a short period of six years, beginning with the study of four alphabets, he was forced to acquire a totality
of knowledge which would have necessitated a prolonged study extending, maybe, twelve years for an ordinary student. At the age of eighteen, in 1881, he was invested with full powers of government.

Sergeant says:

H. H. Sayajirao III came to the throne at a very critical moment for Baroda. His four immediate predecessors...had between them in various ways reduced the State's credit and prosperity to a low level.6

According to Rural Baroda, "he inherited ugly traditions and a rotten administrative machinery".7 For example "when the state of the Baroda revenues was examined in January, 1875, it was found that in the previous year Malharrao had received: 94 lakhs and had expended 171 lakhs, of which about four-fifths went in presents to favourites. He spent lavishly on jewelry and to outdo his brother's two silver guns, had two gold ones made."8

From 1875 to 1881 the Government of India was in complete control of the State administration. Dewan Raja Sir T. Madhavrao, assisted by his colleagues, restored normal conditions in Baroda. A central Government comprising seventeen departments was established with the Dewan as the President. Great many administrative, economic, and social reforms were introduced in the State. The system of civil and criminal justice was reorganized. The "Ryotwary" system of land assessment was inaugurated. The land taxation was lowered. The system of customs duties was reformed. Medical aid and service were provided. "For these and numerous other reforms," tells Sergeant, "it was necessary to find money, and the chief way to find money was to save it. Here, in Baroda, there was a wide field for economy."9 Substantial economy was effected in the palace expenses. Ladies of the Royal family had been living under a spell of age-long superstitions and outdated social and religious customs. They spent enormous State funds in charities in the hope of deriving virtues in the life beyond death. Such expenses were brought under control, if not totally abolished.

When Sayajirao assumed full powers in 1881, he "found no less than a crore and a half (fifteen million) rupees in reserve in
his treasury.’”¹⁰ This saving was a result of a good administration by Raja Sir T. Madhavrao, who laid the foundations of an efficient government. The years 1875-1881 were significant in the history of Baroda. In the beginning of the period Baroda was groaning under mediaeval barbarism, while by 1881 it had already emerged as one of the most promising states in India. And the credit for all this transformation goes to Madhavrao.

The Maharaja followed the path of progress laid by Madhavrao. A striking example of how money was saved and made available for nation-building activities during the reign of Sayajirao may be given. Out of the four silver and gold guns made by his predecessors, one each of gold and silver was melted by Sayajirao and converted into money.

The achievements of the Maharaja in the sphere of economic development were remarkable. Sayajirao was a renowned railway builder. Baroda was the first Indian State to build railways on an extensive scale. Sayajirao knew the art of investment.

In 1908 another highly important scheme was carried out, when the Bank of Baroda was established ... from the very start the Bank was a remarkable success and revolutionized the financial situation of Baroda.¹¹

An outstanding administrative reform brought about by the Maharaja was the restoration of the ancient system of self-government in the villages, called panchayats. Sayajirao believed in building at the base. The majority of the people lived in the villages. They were the core of the society which he wanted to bring up. He realized that the State would not achieve real progress until the villages were given full opportunity to develop.

The effects of these unusual developments in Baroda did not remain confined to her territorial limits. Echoes of the Maharaja’s great reforms were heard in the House of Commons of the British Parliament. On March 31, 1908, Mr. O’Grady asked the Secretary of State, Morley, if he knew that in the native State of Baroda the Maharaja had separated the judicial from the executive functions, restored local self-government in the
form of the ancient village panchayat, instituted primary education, compulsory and universal, throughout the State, and had further instituted the reform of popularly-elected members in the Legislative Council, and if so, whether the Council of India would consider such reforms, with a view of suggesting to the Viceroy in Council their application to other native states, and so to India as a whole. The Secretary of State replied:

I am aware of the measures recently introduced in Baroda: their results will be watched with interest, and will be considered in their bearing on Indian administration generally.\textsuperscript{12}

The new Maharaja also made significant contribution toward social uplift in India by bringing about great social reforms in his State. Laws were passed to prevent child marriage and to permit widow remarriages. An attempt was made to remove caste tyranny and to abolish untouchability. There was a great opposition from the orthodox people when the Maharaja decided to cross the seas. It was after the tenth European trip, in 1914, that the Maharani Chimnabai II, a true life companion of Sayajirao, gave up her purdha by sitting next to her husband on a sofa in prize distribution ceremony. It was a shock to the conservative old traditionalists. Yet the Maharaja remained firm.

Sayajirao was a devoted traveller, who believed that the travel is one of the most effective means of education. He had already visited England and the Continent many times, yet he could not cross the Atlantic until 1906. His ambition to visit the New World was fulfilled in that year, when he decided to undertake a voyage to the U.S.A. On May 5, 1906, he proceeded to America with his Maharani and younger brother Sampatrao. He was anxious to get acquainted with all aspects of the life and culture of the American people and their government. He went to America as an observer, a student desirous of acquiring all the knowledge and experience that could enable him to make his own State a model one in India. He studied especially the system of American education and engaged the services of an expert educationalist, who came to Baroda, studied her educational system, and proposed the needed reforms for educational.
He (Sayajirao) enquired also into the questions of industrial development, agriculture, labour unions, child-rearing and circulating libraries, on the last point with very fruitful results.\textsuperscript{13}

His method of developing his dominions is illustrated by his dispatching of some seeds from Colorado to his State for agricultural experiments. This was characteristic of his foreign visits and his efforts to achieve all-pervasive development of his State. Wherever he went, he made an attempt to see the best of the region. He tried to ascertain the basic factors that had enabled those progressive countries to rise high in industrial, economic, social, and other spheres of life. He inquired into the intricacies of the systems developed abroad and tried to adopt them and adapt them to suit the special situations obtaining in his own State. Not only did he import new ideas into his State, but he also invited foreign specialists to implement those ideas in his territories.

Although the Maharaja was a ruler of a small territory of Baroda, he thought and spoke in terms of the Indian nation. He wanted to see the whole country develop to a high level in every sphere of life, in every kind of activity. The Maharaja enunciated his philosophy of government before a large gathering in his capital on the occasion of the visit of the Viceroy, Lord Minto, in November, 1909. In his delivering of the Banquet address, the Maharaja said:

It (the loyalty of the people) should be real, genuine, and active. To secure such loyalty, there should be a community of interests between the subjects and the ruling power. The former should have a proper share in the administration of the country, and should feel that the Government is their own.\textsuperscript{14}

On another occasion, he said:

My policy has always been to be a friend to the British Government, to be a father to my people, and
to safeguard the dignity, rights, and self-respect of the State and its ruler; always straightforward, honest and sympathetic in dealing with subordinates and others, ever willing to do that which is right, exercising self-abnegation probably to an extent which others can hardly realise, taking in the light of knowledge and truth from whatever quarter it may happen to come, high or low, with the sole desire to do justice to all interests concerned.15

One of the greatest achievements of Sayajirao as a ruler of Baroda was in the field of education. He was a “Prince among Educators and an Educator among Princes.”16 As is already shown, he introduced many reforms in his State, not all of which achieved the same degree of success. In 1925 Sergeant asked the Maharaja “which did he consider was the greatest success among the reforms introduced by him into Baroda?” The Maharaja replied without any hesitation: “Free and compulsory education.” The Maharaja provided universal education throughout his State, as he had declared: “Education is absolutely necessary for the realization of my ambition and wishes, and for the success of my policy.”17 Replying to the felicitations offered on the occasion of the celebrations marking his Diamond Jubilee, the Maharaja said: “I chose education as the rock on which to reconstruct a new social and economic life...education should be the right of the humblest villager.”18 Thus education was the foundation on which the Maharaja decided to build up his new social order. Baroda became the first territory not only among the native states but also in British India to have compulsory free primary education. This was introduced as an experimental measure in 1893 in a taluka of Amreli District, a region comparatively backward. The experiment was successful. Emboldened by this, he extended it to the entire State in 1906.

This interest in education was the origin of the Maharaja’s enthusiasm for libraries. On November 7, 1912, he performed the opening ceremony of the “Sharada Mandir,” a representative Marathi library in Bombay. Explaining the nature and functions of library service, he said:
A library is instituted to preserve the record of the deeds of men, and the thoughts of men, for the instruction and enlightenment of future generations, so that those who are about to start to do their share of the work of the world, their own part in the advance of the human race in intelligence, in civilization, in power, may start fair from the basis of achievement gained by the countless generations before them.¹⁹

Neither the school nor the college, he believed, can take a learner to the end of his life-long journey in the pursuit of knowledge. He must first enroll himself as a pupil in the People’s University...the Library, if he wants to continue his life-long education, a pre-requisite for keeping pace with developments in the field of knowledge.²⁰ The library should contain a collection of books chosen well. It should be well classified so that the seeker does not waste his time or energy in searching for what he needs. “A library must be built up as men are built, slowly and carefully and with due consideration of the work to be performed. This is an institution...the work of which, in the future, may help or mar the man by whose hands that future will be formed.”²¹ According to Sayajirao, primary education was to be the very base. Having provided it on a universal scale, the Maharaja decided to preserve it by means of libraries, which were the only agencies, he believed, for perpetual universal self-education. Sayajirao firmly believed that to provide education without providing the means to continue it throughout life was like building a house without a roof to cover it. And so he resolved to provide libraries for his subjects.

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origin of the name. The original word, whether Gujarati or Marathi, if
transliterated systematically can have only one form—"Gayakavara."

2. Rural Baroda; A Monograph Drawn Up by the Government of Baroda
(Bombay : Indian Society of Agricultural Economics, 1949)

3. Philip W. Sergeant, The Ruler of Baroda; An Account of the Life and
Several biographies have been written of Sayajirao. His collected
addresses and speeches have been published in many editions. Also
his letters have been published. Thus a good deal of information on
the life and work of Sayajirao is available.

4. Stanley Pitcairn Rice, Life of Sayajirao III, Maharaja of Baroda

5. Sergeant, op. cit., p. 132.

6. Ibid., p. 6.

7. Rural Baroda, p. 118.


9. Ibid., p. 53.

10. Ibid., p. 55.

11. Ibid., p. 122.

12. Great Britain, House of Commons, Parliamentary Debates (4th Series,


15. Ibid., p. 144.

16. Dhanwant M. Desai, Universal, Compulsory and Free Primary Educa-


18. "Baroda Diamond Jubilee, Sixty Years of Progressive Rule," Feuda-
tory and Zamindari India, Madras, January, 1936, p. xv.


20. Ibid., p. 30.

21. Ibid.
Pioneering Libraries

The origins of the public library movement in Baroda can be traced to the year 1901, when the Maharaja resolved to disseminate general knowledge among his people through books and to make them aware of contemporary world events. He decided to establish a library as an experiment in one of the towns of a taluka and, in order to implement his idea immediately, he issued orders to his minister. Instead of making the experiment in a progressive town like Petlad, ordered the Maharaja, an ordinary town surrounded by about twenty villages should be selected so that the result could be vividly seen.

To begin with, a free public library should be started. When enough readers started using it and got accustomed to its value, then a fee could be gradually introduced. The library should be provided with books which would enlighten the masses, develop their general knowledge, and make them better citizens of the country and responsible members of society. And if the experiment proved a success in one town, the scheme should be extended to other towns.¹ This was the germination of the library movement in Baroda. However, several years elapsed before the idea could be fully implemented.

The Maharaja visited the United States for the first time in the year 1906. He was greatly impressed by the development of public libraries there. Without waiting for his return home, he cabled an order to his Education Commissioner:
It is necessary to establish libraries in every taluka or peta-mahal so that the rural people may get opportunities to read books, newspapers and periodicals.  

The Education Commissioner was instructed to work out a detailed scheme to implement the objective immediately. The Maharaja further assured his Minister of the necessary guidance based on his own direct experience of such institutions in America and Europe should any difficulty arise. Rs. 30,000 were sanctioned “for opening libraries in villages for the diffusion of knowledge and the awakening of interest in educational and industrial movements of the present times.” The Maharaja wished that the Scheme should be introduced as an experiment first in some taluka of Amreli District where there was no library. It was necessary to get systematic plans for the buildings sketched out wherein the libraries would be eventually housed; however, they were to be kept in rented quarters at the outset.

These libraries were intended to be totally free, but a nominal fee could be charged subsequently to defray miscellaneous expenses and to replenish the stock of books lost or damaged. He believed that there was nothing unfair in this charge. In order to get the people interested in the scheme, the government decided to seek the cooperation of self-governing institutions like the panchayats and municipalities. Publications issued under the auspices of the State were to be supplied free to the libraries so that the movement would be strengthened. It was also arranged to send newspapers and periodicals in travelling library boxes from Baroda to existing libraries that would cooperate. These existing libraries were invited to join the scheme and were urged to extend their sphere of activities. The Royal Order detailed above contained the seeds of the subsequent development of the public library movement in Baroda and also of the scheme for travelling library service.  

In conformity to his ruler’s instructions, the Minister of Education prepared a detailed plan to open Circulating Libraries in the State, which was approved in March, 1907. Every public library instituted through the State’s financial assistance was to be named a “Circulating Library” of the village or town. It was to be housed in a rented building, or in one provided free by the people, who had to provide also the
necessary furniture. It was to be managed by the school teacher under the direction of the president of the local panchayat. The neighbouring villages could use the library provided they contributed to the Library Maintenance Fund. The books and newspapers available in the library could be read without any charge in the library premises; and they could be borrowed for home use by paying a nominal fee of one half anna per month. The purchase of books and periodicals and the internal administration was the function of the people. The Government was willing to offer guidance only in the beginning. Ultimately, the library was to be administered by the people and supported mainly through their own funds. Thus the Government gave an indication of its subsequent policy for the maintenance of libraries.

Under these conditions, the Government agreed

1. to contribute annually as much as the people could collect, but not more than Rs. 24 for the purchase of newspapers, periodicals, and journals,

2. to give a set of books relating to literature, arts, and sciences worth Rs. 100 on the people’s offering to the Vidyadhikari (Commissioner of Education) any sum in their power up to Rs. 100. There was no minimum to the contribution from the people, but the Government promised to present books valued at Rs. 100/-, and

3. to provide additional help in the form of books in translations published through State aid, each library receiving books worth Rs. 125.

It was also decided that “the libraries should remain the property of the public so long as they are maintained in a state of efficiency. If circumstances required the libraries to be closed, the books and equipment should become State property under the direct control of the Head Master of the local vernacular school.”

It is to be noted that the annual contribution of the Government was limited to Rs. 24 and was intended for the purchase of non-book reading materials. There was no provision for the purchase of new books, or the replacement of the existing ones when they wore out.

While the Education Department was thus planning to inaugurate a public library movement in Baroda, a region was being activated to provide a fertile field for the experiment. The
Scheme of Compulsory Primary Education was getting the firm support of the educated. Many enthusiastic public leaders appreciated the desire of their Maharaja to ameliorate the conditions of the masses through education and the dissemination of useful knowledge, and realized that the wishes of the Maharaja could be fulfilled only through the public's cooperation.

Motibhai Narsinhbhai Amin, then Head Master of the Anglo-Vernacular School of Petlad, came forward to lead the people in supporting the growth of libraries. During the year 1904-05, he read two books which created a lasting impression on his mind. He felt the need to devise a scheme whereby such books could get a wider circulation. He devoted much thought to the matter and concluded that it was necessary to establish reading rooms and public libraries in villages in order to disseminate useful knowledge. This rural library work could be done only by the teachers. Therefore, he prepared a plan in March, 1906, and submitted it to the pupil-teachers studying at the Baroda (Male) Teachers Training College.

According to his proposal, when the newly graduated teachers went to villages to teach, they were to be supplied with newspapers and books valued at Rs. 20 or 30 if they could send a contribution of Rs. 10 or 15 respectively from their villages. Motibhai explained to the teachers that the villages were far away from the railways, so that the teachers would have difficulty in obtaining news of the world outside. They had no opportunities to acquire more knowledge or to come in personal contact with the learned. Consequently, he warned, their life would tend to be dull and dreary. If the teachers cooperated in his plan, they would serve themselves and society by bringing knowledge to the very doors of the people. Even while living in the most isolated villages, they could come in indirect contact with the learned and thereby promote their own cultural advancement. Motibhai decided to start such rural libraries in fifty villages through the help of teachers. This was the beginning in Gujarat of the first public library movement in the form of “Mitra Mandal Libraries” (Society of Friends) which was inaugurated on July 1, 1906.

The movement received immediate support and promised to be successful. Motibhai was a great organizer and philanthropist.
The teachers gave full cooperation. And the people too came forward. This cooperation generated a wave of enthusiasm everywhere and within the following two years 150 new libraries were established in the villages of Gujarat, of which thirty were founded in the very first year in Baroda State alone. They contributed toward developing a taste for reading among the people.

Meanwhile, the Government’s Scheme of Circulating Libraries became effective in April, 1907. On behalf of the Mitra Mandal Libraries Motibhai approached the Government for financial assistance. It agreed to grant Rs. 15 annually to each Reading Room and books valued Rs. 100 in exchange for a local contribution of Rs. 25. This state assistance had an encouraging effect. The Mitra Mandal Libraries intensified their activities. About one hundred libraries and reading rooms were established in Baroda. The Scheme came in very handy to the Government in implementing its own plans of library service. It served as an inspiration to others, as is shown in subsequent pages.

The Government wished that the prant panchayats of the State should cooperate in this movement aimed to provide universal education to the masses. They showed interest in the provision of library service. Consequently the Government ordered that a minimum of Rs. 2,900 per annum be provided collectively by the four prant panchayats distributed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baroda</td>
<td>Rs. 900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kadi (Mehsana)</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navsari</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amreli</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 2,900

The Government also ordered that wherever possible, the public parks and squares should be used for library purposes. The Administration Report for the year 1906-07 predicted:

There are fair prospects of these libraries becoming
permanent institutions...With schools in every village for the young and libraries for those more advanced, there is a great future for the spread of education and enlightenment amongst the masses.  

The Government's Scheme for Circulating Libraries progressed in an encouraging manner. One hundred village libraries were established during the first year. Their total number rose to 151 in the second year. It reached 166 and 223 respectively in the third and fourth years. Moreover, reading rooms for newspapers and periodicals were opened in many towns and villages. They numbered only twenty at the end of the fourth year, because some were converted into libraries when the people were able to raise Rs. 25, the minimum amount necessary for the supply of books.

### TABLE I
Progress of Circulating and Mitra Mandal Libraries
1907-08—1910-11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1907-08</th>
<th>1908-09</th>
<th>1909-10</th>
<th>1910-11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Circulating Libraries</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mitra Mandal Libraries</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading Rooms.</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>160</strong></td>
<td><strong>222</strong></td>
<td><strong>232</strong></td>
<td><strong>247</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table I presents the progress of Circulating and Mitra Mandal Libraries during the first four years of the public library movement in Baroda.

The Department of Education attempted to popularize these libraries among the people and hoped that the interest created by
the libraries, "these infant nurseries of knowledge," would be sustained. The successive reports of Baroda Administration for the years 1909-08 to 1910-11 note a "very remarkable progress" which was also testified by the amounts of funds contributed by the Government, local boards, and the people. During the four-year period, from April 1907 to July 1911, Rs. 119,422 were invested in the promotion of public libraries in Baroda. The Government spent a total of Rs. 74,091, and the prant panchayats contributed a total of Rs. 9,649. The contribution of the people stood at Rs. 16,665. Table II presents the details.

### Table II

Finance For Circulating and Mitra Mandal Libraries

1907-08—1910-11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Finance</th>
<th>1907-08</th>
<th>1908-09</th>
<th>1909-10</th>
<th>1910-11</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rs.</td>
<td>Rs.</td>
<td>Rs.</td>
<td>Rs.</td>
<td>Rs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People's Contribution</td>
<td>2,525</td>
<td>3,705</td>
<td>4,780</td>
<td>5,665</td>
<td>16,675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State and Local Boards</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>10,548</td>
<td>13,106</td>
<td>16,645</td>
<td>46,299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discount on Books</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>4,357</td>
<td>5,218</td>
<td>6,338</td>
<td>18,913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gifts of Translations</td>
<td>1,991</td>
<td>10,750</td>
<td>11,832</td>
<td>12,972</td>
<td>37,545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>13,516</td>
<td>29,360</td>
<td>34,936</td>
<td>41,620</td>
<td>119,432</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, the growth did not continue. Two hundred twenty-seven public libraries had been established during the first four years, but most of them gradually reached a stage where they started to decay rather than grow. They became lifeless as far as the public use was concerned.

The cause of this decay needs to be ascertained. There was little money to pay for librarian's salaries, for shelves, or for replacements; but the central weakness of the Scheme of Circulating Libraries was perhaps the lack of any provision for regular additions to the original stock of books. Once the novelty of the
books was over, they did not have any attraction for the readers. Consequently, their use declined. In some places they deteriorated and became rotten in boxes or cupboards. In other places, they were scattered, or they disintegrated for want of even cupboards.

Speaking before a meeting of the Baroda Library Club in September, 1912, Motibhai explained why people lost interest in those early libraries. For want of funds, the libraries “could with difficulty maintain even menials drawing Rs. 3 or 4 per month to work as librarians.” In such a situation, naturally, the circulation of books remained very low. The lack of books had an adverse effect on popularity. Amin said:

People go to the library for books and when they are informed that no books, other than those that they have already read are available in the library, they get naturally disappointed and the institution having no attraction for them, they do not visit it again.

This was the real situation. Books were supplied to the village libraries once for all. There was no recurring grant for annual maintenance. When the old books had lost all the novelty and provided no attraction, they became prey to the insects. There was no increase, rather a gradual decrease in the number of books. Amin concludes:

A library is like a reservoir of drinking water; it must have a constant, fresh stream running in, or it becomes stagnant and unusable.

The friends of the libraries tried at the time to save them from disappearing, yet they were helpless. Under the circumstances a drastic reorganization of the foundations of the Scheme was called for. After the Scheme of Circulating Libraries had been in operation for about three years, the Maharaja and his officers realized that the movement had lost its first momentum and that the libraries had reached a moribund stage. Something new had to be devised if the libraries were to be brought back
...to life and made strong enough to live permanently. Kudalkar says:

If the library was to strike deeper roots in the soil, it required a thorough reconstruction of the existing system, and such a reconstruction required to be planned by some one possessing an intimate knowledge of the intricate working of public library organisations in other countries. It was again the United States of America that was called in for help.18

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2. Ibid., p. 42.
5. Education Report, 1908-09, p. 56.
8. Education Report, 1908-09, p. 56.
9. Compare Borden’s Scheme providing continuous support for new books.
11. Ibid., p. 46.
12. Ibid.
13. J. S. Kudalkar, The Baroda Library Movement (Baroda; Central Library, 1919), p. 48. The Maharaja had received his first inspiration for public libraries from the U.S.A. during his visit in 1906.
Such an expert "someone" happened to be an American librarian from New Haven, Connecticut. He was William Alanson Borden, the first American librarian to create a permanent library link between India and the United States. He had learned his first lessons in library administration as a pupil-assistant of Charles A. Cutter at the Boston Athenaeum. In 1885, he became the Librarian of the Reynolds Library, Rochester, New York, and did a great deal of library organization work, especially in promoting rural library service. He also lectured in 1887 at the School of Library Economy as an associate of Melvil Dewey at Columbia College, New York.

His greatest laboratory for experimentation, however, was the Library of the Young Men's Institute, New Haven, Connecticut, where he worked from 1887 to 1910, except for a short break in the years 1896 to 1898 when he was employed at the Linonia and Brothers Library of Yale University.

Borden was not a practical librarian alone, nor merely a library classificationist; he was also an engineer-designer. He designed a catalog card support, a stick-type newspaper file (still used in American libraries), a newspaper reading table, and a cantilevered steel bookstack, the last being his greatest achievement in designing library equipment.

While at New Haven, he developed, among many other ingenious library promotional activities, a Young People's
Reading Room, where he acquired through loan an aquarium and a collection of moths and butterflies to attract and hold the eager minds of the young people. He also organized a system of delivery of books from door to door and lent his own car for the experiment. He initiated the formation of the Connecticut Library Association and made some experiments in pre-publication cataloging and the supply of printed catalog cards of important new books, especially those requiring analyticals.

All this work was preparatory to his magnum opus, the establishment of a free public library system in Baroda.

The New Haven Register records:

It happened that in 1910, a native prince of India, the Gaekwar of Baroda, was visiting in New York City. The dusky-skinned noble was deploiring the lack of education and the lack of books in his native country, and at the same time expressing need for a librarian who would revolutionize the system. A friend, listening to him, mentioned Mr. Borden as a possible solution to the problem, and it was not long after that, that the work in Baroda was inaugurated.¹

Borden himself has stated how he happened to go to Baroda. Writing in August 1912, he said:

Two years ago, through the instrumentality of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar, the present writer was induced to give up his professional work in America and come to Baroda to do for India, so far as he was able (or permitted), what had already been done for the people of his own country, in the way of founding free libraries and of putting good books into the hands of those most needing them—the common people².

Borden reached Baroda on November 6, 1910,³ and became the Director of State Libraries. Sayajirao returned to Bombay after his world tour on December 17, 1910. He received an Address of Welcome in Bombay. He told his audience that while returning from America he had brought
along with him a library expert. He hoped that several beneficial results would be achieved through his help. He had been thinking for many years of establishing a network of free public libraries throughout his state, and it was good that he was able to find a specialist in library service.4

The work of Motibhai in developing libraries was well known to the Maharaja. He appointed him as the Assistant to the Director of State Libraries. Motibhai went to Baroda on January 4, 1911 to join in making plans for the establishment of the Baroda Library System. Borden had to make an extensive survey of the library situation in Baroda. Motibhai was asked to accompany him. Since Borden did not know Gujarati, the local language, Motibhai must have proved very useful. This survey was conducted during the first few months of 1911, but Borden had been active in thinking and planning since he arrived at Baroda.

The Maharaja returned to Baroda, his capital, on December 19, 1910. On that very day Borden reported to the Maharaja: "I find the library situation in Baroda not only in advance of the rest of India, but much in advance of what I had been led to expect; and I had expected considerable."5 According to Borden, there were several rather good libraries in Baroda City, the Palace Library, the Shri Sayaji Library, the Baroda College Library, the State Library, and the library in the Office of the Minister of Education. All of these were roughly classified by subject, were cataloged to a certain extent, and housed a total of about 40,000 volumes.

There were also in Baroda City several other collections of books in the libraries of various State Departments; those in the Dewan's office, the Museum, the Department of Agriculture, the Military Department, the Chief Engineer’s Office, the Purdah Reading Room, and probably other places which Borden had not yet found. Distributed through Baroda State were several other libraries, owned by municipalities and not under State control, but which, "without a doubt, could be brought under the control of a central library system if
proper inducements were offered." The following shows the distribution by prants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prant</th>
<th>Libraries</th>
<th>Volumes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baroda</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14,139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kadi</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6,770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navsari</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12,688</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amreli</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6,018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>40</strong></td>
<td><strong>39,615</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There were also 191 very small school libraries in various towns and villages of the State, and under the control of the Department of Education. These libraries though individually small, yet held about 25,000 volumes, and being already organized, they offered the best kind of foundation on which one might build something better. Borden continued:

Thus I find that there are in Baroda State something over 241 libraries, holding a little over 100,000 volumes; some under municipal control, some under the control of the Department of Education, one under the control of Your Highness, and one under the control of Shrimant Sampatrao Saheb.

Borden did not find any of those libraries adequately housed, nor did he find them shelved in such a manner as to make them most attractive to readers or convenient to those in charge. At the same time, those he had examined contained books well selected, were managed by intelligent and courteous librarians and assistants, and would have been undoubtedly much used were their contents made more attractive to the ordinary reading public.

Borden proposed:

Should Your Highness feel disposed to grant me the necessary authority, I propose to organize a Department of Public Libraries, to rank with the other Departments
of Your State, with the necessary equipment of officers and clerks, etc, and to bring all the libraries above mentioned under its control and management.

Borden’s proposals further included:

1. To unify all the collections of books in Baroda City into one Central Library;

2. To add to this Central Library, general and technical books;

3. To erect a suitable library building of fireproof construction, with reading rooms, study rooms, Women’s library, Children’s library, Lecture hall, Library school, and executive offices;

4. To make that library the Free Public Library of Baroda City, and also the main storehouse for all the valuable historical documents and papers now in private hands in the State, but which the owners would probably be glad to have stored in a safe place;

5. To make it also the center from which travelling libraries should start and from which the books, new and old, could be distributed to the various branch libraries in the different towns, cities, and villages of the State.

Borden had prepared a ground plan of such a library building adapted to tropical climate and suited to the different activities; and he had also prepared a properly graded system of classification, designed not only for the Central Library but for all the branches of that Library whether large or small.

It was further proposed by Borden to select a class from the “most intelligent of the present librarians,” and to instruct that class in practical library work and in the theory of librarianship, so that they could assist him in the classification and cataloging of the books then available in the various libraries or to be purchased for them, and with their assistance
to ultimately found a Library School that could graduate expert assistants for the main library and the different branch libraries of the State.

Borden realized that such a plan as he had sketched would naturally take some years for its accomplishment, and although its expense in entirety might be considerable, yet it would be distributed somewhat evenly over five years or more. and "would be considered, from the increase in the national intelligence it would foster, as good an investment of capital as one could make." Concluding, Borden declared:

Personally, I would gladly take charge of such a work, if arrangements can be made therefor that shall be mutually satisfactory; and should I do so I have no hesitation in making the assertion [!] that I can give the State of Baroda the finest system of libraries and the finest library building in India, and a library that will take its place with other well-known libraries of other countries; and, what I conceive to be of still more importance, a library that will be much used by the people of Baroda State and be of much use to them; and a library of which Your Highness may well be proud.

The Maharaja invited the opinions of the Minister of Education, Masani, and the Dewan, C.N. Seddon. In general Masani's reaction was favorable. He agreed that Borden's suggestions were based on his varied practical experience of large public libraries in America and Europe. Masani commented on Dewey's system of classification and recommended that Borden's proposed scheme of classification be adopted in toto without making any change therein, on the ground that it was "a practical wisdom not to interfere with the method of classification devised and elaborated" by an expert. He was greatly satisfied that Borden found the Baroda library situation so progressive. On Borden's proposal to add a collection of 130,000 volumes to those already existing, Masani recommended an initial book grant of Rs. 25,000 to be augmented when further amounts were needed. Masani approved the plan of building which would cost about Rs. 400,000. He
commented: "Whether such an extraordinary expenditure can be borne without a financial strain is for the Government to judge. There is a pressing demand for good school houses from all quarters and it is scantily met at a very slow rate." Masani believed that it would be some time before children's libraries and Purdah Women's libraries would be in real demand and use. There was already a women's library in the heart of the city, but it was not used much. Masani was afraid that ladies might not come to the Central Public Library. With regard to the Library School, Masani said: "The proposal to form a Library class is commendable." He proposed starting the class in the Baroda College in the mornings so that the working people could derive the benefit. He also recommended a stipend of Rs. 50/- per month to the students.

Mr. Seddon, the officiating Dewan, agreed with Masani and said that the scheme could be implemented "provided we are ready to spend a good deal of money." He added, however:

In my opinion, indeed, the building of a large central library, the stocking of it with a large number of additional books, and the training of a small body of librarians, are luxuries. It does not appear to me that the time has yet come when such a thing can be considered in any way necessary [underlining in original] to our continued development.

According to Seddon, the State was already spending a good deal on education, and in the successful prosecution of their endeavors there were many urgent needs, and much money had to be spent upon them. Concluding, Mr. Seddon said: "If the money so badly wanted for these things is diverted into another course, I should be very sorry. I trust it will not be so."

In 1944 Waknis recalled this discussion. He said: "But the Government of the day (which included one English civilian who regarded the library as a costly luxury) did not regard a central Government library as a necessity and suffered.
the Central Library to chip off two of its facets, viz. a state and a palace library."

Nevertheless, the Maharaja apparently accepted Borden’s proposals, at least in principle, and ordered that the whole scheme might be implemented in parts. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that Borden was given the necessary authority and was allowed to continue his work in Baroda for a period of three years. The Royal Order, sanctioning Borden’s proposal, decreed:

1. The idea of Central Library is approved.
2. Separate rooms for men, women and children should be first provided.
3. Instruction in library work be initiated.
4. Branch libraries in the State Department should not be abolished.
5. Rs. 10,000 be sanctioned for books.

Borden requested a total of Rs. 18,389 for the operation of the Library Department, for the first year to be expended on books, staff, etc. The Library Department was created under Huzur Order No 8/19, January 30, 1911, for organizing libraries in Baroda State.

Borden’s next great assignment was to lay the foundations of the Baroda Library System which he had planned. On May 8, 1911, he submitted to the Government a memorandum requesting their approval to the “Rules for the Formation of Free Public Libraries” and an expenditure of Rs. 24,996. Borden begins with a short history and tells why free public libraries are a natural consequence of free compulsory education.

Since His Highness’s Government had introduced the system of free and compulsory education throughout the State, and thereby enabled every boy and girl to learn how to read and write, it had been its supreme duty, so believed Borden, as a natural consequence of the same system, to provide for its people materials of healthy literature that might
inform, inspire, and build character. This could be done effectively and economically only through public libraries. Only a limited number could buy or subscribe to books or papers. “But knowledge, to be accessible to all the classes of people, rich and poor alike, must be as free as air or water,” declared Borden.

In an earlier Memo on the creation of the Central Library Department, submitted to and sanctioned by His Highness the Maharaja Saheb, the fourth function of the Central Library Department was briefly mentioned as under:

Organizing libraries in various talukas of Baroda State and especially creating a taste and a desire in the people for having Libraries of their own in their own villages. Putting the existing Libraries on a better footing and opening new libraries wherever necessary.

Borden elaborated and explained how the objective would be achieved:

1. Establishment of free libraries where none exists.
2. Encouragement and aid to small libraries already in existence.
3. Conversion of subscription-libraries into free libraries.
5. Cooperation with literary men in preparing reading lists on special subjects and general lists for special classes.

In brief, it was proposed that the Central Library would “undertake to create a demand for good reading and awaken sense of the obligation which rests on every citizen to make his neighbor, so far as possible, a reader of good books.”

Borden believed that to make the scheme of free public libraries a success, complete cooperation of the Government, panchayat, and people was essential. A short history of
libraries situated in Baroda State based on authentic reports sent by the different secretaries, through Vidyadhikari office, clearly proved to Borden that efforts of the people to organize libraries and to put them on a sound basis had not met with complete success. To accomplish these ends it was necessary that the Government and the panchayat should enter into complete cooperation with the people. The Central Library Department, keeping this principle of cooperation in view and having especially in mind the conditions and needs of the people for whom these libraries were intended, had very carefully prepared the Rules for the formation of free public libraries. These rules were submitted to and approved by His Highness, and they were re-submitted for sanction of the Government as desired by the Naeb Dewan.

Borden reported that in all there were about two hundred village libraries, of which only one hundred might be in working order. The Department hoped that in the next two years there would be three hundred libraries, including those that already existed, which would have to be helped. Though the maximum Government aid according to Library rules was prescribed as Rs. 50, the average would come to be Rs. 20 only and hence the total amount required for village libraries was calculated to be only Rs. 6,000, per year.

In regard to the books worth Rs. 100 which were to be given by the Central Library Department to all the new libraries under the scheme on the payment of Rs. 25 from local funds, the balance of about Rs. 15,000 of the original grant of Rs. 30,000 for Circulating libraries was available; hence no new sanction was necessary. Out of forty towns having more than four thousand inhabitants, it was believed that only thirty would avail themselves of more than Rs. 50 per year and the average amount necessary for every library would be Rs. 150, even though the maximum sum allowable for all these libraries was Rs 300. Thus for thirty such libraries the total amount required would be Rs. 4,500 per year. Similarly of the three prant stations, viz. Mehsana, Navsari, and Amreli, each would require on an average a
grant of Rs. 500 (the maximum grant being Rs. 700) and thus the total amount on this account would be Rs. 1,500 per year.

As for the travelling libraries referred to in Rule No. 3, the expenses were expected generally to be of nonrecurrent nature and might be met from the balance left from the grant for the Circulating libraries, these libraries being meant for the very villages for which the grant for Circulating libraries was originally intended. A special sanction was requested to allow the Department to spend Rs. 6,000 if necessary from the original grant for 150 travelling libraries.

Travelling libraries were intended to be sets of books, from twenty-five to fifty in number, on different subjects, to be sent to schools, libraries, or clubs of different villages, for three to six months, either to create a taste for reading and ultimately demand for a library, or to supply a fresh stock of books not possessed by these libraries so as to keep the readers' interest alive.

According to Rule No. 10, the Government had to pay one-third of the total cost of a library building. The exact grant required for this purpose would generally be ascertained from the number of demands for such buildings that came up before the Central Library Department. It was roughly calculated that the grant required for this purpose would be Rs. 12,000/- per year.

Borden also requested a special staff to carry on the above work. Thus the total budget required was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Rs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Village Libraries</td>
<td>300/20</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town Libraries</td>
<td>30/150</td>
<td>4,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grant Libraries</td>
<td>3/500</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building grant</td>
<td></td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Establishment</td>
<td></td>
<td>996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>24,996</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Borden submitted the memo on May 8, 1911 through the Vidyaadhikari and Accountant General.
The Vidyadhikari reacted as follows:

I am in general agreement with the main principles of the Library Scheme outlined in present tippan, and the rules and regulations set forth may be sanctioned. However, I am tempted to make a few remarks as follows: The total budget requirements are put down at Rs. 24,996/-; and it is expected that this will be shared equally by three agencies, the Local Library Committee of Management, the Local Boards and the Government. Will the finances of the Boards be in a position to contribute one-third of the budgeted amount which will be approximately Rs. 8,000/- a year?

In regard to town libraries, the Vidyadhikari suggested that it would be advisable to have more than one library and that it would be better to start a new library with Government aid in addition to the one already existing and supported from private funds, which might be allowed to stand on its own resources. This was a very significant recommendation, but was not implemented.

It was indicated that the three Prant Libraries at Patan, Amreli, and Navsari should have a complete collection of books published in Gujarati, so as to serve as a reference library for the Gujarati reading public, in addition to books in English and other languages.

Another important recommendation of the Vidyadhikari was that each of the three prant libraries should have a trained librarian at its head, maintained at Government expense, who would be responsible for carrying out the library policy of Government with efficiency in that prant. In the rules and regulations, the following modifications were suggested by the Vidyadhikari:

(a) On page 6 line 5, and on page 9 line 6 the words, "If the funds at their disposal allow" may be omitted, as the Prant Panchayat will never come forward to make any voluntary contribution for this purpose.

The Accountant General generally agreed to the proposals.
of the Department modified in the light of the opinion expressed
by the Vidyadhikari, adding that the Local Boards need not be
exempted from contributing to the general expenses of the
scheme. The Accountant General argued:

It is said that Local Boards have no money at
their disposal. This is not correct. It has been observed
for the last two or three years that the Local Boards
cannot or do not spend the whole amount at their
disposal. At the end of the last year there was a
large balance unspent and under this circumstance it
would not be fair to relieve them of their due burden
which they must bear for the good of the population.

The Rules were sanctioned by the Executive Council on June
27, 1911. The local boards were allowed to provide matching
grants only if the funds at their disposal permitted. They were
not compelled to contribute their share as recommended by the
Vidyadhikari and the Accountant General. The result was that
libraries in Baroda always remained dependent on the mercy of
the Government and panchayats. Even if the people contributed
their own share, there was no guarantee that the Government
or panchayats would necessarily contribute the matching funds
since there was no compulsion in the Rules. This then became
one of the greatest weaknesses in the foundation of the Baroda
Library System. While the seeds of growth and regeneration
were sown, the weeds of decay and degeneration too crept in.

Borden had requested Rs. 24,996 but only Rs. 5,000 were
sanctioned. The Accountant-General said: “The present year
will be one of scarcity, if not of famine, and people will find it
hard to contribute.” Borden asked for extra staff. The Account-
tant-General reacted: “To go so fast in the direction of organiza-
tion of libraries seems to me to be of doubtful utility.”

Although these Rules created such controversy and the
Government took so much time in approving them, this is what
Borden said regarding their approval:

We next drew up a code of rules for the forma-
tion of free public libraries. These rules upon being
signed by His Highness the Maharaja became part
of the laws of the State without any of the usual
bother with legislatures or that sort of thing.\textsuperscript{11}

\textit{Types of Libraries and Grants.} The Rules for the Formation of Free Public Libraries governed the establishment, maintenance, and direction of the various types of libraries constituting the Baroda Library System.\textsuperscript{12} Libraries were grouped into three categories on the basis of population and the power of the people to raise funds. When the inhabitants of a village, town, or prant raised Rs. 50 (later raised to Rs. 100), Rs. 300, and Rs. 700, respectively, the Government and (funds permitting) the prant panchayats (or municipalities) each assured an equal annual contribution for maintenance. A community with population above four thousand was entitled to receive Rs. 300, and the prant libraries were to be located in the prant headquarters. When the people raised one-third of the sum necessary to erect an adequate library building, the Government and the prant panchayats guaranteed to furnish the other two-thirds. A village library could be initiated by the people’s contributing only Rs. 25 and the Government’s adding Rs. 75 and providing the library with a set of vernacular books valued Rs. 100/-, which became the nucleus of the library.

\textit{Direction, Supervision, and Control.} All State-aided libraries functioned under the control of the Central Library Department. Administrative direction and supervision were planned to be exercised by integrating all libraries into a system and creating the following hierarchy:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ccc}
| Central Library Department | \downarrow & \uparrow \\
| \downarrow & \uparrow \\
| \downarrow & \uparrow \\
| \downarrow & \uparrow \\
| Reporting |
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

Prant libraries were required to exercise general control over town libraries and the latter over village libraries. Each village library was required to report to the designated town library, each town library to the Central Prant Library, and each Central Prant Library to the Central Library Department at Baroda.
Administration. A village library was administered under the supervision of the village school teacher or some other person duly authorized by subscribers or the local committee of management. The town and prant libraries could appoint independent librarians. The management (authority) of libraries vested in a committee of three to nine members elected annually, later triennially, by the whole body of subscribers to the library fund. Every committee framed its own rules for the conduct of its own business, the election of its members, and the rules and regulations for the library. All libraries were expected to expend their income in certain specific proportions for books, periodicals, rent, furnishing, staff, etc., as laid down in the Rules.

Library Service. All libraries receiving government aid had to be maintained free to all without any distinction of class, color, or creed. No compulsory subscription could be levied and none could be denied access. Libraries were expected to remain open a certain number of hours per week for reading and circulation. All libraries in Baroda, including those not forming part of the system, were entitled to receive travelling libraries.

Limitations. The Government could not pay its contribution to more than one library in a locality; and all its grants were liable to be reduced or withdrawn at its pleasure.

Local finance. The people were expected to raise their contributions by subscription, donation, or any other means. The possibility of levying a special library tax was not ruled out, although this was never made an obligatory function of the local bodies.

Taxation. The Government was prepared to consider favorably any proposal from a local body for raising funds for library purposes by means of special taxation such as the imposition of a small library rate, as for instance, one or two annas, annually, per head of the literate adult male population.

Library Development Scheme

Having achieved this, Borden worked out a very comprehensive scheme of opening libraries in prants, towns, and villages and establishing a network throughout the State.13 In accordance with the wishes of His Highness, a report on the scheme for the
organization of libraries in Baroda State was submitted by Borden on July 21, 1911. But the Maharaja ordered that it be submitted for orders of the Government.

In order to present his scheme for the organization of libraries in Baroda State in a logical manner, Borden first divided the towns and villages into a few groups, and then dealt with those groups rather than with the individual places.

First in order after the Central Library at Baroda came the prant towns, Baroda, Navasari, Mehsana, and Amreli. These required large libraries, mostly English, and largely technical or administrative. Next in importance were the large Taluka towns, Pattan, Visnagar, Petlad, Sidhpur, Dabhoi, Vadnagar, Kadi, Sojitra, Bhadran, Dwarka, Gandevi, and Vijapur. There were twelve such towns and they required libraries of about four thousand volumes each, still largely English and technical, but with a good supply of vernacular books. Then came the smaller towns of the State, towns having a population of over four thousand. Many of them were taluka towns inasmuch as they were the seats of Taluka Government, but their smaller size did not permit them to enter the list of the first class towns. For these towns a library of two thousand volumes was regarded as sufficient; and as a general thing, these libraries were supposed to be largely vernacular, the quantity of English books varying with the number of the English-reading inhabitants. Fourthly came the villages of from one thousand to four thousand inhabitants. Borden recommended that a library of five hundred volumes should be sufficient for these and that it should in most cases be entirely in the vernacular. Lastly came the small villages of less than one thousand inhabitants. It was quite doubtful if any general system of libraries could be inaugurated for these, at least at the immediate moment. The system of travelling libraries could be extended to include such of them as showed signs of being able to appreciate such attention, and the question of permanent libraries for them, save in exceptional cases, was to be left for future consideration.

But concerning all these groups there was the great question of appreciation. "To what extent will each individual of the group show," asked Borden, "due appreciation of the advantages of the library it is proposed to found for them, by coming forward with a proportionate amount of the money such a library
will cost?” Their coming forward with a part of the required outlay was a necessary prelude to the establishment of any library. By personal canvas Borden knew that the prant towns were anxious to bear their due proportion of the burden; so also with many, if not all, of the large Taluka towns. With most of the smaller towns there was much doubt of their immediate interest in the matter. In the case of villages there was no doubt, reported Borden, they took no interest, save here and there; and that interest would have to be “stimulated by missionary work.”

Although Borden wanted to consider these towns in groups and to exploit them in that manner, he did not intend to say that all the towns of any one group would come forward together; consequently provision had to be made for satisfying each of them whenever it chose to perform its part of the contract, whether the Library Department was working with the specific group to which the library belonged. Thus some leeway was to be allowed for in the grants.

Borden further said:

Of all the libraries of the State, active or proposed, the first to be considered should be the Central Library at Baroda. This is the one from which all the others are to be controlled; from which they are to receive the travelling libraries and also the books not possessed by them individually; from which they are to look for the expert help necessary to complete their organization; and to which they will all look for models in all forms of library activity.

Such was Borden’s ideal for the Central Library which was never realized. According to Borden, at the time the library was indifferently housed and could offer no models of children’s rooms, women’s rooms, reference rooms, or of scarcely anything; its stock of books was woefully insufficient, but there was at the time no room for any more books than they already had, and hardly enough for them. Borden said: “We need a new building very badly.” To be sure, the books “in sight” did not amount
to more than forty thousand, but as soon as the library secured
the staff to take care of the books as they were purchased,
there should be accommodation for at least one hundred
thousand books, and, if possible double that number. Borden
said: "What is to become the main storehouse for the books
of the State, books to be drawn upon by at least three hundred
libraries, should not only be of ample size to begin with, but
capable of indefinite enlargement."

The ground plan of this building, with its various stack
rooms, its technical library, Oriental Library, and general
popular library; its general and special reading rooms; its
library school, children's library, women's library, and study
rooms; its administration building, printing office, and
bindery; in short, all its modern varied activities had already
been sanctioned by the Maharaja some months earlier. Borden
proposed: "The sooner the erection of the building is begun
the sooner will we see the beginning of the fructification of
the plant so laboriously tended, and so anxiously anticipated."

The cost of the building, as estimated by the State Architect,
was about Rs. 400,000. The stacks and furniture would be
at least Rs. 200,000 more. As the building could hardly be
finished inside of two years and the furniture and the book
stacks could not be put in, the books transferred, or purchased,
and the whole establishment settled down to steady work in
much less than a year more, this expenditure could be distrib-
uted over three years, providing the Department with
Rs. 200,000 a year for that period.

The annual budget available for books for the Central
Library for the year 1911-12 was Rs. 13,000. According to
Borden this should be sufficient as he wished to see the catalog-
ing and classification of the Palace Library completed before
more than the books required to keep it fairly in touch with
modern progress were purchased, and he also wanted to
incorporate the Sampatrao Library into it during the year.
After the following year, however, he wished to round out the
combined libraries in subjects in which they were weak, "so
that when we have a completed building we will have a
completed library to occupy it."

Next in importance to the Central Library were those
libraries in the large taluka towns. The Prant Libraries could wait until these were thoroughly established, as they had good libraries already, although they were not free.

The twelve taluka towns had libraries then, but they were not as a rule worthy of the town they catered to. The proper size of a Taluka Library should have been at least four thousand books to start with, and liberal allowance was to be made for periodicals and for maintenance. Borden further recommended that there should be a large proportion of English books as the English-reading population was mostly found in the large towns where there were English high schools. "I would recommend that Rs. 36,000 be expended in books for these libraries, the selection being made partly by the libraries themselves and partly by the Central Library, and books distributed among the twelve libraries in such a way as would give each library about four or five thousand books."

Six of these libraries were housed in their own buildings. Some of them were large enough to house the enlarged libraries, but others needed additions, while six had to be built new. Rs. 40,000 should be enough to house all of them adequately. This sum could be raised in equal shares by the citizens, the Panchayat, and the Government. In some cases, like Pattan, where but little outlay would be required on the building, the money contributed by the citizens and the Panchayat could be used for the purchase of books. In the main, however, Borden thought that their individual portions of money for the buildings would be all that could be expected from them for a year or so. The maintenance of these libraries would cost about Rs. 500 a year each, or Rs. 6,000 for the twelve, a sum which of course would be divided in the regular way.

Borden said:

To summarize, I would recommend that if the citizens and Panchayats of these twelve towns will raise Rs. 26,600 for the buildings and Rs. 4,000 a year for maintenance, the Government may agree to give them Rs. 36,000 for books, Rs. 13,300 for buildings and an annual sum of Rs. 2,000 for maintenance. So far as my information goes the
citizens of these towns will go as far as their means allow them in their endeavours to second the Government in its efforts to found free public libraries.

The same could be said of the citizens of Navasari and of Amreli. The other Prant capital, Mehsana, was more of a railway junction than a town, and could not be expected to contribute much money for even so laudable an object as a library. It had a library, however, and a library building, the gift of a public-spirited citizen.

Borden added:

This should be the next work after the founding of the main Taluka libraries because the citizens of these towns are ready to cooperate with Government in the work, whereas those of the smaller Taluka towns are still in need of missionary work to bring them to a state of wanting libraries.

These Prant libraries were to contain the official and departmental libraries of the Prants, books for the prant officers to consult, miscellaneous books to form the free public library for the citizens, and as they would be the Central Libraries for each prant, they should have a good stock of the more expensive books that would be beyond the ability of the Taluka Library to buy, which could be loaned to such libraries when the necessity should arise. Borden believed that twenty thousand volumes would be none too many for each of these libraries, and each one should be obliged to enlarge its building to cope with the increased stock and the increased work. Navasari and Amreli would undoubtedly bear their share of this outlay; Mehsana would probably be unable, but each would bear its share in the annual maintenance of Rs. 2,000. The Government contribution to the cost of founding these three libraries was estimated to be at least Rs. 100,000, and its annual contribution for maintenance Rs. 2,000.

Continuing his proposals, Borden said:

While this work is going on, the missionary work in the smaller towns and the villages should be
pushed forward, particularly in the smaller towns, so that when the sixteen larger libraries are founded and are in working order, the smaller towns can be taken in hand. There are twenty-seven of them in the state; twelve of them have libraries at present and seven of them have library buildings, so that they do not by any means offer an unfruitful field for missionary work.

To be of adequate size they should have two thousand volumes, each and each should have a building worth Rs. 2,000; each one, again, should have an income of Rs. 300 a year for periodicals and maintenance.

To found new libraries in such towns which had none, to ensure buildings where they were wanting, and to bring all the libraries up to a standard size of two thousand volumes would have required an outlay of Rs. 50,000 for books, Rs. 40,000 for buildings, and an annual expenditure of Rs. 8,000 for maintenance. Borden hoped that some part of the outlay for books might be contributed by the citizens and the Panchayat, but if these two factors succeeded in bearing their respective shares of the building fund and of the annual maintenance, that would be about all that could be expected. At least Rs. 30,000 for books would have to be contributed by Government, added to one-third of the building fund (Rs. 13,000) and also about Rs. 3,000 a year for maintenance.

In 1912 there were 387 villages in Baroda of over one thousand inhabitants each. One hundred seventy-two of these had their libraries, some active, some painfully passive.

Part of this passivity is due to general lack of interest; the other part is due to the fact that the libraries presented to them by the government upon a payment of Rs. 25 have been altogether too small to retain their interest for any length of time. We are trying to remedy this state of things by circulating travelling libraries of standard vernacular books among them, but a more effectual remedy would be to give each village interested a standard vernacular
library of 500 volumes and allow us to make the travelling libraries entirely of the new books as they are published.

Each village also should have a building for the library that should also accommodate the village reading room and be a literary gathering place for the people. Such a building could be had for Rs. 500 and a sum of Rs. 100 a year would be ample for its maintenance.

In brief this meant for the 387 libraries the expenditure of Rs. 180,000 for books, Rs. 200,000 for buildings, and an annual outlay of Rs. 40,000 for maintenance. In the last two items the citizens and panchayats might share, but Borden assumed that would be the limit of their powers.

The Government outlay for these villages thus amounted to Rs. 250,000 together with annual expenditure of Rs. 13,000.

The expenditure was summarized by Borden as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Buildings</th>
<th>Books</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whole cost</td>
<td>Whole cost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rs. 920,000</td>
<td>326,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government share</td>
<td>Government share</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>733,000</td>
<td>306,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Government share: Rs. 1,039,000

The above figures did not take account of the annual maintenance of the Central Library nor of any of the others. During the first year the Central Library required Rs. 36,000 for maintenance, and during each of the next two years Rs. 50,000. This was while the building was being erected. After that it was expected to have an income of Rs. 100,000 per year.

Borden also submitted a table, which accompanied the proposal, showing the most economical method of distributing the expenditure of ten lakhs (plus the annual maintenance charges of all the libraries as fast as they came into being) over the next ten years.

The memo was sent to the Government through the Vidyadhikari and Accountant General on March 25, 1912. The
Vidyadhikari expressed the following opinion: "The scheme submitted by the Director of State Libraries is a comprehensive and useful one and affords very instructive reading. It seems however too ambitious to be inaugurated now."

The opinion of Manubhai, Naeb Dewan was this:

His Highness the Maharaja Saheb attaches great importance to this subject of library extension, which is only a supplement to free compulsory education in towns and villages for the purpose of spreading knowledge. We shall, therefore, have to devise means whereby we can give effect to the proposed scheme when our finances are restored to their normal state.

The present year however is one of financial depression and it is too soon yet to ensure financial support to the proposed measure which is estimated to cost Rs. 20 lakhs from next year. The annual provision for the next ten years as asked for will average about 2 lakhs, and will be reduced to Rs. 160,000 only after ten years.

The taste for reading now noticeable in the general public is too limited to allow any such large expenditure with advantage for a few years yet and ten years is perhaps too short a time for any large culture of this taste. However in course of time with a reduction in the Building Program for the Police and Forest Departments a corresponding increase may be provided in the budget for library buildings.

The Scheme was placed before the Council, which noted the entire Scheme, but decided to accord sanction to individual requests as and when needed or submitted. Thus although the Scheme was liked in principle, yet since it was a year of scarcity, if not of actual famine, the entire Scheme could not be implemented in one step. It had to be divided into several sections and put into effect on the basis of priorities. Therefore, in August, 1912, Borden submitted a scheme for town libraries only.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>VII</th>
<th>VIII</th>
<th>IX</th>
<th>X</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Head of Expenditure</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Central Library</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>100,000</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>835,000</td>
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<td><strong>Taluka Libraries (12)</strong></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>36,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13,334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2,000*</td>
<td>2,000*</td>
<td>2,000*</td>
<td>2,000*</td>
<td>2,000*</td>
<td>2,000*</td>
<td>2,000*</td>
<td>2,000*</td>
<td>2,000*</td>
<td>18,000</td>
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<td><strong>Prant Libraries (3)</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>33,000</td>
<td>33,000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>2,000*</td>
<td>2,000*</td>
<td>2,000*</td>
<td>2,000*</td>
<td>2,000*</td>
<td>2,000*</td>
<td>2,000*</td>
<td>2,000*</td>
<td>16,000</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Town Libraries (27)</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books (1/2)</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>15,000‡</td>
<td>15,000‡</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buildings (1/2)</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13,334*</td>
<td>13,334*</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>26,668</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3,000*</td>
<td>3,000*</td>
<td>3,000*</td>
<td>3,000*</td>
<td>3,000*</td>
<td>3,000*</td>
<td>3,000*</td>
<td>21,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Village Libraries (387)</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books (1/7)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>35,000</td>
<td>35,000</td>
<td>35,000</td>
<td>35,000</td>
<td>35,000</td>
<td>35,000</td>
<td>35,000</td>
<td>245,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buildings (1/7)</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9,524*</td>
<td>9,524*</td>
<td>9,524*</td>
<td>9,524*</td>
<td>9,524*</td>
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<td>9,524*</td>
<td>66,668</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1,906*</td>
<td>3,800*</td>
<td>5,700*</td>
<td>7,600*</td>
<td>9,500*</td>
<td>11,400*</td>
<td>13,300*</td>
<td>53,200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|   | 284,334 | 286,000 | 287,000 | 214,758 | 183,658 | 157,224 | 159,124 | 161,024 | 162,924 | 164,824 | 2,060,870 |

† Taluka Libraries = first class town libraries.
* 1/3 contribution to be matched by Panchayats and people.
‡ Panchayat and people's share only Rs. 3,333 each.
The Town Libraries Scheme

A careful consideration of the total needs of all the town libraries of each district had revealed that they required a total of Rs. 139,346 for books and buildings. A sum of Rs. 77,870 was estimated to be the Government’s contribution for a period of four years, or Rs. 19,467 per year. Borden recommended that the Government should bear all the expenditure for books exclusively, or at least a major part of it, and should set aside Rs. 49,666 for the purpose. He also proposed that the Government should provide as its share a contribution of Rs. 10,700 per annum for maintenance.

The Government approved the scheme and sanctioned Rs. 20,000 during the first year for books and buildings. They also agreed to provide the same amount in the subsequent budgets. All the four prant panchayats accepted the plan, and agreed to contribute their own shares. The work proceeded with vigor and enthusiasm and yielded fruitful results.

At the end of the official year 1910-11, when the Education Department entrusted the work of opening public libraries to the newly-created Central Library Department, there were 223 village libraries and twenty reading rooms in the State. Moreover, there were twenty-nine town libraries managed by private organizations and supported through subscriptions. Nineteen such libraries had their own buildings. In the very first year, i.e., 1911-12, the Central Library Department converted nine subscription libraries into free public libraries. Forty-two new village libraries were opened and 223 village libraries were given a new lease on life through financial assistance. Lastly, sixty new reading rooms were opened.

At the end of the first year, out of the one hundred towns of the State with a population from two thousand to four thousand, seventy-one had established public libraries. Out of the 326 villages with a population of one thousand to two thousand, 119 had public libraries, and out of 2,637 small hamlets which had a population of less than one thousand, seventy-five had their libraries.
In his report for the year 1911-12, Borden expressed his hope for the future:

It will appear from the foregoing paragraphs that the outlook is very hopeful and if the people take the initiative and the Government continues its encouragement in the same liberal spirit, in due course of time, there will spring up a pretty large number of libraries all over the state.\textsuperscript{14}

The *Education Report of Baroda, 1912-13*, page 72, noted that "the State spent a large sum considering its duty not merely to teach the people to read in childhood at school, but even through adult life. The Library Department has proved very useful and its success is due to Mr. Borden, and the library staff, who assisted him to make the Library Department a success." Truly a sum of Rs. 102,000 was a large amount in the very second year of the Library Department's establishment, and Borden deserved the credit for the success achieved.

**Travelling Libraries**

When the "Rules for the Formation of Free Public Libraries in Baroda" were forwarded to the Government for their approval in May, 1911, proposals were also submitted for a travelling library service among village and town libraries, educational institutions, and other societies or clubs. The objective of rendering this service immediately was to accelerate the use of reading materials on an extensive scale. There were 426 villages in Baroda with a population ranging from one thousand to four thousand. And the total number of villages with a population below one thousand was 2,628. Therefore, it was necessary to reach such small and isolated units of population and enable them to have the benefit of some public library service. The Maharaja was anxious to provide his people with the facilities of education and enlightenment that were available to the people of the more advanced western countries. Having provided them in the form of stationary collections to those who could acquire them.
through their own efforts and State aid, it was merely an extension of the principle of providing equal opportunities to all when the State decided to provide library service even to the most isolated villages. The system of travelling library service was the only means to reach such regions.\textsuperscript{15} It was the most economical and effective method of providing library service to the maximum number of people at the least cost. The entire collection of the Headquarters was potentially made available to each delivery station. No village of any size could even dream of acquiring even a fraction of what the travelling library could bring (of course, in principle) right to its doors.

Such were the considerations that moved the library authorities of Baroda to proceed with the Travelling Library System. They also believed that the provision of rural library service through portable libraries would create a taste for reading among the people, which they would not get otherwise. Once they had acquired the habit of reading and derived enjoyment from it, they might strive to raise the necessary funds and establish their own independent stationary libraries.\textsuperscript{18}

The planners of the Baroda Library system were right in their thinking. Baroda library organizers had developed a regular system for fostering the establishment of rural libraries. To begin with, a small transportable library was sent to the village and was kept there under the care and management of the local schoolmaster. Supply generated the demand. The villagers expressed their desire to have newspapers and periodicals. The Central Library Department helped them to establish a reading room, which contained a travelling library as well. The local people got more interested in books and reading, and they wished to have a library of their own. The Department again helped them to establish it. Then they wanted to have a building. The Department helped them once more and the library was housed in its own building. This was the method which created a village library in a community where there was none to begin with.\textsuperscript{17}

The Government sanctioned Rs. 6,000 in the first year to provide 150 travelling library boxes to contain books mainly in Gujarati for the general public and some in English for the
students. A part of the funds was utilized in constructing eighty-three wooden boxes. The actual dispatch of these library boxes to delivery centers out of Baroda City was started in February, 1912. Borden in his first report for the year ending July 31, 1911 stated that the Department had prepared wooden cases and that the system was introduced into Baroda City itself, especially to enable the ladies in different localities, who could not go to the library, to have access to books.18

A total of ninety portable libraries were sent to forty-nine delivery centers during the last five months of the year 1911-12. Seventy-five of these were in Gujarati, thirteen in English, and two in Marathi. This shows the order of popularity of these languages among the people of Baroda. A total of 2,574 readers read 6,992 books. The total number of books that could be sent through the portable libraries was only 2,400 during the first year of operation. But the results of the first year proved "most encouraging," and the number of portable libraries was gradually increased. And so was the total number of books.19

A portable library was sent to any village, town, or community-center upon a simple request. It was kept in charge of the Headmaster of the village school, Secretary of the local public library, or any other responsible resident of the locality, for the maximum period of three months. The in-charge librarian had to issue books at least one hour every day, or two hours on alternate days. A borrower could take out only one book at a time and could keep it for ten days. The loan was renewable. The librarian could lend books to anyone known to him or guaranteed. He had to display at certain public places a printed notice announcing the arrival and availability of the library in the villages.

The travelling library box was returned to the headquarters after the three-month period, where the books were checked and repaired, and records were made of the books circulated. An experiment was made to dispatch books directly from one delivery station to another in order to save the expenditure of bringing the books back to Baroda, but it proved unsatisfactory. It was difficult to assign the responsibility to a specific center if there was any loss or damage to books.
On May 15, 1913 Borden submitted another request for a total of Rs. 23,000/-, required every year under the Town Library Scheme and for travelling Libraries. The Minister of Education expressed his opinion on May 26, 1913 as follows:

His Highness the Maharaja Saheb ... has expressed a fear that if libraries are started in places where people take evanescent interest, they stand the danger of dying out as fast as they are created, and a further warning note has been sounded that the growth should be slow but sure.20

However, the Minister of Education recommended the sanction of Rs. 17,000/-, but the Dewan did not sanction any amount over the sum already sanctioned (Rs. 24,000/-). All this indicates Borden's great enthusiasm for the cause, which prompted him to ask for funds which were too large for the Government to sanction.

**Visual Instruction Branch**

The Public Library System in Baroda was introduced as a complement to the formal education provided in the schools. However, a large majority of the people could not derive any benefit from it simply because they were illiterates, whatever might be the development of the public library service. The book service remained confined only to those who could read. The percentage of literacy in Baroda was as low as 10 per cent in 1910. "What a shocking percentage of illiteracy we have among our thirty-five crores of people. The very thought of it is sufficient to make us shudder and feel ashamed,"21 said the Maharaja, who had realized that there was a greater need to educate the 90 per cent of illiterate masses than those who had acquired a rudimentary knowledge through the schools and were able to use books. It was essential to take knowledge to the very doors of those who were totally denied this gift of God. Since the illiterate had no ability to read the printed page, they had to be educated through the spoken word. The delivery of lectures had to be accompanied with pictures,
preferably moving. The Baroda library organizers believed in the teachings of St. Augustine that pictures are the books of the ignorant.\textsuperscript{22}

Government realizing the immense good resulting from the Magic-lantern and Cinematograph demonstrations desired Mr. Borden to purchase a complete set of kineto projector, films and other accessories. The demonstrations were held at Bhadra, Petlad and Vaso during His Highness' tour in those parts. The experiment was successful and attracted crowds of villagers to these performances. At the request of Mr. Borden, Rs. 10,000/- were sanctioned for the organization of the Visual Instruction Branch and separate establishment was granted.\textsuperscript{23}

Baroda libraries used many types of visual materials, such as simple pictures, maps, and charts that could be shown directly, or picture post cards, stereographs, magic lantern slides, and cinematograph films that could be projected in a magnified form on a screen. Of all the media, the last was the most popular. It could provide education as well as recreation.

**Central Library**

While the Visual Instruction Branch was entirely an innovation, the Central Library had some earlier antecedents. The Palace Library was established in 1880 for the use of the Maharaja when he was studying under F.A.H. Elliot. The collection of books was small in the beginning and was housed in a hall of the Lakshmi Vilas Palace. The books were selected to satisfy the interest and needs of the Maharaja, who was a lover of books. They were his constant companions and he read them extensively. Many books preserved in the Central Library bore his remarks, like “finished or read at Motibagh School ground on...date,” “interesting,” “instructive,” etc.\textsuperscript{24}

Even while the Library was located in the Palace, the Maharaja allowed government officials to use it. Senior
officials, visiting the Palace on official business, came forward and began to use it. Gradually officials of lower rank too became its users. Subsequently, the entire library was moved to the Sarkarwada, the former residence of the Gaekwars, which was located right in the heart of the city. This new location proved quite helpful. It generated a taste among the people to read books. A private royal library was bestowed as a gift upon the people, who were encouraged to feel free to use it. The more they used, the more increased the demand. The Library flourished.

One of the first acts of Borden, after reaching Baroda was to convert the Palace library into the people's library—the Central Library of the entire State. This step, taken at the very beginning of the movement, was quite significant. This collection of the Maharaja became the nucleus of the State Central Library. It comprised twenty thousand volumes of great value. The Central Library of Baroda was designated to be the Central Library for the State as well as that of the Baroda Administrative Division. The Report on Public Instruction in Baroda for 1910-11 states:

The Library Department began its work by converting the Laxmi Vilas Palace Library into the Central Library for the whole State. The membership of this Library was thrown open to each and every citizen of Baroda without any restriction whatsoever.25

The Central Library received three additional collections. Three thousand three hundred books in Gujarati and Marathi were received from the Shri Sayaji Library of Shrimant Sampatrao Gaekwar, the Maharaja's younger brother, who was greatly influenced by the library ideas of the Maharaja. He had started his own library for the use of the people of the State and had named it Shri Sayaji Library in honor of his elder brother. When he learned that his collections of Gujarati and Marathi books would be used more freely if incorporated into the State Central Library, he presented them as gifts. He also donated 630 Sanskrit books from the same library. The-
Central Library also received over three thousand printed books and manuscripts from the State Vitthal Mandir (Temple).

The Main Library comprised two divisions: (1) Lending or Circulation; and (2) Reading or Reference. Each division was further subdivided into two sections: (a) English and (b) Indian languages. The books in the Lending Library were shelved by their frequency of use and the degree of popularity. Books in greater demand were acquired in multiple copies, some in as many as six to twelve. To suit the convenience of readers, the Lending Library was housed on the ground floor, the Reference Library being located on the upper floor.

After the Central Library was established, a librarian with a special knowledge of managing the News Room was appointed. Borden called this Department an "Information Bureau." "The bureau kept a record of all the important articles that appeared in different periodicals and made brief summaries of most of them." The duties of the librarian included indexing of articles and news notices of significance appearing in newspapers, especially those published in India. He also maintained newspaper clippings. The Maharaja desired that such information should be collected and organized for his use. In approving the sanction of scholarships to institute library training in Baroda, the Royal Order had specifically mentioned such bibliographical work.

When founded, the Central Library had no reading room for newspapers or periodicals. The only facilities the people of Baroda had were those offered by the free reading room of Shri Sayaji Library and the subscription reading room of the State Library. But these had limited financial resources, and therefore could acquire only a few newspapers and periodicals.

Thus a Government grant of Rs. 1,500/- for the purchase of newspapers and periodicals at the Central Library filled a great need of the public. The Central Library opened in its very first year a reading room, subscribing to more than two hundred newspapers and periodicals, covering different subjects and representing various views. They became popular with the reading public. The Reading Room was kept open for fourteen hours a day from seven a.m. to nine p.m. all the year
round. It became a place of pilgrimage for all—young and old, high caste and low, teachers and students, the poor and the rich. The Report on Public Instruction for the year remarked: “Both the Central Library and Reading Room are well worth a visit which will be amply repaid.”

The periodicals were lent out, as an experiment, for some time, but lending was discontinued because of much wear and tear. Later, only certain readers were allowed to borrow issues of weeklies and monthlies which were temporarily bound for the purpose. A Bulletin Board, kept outside the Reading Room, contained a list of all the newspapers received on a particular day. Another board displayed a complete list of all the periodicals received in the Library. The walls of the Reading Room showed maps of various countries of the world. Also depicted were pictures representing current events. An effort was made for some time to draw the attention of the readers to the important articles appearing in current newspapers. A list of such articles was provided. Certain useful articles were even typed and made available for circulation and reading. However, this special service had to be discontinued because of the shortage of staff and the pressure of work in other departments.

Until 1913, the Central Library catered to the needs of adults only. On account of the dearth of children’s literature in Indian languages, a separate section for the children could not be started earlier. But a small collection of books, especially suited for children, was organized separately. The available books were set aside and formed an independent collection, which was used mostly by the boys and girls attending the high schools. However, need was felt to provide special facilities for the children as a separate wing of the Central Library. Books in English with beautiful illustrations were available in plenty. In order to attract the very young children, a special children’s library with such books was started in 1913. The library was provided also with a variety of illustrations, picture books, various games, puzzle boxes, Kindergarten gifts and other parlour games adapted to young children.”

The Library was rearranged every now and then to attract
and hold the attention of the children. It was kept open from 12.00 noon to 6 p.m. There was free access; no fee was charged, and no security or deposit was taken. The furniture was especially designed to suit the children. A lady librarian was made available for service. Generally the children of the nearby schools used the library extensively. Every Wednesday and Saturday was a half-day in the schools when children from distant schools also used the Library.

During the early years of the establishment of the Central Library, the staff remained busy in the work of reorganization. So the beginning of a Ladies' Library could not be undertaken. Since the library staff included three ladies, many women visited the Central Library, but not so many as had been hoped. Although education of girls had made some progress in India, women were still reluctant to use freely the educational institutions or public organizations frequented by men. The purdah system of India was largely responsible for this situation. All public institutions were obliged to make special arrangements for the women by providing separate facilities for the veiled population.29

As early as November, 1907, a special Ladies' Library had been opened in Baroda City in a locality which the women in purdah could visit without any hesitation. A lady librarian with knowledge of Gujarati managed it. It was attached to the State Education Department and was administered under the direction of the Inspectress of Girls' Schools. According to the Education Report for 1912-13 (p. 71), "it had been satisfying the wants of the other sex."

Early in 1913, this Ladies Library requested permanent recognition from the Government. The Central Library, which had already given serious consideration to founding a Ladies Library of its own, was asked to report on the request. It recommended that the Ladies Library of the city be amalgamated into the Central Library and kept under its supervision beginning with August, 1914. Since the ladies of the city in general did not like to visit the Central Library, the Central Library had to meet them at places where they gathered for social affairs. At the time there was only one such organization for ladies in the city whose members used to meet every Saturday
in the Public Park. Central Library deputed one of its lady librarians to attend the meetings. She took along with her some books in a travelling library box. The plan was liked by the patrons and became a success. Gradually stereoscopes, their pictures, and some household games were added to the contents of the library. Thereafter arose the demand for monthlies, especially for the illustrated ones. The service became popular.80

Borden’s efforts to secure a decent building for the Central Library deserve special mention. In consultation with the State Architect of Baroda, he had prepared plans for an adequate new building. He reported in April, 1913, that the plans had been approved and that the work would be started at once.81 In his report on Baroda libraries, published in the Library Journal of December, 1913, Borden announced that his persistent demand to secure the “beautiful white marble palace” for the Central Library Building was granted and that the Library had secured it. Borden spent two years in his attempt to persuade the Maharaja. His officers were shocked to hear the proposal. Borden thought that three hundred years ago such presumption would have cost him his head. Although he did not mention the palace by name, yet its picture, published as the frontispiece of the December 1913 issue of the Library Journal, shows that Borden believed he had secured the Nazarbagh Palace for the library. However, the Nazarbagh Palace was never given for library purposes, though Borden mentions this is an accomplished fact: “It is now being changed over for our purposes and will be occupied as soon as possible.... I have never seen a more beautiful library building.”82

FOUNDATIONS OF LIBRARIANSHIP

Education for librarianship was an important activity for Borden in his professional career. When he became the librarian of the Young Men’s Institute, he started an apprentice course for librarians. Even before he had left New Haven, he had planned to start library training in Baroda. Presiding over the
The eighty-fourth annual meeting of the Institute on October 20, 1910, President Bradley of the Institute remarked:

Mr. William A. Borden... has made an engagement with the Gaekwar of Baroda to go to the East Indies and assist in establishing public libraries in the part of India ruled over by the Gaekwar, perhaps opening, also, a school of library instruction for the benefit of the Potentate's Subjects.33

Borden went to Baroda to lay the foundations of the Baroda Library System. The work was to be eventually carried on by the sons of the soil. Thus it was necessary to train workers for implementing the library plans. The first class was started on March 6, 1911. The Report on Public Instruction for the Year 1910-11, page 58, claimed that "nowhere in India has there been up to now a single Library class attached to any of the libraries where young men and women could be trained in the most up-to-date requirements of Library economy." The Government had hoped that the Library class would supply trained librarians to the whole of Baroda State and possibly also to the other parts of India. Eleven students attended the class, nine of whom were given a monthly scholarship of Rs. 25/- each. In this class were one M.A., three B.A.'s, four undergraduates, and three ladies, of whom one was a matriculate. The course was of one year, during which "all the modern requirements of library administration such as accessioning, classifying and cataloging, charging and discharging, and various other practical details" were taught.34

Borden wanted to lay a strong foundation for the development of libraries and librarianship in Boroda. In his very first proposal to the Maharaja he had sought permission to conduct library training. The Vidyadhikari had reacted favorably and recommended that the class be started at the Baroda College, the only institution of higher learning in Baroda at the time. Although the first class was inaugurated under the auspices of the Central Library, Borden continued his efforts to institutionalize it so that it could become a permanent on-going operation. Borden must have inspired the Principal of the
College. Speaking before a meeting of the Baroda Library Club on October 26, 1912, held under the presidency of A. M. Masani, the Vidyadhikari for Baroda, Principal Clarke of the Baroda College proposed to institute a postgraduate two-year course in library science leading toward a diploma.

Supporting the proposal, the Maharaja predicted that there would "soon be a demand for trained library workers." He was aware that Mr. Borden was "too zealous in his work for the Baroda Libraries to spare any of his trained assistants for work in other states, however important that work might be." But as his zeal was so great, he might train others for the work, who would extend it throughout India. The Maharaja believed that if the ability of Borden to train men in his own special line could be combined with the like ability in allied lines possessed by the staff of the Baroda College, an institution might be established that would "work incalculable good to India, an institution similar to the one established thirty years ago in America, in which Mr. Borden was then a lecturer; an institution which has since been the chief factor in giving America the lead in library work."  

The Maharaja recalled the events of 1911 when Mr. Borden began his library training program in Baroda. The word was sent to every corner of India that the State of Baroda was willing, without charging any fees, to train people in library science. The Maharaja said:

"The persons who failed to respond to the call were not farsighted and intelligent enough to realize the importance of library work. But now happily, another era has begun. With Mr. Clarke and Mr. Borden working in co-operation great results can be attained and the illiteracy of the masses be much lessened."

However, the proposal could not be implemented and the Baroda College never did become a center for library training.

Borden's stay in Baroda was limited. He established the Baroda Library System and organized the Central Library.
Department. He trained his own staff and prepared them to
shoulder the responsibility that lay ahead of them. The
Central Library served as the laboratory and the staff received
good practical experience. But Borden did not remain satisfied
with these achievements. He worked out a scheme for training
town librarians and submitted it to the Government for
sanction on February 19, 1913. Borden indicated in this
proposal that the development of libraries in Baroda included
the conversion of subscription libraries into free libraries, and
the starting of free town and village libraries. By February,
1913, thirty subscription libraries had been converted into free
public libraries. When a subscription library became a free
library, the number of its users was greatly increased, sometimes
even twenty-fold. Borden said:

These new members are apt to know very little
about the books that are in the library, how to get
them, or how to use them to the best advantage to
themselves. They need much instruction in such
matters, and, therefore, the want of a corps of
trained, or semi-trained librarians for these town
libraries begins to be felt somewhat acutely.38

Hence, Borden considered it highly desirable to train the
present librarians or to supply the institutions with freshly
trained librarians. He therefore submitted a scheme of opening
a class for training town librarians, who would work in the
Central Library while being trained.

Borden argued as follows in behalf of his plan:

By this scheme, (1) the Central Library will get:
all its vernacular books thoroughly classified and
their cards prepared, (2) a general list of books on
different subjects and those for special classes can
be prepared, (3) an authentic catalogue of the
vernacular books in the Central Library can be
published for the guidance of all the State Libraries,
(4) uniformity of classification and arrangement of
books will be introduced in all State Libraries and
(5) the town libraries will be properly organized and thereby library grants of the Government and Panchayats will be best utilized with comparatively less expense to the Government. Considering the urgent need for supplying the libraries with trained librarians on whom much of the whole library movement depends, and having in view the great many advantages to be derived be the Central Library under the scheme, I propose that the scheme may be sanctioned and provision for scholarships of Rs. 12 p.m. be made for twenty pupils for five months from March 1st, 1913.

The Government gave its approval of the plan, and the training course was speedily created. C.D. Dalal was in charge of the program, which was started on March 1 and completed in July. Eighteen students passed, ten in second division, six in third, and two by grace.

Baroda Library Club

On June 30, 1912, the Baroda Library Club, the first professional organization of librarians in India, was established under the auspices of the Central Library Department. Here, too, the inspiration came from Borden. He says: "I have induced the members of my staff to start the Baroda Library Club, which meets monthly and which already has a respectable membership." It was patronized by the Maharaja, the Dewan, the Commissioner of Education, the Principal of the Baroda College, and other State officials and educationists. The Club worked to achieve the following goals:

1. To propagate the library movement,
2. To create mutual understanding among librarians and to provide facilities for an exchange of ideas,
3. To achieve maximum results in terms of money available and time spent on libraries,
4. To accomplish through cooperation such objectives as cannot be obtained single-handed,
5. To generate fraternity among librarians through meetings and correspondence,

6. To make librarians aware of the new spirit of librarianship, and

7. To cultivate an esteem in the minds of librarians for their profession.42

Any one in sympathy with the library movement could enroll as a member. The fee was nominal, only one rupee or even one-half per year. Originally, there were only twenty-five members, but the Club hoped to secure the sympathy and cooperation of librarians from all over India. It was intended to be a step toward the formation of a national library association.

The drive toward professional standards produced not only this association of librarians but also what remained for many years the only periodical on library science in India. The Library Miscellany began its publication in August, 1912. Kudalkar, the editor, claimed in a circular letter accompanying the sample copy that it was in Baroda that the library movement had attained its greatest development. He admitted that the systematic organization of libraries was still very much in its infancy in India and that he had very little library experience. Yet he hoped “to make the magazine interesting to the librarians of other countries by recording the growth of a very young though promising child.”

Through this journal, the message of the library movement and the accounts of library development in Baroda were relayed to distant parts of India. The successive issues of the journal beginning with the second carried comments of other contemporaries and specialists on libraries from many countries of the world. People from many parts of India and even abroad visited Baroda libraries when they learned through the Library Miscellany what work Baroda was doing in this field. The Journal presented its objectives in the first “Editorial.” Firstly, a favorable library situation existed in the State of Baroda. Secondly, there was a strong desire to push forward the “mission of culture” that was undertaken by the Central
Library Department of Baroda. And finally, it was intended to promote an *esprit de corps* among the members of the library profession and to develop the idea that the public library was an essential part of the educational system of the country. The journal claimed that but for the work of the Baroda Library Department, the people in Baroda would not have been blessed with so many libraries, and the organizations like the Baroda Library Club and organs like the *Library Miscellany* would not have come into existence.

The *Library Miscellany* was published in three prominent languages of Baroda, English, Gujarati, and Marathi, so that those interested might receive through their respective medium an inspiration to establish their own libraries everywhere. The journal hoped that Maharashtra and other parts of India would follow soon the lead given by Baroda. Presenting his report on the "Library Situation in Baroda," Borden noted that the general movement for library efficiency had already been started in Baroda and that it was "about to start in other parts of India." The movement was essentially of cooperation, working together. *Library Miscellany* represented one phase of the movement. According to Borden, the time was not yet ripe in India for a general library association like the American Library Association. He referred to the Library Club in Baroda and reported that some members of the Club aimed "to make *Library Miscellany* serve India as the *Library Journal* has served America, by making it a means of communication between librarians, an incentive to enthusiasm, an instructor in library methods and library work."

**Borden's Departure**

By 1913, Borden's stay in India was drawing to a close. One of his last acts was the opening of the Public Library at Pij (Petlad Taluka) on May 25, 1913, to which he attached a great deal of importance. It was an epitome of his success. The *New Haven Register* carried a report on Borden's life and work under the title "India's Literary Emancipator Has Birthday Here" and displayed a picture of the new library building at Pij, and also a group photo taken on the occasion.
Borden had visited the "Library" of Pij "little more than two years" prior to the dedication ceremony, and what he found then at first discouraged him. He had gone there early in 1911 to examine the library, but there was no library to examine. He "was told that the owner of the building had used the library for storing his corn and that the library, being thus buried, had not been accessible for some months." Borden was depressed by what he saw everywhere during his entire trip through the State, "but at Pij this absolute drowning of the intellectual in the material was too startling." He was "an enthusiast in the library movement" and the sight disheartened him. He said certain things, which might have appeared unpalatable to his audience, but they were frank feelings of a missionary.

But the town of Pij collected funds and built a beautiful library in 1913 at a cost of Rs. 6,882/-. At the opening ceremony, Borden said:

It is with a great deal of pleasure, and a vast deal of satisfaction, that I take part in these ceremonies here today...the opening of your new library building at Pij, coming as it does at the end of my mission in India and presenting such a vivid contrast to what the Pij Library was at the beginning of that mission, persuades me to believe that my mission here has been a successful one.  

Concluding he said: "...the Pij Library vindicates itself when it awakes from its long sleep and stretches out its arms to all who may come, that it may make them better children, better fathers, better mothers."  

Borden presented several reports of his work in the State, which give an insight into the working of his mind on the planning and development of public libraries in a State like Baroda. He comments on the State library policy, pursued earlier and describes what changes were brought about through his advice and guidance.

Borden had a very high regard for the Maharaja. He said: "The Maharaja of Baroda is a man whose one purpose in life is..."
to improve the condition of his people. I have known him intimately for three years and I say this advisedly and emphatically." Sayajirao had already made certain experiments in the field of founding libraries. Borden had different views about the way libraries should be established. He thought that the Maharaja did not follow the most effective path when he initiated libraries for his people. Borden said: "Not being gods, we all make mistakes, he with the rest of us. But he is making no mistake in educating his people and in founding free libraries to supplement that movement." Borden was an expert in his discipline. Sayajirao must have learned a good deal about the nature and functions of libraries and the obligations of the provision of public library service through the association of Borden, because the latter says: "His Highness knows much more about libraries now [1913] than he did then [1906]."

Despite his deep respect for the ruler, Borden criticized the development of libraries before his own arrival. The movement had not achieved its goal of enlightening the public. The object was to disseminate knowledge among the masses. The result was the entertainment of a few belonging to the upper strata of society. Libraries confined their services to a few and the service could not reach all; it could not permeate through the masses.

Yet the backwardness of the library movement in one sense contributed toward the successful planning of a central authority and control in library organization by Borden at Baroda. There were no vested interests that might have interfered with any unification on integration of the existing libraries into a whole system. "From the library standpoints Baroda was a virgin field." Consequently, Borden was able to plan a unified organization aiming at central direction and control, which insured a "complete co-operation" among all the libraries.

The existence and successful working of a series of branch libraries, forming part of a large library system, had led American librarians to conceive the possibility of creating central storehouses and cooperating branch libraries as delivery centers or service points. Borden did "not mean to say that this idea had been tried out in America, except to a very
limited extent;\textsuperscript{50} but it had been thought out as a goal to
which we might in time aspire.” Borden said: “What America
could only dream of, Baroda could do, and, in a measure, has
done. The plan has been worked out and its fructification
provided for. A few more years will see it accomplished.”

Borden’s original cooperative plan presupposed inter-library
lending of every book in the system to any citizen of the State.
It aimed to eliminate the duplication of little used or more
expensive material at every center. An important feature of
the plan was the Central Authority and Control. Borden
said: “A complete system of control is to run from the
Central Library Department at Baroda down to the smallest
village, though each library has its own self-government and
every library in the chain is to be absolutely free to every
citizen.” It was hoped that the plan would enable every
citizen of the State to have the book of his choice either from
his nearest source or from any of the cooperating libraries of
the State. The “Rules” were framed to achieve this centralized
administration and direction.

Borden made no reference to his more ambitious, rather
Utopian, plan in his subsequent reports. The total scheme
would have cost Baroda approximately two million rupees
within a decade. He was asked to prepare a practical or
workable plan which could be immediately implemented.
Accordingly he modified his original plan, and the work pro-
ceeded on the basis of this modification. Borden also discussed
the policy of the Government. Probably he was convinced
of the wisdom of the Government’s decision not to proceed
with his first plan, though perhaps he merely wanted to abstain
from openly criticizing the Maharaja or his Government. He
talks about having done for Baroda as much as he was
“permitted.” His statements imply acceptance of the Govern-
ment’s viewpoint.

By devoting a greater part of its income to this
one object, the Government of Baroda might have
established this whole scheme at once but the other
interests of government would have been sacrificed
to little purpose.\textsuperscript{81}
Borden put special emphasis on people's participation in creating and financing the libraries. The Maharaja did not intend to give away these libraries to his subjects as free gifts. Both Sayajirao and Borden realized that people generally do not appreciate the value of what is given to them as an outright gift. These libraries had to be set up for the use of the people. A taste for reading had to be developed in them. Their curiosity had to be aroused. Their interest in reading had to be created. Had the libraries been imposed from above, the people might not have used them as efficiently and beneficially as they did when they themselves were made to ask for them. Borden says:

These libraries were to be for the use of the people, not for monuments to the Maharaja. In order to have them used the citizens must first be brought to want them, and to want them badly enough to be willing to contribute a good part of the expense out of their own pockets.

This objective could have been achieved only by means of extensive publicity and propaganda, the "missionary work" as Borden put it. It was done and done so well that the Government found it difficult "to keep up its end of the bargain." There were more demands from the people for libraries than could be met by the Library Department. In order to start a library, the initiative had to come from the people. They had to raise one-third of the necessary finance as their own contribution before the State Government, in cooperation with the local boards, would triple the amount. Borden laid great stress on this point, but the credit for this idea cannot be exclusively assigned to him. As early as 1906, when Motibhai Amin initiated the plan of Mitra Mandal Libraries, the principle of local initiative had been established and implemented. Also the Government's scheme for "Circulating libraries" was based on the same principle of the people's taking the initiative, contributing their own share as much as possible.

The great difference, however, between the old and new rules was the (1) gradation of libraries by types—Village, Town
and Prant, (2) the gradual increase of the amount of subsidy—Rs. 100, 300 and 700, and (3) the provision for government and panchayat grants not only for the establishment, but also for annual maintenance and for the erection of library buildings, which was termed the "foundation" grant.

Borden's plan for Baroda libraries envisaged full development in a decade. By the time he left the State, Baroda City had its Central Library, comprising Reference and Lending Departments with a book stock of 40,000 volumes. Twenty-five thousand more books were awaiting addition as soon as more space was provided. There were several thousand Sanskrit manuscripts and many other rare works in the Indian languages.

Two of the three prant libraries had been established and thirty-six of the thirty-eight towns had provided their own libraries. Two hundred sixteen of the four hundred twenty-six large villages had founded their libraries. Even the small villages had come forward and had initiated their own libraries. There were 14 travelling libraries as well. Borden reported a total circulation of 150,000 volumes in the preceding year, reminding his readers that there were only 200,000 literates in the entire State.

Borden concluded:

These are the things we have done. With the doing of them, and with the outlining of the plan for the future development of the library scheme, my personal work in Baroda comes to its predetermined end.55

The Library Journal of December, 1913, noted with high appreciation "one of the most remarkable library developments in the world," made possible by the Maharaja of Baroda through "an American director, Mr. Borden" in creating a state library system.56

The Journal added:

This combination of Asian control and American progress has indeed produced wonderful
results...Equal credit should be given to the Maharaja for the American progressiveness which he took back from his journeys to America, where he proved, as at the Library of Congress, one of the most intelligent and progressive of library inquirers, and to Mr. Borden for his Asian adaptation of American methods.  

Borden had accomplished a great deal by way of planning and establishing a public library system in Baroda and creating a favorable atmosphere for the development of libraries and librarianship. On May 15, 1913, when he left Baroda, his associates and students presented him with a Farewell Address. It epitomized his achievements. It said:

The 450 library institutions that dot the state everywhere, and the more that will do so hereafter, will not only be the centres of light and learning, but will remain the standing monuments to the noble foresight of the ruler of Baroda and to the creative genius of their first director. To you, rightly belongs all the credit of popularizing this movement, and the memory of this noble work will be a constant source of inspiration to us.

The address made references to other achievements of Borden like the Baroda Library Club and the *Library Miscellany*. It added:

Though in body you will be across the seven seas, yet in spirit, in the communion of souls, you will be with us all the time, inspiring us and encouraging us by the memory of your excellent work.

This farewell address brings out the achievements of Borden at Baroda and his personal qualities as an administrator.
Allowing some room for the benedictory nature of the address, there is an evidence to show that Borden was blessed with a "creative genius" and his work in Baroda remained a constant source of inspiration to library workers there.

NOTES & REFERENCES

1. "India's Literary Emancipator has Birthday Here," (a report on Borden, prepared when he was 75). New Haven Register, Sunday, May 6, 1928, p. 3.


6. Huzur Kamdar Kacheri, Education Department, Huzur Order No. A/6, February 1, 1911.

7. What follows on pages 41 to 46 is based on the "Selections from the Baroda Records," Document No. 4, which provides also the quotations, unless otherwise specified.

8. This document was originally submitted as an enclosure to Document No. 4. The "Selections from the Baroda Records" does not contain it.

9. This is not true. The amount requested by Borden from the Government was the Government share only, to be matched by Panchayats.

10. Masani was aware of the fact that Mehsana was only a Railway junction, as noted by Borden in his subsequent proposal. So he wanted Patan to build up the Prant Library for Mehsana.


12. Complete Gujarati text of the "Rules for the Formation of Free Public Libraries in Baroda State" appears on pages 150-56 of the Ekikarana, Volume I, 1925. Signed by Borden as the Director of State Libraries and co-signed by Amin, it is dated August 29, 1911. The Council Order No. A-69, which sanctioned the Rules and made them into a State Law was dated June 27, 1911. Pages 101-69
of *Baroda and its Libraries* by Newton Mohun Dutt reproduce the English version incorporating the amendments made through 1927. The original office copy with all its corrections and modifications now forms part of the "Selections from the Baroda Records."

III. Borden’s Comprehensive Scheme for Establishing the Baroda System.

What follows on pages 48 to 57 is based on the "Selections from the Baroda Records," Document No. 8, March 20, 1912, which provides also the quotations, unless otherwise specified.

IV. *Education Report, 1911-12*, p. 64. This is a very significant remark. The people took the initiative, but the Government did not continue its encouragement in the same liberal spirit, as will be shown later.

V. Baroda did not have good roads because the land was not suitable. However, it had an extensive railway network.

VI. *Administration Report, 1910-11*, p. 159.


IX. Dutt presents full details of the various types of library boxes, the nature and scope of their contents as well as the *Rules for Traveling Library Service*. Dutt, *Baroda and Its Libraries*, pp. 43 ff., 111-12.


XIII. *Education Report, 1912-13*, p. 72.


XVI. *Ibid.*, p. 59. Probably this Bureau developed into the Press Information Bureau. Also called the Press Report Department, it was sanctioned on December 25, 1911.
Here is an indication why Baroda libraries bought so many newspapers. Even the Central Library of Baroda had to keep the Newspaper Reading Room open for 365 days of the year and fourteen hours a day. No wonder other libraries too wanted to have more newspapers than books.

Ibid., 1912-13, p. 71.

Vadodara Rajyani Pustakalaya Pravrtti, pp. 26 ff.

Ibid., p. 28.


Minutes of the meetings of the Board of Directors, Young Men’s Institute, New Haven, Connecticut.


The allusion is to the School of Library Economy, established by Melvil Dewey at Columbia College, New York.


Ibid., p. 326.


Ibid.

Library Miscellany, 2: 9-13, August, 1913.


Library Miscellany. (Gujarati Section), 1: 23, August, 1912.

Library Miscellany, 1: 1-3, August, 1912.

May 6, 1928, p. 12.


Ibid., p. 3.

See Bibliography.


Ibid.
50. Found only in large cities like Boston with a Branch Library System,


52. See pp. 90-91 for the assumption of Borden and the Maharaja that it was important to expect the people to contribute funds. Also see pp. 143-44.


54. A similar situation arose in the 1930's when the Maharaja had to issue instructions from Paris to slow down the establishment of new libraries.

55. *Library Miscellany, 1:194*, May, 1913.

56. *38:657.*


The Work of Kudalkar

Before Borden left Baroda, J. S. Kudalkar was nominated to succeed him as the Curator of State Libraries. He had been working as the Librarian of the Laxmi Vilas Palace Library since 1909. When the Department of Libraries was established and the Palace Library became the State Central Library, Kudalkar was designated a Special Assistant to Borden. In 1913 he was deputed by the Government to visit Europe, America, and Japan to study their library systems and to gain practical experience of the working of the libraries of those advanced countries so that he could provide similar services to the people of Baroda upon his return. The Library Miscellany of November, 1913 noted the facilities given to Kudalkar by American Libraries:

From the moment he set foot on the American soil, Mr. Kudalkar, the Director of State Libraries, Baroda, has been the recipient of the most cordial welcome and enthusiastic reception. Well-known librarians looking upon the professional tour of the State’s representative as an event of great significance vie with each other in giving him every possible facility to study their institutions, and in being lavishly hospitable to him.
Such reception augurs well for the library movement in Baroda and other parts of India. The twenty-third annual meeting of the New York Library Association was held at Hotel Sagamore, Lake George, New York from September 22 to 27, 1913. The evening of Wednesday, September 24, was especially devoted to India and was called “The India Evening.” The participants included the Bordens and Kudalkar. The assembly hall was decorated with Indian pictures, photos, textiles, brassware articles, and a number of other mementos. Kudalkar and his friend opened the proceedings by chanting Sanskrit verses in praise of Sarasvati, the Goddess of Learning. Borden then presented a report on his “three years’ work of library organization in Baroda.” The lecture was illustrated by a number of photos of Baroda libraries and specially prepared maps depicting the progress of the Baroda library movement. The Association resolved to thank Borden for his work in Baroda. By another resolution, it was decided to congratulate Kudalkar for succeeding Borden and to give him a public welcome in New York. R. R. Bowker offered another resolution resolving to convey “to His Highness, the Maharaja of Baroda, high appreciation and cordial congratulations of this Association, on his successful inauguration of the pioneer movement among the native states of India of a free public library system for the benefit of the Indian people.” The resolution was unanimously passed amidst loud cheers.

On Saturday the 27th, the Convention passed another resolution and conferred upon the Maharaja and Kudalkar the special honor of being elected as “Honorary Members” of the New York Library Association. “A Spectator” in the Library Miscellany noted that the resolution indicated “the high sense of appreciation of the work of the Maharaja Gaekwar... on the part of the library profession of America” and was “indeed very gratifying to the Baroda State.”

Kudalkar toured abroad during the entire fiscal year of 1913-14 (August-July) visiting important foreign libraries and studying closely their organization and administration, especially in America. In the later part of his tour he visited Japan. He returned to Baroda on September 15, 1914, and took charge as the
Curator of Libraries. It is to be noted that Borden was designated as the Director of Libraries with full powers of a departmental head. He envisaged the Library Department to be on par with other state departments like Revenue or Education. Yet when he left, the Department of Libraries became only a section or branch of the Education Department. The senior official of the so-called “Library Department” was only a subordinate officer of the Education Department and worked directly under the Commissioner of Education. Thus, many of Borden’s dreams never came true.

While the period of Borden was characterized by initial planning and establishment of libraries in Baroda, the administration of Kudalkar was marked by a steady, all-round progress of libraries and librarianship in Baroda. This period also saw the extension of Baroda’s influence over other parts of India in the library field. Attempts were made to systematize the organization and administration of Baroda libraries. The Department laid down certain administrative standards and enforced them to achieve better results. As the libraries grew and functioned, many problems arose. In the efforts of the Department to solve them, directives were issued in the form of government orders, notifications, and circulars, etc. These appeared originally in a journal entitled Sahitya (The Literature) and the Pustakālaya (The Library), all of which were published in the three volumes of the Ekikarana, along with a great deal of useful information on the library movement. A study of these documents provides an insight into the functioning of libraries in Baroda, their strong as well as weak points.

Subscription vs. Free Libraries

All libraries receiving State aid in any form formed part of the Baroda Library System. The State Library at Baroda, however, also called Jaisinhrao Public Library, one of the oldest institutions in the State, was a separate organization. It was a subscription library run by an unofficial committee of elected members. Shri Aurobindo Ghosh worked as Honorary Secretary of the Library for some time. His Highness Sayajirao was a subscribing member. Since it was located on Government premises and aided by the Government, it was popularly known as
the State Library. After the establishment of the Central Library it was named Shri Jayasinhrao (Gaekwar) Library, in memory of the Maharaja's eldest son from his second wife, when his widow gave a donation for the purpose. It contained good collections of books and a spacious lecture hall.

Kudalkar did not want that it be continued as a subscription library. Arguing that the Government grant was not justified after the "Rules" came into force, Kudalkar quoted Rule No. 27, which says: "All Libraries established under these rules or which receive Government aid in any shape shall be open and free to the public..." (underlining in original). Under the circumstances, pleaded Kudalkar, there was no justification for its continuation as a subscription library. He gave additional reasons to support his proposal. Only 10 per cent of the literate population was served by the Central Library in Baroda City, the reason being the distance between the Central Library and the places where people lived. At least nine to ten branches of the Central Library were needed in the City of Baroda. Raopura, where the State Library was located, was in urgent need of a branch. Kudalkar also reported that an application signed by more than a hundred residents of the Raopura locality had been received by the Department with a request to open a Free Reading Room in that locality. Kudalkar laid great stress on the policy of the State to provide free library service to each individual of the State. He stated: "It would therefore be an anomaly to keep only one State-aided Library—I mean, the State Library in Baroda a subscription Library." The State Library had only a very few subscribers. With the opening of the free Central Library the number had further decreased. Kudalkar maintained that without the State aid and free use of the government building "the library would not be able to pull on."

While pleading for his proposition, Kudalkar made a very important point. He gave an indication of the subsequent developments in the working of Baroda libraries in general. It was a kind of preview of the things that happened in the following decades.
Kudalkar wrote:

The few subscribers that the library has at present are mostly some pleaders who want to take the benefit of having a number of books and papers and periodicals being sent to their homes without going to the Library and some two-anna subscribers who find it difficult to go to the Central Library for papers and periodicals. For the sake of this small and privileged minority it is not advisable for the Government to waste the decent sum of Rs. 1000/- per year and deny the benefit of the Library and its reading room to a far larger majority.  

Kudalkar used many kinds of arguments and pleas. For example, he said that the Government would save the money needed to open a branch library there in Raopura if the State Library was made a free public library. The total income of the State Library by way of subscriptions was Rs. 400 to 500 per year. According to Kudalkar, this loss could be made up by savings in several other ways, by stopping the purchase of duplicate copies of costly books and periodicals, and reducing the posts of one or two menials then employed for home delivery. There were two ways to turn the State Library into a free library, by either making it “a branch of the Central Library run entirely at Government expense; or a state-aided library like other libraries in the districts, managed by a local committee.”

Kudalkar argued that the second alternative was not feasible, because:

...in this latter case the managing committee will have to raise every year one-third of the amount of money required for its maintenance and then only it will get the remaining two-thirds amount from the Government and the panchayat through the Central Library Department. This sum the Raopura applicants are not prepared to raise and, therefore, the library will find it difficult to be run as a state-aided free library.
This is a statement of far-reaching significance. The Raopura applicants wanted to use the facilities of a free library service, yet they were not prepared to raise their own one-third contribution. Now the city people are generally better off than those who live in the villages. If the residents of a part of the Baroda city itself were not prepared to raise their own annual contribution, how did the Libray Department expect that all the other libraries in the districts—and their total number at the time was not less than 550—would be able to raise annually the funds needed to receive corresponding grants from the Government and panchayats? The argument advanced by Kudalkar would have made it imperative for the Government of Baroda to make all the libraries free and to maintain them entirely through government funds. If Raopura citizens could not raise the funds, how could the others raise them?

Neither the Maharaja nor Borden wanted to give libraries as free gifts. Both of them believed—and very firmly too—that the people do not value what is given as an outright gift without any effort on the part of the receiver. The founders of the Baroda Library System wanted the people to share the cost. Under the circumstances Kudalkar’s desire to provide library service totally free was going against the very basis of the Baroda Library System. Did Kudalkar expect that the Government of Baroda would maintain the Central Library forever as a totally free library and provide its growing costs year after year? Certainly the Government did not maintain it in an ever-growing status. There were cuts after cuts year after year.

Kudalkar concluded:

If it is neither to be made a free and a branch of the Central Library nor a state-aided library then it is necessary to stop the annual Government grant of Rs. 1000/- and the free use of Government building.

The Vidyadhikari rejected what Kudalkar had proposed. He declared: “I am opposed to Mr. Kudalkar’s scheme.” He worded his views thus:
His (Kudalkar's) contention is that it is against the avowed policy of the State to give Government aid to a subscription library. This is not a fact. I imagine that the Government will always desire to encourage the wholesome pride which causes some men to prefer that knowledge and culture for which they pay—if only a little—to that which is given them free.

The Vidyadhikari believed that to abolish the State Library and to convert it into a free library would be unsound. He did not care for the rigid rules which ran against the principles of self-help. In his opinion the subscription library supported "the principle of self-help as opposed to the principle of depending on Government for everything." The Executive Council rejected Kudalkar's arguments and accepted the views of the Vidyadhikari. Its order dated April 23, 1918 declared: "The State Library may continue to exist in its present status as an exception to the Rules. The spirit of private enterprise and self-support need not be quenched by rigid application of the Rules."

So the state Library continued to remain a subscription library and to receive all the facilities and aids given by the Government, in spite of Kudalkar's arguments.

This State policy was responsible for the growth and development of many private libraries in Baroda before Borden went there. He had noted that the State had many libraries independent of and outside the State Library System. He observed that Baroda would have been on par with other British Provinces and Native States even if it did not have any state-supported libraries. The Education Report for 1916-17 stated:

In addition to these Free State-aided Libraries, there were nineteen independent libraries conducted and maintained entirely by private enterprise. Eleven of these possess excellent buildings of their own.\textsuperscript{11}

While the State Library of Baroda continued to receive government aid notwithstanding the fact that it was a private subscription library, the Surat Library in the neighboring Province of Bombay found its annual municipal grant of
Rs. 300 totally discontinued when it did not accept the mandate of the Municipality to make it freely accessible to all.

Certain libraries approached the Department for permission to charge compulsory subscription from all the library users in order to raise the local funds. Libraries demanded this freedom because the government and panchayat grants could be secured only in proportion to and on the basis of the amount of the local contribution, which was difficult to raise in many villages. Nevertheless the Department did not agree to the demand on the ground that it was against the fundamental policy of the State. The State had resolved to provide books free to every citizen of the State whether rich or poor. However, the Department pointed out that there were many other ways of raising the local contribution. Special privileges were given to those who rendered financial assistance to the libraries. They could borrow more than one book at a time and could keep them for a longer period if desired. Magazines and newspapers were delivered to their homes free during the hours the library was closed. Only subscribers to the Library Fund were allowed to vote in the election of the committees of management. These privileges should have been enough inducement for the readers to subscribe liberally to the growth of the local library. In brief, the method of persuasion and conviction, and not of compulsion or coercion, was to be used for raising the funds. The festive occasion of marriage was a good time to collect funds, concluded the Notification of the Department.18

There was always a dearth of finance especially in the case of village libraries. For example, during the year 1913-14, out of a total of 325 village libraries, only 255 could raise their local contribution, and as many as seventy could not provide it with the result that they did not receive any grant either from the Government or from the local boards.18 Since there was no assured source of income, nor a compulsory means to raise the local contribution, there was no continuity in the maintenance of libraries.

The corresponding figures for the subsequent two years are:
The Work of Kudalakar

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1914-15</th>
<th>1915-16</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total number of libraries existing</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total raised contributions</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total could not</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Education Report for 1914-15 attempts to rationalize: "...the remaining 51 village libraries did not raise any sum for maintenance and upkeep, remaining contented with the books received from the Government at the time they were first started."\(^1\)

In order that the libraries once established might be perpetuated and placed on sound financial footing, the Department prescribed by its Circular No. 28 of May 3, 1916, that the libraries must set aside one-third of their annual financial contributions into a permanent Reserve Fund to meet any emergency in the future.\(^5\) This was prescribed because the initial enthusiasm of the people created a library, but gradually the enthusiasm waned and alongside it waned the library. It was found, after an experience of five years, that many libraries were unable to raise their own contributions. At times the enthusiastic teacher or the state official who initiated the library was transferred to another place. In the absence of such an energetic library organizer, it was difficult to collect the contributions from the people. Consequently, the library received no Government grant. The Reserve Fund was created also to meet an emergency like flood, drought, or depression, which might preclude the possibility of raising funds. Sometimes there was such a severe discord among the local people that they could not raise any funds. The Permanent Reserve Fund was expected to meet such calamities. Town libraries possessing Rs. 3,000 as reserve or having a steady income of Rs. 150 per annum, and village libraries Rs. 500 and 25, respectively, were exempted from the condition.

This provision of the Reserve Fund improved the situation to some extent. Nevertheless, the Department decided to make further advance in the matter. In view of the future difficulties
and in order to make the libraries self-sustaining as early as possible, this exemption was removed. It was laid down that all libraries, irrespective of their current financial condition, must deposit an additional one-half of the amount requested as the Government grant into their Reserve Fund before they could receive any Government grant.16

There was a heavy increase in the price of books and periodicals by 1919. The libraries complained that they were unable to maintain themselves out of the sanctioned budget. The Department had no hope of any increase in the allotment in the immediate future. However, a remedy was sought to ease the situation. Aid to public libraries was not mentioned as one of the authorized functions of the Municipalities. Therefore, they could not render any financial assistance to the local libraries even if they wished and had the funds available. Now, however, the list of services for which the municipalities could spend their funds was expanded so as to include the libraries. Thereafter, the municipalities were permitted to aid the libraries located in their respective jurisdictions.17

Administrative Reforms

Town libraries were managed by a committee elected by the members subscribing to the library’s annual maintenance fund or donating a large amount as a lump sum. However, there was no classification of the members of village libraries; no regular membership was prescribed either. Consequently, no responsible managing committees had been formed even by the year 1921. The organizers of the library used to nominate some leaders of the community as the managing committees and submit their names to the Department for approval. Such an informal arrangement could be permitted in the formative stage, but the village libraries had gained enough experience during the first decade of their operation. The Government felt the need for institutionalizing also the village libraries so that their administration could become systematized.

Therefore, beginning with the year 1921-22 three types of membership were prescribed for the village libraries. Only those who paid the regular dues were regarded as the members. Others were considered as readers only, who could read newspapers
and magazines on the library premises. They could also borrow one book at a time for a maximum period of ten days provided they furnished the guarantee of a member. The period of loan was determined by the managing committee. The types of membership and the subscription rates were fixed as follow:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Lump Sum</th>
<th>Annual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rs.</td>
<td>Rs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>40.00</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>20.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Those who donated the lump sum at a time were regarded as the life members.

Inspection of libraries in 1915 revealed that even non-subscribers, or defaulters whose subscription was in arrears, were nominated as members of the Managing Committees. The Department pointed out that it was a violation of Section 24 of the Rules for the Formation of Free Public Libraries. Circular No. 21 of November 25, 1915, prohibited the practice. The Department directed the libraries to hold a meeting of the General Body, consisting of all members assisting the local library financially, at least once a year in every August to approve the annual report; to sanction the budget; to elect the Managing Committee of three to nine members from amongst those who paid more than Re. 1 per year; to elect a president and a secretary; and to conduct any other business brought before the meeting.18

The commissioner of education had directed the school teachers to manage the village libraries in the State.19 However, if a library had enough funds and the villagers were able to manage it through their elected representatives, the administration was entrusted to a Managing Committee elected by the subscribers to the local Library Fund. In 1917, the internal management of all the town libraries and some village libraries was conducted by the local people. The libraries were administered locally by the representatives of the people. The Department was approached by many villages with the request that their
library be granted the power of independent management by the local people through elected committees of management just as so many other libraries were permitted. In other words, they did not want that the library of their village be managed any more by the Headmaster of the Government School. They wanted to administer it themselves.

Therefore, the Department prescribed certain minimum requirements by its Circular No. 37 of September 21, 1917:

1. The Library should have its own independent building, or

2. (a) The population of the village must be at least 2,000,
   (b) A good building suitable for the library should have been secured for a period of at least five years,
   (c) Rs. 25/- or more should have been contributed by the people during each of the preceding three years, and
   (d) More than Rs. 100/- should have been deposited as the Permanent Reserve Fund.

Village libraries fulfilling the above conditions were granted the power to manage independently, in contrast to those which were housed in the State schools and were managed by the Headmasters.

As reported already, in the early years of library planning and establishment, the teachers of primary schools were asked to manage libraries as an additional assignment. By 1919 the work of the libraries had grown considerably. Circular No. 44 of April 19, 1919, recommended the payment of extra remuneration to those teachers who had been working as librarians. The rate of payment was based on the amount of local contribution and the number of hours put in by the teacher-librarian.

Beginning with the year 1921-22, the Government adopted a new policy of not opening any new libraries. The Government directed that the library of a village that had failed to raise the local contribution and to secure the aid of the Government and Panchayats be removed to another village which might be able to provide the necessary finance. This was done to ensure that a village which had the local financial resources but could
not get the matching government grant because of the new policy of the Government would not be disappointed. Notification No. 222 of September 21, 1921, addressed to the Secretaries of village libraries, announced the new policy and exhorted them not to allow their libraries to be taken away to some other village.\textsuperscript{20}

The “Rules” prescribed matching grants from the Government and Panchayats equal to the local contribution, but the amount provided in the budget never proved adequate. Hence, it was not possible to give the full amount to all the libraries. Yet the libraries which met certain minimum standards of efficient administration and helpful service were given their full quota. Circular No. 386 laid down the guidelines to be followed by village libraries to get the full amount. These were: (1) exact and clear accounting; (2) stock-verification and reporting; (3) annual general meeting for budget, etc.; (4) report and statement on Reserve Fund; and (5) compliance with rules and regulations of the Department.

While the Government tried to improve the conditions of village libraries through administrative reforms, the town libraries showed considerable progress in their administration. The Town Libraries’ Scheme was designed by Borden in 1912 and adopted by the State as its immediate objective. The Baroda Administration Report for 1916-17 called the year “important” in the history of district libraries. “The Town Libraries’ Scheme” introduced by the Government “for giving adequate buildings to each and every town library in the State and for supplying decent stock of standard books to each” was declared to have been completed. The total expenditure of the Government for the Scheme came to Rs. 68,182 for buildings and Rs. 12,250 for books, thus making a grand total of Rs. 80,432. The Report concluded: “Thus there remains no town in the State which had not got a decent library building or a fair stock of books.”\textsuperscript{21}

At the end of July, 1921, the State of Baroda (excluding the City) had achieved much:

1. In each of the forty-two small and large towns of Baroda, with a total population of 407,958, there were public libraries with adequate collections of books housed in their own spacious buildings.
2. Out of a total rural population of 1,724,175 as many as 704,965 (approximately 41 per cent) were provided with reading materials through 650 small libraries and reading rooms.

3. Out of a total area of 8,182 square miles comprising the Baroda State, an area of 8,173 square miles (excluding nine square miles area of Baroda City and Camp) had 602 libraries and reading rooms, thus giving one library or reading room to each thirteen square miles.

The total number of books available in all the town and village libraries was 304,935 and the total circulation was 247,353. In addition to the forty-three town and 584 village libraries, there were ninety-three reading rooms. The Government had spent Rs. 1,764 in the construction of buildings alone. Out of the amount, Rs. 68,182 were spent for the construction of town library buildings and Rs. 23,582 for the village library buildings.

With regard to the travelling libraries, in 1919 Kudalkar noted a rapid progress during the seven years the service had been in operation. There were only eighty-three portable libraries and 2,400 books in the first year, i.e., 1911-12. The year 1917-18 showed a total of 441 cases and 15,275 books. The circulation was equally encouraging. Between the years 1911-12 to 1914-15 it rose from 6,992 to 15,303 books per year and the number of readers from 2,574 to 7,556.

Visual Instruction

The work of educating the masses through visual media was strengthened and developed by Kudalkar as shown in Table IV.

The general progress of the Central Library during this period is testified by the following figures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Constituents</th>
<th>1913-14</th>
<th>1920-21</th>
<th>Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stock</td>
<td>53,790</td>
<td>88,763</td>
<td>+ 55 per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Readers</td>
<td>2,500</td>
<td>3,372</td>
<td>+ 35 per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circulation</td>
<td>58,144</td>
<td>78,144</td>
<td>+ 34 per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenditure</td>
<td>Rs. 35,637</td>
<td>Rs. 53,182</td>
<td>+ 52 per cent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Work of Kudalkar

The Central Library developed into one of the most important libraries in India and probably the largest as far as the circulation was concerned. During 1919 the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society sent out to its local and Mofussil members 40,598 books and 21,728 issues of periodicals on loan. This was a private subscription library and housed over one hundred thousand books. The Imperial Library, Calcutta was the premier library in India and had a book stock of two hundred thousand. It was mainly a reference library and lent out books for home reading on a very limited scale, twenty-five a day on an average and those only to certain privileged persons. Therefore, the claim of the Central Library, Baroda, as the largest circulating library was justified.

### TABLE IV

**PROGRESS OF VISUAL INSTRUCTION**

*1913-14—1920-21*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Districts</th>
<th>Cinema shows</th>
<th>Stereoscopic Attendance</th>
<th>Stereographs Shown</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1913-14</td>
<td>Four Districts (48 villages)</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>60,000</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914-15</td>
<td>Baroda City and 4 Districts (118 places)</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>56,400</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15,820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915-16</td>
<td>Baroda City and 4 Districts (72 places)</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>64,048</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916-17</td>
<td>Baroda City and 3 Districts (21 places, 80 shows in Baroda City and 73 in 4 districts)</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>93,790</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14,391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917-18</td>
<td>Baroda City and 2 Districts Gwalior Exhibition</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>152,318</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>24,170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918-19</td>
<td>Baroda and Districts</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>138,685</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14,485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919-20</td>
<td>Baroda City, 2 Districts, and Ahmedabad Exhibition (25 towns and villages)</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>196,184</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>18,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920-21</td>
<td>Baroda City and 3 Districts, B. Health Exh. Karajan Khedut Mandal; Kotah, Bilimora Exh., and B. Palace.</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>178,775</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>32,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
During the year 1920-21, the Central Library reported a "record" circulation, 78,154 volumes (i.e. 284.19 per day) as against 61,127 during the preceding year. The highest figure previously reached was 63,129 in 1918-19. The character of reading in Baroda was highly satisfactory, added the Report for 1920-21. The circulation figures brought out an interesting fact that fiction accounted for only 56 per cent. The circulation of books in the Ladies' and Children's sections was also satisfactory.²³

The Central Library vigorously pursued its work for ladies, which got a new momentum with the year 1915. In January of the year, a new social institution called Shri Chimnabai Mahila Mandal (Ladies' Club) was established in the Training College for Women, especially for the ladies of the middle class. Every Sunday afternoon its members organized group activities. Along with them came their children—young and old. Thus the Central Library got a new sphere for its activity. Gujarati books for elderly ladies, illustrated books and rag-books for the children, and certain indoor games for both were brought regularly from the Central Library by its Lady Librarian. The service became popular among the ladies of the city. And so the total number of books read increased.

During the intervening years, the total number of lady readers in the Central Library was gradually on the increase because the children’s library was in charge of a lady librarian, who encouraged the women to give up their shyness and to use the Library. To meet the growth of members, a new reading room was opened for ladies in a smaller room adjoining the Children's Room on June 1, 1917, and was kept in charge of the Lady Librarian. It was supplied with books and periodicals in Gujarati and Marathi especially suited to the ladies. During the year 1916-17, the total number of books read in all the distributing centers for ladies in Baroda, i.e. the two ladies’ clubs, the new Section opened by the Central Library and the Ladies Library in the city, came to 6,703 out of which as many as 1,906 books were circulated by the Ladies Library alone. The total number of books circulated among the women in Baroda City during the year 1917-18 (August-July) rose to 9,303.

Moreover, there were two reading rooms of newspapers and
periodicals especially meant for the ladies, one in the Central Library and the other in the Ladies Library in the city. The Newspaper Reading Room of the Ladies Library subscribed to eighteen newspapers in vernaculars and about two thousand readers used it. Also books were made available to ladies of Baroda through travelling library boxes which were kept in many centers especially meant for ladies. Kudalkar concludes: "These are indeed hopeful signs and augur well for the future extension of this work on a larger scale."24

The training of librarians was continued by the Central Library. Every year town librarians were invited to Baroda and were given the necessary guidance in library management. The Department was willing to impart library training to anyone who sought it. Baroda was ready to contribute its share toward the promotion of all the activities calculated to advance the library movement in India. The Assistant Curator of Libraries visited libraries in the districts periodically for inspection. Whenever and wherever he went, he gathered together the librarians from the neighboring towns and villages and conducted a short library training course, giving them a basic knowledge of library administration.25

The Education Report for 1914-15 says:

As usual the Central Library continued to give every possible assistance to outsiders to study library economy and library organization. The Mysore Government deputed a librarian to Baroda to be trained. He took a practical course of training for three months in the Central Library.26

The journal, Library Miscellany, was started with great enthusiasm and vigor. In the beginning it was voluminous and contained many good illustrations. The subject matter appeared in three languages...English, Gujarati, and Marathi...and was mainly related to the development of libraries and librarianship in India and abroad. The journal did not have smooth sailing. The combined issue of numbers 1-2 of volume 3 contains a warning that the Marathi section might be dropped due to lack of support. From Volume 4, No. 1 (January, 1917) the journal was published in two different editions, one English-Gujarati and the
other English-Marathi. Volume 3, Numbers 1-2 (combined), January-April, 1915 contains the following note entitled "Our Gratitude" and signed by B. M. Dadachanji, the Publisher:

Having strained itself seriously by what the Dial (the foremost literary journal of America) called the "heroic venture" of printing its matter in three languages, and by the unusual enterprise of giving a larger number of high class illustrations... the Library Miscellany was on its deathbed. But a touch of H. H. the Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekwar, the Patron-Saint of literature, has brought it to life again.

Words fail us to give an adequate expression to our sense of gratefulness to the illustrious savior of the Miscellany.

Evidently the journal had exhausted all its resources and was about to be discontinued after having been in publication for only two volumes, but the Maharaja gave some financial help which enabled it to survive for a number of years beyond. The journal continued its pioneering work for about eight years and rendered a significant service to the cause of the library movement in India. It became an instrument of inspiration to many other parts of India, especially the Andhras. It received commendation from many countries of the world. It kept the librarians outside Baroda informed about the developments in the field of libraries and librarianship in India. However, it did not survive. A careful study of its various issues published over a number of years reveals that it was gradually losing its substance and popularity. Possibly the multiplicity of languages was a factor in its disappearance. Gujarati and Marathi had no audience outside their respective regions.

The Library Department continued an earlier series of catalogs and bibliographical publications. Several editions of the catalogs of the Palace Library were published in 1886, 1897, and 1910, the last being an Author and Title Index. A supplement to the last catalog was published in 1912 after the Palace Library became the Central Library of Baroda. Several detailed supplements were issued subsequently in the form of Bulletins. Until 1917-18 no catalog of English books had been published, but
work on such a catalog had already been started by that date. It
was hoped to publish a subject catalog of books on sociology.
However, the Library had a complete catalog of all the books
acquired since 1913. This was in card form by author, title, and
subject. During the period of Kudalkar’s administration ‘some
substantial work was done with regard to the preparation and
publication of catalogs of collections in Indian languages. Classi-
fied Catalogs of Marathi Reference Collection, Marathi Lending
Collection, and Gujarati Lending Collection were published.

Baroda librarians appreciated the useful service rendered by
the Library of Congress of Washington, D. C. in preparing and
distributing printed catalog cards of books. Under the leader-
ship of Kudalkar, the Central Library initiated a similar service
as an experiment, although on a very limited scale. It was con-
 fined to Gujarati books. Also, with a view to assist libraries
receiving state aid and in order to encourage uniform and stan-
dard classification, a card catalog of selected standard Gujarati
books was published and was supplied to the large libraries of
the State. The Central Library published many other useful
aids to improve library service.

While the Government of Baroda thus worked toward the pro-
motion of library movement during Kudalkar’s stewardship,
many literary and cultural societies of Gujarat rendered valuable
service in promoting Gujarati literature and in producing publi-
cations, which helped the development of libraries and reading
in Baroda. Among such voluntary agencies may be mentioned
the name of the Gujarat vernacular Society, of Ahmedabad.
When a library paid Rs. 50 and got its name registered with
the Society, it received in exchange all the books published by
the Society, costing up to Rs. 1 and the Buddhi Prakash (jour-
nal) free of cost.

The Library Departinent tried to popularize the movement by
means of library exhibitions. Mehsana was the headquarters of
the Kadi Division and, therefore, its public library aspired to be
the Central Library of the prant. To create publicity and pro-
paganda a library exhibition was arranged by Kudalkar in Janu-
ary, 1915, at the Public Library on the occasion of a visit by the
Maharaja 28 “This Exhibition was the first of its kind in the
Baroda State, and for that matter, in the whole of India.” One
of the main purposes of organizing the exhibition was to bring on a common platform library workers of the District, to give them an opportunity to discuss library problems and to evolve future plans for the promotion of library services in the State.

The primary exhibits depicted the origin and growth of the library movement in the District. It contained photos of library buildings in Kadi. A map of Kadi, marked with the libraries, was also shown. There were charts depicting the progress of libraries in the District. Pictures showing foreign libraries, brought by Kudalkar from his world tour, were also displayed. There was a Children’s corner. A section contained books for ladies, and yet another showed the book cases used by the Central Library Department for the Travelling Library Service. Also displayed were Gujarati books, the “standard” libraries, valued Rs. 100 each, which were presented by the State to every village library in exchange of Rs. 25. There were stereographs and stereoscopes as well. The Exhibition was well attended by visitors and was liked by them. The journal concludes:

It can be said with confidence that this exhibition has done an amount of good by way of rousing public interest in the public library movement and by opening before the eyes of the library workers of Kadi new vistas of work in the field of their profession.29

Kudalkar was quite encouraged. He decided to hold similar exhibitions to promote the public library movement and to attract the attention of educators, library workers, and the general public towards the provision of the public library service. The first library exhibition was arranged in January, 1915. Within three months, in March, 1915, another exhibition was organized in Baroda City on the occasion of the Baroda Health Exhibition. The third exhibition was held in January, 1916 when His Highness the Maharaja Saheb performed the opening ceremony of the new building of the Dabhoi Public Library.

These exhibitions provided a means to propagate the message of libraries through the press and platform, which was echoed in far away places like London and New York.

B.M. Dadachanji wrote a report on the first periodical exhibition in India, showing the lead given by Baroda. The report
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> We learn of the struggle that is being made in one library of India to keep pace with the times...... The Baroda Central Library in India, however, has been following modern methods and adopting all that seems best in the libraries of Europe and America.\(^3\)

The *Journal* describes the exhibits in great detail and concludes:

> To those of us who have sometimes felt indifferent towards exhibits of every kind the words of the writer that follow should carry not a little shame [!] and at least much significance: "It was a gala week for Baroda and people and papers talked nothing but the exhibition."\(^3\)

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Curiosities in the book-world; (8) Technical literature and (9) Visual instruction apparatus. The Library Department also organized cinema shows every night in the open grounds of the General Exhibition.

BARODA'S INFLUENCE

By its promotion of the pioneer public library movement in Baroda, the State exercised a tremendous influence on other regions of India. Part of that influence was exerted through the library’s impact on distinguished visitors who came to see and went home to imitate. Representatives of the British Government in India paid official visits. Leaders of the public came there to learn the secrets of Baroda’s all-round achievements. The Maharaja was busy entertaining his guests and showing them around. The official publication Rural Baroda declared:

For nearly half a century or more, many eyes were turned to Baroda; many a reformer came to Baroda to study its activities and institutions. A good many of these were adopted and transplanted elsewhere.

The official accounts of the Baroda Library Department extensively quoted the opinions of the visitors to the Central Library as recorded in the Visitors’ Books. Those who were impressed by the marvels seen at Baroda expressed their admiration also in speeches made at public occasions. Accompanied by his Lady, Lord Willingdon, the then Governor of Bombay, visited Baroda in February, 1917. He was quite impressed by what he saw there and became a supporter of the library cause. The Central Library presented him with an artistically prepared special travelling library box. His Excellency showed much interest in the displays organized on the occasion and presented a portrait of himself as a memento of the occasion. H. E. Lord Chelmsford, the Vice roy and Governor-General of India, visited Baroda on March 26, 1919. He spent two days there and saw the Central Library. The report of the Viceregal visit published in the Library Miscellany makes a noteworthy remark that wherever the railway system has penetrated, there also have gone the public libraries. It was through the railways that libraries
spread over the entire territory, even to the remotest parts of the State. Lord Chelmsford “evinced great interest in the manifold activities of the Department.” His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales visited Baroda in 1921-22. Advantage was taken of the occasion to organize a library exhibition, which was patronized by a large number of persons and was also favorably noticed in the press. A small handbook describing the library activities in the Baroda State was also published on the occasion.

The Library Department itself expressed pride in the eagerness of other parts of India to follow Baroda’s example:

The quickest, the easiest, and the cheapest method of serving the remotest parts of the State with the benefit of the free library was introduced for the first time in Baroda (in fact in India) in the month of February, 1912....It is a matter of satisfaction in the Department to see that this innovation has already been copied in other parts of India.

Bombay was one region where public leaders openly modelled their own library work on Baroda. The Bombay Social Service League did useful work in promoting the reading of books through travelling library service during the nineteen twenties when Baroda was breaking a new ground and making history in the field of library development in India. Library Miscellany published a Report of the Secretary of the League wherein he had said: “The idea of free travelling libraries was first suggested by reading an account of the work done in America and on that model in Baroda.” Successive issues of the Library Miscellany contain periodic reports of the League showing the extent of the service rendered by this selfless agency. Although the primary object of inaugurating a travelling library service was to create a taste for reading among the people, yet the librarians of the Social Service League performed a great deal of social and humanitarian work. Library centers of the League were also used for visual instruction, as at Baroda.

They formed a “Librarians’ club” following the example of Baroda.
EXHIBITIONS

The State of Gwalior organized an Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition in March, 1918. The organizers sent a special invitation to the Baroda Library Department to hold an exhibition as part of the general display. The Department arranged an exhibition, similar in nature to Baroda’s but on a smaller scale, which showed in miniature form what Baroda had achieved in the library field. His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior, other State officials and prominent citizens visited the exhibition; admired the exhibits, and were highly impressed. The object of the greatest attraction was the display on the progress of libraries in Baroda. The travelling library boxes and the Children’s corner were equally attractive.

The Visual Instruction Branch of the Baroda Central Library Department presented seventeen cinema shows which provided education and entertainment to the spectators. For many of them it was a unique experience. One of the shows was reserved every day for children, ladies, and teachers. In all 6,067 persons attended them. Baroda was awarded two gold medals, one for its fine “Library Exhibits” and the other for the “Visual Instruction Work.”

The Library Miscellany reported this event in great detail and concluded: “This Exhibition was an attempt to reproduce in Gwalior...the Baroda Exhibition of 1917, which had captured the hearts of the Gwalior visitors and inspired them to this step.”

CONFERENCES

The library movement in Baroda influenced contemporary Indian librarians as well. J. A. Chapman, the Librarian of the Imperial Library at Calcutta, induced the Government of India to organize a Conference of Librarians at Lahore in 1918. Dutt read a paper on the Baroda Library System. The Conference discussed several issues and recommended the institution of services like inter-library loan and other types of library cooperation, professional library training and collection as well as preservation of valuable manuscripts.

As a fruitful outcome of the above conference, the Government of India appointed a committee to work out a plan of
cooperative indexing of periodical articles of interest to Indian scholars. Dutt was nominated to represent Baroda on the Committee, thus honoring Baroda. The Government of Bombay took the lead and appointed a committee to deal with the problem, but, as reported by Dutt, no concrete results were obtained. A committee met at the Imperial Library, Calcutta in April, 1919, and prepared a list of one hundred Indian periodicals to be indexed along the lines followed by the British Library Association in their *Subject Index to Periodicals*. It was agreed that the plan was feasible. What was needed was the cooperation of volunteering libraries that could work under the general guidance of the Imperial Library. While the proposal remained unimplemented on account of the lack of cooperation of other Indian libraries, Baroda moved ahead. Dutt says:

Seeing that it was found impossible to run an independent "union" index to Indian journals, the writer has in the interests of Indian scholars undertaken to index the articles in *Rupam*, the *Modern Review* and the *Calcutta Review* in the *Subject Index to Periodicals* which the British Library Association is publishing.

The first All-India Public Libraries’ Conference was held in Madras on November 14 and 15, 1919 under the presidency of J. S. Kudalkar. Accompanied by four other librarians of Baroda, Kudalkar went to Madras on Government deputation. It was a compliment to the success of the Baroda Library System that its Director was elected president of an all-India conference of librarians. The Conference and the exhibitions were opened by the Madras Governor, Lord Willingdon, who had become a library patron especially after his visit to Baroda. Delegates from Andhra Desa, Bengal, Bombay, Hyderabad, Mysore, Pudukottah, Tamil country, and Travancore participated. It was attended by some notable personalities of the day. S. Kastury Ranga Iyenger was the Chairman of the Reception Committee. Welcoming the delegates, he stressed the need of free public libraries. He discussed the problem of establishment of public-
libraries by local bodies and presented a picture of the progress made by Baroda in public library development. Having described the happy situation of libraries in Baroda, Iyenger said:

It is a system which...can only be properly brought into existence and maintained in an efficient condition where the interests of the rulers are bound with the interests of the ruled and where there is a spirit of harmony and of national unity among them.48

Sayajirao could not attend the Conference. However, he had sent a massage, wherein he said:

It is unfortunate that I have not been able to attend your Conference in person and learn from your sage deliberations more of the art of disseminating knowledge so as to conserve the glory of god and the relief of my people.49

According to the Maharaja, the problem of mass education was the most important. People were fallen in the abysmal depths of ignorance and superstition. They had to be brought up to the level of civilized and free-born nations of the West. Enunciating further his library philosophy, Sayajirao said:

Schemes of library organization and widespread circulation of books are only a coping-stone in the edifice of compulsory education for the masses. For our people coming out from schools and colleges we must provide a continual feast of books, magazines and newspapers lest their love for learning just kindled at their academic Altar gets soon extinguished for want of further fuel in the form of free libraries and a supply of healthy literature.50

In his Presidential Address, Kudalkar remarked: “Influence of Baroda did not take a long time to spread in other parts
of Bombay Presidency." Reference has already been made to the Bombay Social Service League and its Travelling Library Service. Kudalkar reported that during the seven year period (between 1913-19) it established 204 centers and circulated 56,792 books among 5,140 readers. It also presented visual demonstrations. Muni Shri Mohanlalji Jain Central Library followed Baroda's example. Through travelling library boxes it circulated books to the ladies of the Jain community. The city of Ahmedabad also provided similar service. Having given the accounts of library developments in Poona, Andhra country, Mysore and Puddukottah, Kudalkar expressed hopes for further growth:

These are all hopeful signs for the future of this movement of free public libraries in India. The Bombay Presidency under the regime of H. E. Lord Willingdon, after His Excellency's visit to the Baroda Central Library, showed willingness to be converted to this idea of popular education and even went so far as to make preparations for trying the experiment of travelling libraries in one district of the Deccan.\(^5^1\)

A resolution passed at the Conference expressed its appreciation of the work done by Baroda and Mysore among the native states of India and Andhra Desa in British India. Mrs. Anandibai P. Prabhu desai, the Superintendent, Children's Libraries and Reading Room, read a paper on children's libraries. While returning to Baroda she visited Mysore at the invitation of its librarian. She exhibited the children's library work of Baroda at Mysore and Bangalore. The annual report of the Central Library Department for 1919-20 noted:

The Conference proved a great success and is expected to spread the free public library movement all over the Southern India. Most of the credit for this movement is due to Baroda whose example Madras is closely following.\(^5^2\)
Mysore was an important native state that promoted the library movement in India during the second decade of the 20th century. Mysore was regarded the second among the native states—the first rank having been earned by Baroda—in educational and cultural advancement. It received inspiration from Baroda. For example, the librarian who organized the first public library in Mysore Stare obtained his library training in Baroda.53

Just as in Baroda, the library movement in Mysore followed the extension of primary education. The State also made primary education compulsory in selected areas. "In 1913 the Elementary Education Regulation was passed in the State with the object of introducing compulsory education. It was based, more or less, on Gokhale's bill and some inspiration also came from Baroda.54 Library workers in Mysore promoted the library movement and created a demand for public libraries among the people. The Mysore Economic Conference took the lead and its Education Committee submitted a plan for the development of library service in the State to the Government of Mysore on April 18, 1914.55 The plan proposed the establishment of public libraries both in Bangalore and Mysore (city) with reading as well as lending departments, the former being open to all, with the latter being available only to those who paid annual dues. This was the general pattern in most of the so-called public libraries in India at the time. The Government of Mysore favored the proposal and by their order of July 20, 1914, sanctioned the opening of two public libraries, providing for their maintenance partly through Government Funds. The Order stipulated that "Government are of opinion that a part of the initial and recurring expenditure should be borne by the Municipalities concerned."56 And the Government hoped that the municipalities would be willing to contribute at least one-fourth of the cost.

Baroda exercised great influence also over the Andhras, who derived inspiration from the work done at Baroda and who openly acknowledged their debt to Baroda whenever they found an opportunity. The second annual conference of the Andhra-desa Library Association was held at Rajahmundry in May,
1915. In his presidential address, Honorable R. Ramarayinagar, a Member of the Viceroy’s Supreme Legislative Council, said:

In our country, His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda has led the way and has opened many libraries for the benefit of his people. Not satisfied with this, His Highness has also established Travelling Libraries. We are also bent on opening similar institutions in our Andhra Desa. We are to take the library institutions of the West, and of Baroda, as our models and systematise the work of our libraries also in such a way as to make them permanent instruments of spreading knowledge among the masses.\textsuperscript{57}

The Telugu Library Journal \textit{Andhra Grandhalaya Sarvasvanu} (the heart of Andhra libraries) was published by the Andhra Library Association, the founders of which freely acknowledged their debt to the \textit{Library Miscellany} of Baroda. This Association did good work in promoting the library movement in the Telugu-speaking area of Madras Province. It founded prant and town libraries and organized library associations. The Andhras added many new features to the library movement, like temple readings and village community gatherings. The Andhra Library Association worked successfully for the establishment of an all-India library association as a permanent body to propagate the library movement. The Association convened periodic conferences in various parts of India.

The Central Library at Baroda had been trying from its very inception to secure a suitable building. Borden tried to fill the need. He left Baroda with the hope that the Nazarbagh Palace would be handed over to the Central Library. His expectations, however, were never fulfilled. Successive reports of the Baroda Library Department express the urgent need for a building as well as hope for getting it soon. They also give details of various plans and proposals made to solve the problem of space and to secure a worthy home for the Library. The struggle continued to the end of the 1920’s, and Kudalkar’s contribution in it was
not less significant.

Kudalkar in his *Baroda Library Movement* (Appendix v) gives details of the buildings occupied by the Central Library at Baroda. By 1918 "five different plans had been prepared." Borden’s was the first. The State Architect had designed three. The fifth was drawn by a great architect, Sir Edward Lutyens of the Government of India. As early as 1913-14, the *Education Report* noted that the number of books and the number of sections were ever increasing and there was a great pinch for space. "The problem of space will be hard to tackle," concluded the report. The subsequent report expressed similar views and hoped that "ere long the building problem will reach its final stage of settlement." The question of the selection of a suitable site for the Central Library Building was still under consideration in the years 1915-16 and 1916-17. The *Library Miscellany* of 1915 reviews the annual Report of the Baroda Library Department for the year 1914-15 and refers to the Central Library building in the following words:

The *Report* [of the Baroda Library Department] complains bitterly of want of adequate shelf-accommodation for about 15,000 books and want of space-accommodation in the present building for any slightest expansion. It, therefore, brings to the notice of the Government the extreme necessity of beginning at once the construction of a new building for the Central Library.

The *Library Journal* of 1917 noted the plans of the Government of Baroda for constructing a new building for the Central Library. It said:

A Committee consisting of the Minister of Education, the Chief Engineer, and the Curator of State Libraries, has chosen a site for the new Central Library on the northern bank of the Sursagar Lake, and the choice has been approved by the Maharaja. It is planned to obtain competitive designs for the building from America.
Another source reported in 1917 that a grand building was under contemplation for the Central Library, the plans for which were being prepared. The Maharaja had "ordered the payment of over a lakh of rupees in compensation for the site of the new palace in which the Central Library was to have her permanent abode." Yet all these plans and discussions failed to produce the adequate building for which Kudalkar, like Borden before him, repeatedly asked.

On March 13, 1921, Kudalkar died a premature death when he was only thirty-nine and at the zenith of his career. The Annual Report of the Central Library Department noted:

The premature death of so able, experienced, and energetic an officer as the late Curator was a serious blow, not only to this department but also to the library movement in India. During Mr. Kudalkar's term of office, the department has developed in a very remarkable manner. It presents the first, and in fact almost the only example in India of the linked Library System, controlled by a Central Agency, which is so plentifully found in America and to a lesser degree in Great Britain, while the Central Library has gained a reputation as being one of the leading institutions of the kind in this country organized and run on approved up-to-date lines.

Kudalkar learned his first lessons in public library organization and administration under Borden only in 1910-11, but he died in 1921. Thus the total span of his professional career was only a decade. And yet what he achieved was considerable. The preceding pages have briefly described the progress achieved by the Baroda Library Movement during the period of Kudalkar's administration. Borden was a specialist. He laid the foundations and left the scene; it is Kudalkar who constructed the superstructure. He probably was the first professional librarian in India to have been exposed to such a wealth of library knowledge and experience through his visit to libraries in Europe, America, and Japan.

Kudalkar did not begin his career as a librarian. He was born
in a poor family. Immediately after his birth, his father died. He came up the hard way. Through his own hard labor and financial aid received in the form of scholarships, he advanced on the path of learning and progress, receiving his M.A., LL.B. from the University of Bombay at a comparatively young age.

He worked as a Professor of Sanskrit at the D.A.V. College, Lahore, before he came to Baroda in 1909. He succeeded Borden and successfully accomplished a great task. All the progress that was witnessed in Baroda libraries by 1921 owes much to the ingenuity, industry, and perseverance of Kudalkar. The foundation of the Baroda Library Club, and the publication of the *Library Miscellany* and the *Baroda Library Movement* (1919) were some major manifestations of his professional contributions. As president of the First All-India Public Libraries Conference, held at Madras in 1919, he provided an effective leadership to the whole of India in public library movement. Such a promising career was cut short by his sudden and premature death. Appreciation of Kudalkar’s work by the Baroda Library Department quoted above epitomizes what was achieved by him. In brief, the work of Kudalkar remains superior.

**NOTES & REFERENCES**

1. B. M. Dadachanji, “Lest India Forgets,” *Indian Library Journal*, 1:6-10, April, 1925; *Vadodarā Rājyani Pustakālaya pravrtti* (Introduction). These sources provide the only available biographical data on Kudalkar.
2. 2:83 (Editorial).
6. It may seem that Kudalkar was downgraded, but he was not; rather he was not upgraded to the level of Borden, who received a special treatment due a specialist. Borden was designated as the “Director,” Kudalkar only a “Curator.” There is a document in the “Selections from the Baroda Records” (Document No. 12, November 21, 1913).
showing that the post of the "Curator of Libraries" was created even before Kudalkar returned home, and that on November 21, 1913, M. N. Amin was working as the "Acting Curator of Libraries." Library Miscellany calls Kudalkar the "Director of Libraries" but it is only a complimentary, non-official statement.


9. What follows on pages 88 to 91 is based on the "Selections from the Baroda Records," Document No. 14, April 18, 1917, which provides also the quotations, unless otherwise specified.

10. This is what happened in many town and village libraries of Baroda. The subscribers enjoyed special privileges. Books purchased for the libraries were adequate neither in quantity nor in quality. Ephemeral literature, in the form of newspapers and cheap magazines, was bought at the sacrifice of good books, the "ennobling literature" as the Department put it. Although the libraries were in theory open to all, yet "this small and privileged minority" enjoyed special facilities everywhere and caused others to suffer. Sometimes the newspapers did not come directly to the library. They were not immediately made available to the general public. The messengers hired with the funds provided by many were used to deliver newspapers to a selected few.

11. Ibid., p. 76.

12. Notification No. 51 of November 23, 1916. The common sources of income for village libraries were donations by generous people at the time of marriage or death in the family, raising of funds by collections as and when needed, or drawing from the village community fund.

13. *Education Report, 1913-14*, p. 74. This shows that the initiative to start a library in a particular village and to maintain it year after year always lay with the people, and the Government did not impose libraries from above. The creation and maintenance of libraries was the product of a tripartite alliance, but the people had to raise their share first before the Government could grant its share and that of the panchayats.


15. This was a very important forward step. It proved to be the greatest single force to strengthen and stabilize the financial condition of Baroda libraries.

16. Circular No. 56/2 of May 23, 1916. This requirement of the Permanent
Reserve Fund was carried out effectively. By 1946-47 the total assets (both movable and immovable) of the town libraries alone rose to Rs. 1,353,307. *Pustakālaya*, 22: 148 ff., October, 1947.

18. Circular No. 56/5, July 23, 1921.
19. Order No. 24 of November 15, 1910. Borden had just arrived then; this, therefore, was a policy evolved earlier.

20. This notification is interesting. It is a warning and a threat as well; an appeal and a request to be more active. The ancient Indian bheda policy—asking the child to behave better, otherwise the promised reward would go to some other child—was adopted.

27. It began publication in August, 1912 and ceased to be published in October, 1919. Thus in seven years, only six volumes, comprising sixteen issues, were published. Even if it had remained only a quarterly but regular, approximately twenty-eight issues would have been normally published. The first volume had 230 pages of English material, while the last volume had only eighty pages. The last issue was an “Oriental Conference Number.” There was hardly any material on libraries or librarianship.


33. p. vii.
34. Almost all the Viceroyos of India and many Governors of Bombay visited Baroda.

37. 6:2-5, January-April, 1919.
The Work of Kudalkar

"Library Miscellany, 5: 30-33, January-April, 1918.

43. Library Miscellany, 5:33, January-April, 1918. Exhibits were also arranged in Bombay, Kotah, and Banares. This shows that Baroda utilized every opportunity to propagate the library movement outside its territories.

44. Administration Report, 1918-19, p. 284.


47. Ibid.


49. Ibid., p. 7.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid., p. 28.

52. Education Report, 1919-20, p. 65, as cited by Kanitkar.


56. Ibid., p. 24.


58. Education Report, 1913-14, p. 75.

59. Ibid., 1914-15, p. 75.

60. Ibid., 1915-16, p. 75; Ibid., 1916-17, p. 77.


62. Library Journal, 42:803, October, 1917. It is noteworthy that the Curator of Libraries was a member of the Library Building Committee and that the designs were to be obtained from U.S.A. The building however, was never built on this site.

63. B.M. Dadachanjii, "Baroda Central Library, "Library Miscellany, 4:62, April-July 1917. Dadachanjii says: "Even as these lines are being penned, there comes to us the gladsome news..." Therefore, the orders must have been issued around the middle of 1917. But Dadachanjii is not clear about the exact location. Also it is not evident what he meant by "Palace."

64. Library Department Report, 1920-21, as cited by Kanitkar.
The People Rise:
The Government Responds

Newton Mohun Dutt provided an effective leadership for the library movement in Baroda during the 1920's. He became the Curator of Libraries in 1921. He had already been serving the Library Department as the State Librarian since 1913. Of all the Curators, he served Baroda for the longest period.

Within a decade of the library movement’s founding in 1910, the people demonstrated that they realized the need for libraries. The supply of reading materials on an unprecedented scale generated an extensive demand for more books and better libraries. The 1920’s were marked by a great upsurge of popular enthusiasm and support for public library service. Motibhai Amin reported in 1923:

The people of the State have been remarkably quick in appreciating the efforts of the Library Department. They have been quite as remarkably enthusiastic in giving practical shape to their aspirations. They have come forward with their share of funds for libraries and library buildings to an extent which has exceeded even the most sanguine expectations of their Ruler, and which has proved rather embarrassing to the Library Department; because it cannot meet all the demands for grants from the public in spite of the liberal provision made by his Highness the Maharaja.
As an outward manifestation of the popular enthusiasm and public support, library association came to be organized at various administrative levels, like *talukas* and *prants*. At the apex of all such local associations stood the State Library Association, working as the greatest unifying force for public support and cooperation. Library leaders convened conferences for the promotion of the movement and demanded on behalf of the people substantial and compulsory grants from the local boards as well as the State Government.

The Government came forward and responded to the public call for greater financial support to public libraries. The Rules for the Formation of Free Public Libraries were amended to provide better financial assistance and to effect needed administrative reforms. The period of Dutt's administration witnessed a serious attempt on the part of the Government also to spread the library movement far and wide and to accelerate the development of village libraries. The Library Department tried to strengthen the foundation of the Baroda Library System, especially its financial basis. A state-wide, cooperative, corporate, statutory body was formed, which acted as a centralized purchasing agency as well as a savings and trust company. The progress of the library movement in Baroda during this period continued to attract the attention of the people outside Baroda, and the influence of the Baroda Library Movement was felt in faraway regions like Andhra and Bengal in the East and the Punjab in the West.

**LIBRARY ORGANIZATIONS**

The widespread multidimensional activities of library associations, organized at various levels in Baroda for library promotion, were the results of the close cooperation that developed between the people and the Government. Reference has already been made to the contribution made by the Baroda Library Club in promoting the library movement, but this Club seems to have disappeared after Borden left Baroda. Kudalkar mentions some attempts made to form *taluka* (county) library associations, but no substantial progress was achieved until early 1922. The first *taluka* library association in Baroda was established at Vaghodia by the Secretary of the Vaghodia Public Library on August 1,
1922. The Library Department gave wide publicity to its constitution so that it could serve as a model and provide guidance and direction to other talukas in Baroda.

The taluka library associations worked for the following objectives:

1. To work towards the growth of libraries and reading rooms,
2. To stabilize and strengthen the libraries already established.
3. To develop and implement practical plans for cooperation among libraries.
4. To supply books, book-lists and publicity material to libraries at economical rates and also to arrange for the binding of books.
5. To develop better reading taste among the masses and promote moral and intellectual advancement through the provision of travelling library service.
6. To arrange visual demonstrations through magic lantern slides and stereoscopes for those who could not read so that the establishment of libraries proves beneficial to all.
7. To collect money for the formation of an endowment fund to be used for the benefit of the associated libraries and reading rooms, or for library propaganda.
8. To assist in placing on a sound and proper basis all the libraries and reading rooms which were already in existence and to endeavour to improve them.
9. With the permission of the Library Department, to be responsible for due submission to the Department of quarterly and annual reports, annual budgets, bills and accounts of the associated libraries of the taluka. Also to conduct the correspondence on behalf of these libraries.

These associations were voluntary organizations, representing the people's voice and deriving their power from the people. Thus they achieved what the Department could not—centralized direction and control through a hierarchy. The Government of Baroda never provided the necessary staff for
this function. They recognized the services of the State Library Association and permitted it to function as an agency for supervision of State libraries. They aided the association by substantial grants.

The Administration Report for 1924-25 noted that the talukas of Petlad, Vaghodia, Dehgam, Kadi, and Kalol took the lead and organized meetings of librarians and secretaries of library committees to discuss "questions regarding the management of libraries and, if possible, to suggest remedies for removing the difficulties." Also it was reported that taluka library associations were started at Petlad and Vaghodia "with a view to cooperate with the Department in giving better facilities for the libraries and reading rooms" in their jurisdiction. Furthermore, they were "reported to have been doing useful work."

While the taluka associations mobilized public support at the local or county level, the State Library Association promoted the cause of library development throughout Baroda. The first constitution of the Baroda State Library Association was drafted at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Baroda State Library Conference on October 1, 1925, and was adopted with necessary amendments on March 5, 1926, at the Second Library Convention held at Dwarka. The constitution was further revised, augmented, and passed on March 17, 1930, at the conference held in Patan.

Reports of the Baroda Library Department describe the activities of the State Library Association since it was established. For example, the Library Department Report for the year 1938-39 noted that the Baroda State Library Association was formed "mainly with the object of co-operating with and assisting the State Library Department in the development and improvement of libraries in the State."

The Association performed several useful functions: (1) It acted as a connecting link between the Library Department and the people of the State and thereby promoted their cooperation for the furtherance of the library movement. The Association explained to the people the benefits they could derive from the Government and the district local boards, and the amounts they themselves had to raise to secure the benefits. (2) It attempted to improve the libraries already established and prepared the
ground for opening new ones so that no town or village in the State might remain without a free public library. (3) It trained librarians in the proper discharge of their duties. (4) It organized meetings and conferences with a view to popularize the movement. (5) It published literature helpful to the libraries in the selection and classification of books. (6) It encouraged the reading of selected works of well-known authors by holding examinations in choice reading and awarding prizes to those who showed marked proficiency in the reading. (7) It helped in the formation of home study and reading circles. (8) It formed district, taluka, and sub-taluka associations which worked under its direction. And finally, (9) it served as an auxiliary to the Library Department in achieving efficient management of the State-aided libraries.

Libraries were permitted by the State to pay their membership dues to the Association out of the Government library grants. They collectively contributed Rs. 1,000 toward the expenditure of the State Library Association. The four panchayats granted an equal amount and the Government of Baroda provided its share. Thus the State Library Association had Rs. 3,000 for its operation. The Government grant was subsequently raised to Rs. 1,200 and finally Rs. 1,600.

Leaders of the public library movement in Baroda realized the need for holding library conferences if public opinion was to be mobilized in favor of library service, a service which needed public contributions as its foundation. These conventions served the cause of the library movement not only in Baroda but throughout Gujarat. They generally followed a set pattern. The Chairman of the Reception Committee delivered an address on the value of learning, the urgency of the dissemination of knowledge, the history of the library movement, and its various organs and functions. Leading librarians read papers on the propagation of the library movement and on library science. Resolutions were passed to bring about better results and successful working of libraries. Exhibitions were organized providing useful knowledge through visual means. In brief, the conferences provided opportunities for the library workers to get together and this was the greatest visible gain.
Through these and other similar activities, the first few library conferences in the State creditably served the movement. They proved to be landmarks in the cultural evolution of the region. They also became the foundations and precursors of the Gujarat Library Conference. Their performance was of a high order and acted as a stimulus to library workers.

The first of a series of such library conferences took place at Gandevi in 1925. The Cawasji Dhanjibhai Gazdar Public Library of Gandevi was the oldest library in the State. Established in 1865, it celebrated its Diamond Jubilee in 1925. Advantage was taken of the occasion to summon the first Baroda State Library Convention there. Sir Manubhai Nandshankar Mehta, the Dewan of Baroda, patronized the convention and made an address at the opening ceremony of a special library exhibition. As noted by the Baroda Administration Report, “his speech on the occasion was full of suggestions for the better working of the libraries and gave great impetus to those working for the cause.”

The Report concluded:

The Conference was a great success. It was instrumental in bringing about a better understanding between the library workers and the departmental authorities regarding the library policy.

The success of this first meeting ensured the calling of subsequent conventions, which numbered six by 1934:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Chairman of Reception</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>Gandevi</td>
<td>Sumantrai H. Desai, Matubhai H. Kantawala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Dwarka</td>
<td>Purushottam V. Mavji, Sharda Sumant Mehta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Petlad</td>
<td>Ramanlal K. Parikh, Kunwarji G. Naik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Amreli</td>
<td>Harilal G. Parikh, Prabhashankar D. Pattani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>Patan</td>
<td>Manilal G. Parikh, Vidyagauri Nilkanth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>Baroda</td>
<td>Govindbhai H. Desai, Krishnalal M. Jhaveri</td>
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The library conventions passed significant resolutions to strengthen the movement, to suggest remedies for the ills discerned in
the operation of libraries, and to provide extensive, effective, and sustaining library service throughout the State of Baroda. A study of these resolutions provides interesting information on the status and condition of the Baroda Library Movement.

The conveners did not rest by merely passing the resolutions. They waited in deputation on the State officials and at times even the Maharaja to get their resolutions implemented. Noteworthy reforms were effected through the amendments to Rules for the Formation of Free Public Libraries, amendments that originated with convention resolutions. Some resolutions were directed mainly at popular leaders to get their support for public libraries and to guide them in their attempts to promote library service. Other resolutions were aimed at the Government, requesting them to provide adequate and assured financial support to the public library service and to remedy the ills noticed in the functioning of libraries, through administrative reforms.

The initiative for the foundation of public libraries in Baroda always lay with the local people, who had to come forward with their own financial contribution before the Government would double the amount in cooperation with the district local boards. Therefore, the Conference requested the local leaders of all villages and towns to raise public funds to establish libraries in all communities with schools, and libraries or reading rooms in all other communities where there were no schools, yet enough people who could read newspapers and books. To enable society to derive full benefit from libraries, the Conference recommended that in every town-library, school, or other convenient center, the management should endeavor, through the assistance of the librarian, head-mistress, or other enthusiastic library worker to set aside at least some time every week for the exclusive use of women and children.

Libraries received financial aid from the government and the district local boards in proportion to the people's contributions. Some progressive municipalities aided the libraries located in their jurisdiction which served as an additional assistance. The Conference requested all municipalities to provide the needed financial assistance and praised those which had given even small amounts, requesting them further to increase the amounts.
In many towns the Gujarati communities had established trust funds to promote the education of the members of their own group. The Conference conveyed to the organizers of such trusts its belief that the library movement was a vital part of education. The people of Gujarat had a time-honored custom of distributing presents on auspicious occasions like marriages or in festivities like Navaratri. The Conference recommended to the people that the distribution of good magazines, especially ones published for ladies and children, should be regarded as a praiseworthy social custom on all such festive occasions.

The Conference passed resolutions also on other matters connected with the routine administration of libraries, like the desirability of appointing trained librarians in larger libraries, prompt return of books borrowed from libraries, and the preparation and publication of bibliographical aids for libraries.

The most severe struggle the Conference had to conduct in order to promote the library service and save the library system from being weakened concerned finance. Due to the general increase in the cost of living, materials, and services, the libraries found it more and more difficult to maintain their services even at the minimum level. The Conference, therefore, had to mobilize all its resources to secure more funds from all possible sources and make their provision steady and adequate. A resolution pleaded: "The Rules for aiding libraries drafted in 1911 have proved inadequate today in terms of the progress achieved."

The Conference recommended that the grant of Rs. 300 prescribed for town libraries be raised to Rs. 500, and that of Rs. 50 for village libraries be raised to Rs. 150.

Rs. 22,000 provided in the State budget had proved insufficient to meet the actual demands. The Conference, therefore, requested the Government to increase the amount to Rs. 30,000. It also appealed to the members of the State Legislative Council to try to get this amount sanctioned for libraries when the State budget was discussed.

As a result, the total State grants for libraries were increased to Rs. 30,000. The third library convention of Patan applauded the Government for the increased support and requested an additional raise to Rs. 40,000. But the amount was not raised. The Patan convention reiterated the earlier request and pleaded
that the Rules for financial assistance to libraries had been framed with a view to make libraries co-extensive with the schools. There were at least five hundred villages in Baroda with schools but without libraries. In order that financial assistance could be rendered to all these villages, it was desirable that the grant of Rs. 30,000 be increased to Rs. 40,000. The Conference made special appeal to His Highness the Maharaja Saheb, yet the grant was not raised.

There was no provision in the Rules for separate grants to libraries for women and children. The Conference requested the Government to make necessary amendments to the Rules to provide for this. Municipalities gave grants to town libraries, but village panchayats could not give similar grants to the village libraries. A resolution requested that this kind of grant be legalized. The Government responded favorably and made suitable amendments to the Rules.

Borden had originally planned, and the Rules also explicitly Stated, that all State-aided libraries would be kept under the supervision and control of the Government. The State schools and other offices of the Government were supervised by the district officers of each respective department. The Library Department did not have any such officials to work even at the district level, not to speak of the taluka level. A resolution requested the State Government to appoint library organizers for all the districts.

While the Baroda State Library Conference was willing to praise the Government for its library support, it did not hesitate to express its frank criticism if the Government took a step which the Conference regarded as detrimental to the cause of library service. The Second Conference of Dwarka criticized the State for an ungenerous, retrogressive action. The resolution said: "The Council Order No. 130 of October 9, 1925, indicates a new state policy which is a step backward, and is opposed to the generous earlier policy pursued by the State." The Government was trying, so pleaded the Conference, to curtail the grants awarded so far instead of increasing them. The Conference noted this with regret and requested the Government to maintain its earlier generous policy.

Among other resolutions addressed to the Government may
be mentioned—one urging them to institute a library training course at Baroda and to give scholarships to the trainees, another resolution requesting them to declare the Central Library to be the National Library for Gujarat and to require that the Library build up a comprehensive collection of books in Gujarati, and a third resolution asking them to establish a separate District Library for the Baroda District in a city other than Baroda.

The Conference also directed its attention toward the creation of healthy literature in Gujarati. Illustrated literature in Gujarati was receiving special publicity and promotion at the time. The Conference, therefore, requested the writers and publishers to take special precautions and to see that the taste of society remained decent.

The Conference attempted to secure funds for libraries from all possible sources. The Amreli Convention passed a resolution reminding the cooperative societies that they could spend 20 per cent of their annual profit for public welfare activities and requesting them to spend part of it for public libraries.

As an effective measure of State-wide publicity and a means for creating mass library consciousness, the Conference resolved that a Library Day be celebrated throughout the State once a year. Accordingly, the State Library Association organized it once a year throughout Baroda. From time immemorial the Hindus have celebrated the Vasant Panchami as a day dedicated to the Goddess of Learning, represented in the form of books. The day heralds the dawn of the spring. Traditionally the devotees offer their homage to the Goddess. The day is also called the Jñānapañcami (the Day of Learning). The Library Department suggested the program. A group of people including children and youth, made a round of the town very early in the morning singing devotional and cultural songs and thus informing the people of the aims of celebrating the Day. A meeting was held for the children at 8 a.m. where they entertained themselves by playing games. They also presented reports on books read by them. At noon meetings exclusively meant for ladies were held. During the afternoon, there were meetings for men. And in the evening, mass meetings were held for all the people, where dance, drama, music, and magic lantern shows were presented. The principal objective of all these celebrations was to create popular
enthusiasm for the support of libraries, and to make appeals for and raise funds.

The Baroda State Library Association rendered many other services to the library movement. For example, to create a taste for good reading, significant books were recommended for study, examinations were held, and winners were awarded a prize. The Secretary of the Association toured the districts, organized taluka library conferences, gave lectures, and conducted publicity and propaganda.

Libraries Cooperative Society

The Libraries Cooperative Society of Baroda emerged as a concrete manifestation of the desire of the people to strengthen the base of libraries and to stabilize the movement. Established in 1924, the Society is still serving the cause of libraries and librarianship in Greater Gujarat. It remains a unique institution in India. Its outstanding achievements pay silent tribute to the foresight of its founders.

When Motibhai Amin initiated his scheme of Mitra Mandal Libraries in 1906, he had to purchase reading materials in bulk for all the participating libraries. Since then he had felt the need for a central cooperative agency which could purchase books and periodicals on a cooperative wholesale basis for all the libraries in the system. Motibhai’s plans did not materialize until 1924. As the years advanced and libraries in Baroda continued to grow in number, and as the operation of libraries became more and more complicated, the need for such a society was felt even more keenly. Most of the village libraries were located in the remote places without any satisfactory communication, far away from the great book markets.

Also the Library Department had found many deficiencies in the working of libraries. Books and magazines were not ordered in time. Books not approved by the Department and inferior in many respects were bought. The libraries did not obtain the due discount on account of the lack of experience of library organizers. They paid exorbitant prices. Libraries sent their budget for approval to the Department without even securing the local contribution, which was the basis of the matching grants from the Government and panchayats. The expected or promised
local contribution was not realized subsequently. The amounts of the Reserve Fund, required to be deposited under the Rules, were not invested in secure sources.

The Library Department and friends of the library movement decided that a cooperative society was important if a healthy growth of libraries was to be achieved. Thus the pustakalaya Sahayaka Sahakari Mandala (Libraries Cooperative Society) was established in Baroda in March, 1924. By its Circular No. 96 of September 22, 1924, the Department recognized the Society and announced a new policy of rural library administration involving a drastic change in the then existing policy. It was a significant new step.

The Government decided not to remit its grant and that of the panchayats directly and individually to each participating library as before, but to send the total grants to the Society, indicating the specific amounts for each library. The libraries in turn were asked to send their local contributions directly to the Society. Thus the Libraries Cooperative Society was given powers to administer the designated funds of Baroda libraries, and was expected to procure on behalf of libraries the books and periodicals needed by them.

The Society developed into a service institution. It was truly a cooperative organization. It belonged to all and was administered by all through their elected representatives constituting the Board of Directors. It functioned as an incorporated, non-profit, public body, possessing the necessary resources and the specialized techniques seldom possessed by individual libraries regardless of size. Its primary objective was to promote the interest of all its members. It made a serious effort to remove the deficiencies which were eroding the very foundations of the public library organization.

The Society raised its needed capital by issuing shares (stocks) and accepting trust funds or donations for libraries to be administered for the benefit of the designated libraries. The Constitution of the Society had a governing sub-clause prescribing that no shareholder could derive an interest higher than 6 per cent. All profit in excess of the limit was distributed among the members as a dividend and was credited to their respective reserve funds. The main functions of the Society as laid down
in its Constitution and by-laws were:

1. Purchase of books in quantities at wholesale rates and supplying them to libraries at a general discount of 6 1/4 per cent.
2. Collection and consolidated ordering of subscriptions for all the periodical publications.
3. Publication of a library periodical in Gujarati entitled pustakālaya (The Library).
4. Preparation and publication of books on library science and other useful subjects like biography, science, and fiction.
5. Preparation, or cooperation in the preparation, of useful aids for libraries, such as catalog cards, forms, wall-posters, writing materials, and other literature aimed to promote the library movement.
6. Collection of Reserve Funds from libraries, their investment at good interest and maintenance of accounts.
7. Acceptance of Trust Funds of libraries and their administration for designated purposes.

In brief, the Libraries Cooperative Society worked as a centralized cooperative agency for procurement of library materials, a banking agency for the management of library funds, and a great force for achieving standardization, simplification and economy in the organization and administration of libraries. Its services were recognized by the Department. "The Libraries Cooperative Society has proved that it is the best friend of the libraries of the State," declared the Report of the Baroda Library Department for the year 1935-36.\(^{16}\)

THE GOVERNMENT RESPONDS

The Government of Baroda was quite pleased at these developments. The response of the people encouraged the Library Department, and the Government tried to reciprocate. The resolutions passed at various library conventions made it necessary for the Government to accept the requests of the people (of course, within the limitations of finance) if the public interest was to be maintained.
It was necessary for the Government to play its role just as well as the people active in the Association had played theirs. The Library Department decided to commence special efforts to strengthen the base of libraries in Baroda. The total number of libraries and reading rooms had risen considerably. The progress achieved during the preceding decade was satisfactory, yet there was a need to make further advancement. Mere growth in the number of libraries was not sufficient; the quality had to be improved. The library service had to be made extensive. The primary objective of establishing the libraries had to be fully realized. More people had to be brought into the fold of the public library service.

In order to fulfil these goals, the Department introduced several administrative reforms. The libraries were managed by the elected representatives of the people. The Department hoped that the Managing Committees would appreciate the objectives of the Department and implement all its schemes to spread learning in an extensive manner. The Government notified the libraries that the amount of annual grants from the Department would depend upon quality of performance. So would the occasional gifts of books from the State. Well managed libraries could expect to receive a full share of the Government grant and other benefits. In turn, they were expected to serve the people in a more efficient and effective manner.

The Department also laid down a basis for the gradation of libraries. It had realized that the Government and panchayat grants awarded to libraries during the earlier years were not likely to be substantially increased due to severe economic conditions. Therefore, it decided not to multiply the number of libraries.

The Department grouped the libraries into five classes depending upon the total population, permanent income, use of books, magazines and newspapers, efficient management and the enthusiasm of the organizers and the managing committee. The amount of grant ranged as follows:
Evidently, there was an attempt to feed too many mouths with too little grain. This was a cause of failure as will be shown later. A library placed in a certain class could be promoted to the higher rank if the organizers showed a better record. If their enthusiasm was found to be slack, their library could be proportionately demoted.

In response to the popular demands, several amendments were made to the Rules to grant additional assistance to village libraries and for providing separate libraries of children and ladies. The second State Library Convention of Dwärkā had requested the Government to raise the amount of grant to village libraries from Rs. 50 to Rs. 100. The State Executive Council approved the proposal by its Order No. 193/66 of January 1, 1927. This was a great advance as far as library finance was concerned.

Under Section 27 of the Rules, only one library could receive government assistance in a village or town. But many progressive towns persisted in their demands for separate libraries for children and women. Here the Department had been showing special consideration. These were treated as separate reading rooms (but not libraries) and were given grants for only newspapers, magazines, and staff under Section 8 of the Rules. At the request of the State Library convention of Petlad, the Government amended Section 8 of the Rules so that libraries for children and women could receive additional grants as village libraries.19

The Government laid down the minimum requirements for libraries to qualify for the government grants: 
1. Appointment of an independent librarian, trained at the Central Library.

2. Arrangement for the delivery of books (on loan) to ladies at home and their return, at least once a week, in all the localities of the town.

3. If no special libraries for children and ladies existed, at least certain hours to be exclusively assigned once a week to their use. Separate collections for ladies and children to be formed. At least one-third of the book budget to be spent for special reading materials for them.

4. A subcommittee of the Managing Committee of each library to verify and approve the work of the librarian every month and report as per Circular No. 93 of July 21, 1924.

5. Town libraries to provide guidance and supervision to the village libraries under Sections 7 and 15 of the Rules.

6. The library books to be classified on the basis of "The Classified Catalogue of 8,000 Gujarati Books."

7. Three per cent of the annual budget to be paid to the Libraries Cooperative Society.

8. Each group of libraries to establish Taluka library associations; organize village libraries; establish new libraries; and work through Juth Māndals (Group Circles).²⁰

During the year 1924 it was revealed through the inspection of town libraries and their bills that the management of many town libraries was not satisfactory. Neither the President nor the members of the Managing Committee took enough interest in library promotion or library administration. The Secretary and the librarian did not perform their duties satisfactorily.

Circular No. 93 of July 22, 1924, prescribed that the Managing Committee must meet on the first Sunday of every month and conduct the following business: (1) selection of books, (2) ordering of any new subscriptions, (3) verification of accounts, new accessions, and the availability of new arrivals for immediate loan, (4) overdue work, and (5) any other important business. The General Body of members was urged to elect only such persons to the Managing Committee who would be free and willing
to attend the meetings. Circular No. 91 of February 20, 1924, directed that only the subscribers to the Library Fund could be the members of the Managing Committee.

A further source of difficulty was the election of the managing committees of Baroda libraries from year to year. This system did not give any continuity or stability in administration. There was not enough progress in the management of many libraries; therefore, the Department ordered that the members of the Managing Committees should be elected for a period of three years. Only those members were permitted to vote who had been members of the Library for at least six months and had already paid their membership dues.\textsuperscript{21}

In order to strengthen the movement, the Government effected many other administrative reforms. It resolved that the secretaries of the village libraries must meet annually on the first Sunday of every August at the central village library of the Juth (group), as designated by the Secretary of the State Library Association. They were asked to transact the following business:

1. Prepare their annual report and the budget for the following year.
2. Select books and periodicals so as to effect cooperative acquisition and inter-library loan.
3. Elect the members and secretary of the Juth (group).
4. Organize the libraries in the Juth well and make them better administered, get the reserve funds deposited with reliable agencies, open new libraries and reading rooms and prepare programs of inspection of village libraries.\textsuperscript{22}

The efforts of the people and the Government to spread the library movement far and wide created a very uncomfortable situation for the Baroda Government. As the years advanced and the people became more and more library-minded, the Government felt greater and greater difficulty in providing matching funds for the creation and maintenance of public libraries in the State. As early as 1912, Borden had found the response of the people so voluminous — so many communities approached the Government with their own contributions coupled with a request for the matching funds — that the Government was "rather troubled to
keep up its end of the bargain."  

The Education Report for 1922-23 enunciated a new policy to be followed by the Department in distributing the grants-in-aid. During the year, the annual grant had remained at the preceding level. Since no additional funds were made available, it was deemed desirable not to dissipate the funds by distributing the limited amount among a larger number of recipients. Consequently no new libraries were added, because to do so would have meant depriving the existing ones of adequate support.

The people rose to the occasion and the Government lagged behind. Circular No. 66 of January 23, 1922, noted a gradual increase in the number of libraries and reading rooms, and the amount of people’s contribution. Consequently, the matching grants from the Government and the panchayats had to be provided within certain limits. The Government declined to assist village libraries for the furniture (excepting cupboards), payment to staff, and the rent of the buildings.

Reference has already been made to the Council Order No. 130 of October 1, 1925, curtailing the Government grants (see page 128). The Government of Baroda did not intend to continue its grants at the same level forever. The Rules for the Formation of Free Public Libraries, which were the very foundation of the establishment and maintenance of libraries in Baroda, contained a clear warning for the future. Rule 27 was emphatically explicit on this issue. It said: “All Government grants to libraries shall be liable to be reduced or withdrawn at the pleasure of the Government.”

Therefore, on December 7, 1925, the Council issued an Order to the Library Department to prepare a scheme for the gradual withdrawal of the Government grants to libraries. The Curator of Libraries submitted his views on September 3, 1926: “The time has yet not arrived for the withdrawal of Government aid to libraries, since it will have a detrimental effect on the library movement.” He added that if the Government did not desire to increase or at least maintain the then current grants, the municipalities and vishishta Panchayats might “be induced to contribute towards the grant-in-aid fund” and that the district local boards might be “advised to help the Free Public Libraries in their districts.” On September 18, 1926, the Commissioner for
Education expressed his opinion. Concurring with the Curator, he recommended that the Curator’s viewpoint be accepted and that compulsory contributions might “be imposed upon the various municipalities, and the local boards, so as to diminish the burden of contribution from Government to the extent of one-fourth of the whole amount.” On September 30, 1926, the Chief Commissioner, Panchayat Branch stated that it would be “well advised if instead of exacting compulsory contributions, the village people, the municipality or the vishishta panchayat, the district local boards and the Library Department are required to pay equal contribution by the operation of Section 5 of the Act regarding the establishment of libraries.” The Accountant General agreed with the Chief Commissioner, Panchayat Branch.

The Government finally decided as follows:

1. [In issuing the earlier Order] the idea was merely to assert a principle to be followed in achieving the ultimate aim of making the libraries self-supporting.

2. One of the ways of doing it is to transfer the grant of a library which, in course of time, has been able to stand on its own legs, to another newly rising.

3. This is merely an indication and the Department has to act up to the Order gradually and wisely without any unnecessary hurry.

This is one of the most important policy statements of the Baroda Government. As early as 1925, the Government had ordered the Library Department to work out a phase-out program whereby the Government grants to libraries might be totally withdrawn at a certain date in the future. Certainly, Borden had not envisaged this gradual withdrawal of government assistance. Those who followed him became alarmed, yet they were not able to make the Government realize what was its real responsibility toward the people if literacy were to be kept alive through the provision of an effective universal public library service.

Efforts were made to secure additional finances through other sources. Under Sections 5 and 9 of the Rules it was not compulsory for the municipalities to give grants to the local library. In order to make these grants compulsory, the Department
submitted a proposal to the Government. It pleaded: The grant-in-aid from the prant panchayats was only voluntary until 1930; nevertheless all the four prant panchayats had been freely and liberally giving their quota for twenty years. But to put the library system of the State on a more systematic and permanent basis, the Panchayat grants had been made compulsory under Council Order No. 154/73 dated April 5, 1932. Even with these liberal grants, the prant and the town libraries found it very difficult to meet the ever-increasing needs and requirements of their readers. They had, therefore, been asking for more grants from the Government and the prant panchayats. But the sources of income of the prant panchayats being limited, it was not at all possible for them to increase their contributions any further. However, what the prant panchayats could not do, the local municipalities could and must do to support the free libraries in their areas. At the time, the grants from the municipalities were only voluntary, and hence few municipalities discharged their duties in that respect. It was evident that the prant and town libraries needed more and better support to meet their growing needs and that they, being the central libraries of the talukas or prants, were entitled to receive liberal contributions both from the Government and prant panchayats. But instead of asking the Government and prant panchayats to give more grants to the libraries, the local municipalities should be made to contribute compulsorily to the libraries and reading rooms in their areas, to the extent the Government and the prant panchayats did.

The Library Department, therefore, in 1933 proposed that the grant by the municipalities to the local libraries and reading rooms should be made compulsory from the beginning of the year 1933-34 and that the necessary changes might be sanctioned in the clauses 5 and 9. On May 10, 1933, the Chief Commissioner of the Panchayat Branch agreed as far as the municipal grants were concerned, but he objected to the contribution by panchayats towards town libraries. He contended that the funds of the prant panchayats were meant for rural areas and not urban, and he made a counter proposal: The principle of contribution by the panchayats to the town libraries be made voluntary instead of
compulsory as it was then. And on June 9, 1933, the Commissioner of Education supported the Curator and disagreed with the view of the Chief Commissioner of the Panchayat Branch.

The matter was then referred to the municipalities. Out of eleven A Class and thirty-one B class municipalities—a total of forty-two—only five were in favor. All the rest opposed. All the four prant panchayats were in favor of their contributions being made voluntary instead of compulsory. In view of this development, the council disallowed the proposal of the Curator and directed that no change be made at the time in the existing system.30

The subsequent development of the Baroda library system might have taken a different and more favorable turn if the above proposal, requiring the municipalities to provide funds to the prant and town libraries on a compulsory basis, had been accepted by the Council. This was a very fundamental decision and of far-reaching significance. Libraries in Baroda might not have suffered from financial stringency and the resultant under-nourishment in subsequent years if the municipalities had been compelled to contribute matching funds on par with the people’s contributions.

**Accelerated Development of Village Libraries**

The law for universal compulsory free primary education was passed in Baroda in 1906, and the Rules for the Formation of Free Public Libraries came into effect in August, 1911. Yet, even after two decades, there were six hundred villages which had schools but no libraries. The rate of opening new libraries, under the normal course, was only twenty per year. The children acquired only a rudimentary knowledge of the three R’s under the compulsory education scheme. Even this was lost after they had left the school. The only way to prevent the relapse into illiteracy, the Government thought, was to provide the children with facilities to continue their learning for life, and the only means to achieve this objective under those conditions was to give a library to each village. In 1929, therefore, the Library Department issued a Notification urging the need for opening of new libraries and reading rooms and appealing to all library organizers to do their best to fulfil the objective set before them.
The Maharaja in his Huzur Order No. 5/1 of August 4, 1931, had already wished that libraries should be opened in every one of the villages. Following this, the Dewan issued an independent Dewan Order No. 9/5 of August 8, 1931, that:

1. Efforts be made to open one hundred libraries in the current year;
2. Vidyadhikari to provide the amount required for this purpose by reappropriation in the Education Budget; and
3. A programme of development should be prepared by the Vidyadhikari, showing the budget provision according to the programme of expansion sanctioned by the Government.

The object of the libraries is to insure that there is no lapse into illiteracy. It is thus a necessary adjunct to compulsory education. The headmasters and other school masters should be connected with the library management.32

In 1932, therefore, the Government of Baroda launched a new vigorous scheme for accelerated development of village libraries.33 The Executive Council directed the Library Department to open one hundred new libraries every year until all the villages having schools were provided with libraries. The Government had "hoped to complete the programme within six years, and thus prevent the literacy acquired by children under the system of free compulsory primary education from relapsing into illiteracy." It sanctioned an annual expenditure of Rs. 10,000 to achieve the goal. The Library Department had requested an independent inspectorate for libraries, but the Government refused to incur any additional expenditure. On the other hand, they directed that the teachers should bear an additional duty of supervising the libraries and that the Deputy-Inspectors of Schools should inspect libraries as well. The Government further directed the teachers in elementary schools to maintain a list of students who had completed elementary education and to see that they used the library regularly and systematically. The teachers were also required "to take care of the books, prepare catalogues and
other records, etc." In evaluating the merits of the teachers for promotion, their library work was to be taken into account. The Government also directed the Library Department to instruct the Deputy Educational Inspectors of Schools in the work of inspection of the libraries under their jurisdiction. The Assistant Curator in charge of Country Libraries was ordered to prepare a manual for the guidance of teachers and inspectors. He was expected to hold training classes for them and to conduct courses in library management whenever the refresher training program for the teachers was held by the Education Department. It was also decided to grant more powers to district educational committees as they got more experience.

While directing the Library Department to open one hundred new village libraries every year, the Government prescribed that the local contributions be insisted on "in every case so that the library may be placed on a sound financial footing" and that "the Panchayat contribution should be compulsory and sanctioned automatically (like the Government grant) instead of after considerable correspondence in each case as at present." Following the Government Order of April 5, 1932, one hundred libraries were established in each of the two succeeding years. There was such a tremendous growth of libraries that the Maharaja had to impose a curb in 1933. From Paris he wrote to his Dewan on June 7, 1933, that the number of new libraries to be opened every year should be determined in terms of the ability of the State to support them and of the people to maintain them, and no commitments should be made which might jeopardize the safety of the State finances.

This was in no way a shift in the policy of the Maharaja. As reported by the Commissioner of Education, as early as May 26, 1913, the Maharaja had "expressed a fear that if libraries are started in places where people take evanescent interest they stand the danger of dying out as fast as they are created, and a further warning note has been sounded that the growth should be slow but sure." Although the Maharaja wanted to encourage the policy of opening libraries in villages, yet he wished that it be carried out "very slowly." He had doubts whether the Panchayats and other State finances would stand the strain. Although each
item individually appeared small, yet the collective total was likely to be quite large. He admitted that the rural libraries would generate learning and preserve the knowledge imparted by the system of compulsory primary education, yet he wanted to go slow, very slow, cautiously and carefully. Declared the Maharaja: “So much has been done for the need of the villages that we have to be careful that we do not squander away the little money we have available.” Specifically he ordered: “Slacken the policy of opening libraries unless villagers pay all the expenses of it.” His Highness also asked the Dewan to calculate roughly what was being spent at the time and what would be the total expenditure. He wanted his Dewan to get the sum approved before pledging the Panchayat and State Finance.

Accordingly, the Dewan ordered the Library Department to reduce the total number of new libraries that could be opened. Earlier only twenty libraries used to be opened every year. Suddenly, the number had been increased to one hundred. The people responded immediately and effectively, but the Government had to decrease the number. One hundred were made into fifty. Later the number was reduced to twenty and finally to only ten.

The Maharaja made it clear that budgetary limitations required a slower pace of library development:

Though these expenses (for libraries) are needed, care must be taken (to see) that the safety of the State Finance is not jeopardized by the benevolent activities. The library movement though desirable should be worked slowly, or rather withheld till the cost of the whole policy is estimated and placed before the Huzur and got approved.

Travelling Libraries in our present stage of progress ought to be able to meet most of the requirements of the villagers. If they want permanent libraries they must pay for them wholly, as there are other useful activities where money is required by the State.

This is one of the most important policy statements on Libraries made by the Maharaja. He was cautious and careful as
every wise administrator should be. He believed that "there are other useful activities where money is required by the State." Libraries were not the only claimants of his time, attention, and money. Also he wanted the people to bear much of the burden—the cost of library maintenance. He expected the people to pay their own bills—to provide for the services they thought beneficial to them, especially because the incidence of taxation was very low in the State. However, he was himself providing all the funds needed for primary education; there he did not expect the people to share the burden. In any case, it was his policy not to allow expenditures to mount unchecked without first ascertaining whether the State could bear the total cost. Such considerations might have weighed with the Maharaja as far back as 1912 when he did not approve the highly ambitious plan of Borden for library development in Baroda, which involved an expenditure of more than two million rupees.

Nevertheless, the demands of the people for more libraries and additional funds continued to grow. To meet this challenge, the Annual Report of the Baroda Library Department for the year 1934-35 announced a new policy: "Government directed during the year under report that the larger libraries may well be paid less so as to leave larger amounts available for the greater good of newly started village libraries."

This issue deserves a deeper consideration. In 1922-23, the Government had adopted a policy not to open any new libraries so that the existing ones were not deprived of adequate support. But in their enthusiasm to provide each village having a school with a library, they abandoned their earlier policy and accepted a new path. The emphasis was changed from depth to breadth. Quality was sacrificed at the altar of quantity. Since the total funds were limited, the only way to provide funds for new libraries was to reduce the grants of the existing libraries. And that is exactly what the Government of Baroda did. The Government decreed that the larger libraries might well be paid less so that new libraries could be started.

The Library Department was asked to readjust the individual allocations and effect savings so that the new libraries might be financed adequately. The Commissioner of Education was
reminded by the Government that the villages in which new libraries remained yet to be opened were remote and sparsely populated and their interests were apt to be neglected unless they were specifically kept in view.\textsuperscript{39}

It is an open question whether this was a sound policy. The dissipation of funds among a larger number of new libraries did not allow the older libraries to reach greater depth. The Baroda Administration has been subjected to a criticism that it believed more in numbers than in quality or standard.\textsuperscript{40}

The Government had acted similarly in the case of village schools. They had opened more schools in the State than they could manage with their limited finance. The object was to provide universal literacy, but mere extension did not permit intensive development. In the case of libraries, the Maharaja expected the people to taste the pleasures of reading and then finance their institutions entirely through their own resources without expecting any grants from the Government. This policy did not allow older libraries to reach greater depth. This weakness operated as a factor in their gradual decay as will be shown later.\textsuperscript{41}

**Travelling Libraries for Schools**

In order to preserve the literacy once acquired, the Department launched a new scheme in June, 1931, to supply travelling library boxes to schools.\textsuperscript{42} The Department again expressed its concern that if reading materials and facilities to read them were not provided to the students after they had left the school, they tended to relapse into illiteracy and all the time, money, and labor spent in acquiring literacy was totally wasted. If the students were not encouraged to cultivate the habit of reading books outside their textbooks while they were still regular students in the schools, they were not likely to read good books after they had left the school, had grown into adults, and had become householders with all the problems and responsibilities. Consequently, both the school and the library turned out to be useless to them.

With a view to avert this loss, the Department proposed that the children, while they are still students, should be introduced to the pleasures of reading in the school and outside the school. The Department decided that all the villages with schools but
without libraries should be provided with one or two travelling library boxes containing books which the students could read. The Department, therefore, resolved that if a village without a library could raise as little as Rs. 8 as the local contribution and ask for a travelling library box for the use of the school, the Government and the panchayat would each contribute matching funds and the village would receive books valued at Rs. 24 along with a travelling library box. The books in the specific boxes were to be, as far as practicable, other than those found in the boxes of the neighboring village, and the boxes were to be circulated and exchanged among all the libraries in an area. These books were to be freely used also by the students who had left the school and by the adults, both male and female. This Travelling Library Box was regarded as the property of the respective village, but the exchange and circulation was handled by the Taluka Library Associations and the Juth Mandals.

Visual Instruction Branch

An important development with regard to the Visual Instruction Section may be noted. Started in 1912, it had been rendering a great service. However, it was temporarily transferred in 1930-31 to the Sanitation Department for helping the scheme of village uplift.\textsuperscript{43} It was permanently assigned to the same department during the year 1933-34 as per Huzur Order No. 9/2 dated November 29, 1933.\textsuperscript{44} The Library Department felt its absence. In its report for the year 1934-35, it said:

The removal of the Visual Instruction Branch from the Department has deprived the library of a legitimate means of mass education. The loss is almost made good by the State Library Association, who have organized a series of cinema shows on temperance, sanitation, cooperation, etc.\textsuperscript{45}

Central Library

During Dutt’s administration, the Central Library in Baroda continued to flourish. It earned a reputation in and out of India. Eminent persons visited it frequently. Various institutions and individuals all over the country sent numerous requests for
information and guidance.\(^46\) In his "Introduction" to Dutt's *Baroda Library Handbook* the Dewan of Baroda said:

The Central Library at Baroda is the heart of its educational system, and supplies the life-blood to all the various educational activities that function so well in that living organism...The whole State is now dotted over with a network of town and village libraries; and the travelling cinematograph and magic lantern slides have carried knowledge to the very door of the rural population.\(^47\)

Although the Central Library developed as one of the best libraries in India, yet it could not secure a worthy home to live in. Reference has already been made to the attempts of Borden and his successors to achieve the objective, but they remained unfulfilled until the end of the 1920's. Sergeant, the biographer of Sayajirao, has much praise for his pioneering work in the field of library development in India. However, he criticizes the library movement at one point:

If any adverse comment is to be made on the progress of the Library Movement in Baroda, it is that the Central Library, with its really fine collection of books has an entirely inadequate home.\(^48\)

He continues his comments by saying that the old Sarkarwada was historically interesting, but was unsuited for the accommodation of books, allowed them to deteriorate through climatic conditions, and was exposed to the risk of fire. According to Sergeant, the Maharaja had all along been thinking of worthier building. As early as 1917 he had directed his Chief Engineer to prepare plans and invite competitive designs. A site too was named. It was expected that the scheme would be implemented at the time of the Golden Jubilee, but the site was allotted to the Science Institute, for which the foundation was laid by Lord Reading in January, 1926.

Ultimately, the Maharaja passed an interim Huzur Order on
March 4, 1927, directing that plans be drawn on new lines, utilizing the present building, but accommodating the actual book-stock in a fire-proof structure fitted with steel stacks and glass flooring. Dutt prepared a plan estimated to cost two hundred thousand rupees and the Library Department submitted a formal proposal on September 14, 1928, for the construction of the Central Library Building as desired by the Maharaja, adding, however, the following:

During the last seventeen years, numerous plans have been submitted for a separate library building, the present accommodation being quite inadequate for an important and ever-growing library, but all have been rejected on the grounds of expenses, etc. 49

His Highness approved the plan and sanctioned Rs.200,000 instructing the Chief Engineer to keep a vigilant eye over the construction work and to see that the expenses did not exceed the amount sanctioned. The building was finally constructed. The new fire-proof steel structure for books was its main constituent element. The old building, which accommodated the reading rooms and other sections, was renovated.

BARODA’S INFLUENCE

The Central Library Department of Baroda earned a great reputation during the period of Dutt’s administration. The Library received inquiries from all over India concerning the problems of libraries and methods and means to solve them. Information was sought on the organization of village and travelling libraries, the system of classification, the style of cataloging, etc.

The Library Movement in Baroda attracted the attention of library in many parts of India. The Library Miscellany exercised a wholesome influence over the minds of contemporary Indian librarians. For example, writing to the editor of the Miscellany, S. V. Narasimha Shastri, Vice-President of the Andhradesa Library Association, said:

We draw our inspiration, for the spread of this movement in our part of the country from the great
library movement inaugurated by His Highness the Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwar of Baroda... We are regular readers of your *Library Miscellany* and in the work of systematizing the work of the libraries in our parts we derive great benefit and help from the same.\(^{50}\)

The *Indian Library Journal* was published from Bezwada beginning with July, 1924. In its first issue, the editor referred to the *Library Miscellany* of Baroda:

That ably conducted and most useful journal, the *Baroda Library Miscellany*...ceased to be published for want of popular support. We are not unmindful of the fact that the example of the *Library Miscellany*, which worked before us in this field so creditably and so well and under such influential auspices has many lessons to teach us.

Pattabhi Sitaramayya, veteran Congress leader, provided further testimony to Baroda’s influence over Andhradesa:

Years ago when the magic words of rural reconstruction were not yet discovered, the Andhras following the inspiration from Baroda turned their attention to the question of village libraries.\(^{51}\)

Ratanchand Manchand, the Librarian of Hailey College, Lahore, visited Baroda in 1931. Having completed his survey he observed: “I have had a short visit to Baroda—the only State in India which has inaugurated a real library movement and has established a network of free public libraries.”\(^{52}\) Concluding, he said:

I have enumerated here briefly the essence of the library movement in Baroda. This is what we want to inaugurate in the Panjab. We are simply urging in the Panjab, as they have done in Baroda, that there should be a library in every town and village in the province as a supplement to the school to give everyone an
opportunity to make his life happier and more useful to himself and to his town, to the society to which he belongs, and to his nation.\textsuperscript{53}

The library movement in Baroda exercised influence also in many other ways. Baroda librarians were invited to other regions of India to preside over library conferences and to deliver the message of libraries personally to those public leaders in the region who could influence the decisions of the Government.

The Third All-Bengal Library Conference was organized in Calcutta in November, 1931 under the presidency of Newton Mohun Dutt. Dutt delivered a series of lectures and talks on the Baroda Library Movement in Calcutta and adjoining places. In Bansberia he was the guest of Kumar Munindra Deb Rai Mahasai, the local zamindar, and received a formal address of welcome from the Municipal Board. A Library Bill was under circulation in the Bengal Legislative Council and Dutt’s lectures and addresses formed a part of the propaganda campaign on behalf of the Bengal Library Association.\textsuperscript{54}

Dutt was held in high esteem by contemporary librarians and educators. When an All-Asia Educational Conference was held at Banares, he was elected the President of the Library Service Section. Dutt organized a Library Exhibition, most of the exhibits being provided by Baroda. An illustrated pamphlet giving a short report about the Baroda Library System was prepared and distributed among the delegates and the visitors.\textsuperscript{55} Dutt also presented a paper on “The Baroda Library System.” This occasion provided an opportunity to the visitors from many countries in Asia to learn of the progress of the Baroda Library Movement.

During the stewardship of Dutt, the library movement in Baroda achieved a remarkable progress, as shown in Table V.

To sum up: During the period of Dutt’s administration, extending from 1921 to 1934, significant developments took place in the field of libraries and librarianship at Baroda. The people of several districts rose to the occasion and played their role well. The library association also made a valuable contribution to the promotion of library service in Baroda and elsewhere in India. The Libraries Cooperative Society served the libraries economically, efficiently, and extensively. To meet the popular demands for better and wider library service, the Government amended
the Rules for the Formation of Free Public Libraries, thus strengthening the foundations of the Baroda Library System, of course, within the limitations imposed by environmental factors.

Table V
THE PROGRESS OF LIBRARIES IN BARODA
DURING THE ADMINISTRATION OF DUTT 1921-1933

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1933</th>
<th>Increase/Decrease</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Central Library</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stock</td>
<td>90,068</td>
<td>112,506</td>
<td>+ 25 per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Readers</td>
<td>3,342</td>
<td>4,594</td>
<td>+ 37 per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circulation</td>
<td>80,556</td>
<td>117,024</td>
<td>+ 45 per cent*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenditure</td>
<td>Rs. 56,740</td>
<td>Rs. 45,006</td>
<td>- 20 per cent*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Country Libraries</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prant libraries</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town libraries</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>+ 5 per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village libraries</td>
<td>588</td>
<td>918</td>
<td>+ 36 per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading Rooms</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>+ 73 per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Library Buildings</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>+ 58 per cent</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stock</td>
<td>306,990</td>
<td>665,544</td>
<td>+116 per cent</td>
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<tr>
<td>Readers</td>
<td>32,304</td>
<td>100,952</td>
<td>+212 per cent</td>
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<tr>
<td>Circulation</td>
<td>205,689</td>
<td>547,997</td>
<td>+165 per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenditure</td>
<td>Rs. 75,867</td>
<td>Rs. 150,666</td>
<td>+ 97 per cent</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Travelling Libraries</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stock</td>
<td>17,969</td>
<td>21,472</td>
<td>+ 18 per cent</td>
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<td>Readers</td>
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<td>Circulation</td>
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<td>Expenditure</td>
<td>1,919</td>
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<td>- 22 per cent</td>
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<tr>
<td>Boxes Available</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>- 10 per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boxes Circulated</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>698</td>
<td>+170 per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centers</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>+ 53 per cent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The total expenditure seems to have decreased by 20 per cent but in reality it did not. Two of the major branches of the Library, viz. the Sanskrit (Oriental Institute) and the Visual Instruction, were separated from the Central Library during the administration of Dutt.

THE YEAR OF JUBILEES

The year 1935 was a landmark in the history of the Baroda Library Movement. Both the Library Department and the Central Library celebrated their Silver Jubilees on having completed twenty-five years of service to Baroda and her people. Maharaja Sayajirao celebrated the Diamond Jubilee of his glorious reign. This was also the Golden Jubilee year of Maharaja's
wedding with Maharani Chimnabai II. Thus 1935 became a year of jubilees.

The Year provided Curator Waknis, who succeeded Dutt in 1934, with an opportunity to promote the cause of library movement in an effective manner. A Book Exhibition was arranged "with a double object in view; first to contribute the Department's share in the joyous festivities of the Diamond Jubilee and second to depict in a visual manner some of the important aspects of modern librarianship." There were six sections: (1) Maharaja, (2) Baroda, (3) Publishers, (4) Historical, (5) Auxiliary, and (6) Damaged Books. Nine Silver Jubilee publications in library science and bibliography were issued on the occasion, not major works but small pamphlets of a stimulating nature.

Also a Rural Exhibition was held, part of which was utilized by the Library Department for its own exhibits. Specimens of Village Library, Ladies' Library, and Children's Library with Playroom were displayed. Charts showed how the Libraries Cooperative Society and the State Library Association helped the libraries in Baroda.

The Diamond Jubilee Central Committee presented an address of honor to the Maharaja wherein it said:

Your Highness has been a pioneer in inaugurating far-reaching educational and social reforms, such as free and compulsory education, provision of free libraries for the masses, liberal encouragement to vernacular literature and active support to oriental scholarship, prevention of infant marriages and caste tyranny, removal of untouchability, modernizing the old and out-of-date laws regarding marriage, divorce and inheritance, the proper regulation of religious and charitable property and discarding unnecessary and wasteful ceremonials.

To mark the historical occasion, the Maharaja donated ten million rupees from his privy purse and created a special endowment fund, which was used also for the development of libraries. In his message creating this Trust, the Maharaja said:

There is further a network of village libraries to supply the people with knowledge of the kind needed
by them and to prevent the evil of lapse into illiteracy.  

Replying to the felicitations offered on the occasion, the Maharaja said that he "chose education as the rock on which to reconstruct a new social and economic life...education should be the right of the humblest villager...I can justly claim. I believe, that my Government has done and is doing everything possible to devote its resources to the prosperity and enlightenment of the people."

A Generation of Progress

Baroda was a virgin field in 1910 and the progress achieved during the first twenty-five years was significant. Borden had to start from the very foundation. His successors brought the movement to a high level. The annual report of the Library Department for the year 1935-36 provides evidence to support this view. The Lending Department of the Central Library circulated 119, 236 books, pamphlets, and other materials; the number of registered readers was 6,277; the total number of books in stock was 117,827. Work with women and children was continued. The number of readers in the Women's Library was 1,118. The circulation of books rose to 16, 724. The Children's Library and Playroom was visited by 38,301 children. The circulation of books was 6,158. Extension activities outside the Library among the ladies were continued. Library training was conducted in several ways. The Department reported satisfactory progress also in connection with inspection, library propaganda, library day celebration, State Library Association, and the Libraries Cooperative Society. On the Travelling Library Service, the report showed similar achievements. Twenty-four thousand one hundred ninety-seven books circulated among 10,057 readers by sending out 558 boxes in 237 centers. Also 2,924 stereographs were circulated in forty-three boxes among twenty-nine centers. The total expenditure of the Library Department during the year was Rs. 100,253. The following figures further testify to the progress achieved by the Baroda Library Movement as of 1935:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Library Service</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Country Libraries</td>
<td>1,116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading Rooms</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Children’s Rooms 9
Ladies’s Libraries 15
Libraries with their own buildings 160
Total book stock 832,595
Readers 146,390
Total circulation of books 667,948

Financial Contributions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Rs.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>48,633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People</td>
<td>39,730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panchayats and municipalities</td>
<td>48,418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total contribution</td>
<td>136,781</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Presenting the twenty-fifth annual report of the Library Department and the first of his stewardship, Waknis said that he was “left in possession of a splendid legacy”—the work of his “distinguished predecessors.” He noted that one phase of library work was completed; the groundwork of an efficient library service had been completed throughout the State. He added:

The policy of opening a library in each village with a primary school has been carried out to a successful end. One of the objects with which the Library Movement was inaugurated has been thus achieved. The achievement is all the more remarkable because in its accomplishment Government has not been the only party: the people’s part has been equally great. The achievement therefore has an assurance of permanence which would have been lacking if a benevolent government had just thrust it on an unwilling or indifferent people.  

The year 1935 was also memorable from another point of view. Motibhai Amin, who was the chief guiding spirit of the Rural Library Movement, retired from the service of the State. The Baroda Library Department Report expressed its appreciation of the splendid services rendered by him. He retired as the Assistant Curator on November 29, 1935: still he continued his life of service in the cause of librarianship. He became the Honorary:
The People Rise: The Government Responds

Secretary of the State Library Association and the President of the Board of Directors of the Libraries Cooperative Society. The Report concluded:

Mr. Amin's connection with libraries began earlier than his appointment as the Assistant Curator. The whole of the District Library Movement in inception and growth bears the ineffaceable stamp of his genius for organization. His was a dedicated life. Considerations of self-aggrandisement never touched him. And though Government showed him, time and again, marks of favour, he never solicited them. Nor did he accept them with a swelling sense of importance. In his retirement he has chosen a larger field of service, but libraries will be his first love.63

The Libraries Cooperative Society of Baroda published a survey of the accomplishments of the Baroda library movement through December, 1935. Shah shows that the contribution of Motibhai toward the successful development of libraries and librarianship in Baroda was singular.64 The status of the movement as of 1935 was as follows:65

1. Total number of villages in the State 2,958
2. with schools 1,424
3. with a school and a library 1,080
4. without a library 344
5. with a library but without a school 36

1. Total population of Baroda State 2,443,007
2. literates 434,734
3. number of books in public libraries 907,350
4. number of books circulated 799,314
5. readers 148,874

It was a coincidence that the year 1906, when Motibhai initiated his Scheme of Mitra Mandal Libraries, was also chosen by Maharaja Sayajirao for the extension of his Scheme of Compulsory Free Primary Education throughout the State. By 1935 the law for compulsion in education had been in operation
for thirty years; nevertheless, only 48.1 per cent of the villages were able to have their own schools and 17.8 per cent of the population was able to acquire basic literacy. During the same period, 75.8 per cent of the villages with schools were able to establish their own libraries and 34.2 per cent of the literate population had become their regular users. The total number of books owned by the libraries was almost a million, giving an average of 892 books per library and three books per literate person. Seven hundred thousand books were circulated, giving an average of 5.5 books per reader. These data show an even greater achievement on the part of libraries in comparison to the scheme of compulsory education. Shah ascribes this success of the library movement to the selfless efforts of Motibhai Amin, and the data presented above justify this conclusion.

THE LAST YEARS OF SAYAJIRAQ
1936-1939

On December 16, 1937, the Shree Jayasinhrao Library of Baroda celebrated its Diamond Jubilee under the presidency of Father Heras. Sayajirao attended the celebrations and spoke on the event. By this year, he had already ruled actively over his kingdom for fifty-six years. This library was founded in 1877 when the Maharaja was fifteen. Referring to his early recollections he said: “What I see here today vividly recalls to my mind memories of long years ago. I remember the site and scene of the day this library was founded.” There was a remarkable change from what Baroda was in 1877 to what Sayajirao had made it by 1937. The Maharaja’s description of the two contrasting scenes epitomized the transformation Baroda had witnessed. The Maharaja believed that in order to keep pace with the rapidly advancing world of knowledge it was necessary to “acquire more and more knowledge and spread it far and wide....Appalling ignorance and unnatural class divisions were the main reasons for our backwardness. What a shocking percentage of illiteracy we have among our thirty-five crores of people! The very thought of it is sufficient to make us shudder and feel ashamed.” Under the circumstances, the greatest need of India was to educate the masses and to make them enlightened citizens. He had provided mass education as well as free public libraries with the object of removing
illiteracy and educating all the people. He urged the people to derive benefits from the institutions he had established.

He did not believe in "faulty notions and dogmas in religious matters" and exhorted the people to give them up. He stood for reforms at every point, every stage, wherever they were needed. He advocated unity and cooperation among the people. He was strongly against the vice of untouchability. He said:

Do not treat one particular class as untouchables. They have enough worries without that...Forget all differences of race and religion, caste and creed. Whether Hindu, Muslim, or Christian, for our salvation, you must unite under one banner as one nation.\(^68\)

The Maharaja did not receive the type of education he would have liked to acquire for himself. But he tried to give the best opportunity to his sons. He admitted that he "did not completely realize" his object. It is noteworthy that although the Maharaja did not receive a university education, yet through self-study of books and the association of the learned, he acquired an extensive knowledge relative to the affairs of life as well as the State, and he wisely put to use what he had learned. He was a lover of books and reading, and wanted his people to acquire the taste of reading books. This desire was at the very root of all his efforts to promote library service in such a manner. He spoke.

I devoutly and zealously utilized all the resources at my command in acquiring such knowledge as I could from reading good and useful books. I have studied them and have endeavored to apply my knowledge to everyday problems, trying to serve my people and secure their happiness. Though I have not succeeded in achieving all my desires and ambitions, I have done my best.\(^69\)

The Maharaja did not live long after he delivered this significant talk on education and libraries, on his hopes and aspirations for his people, and on his successes as well as failures.
It was a frank appraisal of his own rule and an estimate of a life dedicated to human welfare. The talk gives a deep insight into his mind. Although he had achieved a great deal, yet he did not secure all that he had wanted. He learned by experience, and every failure brought him new experience and enlightenment.

By the year 1939-40, the Library Department had made more progress in many directions and the Maharaja could have been justifiably proud of his achievements. In his Introduction to the Report for the year, the Curator outlined the highlights for the year's working. Many significant developments had taken place which augured well for the future. There was a resurgence of enthusiasm among the library workers. Most of them had accepted the policy of framing budgets on cooperative lines so as to make the meager library funds stretch farther. The town libraries were willing to shoulder their share of the responsibility for a better management of the village libraries grouped around them. A friendlier feeling had emerged between municipalities and libraries. Welcome was accorded to the inspection staff whether of the Education or of the Library Department or of the State Library Association. There was a cordiality of relation between the people, the panchayats, the Library Department, the State Library Association, and the Libraries Cooperative Society. And, finally, the Government of Baroda continued to give due support to all practical schemes of improvement.

However, there were many problems and the Department as well as the leaders of the public tried to solve them. The Curator in a report published in the March, 1938 issue of the journal Pustakalaya presented before the village librarians and library committees a frank statement of the unsatisfactory conditions in many libraries and their possible remedies. The books in practically all the village libraries were of poor quality. The libraries spent too much on the magazines and too little was left over for the purchase of books. Economy, better planning, and the raising of more funds were needed to remedy the situation. These could be achieved in several ways. First, the financial resources of the libraries needed to be pooled together and books purchased on a co-operative basis. Secondly, more publicity and propaganda for the support of libraries was required so that more villagers could contribute their share toward
the maintenance of their library. The third means was the levying of a library rate to make the finances better and surer. The Curator concludes: "The last suggestion was, as was to be expected, anathematized out of hand, but the first two were not thrown, it is hoped, on sterile ground." 70

Several facts emerge. First of all, the libraries did not have enough books of good quality. Secondly, they spent disproportionately large amounts on magazines. Thirdly, all the people of the village did not support the library. And finally, although taxation was a means to overcome the difficulty, yet it was not liked by the people.

**Strengthening the Library Movement**

The successive reports of the Baroda Library Department describe in detail its various attempts to remove the weaknesses in the functioning of the libraries, to strengthen the library movement, and to improve library service. Many types of publicity and propaganda devices were used to achieve the objectives. Each issue of the Pustakalaya journal published a monthly calendar of librarians' duties requesting and reminding them what they should do in the specific month following. They were asked to organize meetings of the local library committees and to get the budgets approved before these were submitted by them to the Library Department.

The Department conducted a closer and more extensive inspection of village libraries 71 and recommended certain methods of improvement. Keeping the libraries neat and clean, discarding the books not useful, improvement in the landscape, maintenance of proper record of libraries, library training of the teacher-librarians, preparation of cooperative budgets, and supervision of village libraries by the town libraries were some of the methods and means that could improve the working of libraries. The Department also warned the town libraries that if they did not pay full attention to the supervision of village libraries, their grants were likely to be curtailed.

The Central Library Department also provided guidance in preparing the budgets. The Assistant Curator published a series of notes in the journal Pustakalya delineating the character and
contents of village library budgets. The Department had prescribed under the Rules the extent to which the funds could be spent for each type of library materials like books, newspapers, etc. It was found that the libraries did not adhere to these proportionsate amounts. The village libraries spent as much as 60 to 80 per cent of their budgets on newspapers only, while the Rules did not permit them to spend more than 25 per cent on this type of reading material. According to the Department, "this was defeating the object of starting village libraries." After all, the Department argued, books were the first charge on the library budgets. The purpose of establishing and maintaining libraries was to provide a healthy literature, which might generate a richer society.

The problem was discussed in the columns of the Pustikalaya as well as during the personal meetings which the Assistant Curator was able to have with the librarians and library committees while touring libraries in the districts. The Department had been hoping that the library authorities would look at the budgets in the proper perspective. It had no desire to infringe upon the freedom of libraries, yet it could not refrain from discharging its obligations in the rightful manner. The libraries were also provided with sample budgets to suit the diverse total amount of various levels available to the libraries of several grades.

The Baroda Library Department Report for 1940-41 once again reminded the Library Committees that "newspapers were ephemeral literature, which came to the notice of only a small section of the population. The centre of the State's library activity (were) the children in (the) school and those who had just left it. Teacher librarians were exhorted to be more self-sacrificing and to look more zealously to the interests of growing children." It may be useful to inquire why there was such a great demand for newspapers. Books were old, shabby, and unattractive in general. Often they were not good in quality. Neither were they enough in quantity. The children did not have many books to attract them; older people did not have much interest in the books made available. Newspapers brought news, especially of world-shaking events. Fresh news excited them every day. The daily press had more attraction to them than the old stories,
especially if the latter happened to be didactic.\textsuperscript{74}

It is significant to note that although more than 86 per cent of the people spoke Gujarati, there was not enough demand for books in it, and so there was not enough supply. The dearth of suitable literature in Gujarati was a cause as well as an effect of the extent of illiteracy among the masses and their excessive poverty. Common people could not read books because they were totally illiterate. Even those who were literates could not buy their own books, because they were too poor. When there was not enough money even to make ends meet, the purchase of personal copies of books was unthinkable. Baroda was one of the poorest regions in India.

Under the circumstances, there was a general shortage of books all over the State. Publishing a book in Gujarati was not a profitable business. It was difficult to find sufficient market even for an edition of only one thousand copies. Since the price had to be kept at the minimum level, the printing and production naturally turned out to be of an inferior order. There was no possibility of using good paper or providing attractive illustrations.

Waknis in his “Post-War Programme of the Baroda Libraries” has discussed the state of book publishing in Gujarati and the nature of book stock in Baroda libraries in the mid-1940’s.\textsuperscript{75} As recorded by him, the number of Gujarati books that were published every year did not exceed four hundred and the vital ones among them numbered only a score or two. Most of the Indian publications, according to Waknis, were a rehash of newspaper and magazine articles. There were no books that might be termed seminal or those that would make an emotional landmark in the lives of the people. Since the libraries did not have many first-rate books, they could not “furnish that intellectual ferment which is necessary to turn the people’s torpor into activity.”

As a result of this book famine, continues Waknis, the village and town libraries were patronized only by subscribers, who got the newspapers delivered to their homes. Even these members totalled few because of the limited number of magazines that could be subscribed to by a library, again on account of the dearth of finance. As reported by Waknis, the total amount of subscriptions collected from “members” as distinct from the “readers” was generally less than the total expenditure incurred in
subscribing to the magazines and newspapers and their delivery to subscribers through the employees of the library.

Sayajirao tried to remedy the situation by donating two hundred thousand rupees from his own privy purse and creating a Translation Bureau, but translations are after all translations and not originals. Great literary artists would not like to translate the works of others, and those who might be willing to play a subsidiary role may not always be gifted.

The Department tried to improve its own services for achieving economy and better results. Beginning with the year 1939-40, a new policy of decentralizing the circulation of travelling library boxes was adopted. Earlier, the boxes were dispatched from and returned to Baroda, thus causing a larger expenditure to the Government. Under the new policy, District towns and other enterprising communities were designated to be the distributing centers. Many of such centers bought their own stereographs.76

The State Library Association continued to serve the people of Baroda. The Report of the Baroda Library Department for 1937-38 acknowledges the useful work done by the Association.77 There was close cooperation between the Library Department, representing the Government, and the Library Association representing the people. In appreciation of the fine services of the Association in promoting the cause of the library movement in Baroda, the Government had been granting a subsidy of Rs. 1,000 per year which was subsequently raised to Rs. 1,200, and finally to Rs. 1,600, equal contributions being made on the same tripartite basis by the panchayats as well as the libraries. Thus the Association had Rs. 3,000 in a year (or latter Rs. 4,800) to conduct its multi-dimensional activities. It held library training classes for village school masters in charge of libraries. It organized library conferences. Examinations were held for choice reading and prizes were distributed to deserving winners. The Association arranged for home reading unions and also for a correspondence course in library training. Another important activity of the Association was the inspection of Baroda libraries for improvement of library service. The Baroda Library Department Report stated78 that the Association had secured the services of about twenty honorary and five paid library organizers for propaganda and inspection work. The Report concluded:
The Association has the full support and sympathy of the State Library Department and is recognized as doing useful service to the noble cause, cherished by His Highness the Maharaja Saheb, of having a library even in the smallest village of his State.\textsuperscript{79}

The professional library conferences continued their beneficial work. The \textit{Baroda Library Department Report} for 1938-39 noted several important resolutions passed by Taluka library conferences. Vijapur Taluka Conference requested all libraries to form their budget by group consultation. Kheralu Taluka Library Conference advised teachers to start adult illiteracy removal classes. The Seventh Session of the Baroda State Library Conference organized at Zarola in Bhadran Taluka passed many significant resolutions regarding the provision of library finance for Baroda libraries.\textsuperscript{80} By a resolution, the Conference recommended the preparation of library budgets in accordance with the suggestions offered by the Library Department, as embodied in the Rules and published in the journal \textit{Pustakalaya}. Another resolution asked the libraries to frame their budgets on co-operative basis. A third resolution suggested that the villages too poor to raise their own local contribution, necessary to initiate a library, might seek help from the Diamond Jubilee Fund. A resolution, probably the most important of all, recommended that help from the municipalities and local boards to libraries should be included among their obligatory functions rather than be left optional.

A history of modern Baroda or a biography of its maker, Sayajirao Gaekwar, are subjects outside the scope of the present study, which is an attempt to highlight only one of the greatest achievements of Baroda, her free public library system. The Government of Baroda under the inspiring leadership of Maharaja Sayajirao tried to fulfill all the legitimate demands of the people and the Library Department. A very remarkable phenomenon of the life of Sayajirao was that he remained active to the very end and continued his efforts to promote the welfare of his subjects. According to Sergeant, some critics have remarked that the Maharaja lost interest in all matters with the advance of years. This is not true. With the gradual development of self-
government in Baroda and the transfer of more and more power to the people, the Maharaja naturally became only a constitutio
tional figurehead. It was self-abnegation on his part, attested by himself in his speeches. He could not justifiably interfere too much in the day-to-day administration of the State.

Commenting on the life and work of Sayajirao, Sir William Barton said in January, 1939:

The Gaekwar might well be inclined to rest on his laurels. Yet despite advancing years there is no sign of a slackening of his zest for carrying on his policy of promoting the economic, social and political development of his people. Half a century of sustained effort has not exhausted his energies.81

Admirers of Sayajirao had fondly hoped that if ever India became free, they would elect Sayajirao as their first President. But Sayajirao did not live long enough to see India emerge as a sovereign democratic republic. He passed away in Bombay on February 6, 1939. According to the London Times, “an outstanding feature of his romantic and chequered career was the influence he wielded—far in excess of that of any contemporary Indian ruler—in the making of modern India. He was the doyen of Ruling Princes of important States and his nearly sixty-four years of tenure of the gadi exceeded in duration the reign of any British sovereign.”

The paper concluded:

No other Indian Ruler put so much thought and care into his public utterances... He entered into a bankrupt, corrupt, and backward inheritance, and transformed it into a prosperous, well-administered, and progressive territory...made education a fundamental feature of his policy. He recognized and preached its value and need for his people of both sexes and all classes, and indeed for India as a whole...he was a generation ahead of British India...82
The *Library Association Record* of London noted:

The Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda was a distinguished ruler who recognized the library as an indispensable instrument in education... He was impressed by the popular libraries in America and with the object of providing the same benefits for his people, he brought to Baroda an American library expert who started a system of public libraries... [It] acted as an intellectual stimulus to the rest of India.\(^8\)

February, 1939, saw the death of another library patron and educator, who had been promoting the library movement in Baroda so well. Motibhai Amin passed away in the same month and thus came to an end a dedicated life. The *Library Department Report* noted with regret:

February, 1939, yielded a rich harvest to the Great Reaper. His Highness the Maharaja Sir Sayajirao III of beloved memory passed away on the 6th February. Mr. Motibhai N. Amin predeceased his august master by just a week (on February 1, 1939). The Central Library mourned their loss in condolence meetings.\(^8\)

NOTES & REFERENCES

2. See infra., pp. 218-21.
4. Ibid. (Translated from Gujarati).
5. P. 309.
6. Ibid.
Originally the Association was called "Shri Vadodara Rajya Pustakalaya Parishad Mandala." The word "Parishad" (Conference) was subsequently dropped.
9. p. 34.
11. Ibid., p. 310.
14. The dearth of suitable literature in Gujarati is discussed on pages 161 and 206.
17. Notification No. 244 of April 22, 1922.
18. Circular No. 67 of April 22, 1922.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid., Document No. 35, November 28, 1934.
31. Notification No. 70 of May 12, 1929.
34. "Selections from the Baroda Records," Document No. 10, May 15, 1913. (This is the date of origin of the memo.)
37. Ibid., Document No. 31, June 29, 1933; Huzur Order No. 148/28 of
June 26, 1933. For a similar statement, see Sergeant, pp. 199-200.

38. p. 9.
40. For example, Rice said: "...there has been too great a desire to show numerical results, and too great an inclination to ignore the ultimate effects and the ends of education." Stanley Pitcairn Rice, _Life of Sayajirao III, Maharaja of Baroda_ (London: Oxford University Press, 1931), Vol. 2, p. 76.
41. See _infra_, pp. 288-89.
42. Circular No. 35 of June 2, 1931.
44. _Ibid_. 1933-34, p. 10.
   _Ibid_., 1934-35, p. 11.
46. N.M. Dutta, _Baroda Library Handbook_ (Baroda: Central Library 1926), Introduction.
52. _Ibid_., p. 65.
53. _Library Department Report, 1931-32_, p. 11.
56. See Bibliography at the end.
57. _Feudatory and Zamindari India_, January, 1936, p. xxiii.
60. The Reserve Fund was over and above this amount.
61. _Library Department Report, 1934-35_, p. i.
64. _Ekikarana, 3:329._
72. *Ibid*.
73. p. 7.
75. "Selections from the Baroda Records," Document No. 54 August 26, 1944.
79. *Ibid*.
Integration Leads to Disintegration

Maharaja Pratapsinhrao, the grandson of Sayajirao, ascended the throne on February 20, 1939. He bestowed a great boon on his rural subjects by a permanent reduction in the land revenue, which his grandfather had granted as a temporary measure only. In order to perpetuate the memory of the maker of modern Baroda and to ameliorate the conditions of the masses, he donated ten million rupees from his private purse and created the Sayajirao Memorial Trust Fund. He proclaimed the implementation of great constitutional reforms signalizing a complete identity between the ruler and the ruled. And finally he promised to follow the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor. The post-Sayajirao Government fulfilled the promise made by its ruler at the time of his assuming the power. It continued to promote public library service, like many other beneficial services, following the path laid down by the father of the library movement in India, Maharaja Sayajirao.

K. Ramakrishna Rao, a critic of the Baroda library movement, would not agree with this evaluation of Pratapsinhrao’s reign, for he declares: “This extremely impressive picture of library development did not continue for long even in the State of Baroda. With the death of Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwar the Government lost interest...” This chapter will examine whether the post-Sayajirao Government did in fact renge on its promise to follow the footsteps of its predecessor, and
particularly whether it lost interest in the development of libraries and librarianship in Baroda.

The 1940's represent the last decade of the history of the public library movement in Baroda. Having achieved independence from the British, India became a sovereign democratic republic. But this development brought the end of Baroda as an independent native state. She was merged into the neighboring State of Bombay on May 1, 1949. Thus Baroda disappeared from the political map of India and along with her disappeared the Baroda Library System. *Rural Baroda*, a publication prepared by the Government of Baroda, and published by the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics in 1949, observes:

[Baroda's progress] could not but influence the life outside the Baroda limits. [After Baroda is merged into Bombay] there will be many changes. There will, no doubt, be many gains, but unfortunately, there will be some losses too. The emphasis too will change; both the tempo and the rhythm will be different. Bombay may even now learn a great many things from what it inherits from Baroda.

Politically, this decade was very critical, turbulent, and decisive in the life of the Indian nation. At the turn of the decade, World War II was still raging with all its fury. Although the actual fighting did not take place on Indian soil, yet Indian life was deeply touched by the war. The Government of Baroda made an all-out effort to assist the Allies in winning the war.

All this had a serious effect on the economy of the country. Scarcity of materials increased day by day. Prices rose higher and higher. All civilian institutions found it more and more difficult even to maintain the status quo. Shortage of paper had adverse effects on the production and supply of reading materials. Publications were suspended as a measure of war-economy. An example of the serious repercussions of the war on the library movement of Baroda is provided by the suspension in 1940-41 of the publication of the Annual Report
of the Baroda Library Department, which had been published since 1930 and had provided guidance and inspiration to the library profession. The war forced the Baroda Government to suspend many other useful activities conducive to the uplift of the masses. Baroda’s library development in the 1940’s has to be evaluated in this context.

The Annual Report of the Baroda Library Department for the year 1940-41 describes the status of the library movement as it stood then. Curator Waknis said:

By its provision of free library facilities to all citizens of the State, Baroda enjoys a unique distinction not only among the other States of India but among its provinces also. One may even go further and affirm that with England and the United States of America, Baroda occupies a position of leadership in the extension and efficiency of its library service.

The entire territory of Baroda, comprising an area of more than eight thousand square miles, was covered by a network of libraries which numbered about fourteen hundred, or one library to every 5.7 square miles of area. In addition to these stationary libraries and reading rooms, there were about four hundred travelling library boxes which circulated books among delivery stations throughout the State. The Report also showed the developed state of Baroda’s rural library service, as attested by the following figures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>District and town libraries</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village</td>
<td>1,270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahila (Ladies)</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children’s reading rooms</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Towns</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villages</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,502</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One hundred seventy-seven libraries were housed in their
own buildings. The total book stock was 983,309. The libraries circulated 901,230 books among 177,713 readers. Waknis in his Baroda Libraries (1943), on page 1, claims that “the scheme of village libraries then evolved under his Sayajirao’s personal supervision and fostering care has stood foursquare all these years and is now increasingly coming under the notice of people concerned, with the increase of literacy and of enlightened citizenship.” The Library Department continued to promote the movement in order to provide universal library service. Efforts were continued to make it all-pervasive. The ultimate objective was to provide every citizen of Baroda with facilities to read and to promote his or her cultural advancement.

Many villages in Baroda were composed of predominantly backward people, too poor to raise the local contributions needed to establish their own libraries. Even these villages were not neglected. In accordance with the Council Order No. 1/1 of July 27, 1940, 80 per cent of the local contribution was provided out of the Diamond Jubilee Fund (Heerak Mahotsava Nidhi). The people’s cooperation was still insisted upon: they had to provide at least 20 per cent of the local contribution. But significant new help was made available, a clear evidence that the Government which succeeded Sayajirao was equally interested in the development of libraries, and evidence also that libraries were not “imposed” on the people as Rao has remarked. During the year 1940-41, eleven village libraries were given such special grants in order to enable them to have their own permanent and independent libraries, replacing reading rooms which had library boxes only. This was a bold attempt at equalization of educational opportunities among all the people of the State.

The progress of travelling libraries was steadily maintained. The section had 27,787 books and circulated 20,420 books among 9,178 readers by sending 494 boxes in 1941-42. Since the year 1939-40, a new policy of decentralization was pursued by the Department in order to achieve library cooperation and to reduce the expenses on the movement of boxes from and to Baroda. The District towns, and some others which were found more enterprising and enthusiastic, were made the
headquarters of an Inter-lending Union. Many bought their own stereographs. This resulted in lessening the work of the Travelling Library Branch at the Headquarters, ensuring more active and smoother service at a lower cost, and also promoting direct participation in the movement by other libraries.6

Other agencies continued to second the efforts of the Library Department. The State Library Association also continued its services. Training classes were held in two prants and seventy-two trainees were trained. Paid library inspectors examined 359 libraries. The Association helped in strengthening the whole movement. It also appealed to the library committees to abstain from purchasing immoral books. Also the Libraries Cooperative Society continued to assist the Department and libraries. The Department itself took new steps to strengthen the movement. Important circulars issued by the Department related to the working of the committees of management and co-opting of municipal representatives as well as school headmasters. It is not evident how far this was implemented.

Thus the library movement had reached an advanced stage of progress by the beginning of the 1940's and the progress was maintained in several directions in spite of the unfavorable conditions created by the war.

Several taluka library conferences were held during the year 1940-41. Senior Government officers and great public leaders were elected as the presidents, among them being M.R.R.R.R. Pawar Saheb, the Suba of Amreli; R.R.R.S Kanungo, the Naib Suba of Dabhoi; public leaders like Rajratna Mahasukhbhai; businessmen like N.C. Parikh; and literary men like Ramanlal Desai, Gokaldas Raichura, and Gokaldas Shah. These conferences passed resolutions calling for further reforms and improvements, among them the following:10

(a) Library committees should take more active interest in the work of libraries.
(b) Juth Mandals should be more enterprising and should help in popularizing cooperative budgets.
(c) List of Gujarati books for rapid reading for each class should be published.
(d) Literature for neo-literates should be brought out by rural workers.
(e) Investment of Reserve Fund in immovable property should be encouraged.
(f) The State Government should grant aid to the full extent of people's contribution.

The last resolution was quite significant. Because of budgetary limitations, the Government had not been fully matching the local contribution, even though this was called for in the Rules.

The Central Library remained active and helpful to its clientele. During the year 1940-41, it circulated 128,429 volumes among 4,584 readers and had a total book stock of 138,959 volumes distributed as follows:

- Lending: 59,972
- Reference: 68,237
- Ladies: 8,606
- Children: 2,144

On an average, fifty readers used the reference facilities every day. The Library served several departments of the State. The Newspaper Reading Room was kept open throughout the year. Periodical subscriptions numbered 229. Weekly cuttings of newspapers were sent to His Highness. The Periodicals Club, started in March, 1937, continued its work. Mahila Library circulated 8,271 books and had 459 readers. The children's library was visited by 40,473 young people. There were 310 borrowers and the circulation was 9,304.

The Central Library of Baroda continued to serve as a free public library. All citizens of Baroda had a right of unrestricted access to it. It was a general library and functioned like a municipal public library of the western countries. The reports of the Baroda Library Department note the contrast from western libraries, however, on the ground that in the West the city public libraries are entirely supported by the municipality. And of course this pattern of support was not unknown in India also. The M.J. Public Library of Ahmedabad, for
example, was entirely supported by the municipality. But reliance on the central government remained usual. In a way, this reliance proved to be a great drawback for the Central Library. Had it been a municipal public library in the real sense of the term, the Municipality of Baroda might have supported it even beyond 1949. The Baroda Government did not create for itself, and perhaps it could not have, what it compelled the public libraries in general to set up—viz., a permanent reserve fund for periods of emergency.

The Central Library had many noteworthy features. The collection of Gujarati books at the Library was more extensive than any other library in Gujarat. The Department claimed that the Central Library resembled the great national libraries in this respect. There was also an attempt to make the collection of Marathi books as complete as possible. The Baroda Administration Report for 1941-42 noted that the Central Library “has a complete collection of Gujarati books and the collection of Marathi books is nearing completion.” The Report for 1945-46 is even more emphatic about the greatness of the vernacular collections.

Even the war emergency, though it did some damage, did not shake the new Government’s determination to keep the Central Library in good order. When in 1941 a retrenchment committee proposed that only one librarian should manage both the Women’s and Children’s sections and that one of the posts of the librarians be abolished, the proposal was disallowed by the Government on the ground that both the Women’s and Children’s sections of the Central Library were well attended and that one librarian would not be able to meet the needs of both sections. The same Order further decreed:

The Government does not wish to depart from the present policy of providing free library facilities.

Government desires that the Reference Section of the Central Library should be developed into a really first class section, where research students could find all that they are likely to need.

These are important statements of the Government’s
library policy, especially with regard to the staff of the Central Library, facilities of free library service, and the development of a fine reference collection at the Central Library. All these were post-Sayajirao developments. They show that there was hardly any change from the previous generous policy of the Sayajirao Government. The post-Sayajirao Government continued to support free public library service within its limitations. The policy followed by the post-Sayajirao Government of Baroda with regard to libraries during the 1940’s was already laid down by Sayajirao in the 1930’s, or even earlier, as early as the 1910’s. The Pratapsinhara Government did not adopt any new policy or make any significant departure from the old one. Evidences in the form of Maharaja Sayajirao’s own statements have been already presented in this study to show that he wanted: (1) to go slow, (2) to see that the people shared the burden in an increasing manner, and (3) to withdraw the Government support totally at a subsequent date. Thus even Sayajirao’s eagerness to foster libraries had its limits. The available data reveal, however, that the merger of Baroda was the conclusive cause of the degeneration of Baroda libraries, especially at the village level, and of the total disappearance of the Baroda Library System, including its unique travelling library service. This issue will be discussed in detail in subsequent pages.

It has already been stated that the Annual Report of the Baroda Library Department for the year 1940-41 was the last one to be published. Therefore, a historian of the Baroda Library Movement has to use other sources to get the data on the library developments that took place in succeeding years. Fortunately, the back files of the Gujarati monthly *Pustakalaya* do contain accounts of the activities of the people, the Government, and the associations intended to promote the library movement. This periodical has also preserved for the historians the circulars and notifications issued by the Government of Baroda as well as those issued by the State Library Association from time to time. The data presented in the *Pustakalaya* are authenticated and supplemented by the brief reports of the Department still preserved at the Central Library
Integration Leads to Disintegration 177

and the published reports of the Baroda Administration. These sources provide the evidence to conclude that progress was steadily maintained through 1949. The detailed account of the year 1940-41 presented above is fairly representative of the subsequent years until Baroda was merged into Bombay in 1949.

By the beginning of the 1940's, libraries in Baroda had become centers of cultural activities of the community and had achieved a significant status in the life of the people. The Baroda Library Department Report for 1939-40 says: "The progress of the libraries is measured not by the increasing number of books read but by the stimuli they provide to an all round better life."16 The hall of the library was also used for learned lectures, kirtans (mass devotional songs), meetings of societies promoting social welfare, and study circles. Libraries were provided with public radio sets for mass listening. Arrangements were made for story-telling to children. Hindi classes were conducted in the libraries. Also provision was made for collecting exhibits of local interest and starting in the library the nucleus of a museum.17

During the year 1943-44,18 four village libraries situated in taluka headquarters and nineteen libraries located in villages having more than four thousand population were transformed into town libraries. It is to be recalled that a locality with a population of four thousand or more was considered a town. Reading rooms were converted into village libraries when the people were able to raise the needed minimum contribution, while the village libraries were converted into town libraries when the population figure reached four thousand.

The Government of Baroda worked not only for the dissemination of knowledge through libraries but also for production of new literature. The Translation Bureau prepared and published several series of publications.19 Two hundred thousand rupees were given by Maharaja Sayajirao from his private purse in 1912 for this purpose. By 1944-45, the Bureau had published 294 books in the Sayaji Sahityamala and 185 in Balajnanamala. A third series, the Gramavikasa Mala, was started in 1941 to remove the dearth of suitable books in Gujarati dealing with problems of rural reconstruction and village uplift.
Even though compulsory primary education was introduced into Baroda as early as 1893, the Government had to launch an adult literacy movement in 1943. Fifty years of compulsory education had not brought universal literacy. There were still a large number of adult illiterates in the State. As a result of launching the movement through the primary teachers and social workers in the villages and interiors by opening adult classes, the need arose to prepare a special literature suited to the newly-made literates.

The Library Department continued to take an active part in all-India library conventions. On September 13, 1944, the Department proposed to the Government that the All-India Library Conference be invited to hold its seventh session in Baroda during the Christmas session of 1945. Also it was requested that a sum of Rs. 3000/- be allotted as the contribution from the State toward the expenses of the Conference. The proposal was sanctioned by a Huzur Order of December 9, 1944, further evidence that the post-Sayajirao Government was interested in the development of libraries and librarianship.

Consequently, the seventh session of the All-India Library Conference did meet at Baroda from January 25 to 28, 1946. This was the first occasion when an all-India library conference was held in Baroda. The Conference was presided over by Honorable Sir M. Azizul Huque, then a member of the Governor-General’s Executive Council. Inaugurating the Conference, Her Highness Maharani Shantadevi Gaekwar declared: "We have been pioneers in the field of library service and it will make us feel very happy and proud indeed if the deliberations of your Conference lead to practical results." In her address, the Maharani discussed the very close relation existing between literature and libraries. There was a true symbiosis between the two; one supplemented and complemented the other; society needed both of them. Concluding, she said:

Baroda started its organization of libraries a long way ahead of other places in India. But I shall have mistaken my Baroda if it will content itself with just being the first in the field. Baroda believes int
doing a thing so well that none else may be able to do it better.\textsuperscript{22}

The Maharani’s address was clear evidence that the State intended to remain enlightened and progressive. Rajamitra Motilal C. Desai was the Chairman of the Reception Committee. Welcoming the delegates, he referred to “the sanctity which His Highness’ Government had conferred on Baroda as the home of libraries in India.” He added, “Your presence here in such large numbers is a tribute to Baroda’s pioneer spirit in establishing an organized library service.”\textsuperscript{23}

According to Desai, the traditions of Sayajirao were more than maintained by his successor. The total number of libraries in Baroda during the year was 1,400, giving a library to every 5.7 square miles of area. Some of the striking features of Baroda libraries to which he pointed were: (1) they were the people’s own institutions, (2) they worked with the children, and (3) they served as spring-boards for uplift activities like sanitation, public health, etc.

Delivering the presidential address, Azizul Huque acknowledged the inspiration he had himself received from Baroda during his first visit to the State a decade earlier. He said:

It is about ten years back that I first came to Baroda in search of knowledge, information and experience as regards the scheme and administration of primary education and library system in Baroda to enable me, then the Minister of Education in Bengal, to formulate my scheme of primary education and rural uplift.\textsuperscript{24}

Huque continued:

Of all the Provinces and States, Baroda has been the pioneer of all the Library Movement in India as it has been of many other educational and cultural movements in India. Under the fostering care of a great Prince, Baroda has for decades been renowned
for her patronage of arts and letters, of cultural studies, social reform and of rural welfare.

Huque discussed in detail the devastation brought by war even to India. People suffered endlessly though India was not actually a battlefield. She was economically impoverished to an enormous extent. He believed that the reorganization and rehabilitation would naturally take a long period. Concluding, Huque said:

Of all the places in India, Baroda is probably the most suitable place where you can deliberate and plan for the future. Well known for all it has done to bring the advantage of a library to the door of the common man, Baroda would always occupy the most prominent place in the library history of India.

To mark the occasion, a "Souvenir" was published which presents considerable data on the condition of libraries in Baroda as of 1945. In this work, N.N. Chokshi, the Joint-Secretary of the Baroda State Library Association, gave an account of the work of the Association. With regard to the library conferences, he reported:

As a general policy the Association has decided to hold State Conferences every fifth year, District Conferences every fourth year, and Taluka Conferences in the remaining years. Accordingly seven State, fifteen District and seventy-four Taluka Conferences have been held up till now. The Conference-activity has naturally been hindered by the abnormal difficulties that the World War has created during the last five years.

Chokshi also reported on the activities of the State Library Association with regard to library training. The Association began conducting classes for village librarians in 1930-31. By 1945, a total of thirty-nine such classes had been held and 1,267 village librarians had been trained. This activity too-
suffered a great deal due to World War II. During the same period, library training was given through correspondence to thirty-eight persons and twenty-three examinations in choice reading were held. Progress, however, was slow. World War II had indeed crippled the movement.

The State Department of Libraries in Baroda remained active to the very end of its existence, and the Government of Baroda continued to fulfill all its legitimate demands, though within the severe limitations imposed by World War II and by internal political upheaval in India. On July 5, 1945, the Department proposed to the Government to open a Training Class for Village Librarians. There were nearly 1,500 village and town libraries established in Baroda by 1945. Their librarians were part-time workers; they were teachers in primary schools and spared an hour or two each day for library work. The need for trained librarians was felt as keenly as the need for trained teachers. Every year the State Library Association conducted a brief course of library training in the summer months, one in each district in rotation. About forty teacher-librarians took advantage of the training, which was imparted by volunteer workers and by paid servants of the Association in conjunction with the staff of the Library Department. The course had its limitations. It was not compulsory, was unofficial, and was none-too-serious. The result was that the trainees were under no obligation to serve the State, and if on return from the training a teacher was transferred to another place, he was not over-anxious to do library work in the new station. Nor were the Government in a position to compel him as they gave him nothing for library work. Since all this involved a great wastage, the Department proposed to start training classes under direct Government sponsorship. The proposal was accepted by the Government and classes started.

The Library Department also continued to assist libraries in their efforts to render better service. As late as 1945-46, the Baroda Administration Report stated: Meetings of library workers were organized and attempts were made to find solutions to the problems faced by library promoters in their work. Questions were answered.28
The work of vigilance and direction also was continued. The officers of the Library Department inspected the district and large town libraries. The Deputy Educational Inspectors and the honorary or paid workers of the State Library Association helped in the inspection of the designated smaller libraries. They showed interest in the work of inspection and in certain years inspected as many as fifteen hundred libraries and reading rooms. Over and above all this, the Head Masters of Central Schools and the Deputy Educational Inspectors examined the records of libraries.

Although the Department and the Government still worked to stimulate library development, serious problems arose, particularly in the field of finance. The Library Department constantly received requests for increases in the amount of Government grants. Owing to the general rise in prices and wages all around, the expenses of the rural libraries had increased immensely by 1948. While the number of libraries had been increasing year by year, the annual grant of Rs. 30,000/- fixed on a permanent basis for the aid from the government remained stationary, making it impossible for the Department to meet all the growing demands. Consequently, the Department was not able to fulfill even the original policy of bearing a third of every library’s expenditure (as per Rules 2, 5, 9). The Department was advised by the Government to spend the funds at their disposal to the best advantage by spending more on solid literature and less on newspapers and magazines.

Public leaders came forward to plead the cause of the movement. On October 18, 1948, just seven months before Baroda was merged into Bombay, Chimanbhai H. Amin, a friend of the library movement, appealed to the Government for the extension and development of library service and greater financial support. During the Budget Session of the Dhara Sabha, he argued that the Library Movement of Baroda had attracted the attention of the world. It was the creation of Sayajirao and Motibhai. The Government and the people had joined hands. Consequently satisfactory results were obtained even at a modest cost in early years of the movement. But conditions had changed by 1948. There was a heavy rise-
in the prices of all commodities and services. Under the circumstances, he argued, it was necessary to raise the grants for libraries. Chimanbhai Amin cited figures to substantiate his demand. He said that there were 423 libraries in all when the Department was established. And the total amount of grant to those libraries was Rs. 25,000/-. In 1948 there were 1,561 libraries and yet the total grant allotted was only Rs. 38,900/-. The increase in the number of libraries was three and three-fourths times. Amin asked whether an increase of only one and one-half times could possibly serve the purpose. Prices, he pointed out, had increased fourfold between the founding of the library system and the current year.

The people had been showing increasing interest in constructing their own library buildings. More than Rs. 80,000/- contributed by the people for this purpose were deposited with the Government and remained unused. Because of the severe rise in the prices and the government's inability to provide its promised matching contribution, library buildings were not being constructed. An increase of only Rs. 50,000/- was needed under this head, he continued, and the amount of grant to each library also needed an increase. Amin pointed out that it might be possible to secure larger funds from the people as well, if only the government increased its share by Rs. 50,000/-. He concluded.

One might ask: 'How is one to increase these grants when there is such a large deficit in the budget? The answer is simple. If a mountain is provided, a grain too could be provided. If ten million rupees could be secured to meet the deficit, it should be possible to arrange for only one hundred thousand rupees for such a beneficial movement, an amount which would be quite negligible when compared with the total. This would enable the movement to develop in Baroda State, and the entire country would get guidance and inspiration to emulate the ideal example of the pioneer state of Baroda.'
These pleas had a great success, for Rs. 50,000/- were added to the total library budget.\textsuperscript{34}

The Department of Libraries persisted in its efforts to improve the conditions of libraries and promote the library movement. As late as 1947-48, it made a recommendation to the Government for planning for the future. The Department proposed that a survey of the library development in Baroda be made to evaluate what had been already achieved and what still remained to be done. Although by 1947-48 the Department had been in operation for thirty-five years, no general survey had ever been made. The Report recommended:

It would, therefore, be desirable if the Government appointed a Commission consisting of library experts and people's representatives to make a survey of all the libraries in the State. The Commission could evaluate the work done and suggest ways and means for further progress in the field.\textsuperscript{35}

But the recommendation could not be implemented. It was already too late. Baroda's disappearance from the political map of India appeared imminent. The Government was in no mood to comply with the request of the Department.

Under the orders of the Government, the Department had submitted on April 12, 1943, a proposal to open twenty libraries each year beginning with 1943-44 instead of opening the fifty per year called for under a previous Government order. This was sanctioned on September 4, 1943. Consequently, every year since 1943 twenty new libraries were opened. When the proposal for twenty new libraries was submitted in 1947-48, with a request for Rs. 2000/-, the Commissioner for Education directed the Department to submit a proposal for only ten libraries. The expenditure was to be met from the budget grants already earmarked for the Postwar Reconstruction Programme. The proposal was sanctioned by a Government Order of April 20, 1948. This shows that the post-Sayajirao Government continued to render active support to public libraries up to the very end of its existence, but that budgetary problems and inflation reduced the effectiveness of its efforts.
Integration Leads to Disintegration

If the total expenditure on libraries incurred by the Government since 1939 could be taken as an index of their desire to provide sustained support, the following figures should testify that the post-Sayajirao Government did not lose interest in libraries:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Expenditure Incurred by the State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1939-40</td>
<td>Rs. 86,567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-41</td>
<td>Rs. 84,362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-42</td>
<td>Rs. 83,502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942-43</td>
<td>Rs. 87,653</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943-44</td>
<td>Rs. 86,171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944-45</td>
<td>Rs. 97,863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945-46</td>
<td>Rs. 88,087</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946-47</td>
<td>Rs. 109,567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947-48</td>
<td>Rs. 116,523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948-49 (Aug.-Apr. 8 months)</td>
<td>Rs. 101,188</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The financial year of Baroda began in August and ended in July, while that of Bombay began in April and ended in March. Baroda was merged into Bombay on May 1, 1949. In order that Baroda’s financial year might correspond with that of Bombay, the statistics of only eight months, beginning August 1, 1948, and ending March 31, 1949, were reported. Therefore, the total expenditure for the twelve-month period would be Rs. 151,776. This increase in expenditure during the last year of Baroda’s independent existence was a result of the pleadings of public workers like Chimanbhai Amin.

During the year 1947-48, the Government granted a total of Rs. 37,350/-, the Panchayats Rs. 36,700/-, and an equal amount was collected by the people. Thus the three partners—the Government, the Panchayats, and the people—contributed at least Rs. 111,050/- toward the promotion of public library service. It is to be remembered that the people had to deposit into the Permanent Reserve Fund an amount equal to whatever they requested from the Government. So the people alone must have contributed at least Rs. 37,350 plus Rs. 37,350 or Rs. 74,700/-.
The four Prant Panchayats jointly contributed Rs. 1600/- for the State Library Association, and the Government granted an equal amount. The libraries also paid a like amount as their dues to the Association. The Government also granted Rs. 749/- for books for the ten newly opened libraries. These were additional amounts. Under the circumstances, it cannot be said that libraries in Baroda died with the death of Sayajirao, or that the post-Sayajirao government was not interested in the development of libraries, or that the people were not ready to support and sustain library service.

NOTES & REFERENCES

2. This invalidates the hypothesis C2 given in “Introduction”.
4. These losses were more than a few. The author visited Baroda Central Library in 1960. He talked at great length on the library movement of Baroda with a senior member of the library staff who had seen Baroda at its full glory. Referring on the political merger of Baroda into Bombay, he painfully said: “It was not a merger; it was a murder.”
5. Emphasis too was changed. Bombay did not develop rural library service to the same extent or, in the same manner, as Baroda did. Bombay believed in a “Downward Filtration Theory,” while Baroda believed in building at the base. Waknis admits that library development in Bombay was pre-determined by the Report of the Library Development Committee, 1939-40. (Reference: His Presidential Address at Indore Conference.) Baroda’s rural libraries were conceived as necessary adjuncts to primary education, while Bombay’s rural libraries were considered as adjuncts to social (adult) education. One was preventive, the other curative. Bombay made rural libraries an integral part of the Social Education Scheme. Justifying the location of Bombay’s rural libraries in social welfare centers, Waknis argued that libraries in Baroda were located in schools, where adults would hesitate to visit. Pustakalaya, 25 : 128, September, 1950.
7. Introduction.
11. p. 7
13. *Ibid.* Probably there was a proposal to charge compulsory subscription in order to overcome the perennial dearth of finance.
14. When the Library Department presented a request for grants to the post-Sayajirao Government, it referred to Maharaja Sayajirao and his wishes even when he was no longer living.
15. See *Supra.*, pp. 208-10.
16. pp. 11-12.
19. *Administration Report, 1944-45*, p. 187; *Vadodara rajyani sahitya-pravrittiyo* [Literary movements of Baroda State] by Bharatarama Bhanusukharama Maheta and Ramanikaraya Sripataraya Desai, published by Maharaja Sayajirao University in 1957, is a detailed account of all important publications issued by Baroda. There were twenty-three series of publications, and one of them contained as many as 322 individual books.
31. This was the Congress Government, headed by Jivraj Mehta. Pratapsinhrao had voluntarily become only a constitutional head.
32. Actually the total number of libraries in 1910-11 was 223. So the increase in the number of libraries in reality was seven times.
The Ultimate Outcome

A review of the account of the public library movement in Baroda, since its inception in the beginning of the twentieth century, shows that there was definite progress, especially if the criterion of evaluation is the number of libraries, as attested by Table VI.

With the growth in the number of libraries there was a corresponding growth in the number of books, readers, and circulation, yet the progress was not all-pervasive. Waknis is the first to offer a criticism. In his presidential address to the Ninth All-India Library Conference held at Indore in May, 1951, he concluded that the ultimate outcome of Baroda’s library organization was a relative failure. He also attributed it to certain causes:

The number of libraries increased but State grants did not increase correspondingly. Libraries conceived as concomitants of primary schools could not develop children’s reading resources exclusively. Out of the same rigid grants, adults tastes had to be satisfied and the village libraries became good for neither youngsters nor adults.

There was a general lack of finance and the consequent lack
of reading materials for all types of clientele. Waknis summed up as follows:

The result was an indifference towards both literacy and library activities. Want of adequate finances, want of a practical objective and the development of a smug fondness for form rather than the substance of library service were responsible for the relative failure of Baroda's library organization.

TABLE VI

PROGRESS OF LIBRARIES IN BARODA BY TYPES
1911-1948*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Town Libraries</th>
<th>Village Libraries</th>
<th>Children's Libraries</th>
<th>Ladies Libraries</th>
<th>Reading Rooms</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>584</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>718</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>1,069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1,270</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>156**</td>
<td>1,502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>1,420</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>30**</td>
<td>1,561</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**There were 156 Reading Rooms in 1941. By 1948, 126 were raised to the status of libraries. Hence the figure of "30" though low as compared with 156 is still an index of the great progress.

Another critic is K. Ramakrishna Rao, whose comments have already been discussed. Rao says:

This extremely impressive picture of library development did not continue for long even in the State of Baroda. With the death of Maharaja Sayaji- rao Gaekwar the government lost interest, and the-
people were not ready to support and sustain library service.⁴

However, in view of the steady progress maintained by the movement during the 1940's, it is not possible to agree with the view of Rao.

It is maintained here that all Baroda libraries did not die. It was the system that died and the final cause was the merger of Baroda into Bombay, a state which did not show enthusiasm for the Baroda Library System. No doubt there were numerous deterrents but the system nevertheless functioned through 1949. An attempt will be made in the succeeding pages to determine why the Baroda Library System did not survive the merger.

It has already been shown that the greatest single factor responsible for the creation and maintenance of Baroda libraries was the will of the Maharaja to provide his people with universal library service. The perseverance of Motibhai Amin was another factor that worked on behalf of the people. And finally Borden deserved all the credit for professional leadership. But for this trinity of causes, the movement could not have been launched and made to work so successfully. The Census of Baroda for 1931 describes the phenomenal progress made by the library movement and ascribes it to the close cooperation between the Government and the people. Also the successive directors rendered a great service to the cause through their own abilities in the field of organization and administration of libraries.⁵

The publication Rural Baroda⁶ in 1949 laid down “three things” needed to make the policy and program, already determined, both work and show results.

1. A continuous study of new problems;
2. An efficient administrative machinery; and
3. Popular organizations with enlightened leadership.

And Baroda secured all of them as far as the library movement is concerned. Not a little credit for the successes should be ascribed also to the library associations organized at various levels, other cooperative organizations like the Libraries Cooperative Society, and many public leaders who provided continuous guidance and direction from the very beginning.

The Government watched with interest the progress achieved
by the Department. Reviewing the *Report on Public Instruction of Baroda* for the year 1912-13, the Dewan said:

Libraries have become an essential part of our educational system and no effort should be spared to carry the light of knowledge to the dark nooks and corners of the State. The Department should devote anxious thought to everything that tends to propagate general knowledge and culture in the land and to serve the purpose of spreading education among the masses.\(^7\)

This declaration of the policy of the Government clearly proves that the entire machinery of the Government was behind the movement, and this operated as another favorable factor.

His Excellency Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India visited Baroda on March 26, 1919, to lay the foundation stone of the Goya Gate State Railway Workshop. The *Library Miscellany* reported:

...railways to libraries...the two are most intimately interconnected. Wherever the railway has penetrated in the State, there have gone our public libraries also. In fact, the railways have helped immensely the spread of our libraries in the remotest parts of the Baroda State.\(^8\)

Baroda State did not have suitable land for the construction of good roads. Of necessity the Maharaja had to spread a network of railways, and this network did in fact help in the extension of library service throughout the State.

A.B. Clarke, the Principal of the Baroda College, who professed to have been converted into the new library faith and proposed at a meeting of the Baroda Library Club to institute postgraduate training in library science, subsequently became the Commissioner of Education. Baroda’s library development was greatly helped by him. Such public officials proved to be of immense help in the development of libraries and librarianship.

In his “Introduction” to Dutt’s *Baroda and Its Libraries*, Dewan V.T. Krishnamachari says:
To me the most gratifying feature of it all is the place the library fills in the life of the village. In my tours I examine boys and girls who have left school, to ascertain the extent of lapse into illiteracy among them, and invariably find how negligible this is in a village with a library...the library building is the best building in the village and serves as a meeting place for all local interests.⁹

Since the libraries played such a significant role in the cultural life of the community, the people were proud of them. Rice reported:

Every one is proud of them. You are asked to look in at each village library in turn as one of the institutions of the place, though there may be nothing to do and practically nothing to see.¹⁰

Also Ratanchand Manchand expressed similar views. "The village library in Baroda is generally the best building in the village. It is the intellectual centre of the inhabitants of the village—a meeting place for the discussion of local as well as national subjects."¹¹

The question arises: When so many factors operated favorably, how did it happen that libraries in Baroda declined? The answer is: there were many more unfavorable factors that combined and operated simultaneously against the development. In the long run, the unfavorable factors proved more powerful than the favorable ones. And so the decline could not be averted. These unfavorable factors relate to environment, both physical and cultural.

The development of libraries in Baroda under direct state patronage dates back to 1911. During the short period of less than four decades, between 1911 and 1949, the world witnessed two catastrophic global wars, which had an adverse effect on Baroda's economy. The preceding chapter has presented in brief the evil effects of World War II on the growth of libraries and librarianship in Baroda. The most visible of these effects, which hit hard even the common villager, was the severe rise in
the prices of commodities.

Wars were man-made calamities. However, there were many other natural calamities that operated against the cultural advancement which was expected to be generated by the provision of universal library service. Reviewing the Report on Public Instruction in the Baroda State for the year 1918-19, the Deputy Chief Minister remarked:

In the year 1918-19, to the hardships imposed by the War were added the terrible ravages of the Influenza Epidemic, which was followed by abnormally heavy prices on account of the failure of rains creating famine conditions in many parts of His Highness' territories.12

Universal library service is only a corollary, a natural consequence, of universal literacy. The latter is the cause; the former only an effect. The extent of the success of library service is dependent upon the extent of the success in the sphere of literacy. When the library movement in Baroda was launched under direct State patronage, the total literacy was not very high. As reported by Borden, although Baroda was far ahead of many other regions in India, educationally it was still backward. In 1910, the total literacy of Baroda City, the largest town in the state, was only 24 per cent. Forty other towns had 15 per cent, and the four hundred large villages contained only 10 per cent literate population. There were twenty-six hundred small villages which were almost wholly illiterate. The total literacy of Baroda State was hardly 10 per cent. Undoubtedly many of those small villages had their schools, yet the figure of literacy was very, very low indeed.13 What is more disappointing is the fact that even after the operation of compulsory free primary education for more than half a century, in 1951, the total literacy of Baroda State stood only at a low 28 per cent figure.

At a meeting of the Executive Council, presided over by the Maharaja, a question was raised on education. Rice inquired what was the percentage of lapse into illiteracy. It was a surprise to learn that about 80 per cent of the people relapsed into illiteracy, whereupon Sayajirao shrewdly remarked that at that
rate "four-fifths of our effort was wasted."

The *Census of Baroda* attempts to offer an official explanation why literacy in Baroda, even once acquired, could not be preserved:

In considering this question we must bear in mind the important bearing which occupations such as agriculture and social influences such as that of marriage have in deleting the traces of education in the later years of a man's or woman's life in this country...[A girl's] early withdrawal from schooling to matrimony often has a desiccating influence on whatever she has learnt from her teachers. She is swallowed up in her household duties and the claims of her growing family engross all her time and attention. With men of agricultural classes—and especially in communities to whom learning is an irksome novelty—the results of schooling are soon apt to be effaced in the more urgent work of earning their livelihood from the soil.

Primary education did not achieve full success on account of several unfavorable factors. The chief cause was the non-cooperative spirit of the people themselves, who did not see any value in sending their young children to schools. The Maharaja wanted that the people must rise superior to their circumstances, but in many cases, the circumstances were so unfavorable that the people could not rise above them.

There are several other socio-economic factors that proved hindrances toward the success of compulsory free primary education. The law prescribed penalties for non-attendance, but exemptions were granted on reasonable grounds like advanced age or infirmity of the parents, or if the child had to earn the bread for the family. This may sound very strange, but the child did have to earn the livelihood for his family in many cases. There was no upper limit to the age up to which a man could marry. There was no lower limit to the age of the girl whom he could marry. The society had no restriction
whatsoever on the marriageable ages of the husband or wife. There was no minimum, no maximum.

Moreover, neither religion nor social custom put any limitations on the remarriage or polygamy of the man. It was the belief of an orthodox Hindu that there was no salvation beyond death if a man died without a male issue. Hence a man with no son was encouraged by religion, custom, society, and even by the elders of the family to remarry or take an additional wife. If the father was too old to work and the mother too busy with her household duties, there was no alternative but to put the child to work. Also the severe poverty of the parents forced them to withdraw the child from the school as soon as it was able to tend the cattle or attend to the household work.

Apart from the general apathy of the people toward education, several other factors operated against the complete success of primary education and the consequent universal spread of library service. The people in general were ignorant, superstitious and traditionalists. Some were totally opposed to the education of girls. There was the age-old purdah system which kept the women confined within the four walls of the house. A few of the upper classes of people and petty officials were too narrow-minded to think in terms of the general welfare of the people. And finally the teachers were careless in many cases. These were some factors that proved unfavorable to the success of compulsory primary education and to the full growth of universal library service.

The specific geographical situation of Baroda also hindered the successful operation of universal public library service. The territories of Baroda were not in one compact block but scattered in small and large fragments over the whole of Gujarat and a greater part of Kathiawar. Transport and communication was a serious problem.

Another geographical factor that operated against the successful development of universal library service was the nature of land which was not suited for the construction of roads. Since Baroda did not have good roads, the library organizers could not plan mobile carriages and were obliged to use travelling library boxes containing a small number of books, wherein the selection was limited. A book wagon of, say, even one thousand volumes, could have been more effective. Borden was
not oblivious of the fact that although the travelling library boxes served the purpose of taking the library message to the very distant corners of the State, the ultimate solution to rural library service “is the institution of a series of book wagons, seal travelling libraries.”

This unfavorable factor was partly remedied by the railway network. A book wagon on railway tracks, visiting the districts periodically, might have brought the villagers in direct contact with new books in greater quantities. But even the railway stations were far away from the villages in many cases. The railway book wagon could not leave the railway tracks, while the boxes could be carried right into the villages by bullock carts or even by porters.

Also Baroda’s people lived in non-contiguous territories, the population being distributed over widely scattered, predominantly rural areas. Furthermore, the people did not live together in compact areas to make viable service groups. This distribution of population impeded the efforts to make the library service permeate through the entire state and the total population.

The multiplicity of languages in Baroda operated as another unfavorable factor toward the growth of reading and library service. Speaking before a convention of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad, a society for the encouragement of Gujarati literature, Maharaja Sayajirao said:

But more important than all else is the second step [the first being a common script] that will lead to a complete understanding and cooperation from Kashmir to Ceylon, and that is a common language that shall tie us together into one compact union of ideas and aims. If that is not possible, then the fewer languages we can get along with the better off we shall be. Each additional language restricts the dissemination of ideas and limits the clientele of important books and papers.¹⁸

Baroda had a total population of only two million when the library movement was launched, yet the people spoke and read
at least five major languages and books had to be provided in all five of them. There was another problem Baroda had to face. It may be recalled that when Sayajirao began his educational work at the age of twelve, he had to start with four different alphabets...Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi, and English.

Wars and epidemics, floods and famines were some external obstacles for the libraries; but poverty, disease, and ignorance were internal enemies, one strengthening the hands of the other. Poor people could not secure enough nourishing food. Undernourished people could hardly fight against the attack of diseases. A weak body could not conduce to the growth of a strong mind. Ignorance caused insanitary conditions. Thus there were several odds against the progress of libraries in Baroda.

Also there were severe caste restrictions which hindered the spread of both literacy and library service. Although untouchability was declared illegal in the State, the Government had hardly any control over the people’s individually perpetuating this social discrimination. Certain classes of people were debarred from entering the portals of libraries. Orthodox and traditionalists would not like to share a table, or even a room of the library with one who was socially untouchable. As late as 1948, there were complaints against some libraries that their administrators did not allow the lower caste people to enter the library. Under the threat of discontinuing the grants, those libraries were compelled by the Department to abandon this social injustice. But rules are impersonal and mechanical. If an untouchable was admitted to a library, a caste-Hindu was at perfect liberty not to enter the library ever.

People read books for education, information, and recreation. It is difficult to say which one of these a semi-literate, overworked, poor villager of Baroda could get out of the books. Were there enough books to interest him? Did he have leisure? Did he have any interest? Did the libraries have good books? What was the use of reading? What were the benefits? In brief, there was no favorable cultural environment. The rural people in general might not have even had slights in their huts to read during the night — the only leisure time they could have.
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No standards were prescribed for the maintenance of libraries. As soon as the people raised the initial minimum, they could have a library of their own. Thereafter any amount, even a small sum of Rs. 10 or 15, could enable them to receive matching funds from the Government and panchayats. Thus a library could be perpetuated, although it might not have adequate resources. There was no per capita minimum of books or expenditure prescribed to receive the recognition.

As an exception, only one standard was laid down: "Wherever there is a school let there be a library." Yet even this policy proved to be a drawback, because the number of libraries multiplied without any corresponding increase in the total government grant, which did not keep pace with the general progress. As the number of libraries increased and the total amount of the grant remained stationary, the size of the individual share decreased year after year.

Whereas in 1912-13 there were 423 libraries which received, on an average, Rs. 132 each, the total Government contribution being Rs. 45, 607; in 1947, after an interval of more than three decades, the total number of libraries rose to 1,561, but on an average, each received less than Rs. 24, the total Government contribution being only Rs. 37,349. Also there was the general increase in prices. A rupee in 1947 had only one fourth purchasing power of the same currency in 1911.

The Baroda Library System was founded on a tri-partite cooperation of the people, the panchayats, and the Government. Libraries had been in existence and operation even before Borden came to Baroda. But the pioneering libraries—the Mitra Mandal and Circulating Libraries—became devitalized mainly because of the lack of finance and the absence of any active and continuous cooperation among the three partners, who became the founders and sustainers of the subsequent library development.

The later reports of the Library Department (by Waknis) complain that the prant panchayats were not meeting their obligations. For example, the Library Department Report for the year 1937-38 sounded a sad note:
The Panchayats are showing a growing reluctance to help the Library Department to the full extent of their obligations. Year by year the libraries are being hit hard by financial stringency. The panchayats are curtailing their grants, the Government are not increasing their subsidies and the agriculturalists are not getting better prices for their produce. Worst of all the reserve funds of the libraries are yielding decreasing returns in interest.\textsuperscript{19}

A resolution of the Baroda State Library Association urged the Government to make the library contribution from local boards one of their obligatory duties. But this proposal was never implemented. Thus there was no guarantee for continuous and adequate financial assistance.

While the Government was not willing to support the libraries fully forever and the panchayats were unwilling to provide their share in full, the contribution from the people was based on "begging." It was voluntary, transitory, indefinite, and unstable. There was a long tradition in Baroda that whenever funds were needed for works of local utility like repairs to a village tank, Dharmashalas (charitable rest houses), roads, etc. the villagers prepared a list of subscriptions to be contributed voluntarily by the well-to-do people, the specific amount being predetermined arbitrarily on the basis of the assumed ability of each individual to pay. However, this practice caused much delay and uncertainty, and, therefore a uniform local cess was subsequently prescribed by law.\textsuperscript{20} This tradition of local, voluntary, arbitrary ad hoc subscriptions seems to have been adopted by the planners of the Baroda Library System for the provision of the local finance needed to establish and maintain a permanent, on-going library service in Baroda.

According to Dutt, several methods were employed by the people of Baroda to raise local contributions for the establishment and maintenance of libraries, which the villagers found especially difficult if there was a scarcity or famine. Many communities levied a voluntary marriage tax, which was usually paid cheerfully both because the villager was proud of his library and also because on such festive occasions plenty of money was "flying about." If the library had a building of its own, a part was
rented out which yielded "a small but certain income." Nevertheless, the most common method was to persuade the leading citizens of the community to subscribe to the Libray Maintenance Fund."

Dutt clearly admits that subletting a portion of the library building was the only way to secure "a small but certain income." All the rest was uncertain, and not large either. However, even this practice of renting space became a hindrance at a later date. Waknis speaks with authority: "But more often than not, having assured an income by way of house rent, the committees if they do not actually snap their fingers in the face of the people, at least do not actively agitate to make the libraries increasingly popular.""

The responsibility to start libraries always lay with the people, who had to come first with the initial contribution. The only difference was that it was voluntary and had to be raised every year by taking a begging bowl around. It was not a compulsory contribution determined on the ability of the individual to pay, but was dependent on the will of the donor. The result of the collection of the contribution, the success of the drive, was dependent upon the ability and enthusiasm of the local library organizer. If he had a "persuasive" tongue, as Borden claimed for himself, he achieved better results. If he did not like to go begging even for a benevolent cause, the library suffered from under-nourishment and decay. Every year a large number of villages could not receive any grant from either the Government or the panchayats because they were unable to raise their own contributions. Therefore, it can be concluded that the system of voluntary contribution was certainly not the most desirable method of providing permanent finance for continuos support of the library service. The library is a living organism. It has to be fed continuously and adequately.

Not that the Baroda Library administrators were oblivious of this shortcoming. The scheme of putting aside a part of the annual contribution from the people into the "Reserve funds" which Waknis termed the "fly-wheel," was a means of building up a reservoir that could be tapped in time of scarcity. It was a definite device to secure some kind of permanence. But the amount thus raised and deposited was not large enough to meet
all the needs. Also the provision of a permanent fund and the permission to consider the annual dividend as the local contribution became a deterrent in many cases to a constant drive to raise local funds every year.\textsuperscript{23}

It was prescribed that the initiative to establish a library must always come from the people, they must contribute one-third of its cost, and they should themselves manage their own institutions so that they could learn their own duties and responsibilities as the citizens of a generous State. This principle of self-help and self-reliance was the foundation on which the Baroda library system was based, and this operated as one of the most favorable factors for the success achieved.

Yet this same practice proved to be an obstacle at a later date. Permanent institutions like libraries need permanent statutory corporate bodies like local boards to be the library authorities and not \textit{ad hoc} library committees of management, elected annually by the whole body of subscribers. Such an organization could work effectively for professional associations but not for library institutions.

The initiative from the people was kept as the basis for the establishment of a library. Both the Maharaja and Borden believed that the people do not properly value what is given to them with no effort on their part. Libraries in Baroda were created for the use of the people and not to be monuments for the Maharaja. They would be used only if the people really needed them and were willing to take the initiative. Borden said in 1913:

\begin{quote}
The citizens must first be brought to want them [libraries], and to want them badly enough to be willing to contribute a good part of the expense out of their own pockets. This meant missionary work in every town of the state and in many of the villages. It was done, however, and so well done that the government is now rather troubled to keep up its end of the bargain.\textsuperscript{24}
\end{quote}

The Government of Baroda distributed grant-in-aid to libraries even before Borden came to Baroda. A new set of rules was drafted under which only such libraries could receive the
state aid as opened their doors to all readers irrespective of caste, religion, age, or sex. The Government intended to make the libraries truly free, and the distinction between the subscribers and non-subscribers was to be abolished. This decision was based on:

...the firm belief that all libraries supported by public taxation directly or indirectly, partly or wholly should be absolutely free to every member of the community, should have books of interest to every member of the community, and should neither favor nor disfavor any class, creed, or caste. The whole people pay the bills; the whole people should get the goods.²⁶

Following the above policy, subscription libraries were forced to become free public libraries. If they did not open their doors to all—if they did not allow all to have free library service including the loan of books free of charge—they were stopped from receiving aid from the Government and panchayats. Borden founded his system on the assumption that "the whole people pay the bills; the whole people get the goods."²⁷ The Maharaja made library service free probably on the ground that the contribution of the Government and panchayats was so voluminous that the State could force the libraries to open their doors to all and permit even the loan of books free of charge.

But as the events turned out, not all the people of a town or village "paid the bills." The local library fund was collected through voluntary subscriptions and donations. Management was entrusted to a committee elected by those who paid money as their share toward the annual maintenance fund. As the years advanced, the Government contributed less and less. The panchayats did not meet their obligations in full. Libraries could not raise enough funds by merely voluntary contributions. They were not permitted by the Department to levy compulsory subscriptions. Consequently they could not collect enough funds to render effective library service to the whole community. The absence of any accepted basis for taxation and the consequent lack of an assured source of adequate income operated as an
unfavorable factor toward the continuous development of libraries in Baroda.

This author questions if it was a wise decision to compel the libraries not to remain "subscription" libraries but to become free public libraries without making adequate provision for their continuous maintenance. The question is not one of finance alone, it is one of adequate finance. When the "Rules for the Formation of Free Public Libraries" were submitted by Borden for the sanction of the Government, Manubhai N. Mehta, the Minister of Justice, had recommended:

As regards town libraries, it will be advisable to have more than one library, and it will be better to start a new library with Government aid in addition to the one already existing, supported from private funds, which may be allowed to stand on its resources.28

This recommendation of Mehta went unheeded. The Government did not start new libraries. Existing libraries were left with no choice but to become free public libraries if they needed Government assistance.

One consequence of this reliance on subscription for the local contribution was failure of the libraries to fulfill the Government's goal of equality of treatment for all citizens. To be sure, both reading and lending facilities were available to all, yet the people who subscribed to the Library Fund were allowed special privileges in the loan of books and magazines. It was certainly a kind of distinction, a discrimination. The contribution by the State and by local boards was undoubtedly "public" money derived through taxation. Yet by subscribing to the Library Fund people derived additional advantages. They also acquired the right of management over the library. Nevertheless, let it be recorded, the poorest person of the State could derive the advantage of free public library service, and this was a great gain.

Incidentally, it may be remarked that the Bombay Government did not believe in the library philosophy of Baroda. They continued to give grant-in-aid even after the merger of Baroda to all the recognised libraries, disregarding whether the library was
open to all or not. It should be added, however, that even in Bombay reading rooms were freely open to all. It was only the loan of books which was a special privilege of subscribers. Waknis\textsuperscript{39} discusses the discrimination made between the subscribers and readers in the public libraries aided by the Bombay Government. Even though these were called “public” libraries, subscribers received better treatment in every respect, while the general public were neglected. There was no real democracy.

Although in his presidential address to the Indore Library Conference in 1951 Waknis supported the grant-in-aid system of the Bombay Government, yet he advocated taxation for the provision of library finance in another context. He concluded that if the libraries were to be called true “public” libraries, it was necessary that they be maintained through taxation.\textsuperscript{30}

That Borden was alive to the effectiveness of the levy of a tax for library support is evident from his paper published in 1917.\textsuperscript{31} It is not clear why he was not able to achieve this in Baroda. Perhaps the Maharaja did not want to impose a compulsory tax when people in general were not ready even to read books—when they were not able even to make both their ends meet. When there was not enough library consciousness, a tax would have been inconsistent with the benevolent, persuasive policy of the State. The people had to be prepared, made ready, before such a tax could be levied. Despite many discussions of taxation for the support of libraries (in Borden’s proposal, and in the Maharaja’s Rules), there is no direct evidence that taxation was ever specifically approved or rejected.

One can appreciate the unwillingness of the Baroda Government to levy a tax in 1911. But the attitude remained the same even after the free library service had been in operation for several decades. The Legislative Council of Bengal was considering a library bill in 1931 when Dutt toured Bengal and did some propaganda for the Bengal Library Association. That Dutt also was aware of the need for library taxation is evident from his presidential address at the Third All-Bengal Library Conference held at Calcutta on November 18, 1931.

Also Dutt was the President of the Library Service Section of the All-Asia Educational Conference, which was held at Banaras in 1930. The conference discussed the first Draft Library
Bill for an Indian Province clause by clause and approved it.
Dutt himself records:

The first All-Asia Educational Conference...included a Library Service Section. One of the important [deliberations] of this Section was the [drafting] of a Library Enabling Bill (mark the nomenclature), which, it is proposed, shall be introduced into each of the Provincial Legislatures empowering the Government to set up a library authority to establish and control public libraries within the province.\(^{32}\)

Reports of the Library Department state that people were not ready for taxation.\(^{33}\) The same opinion was expressed by the Library Development Committee of Bombay in 1939-40. Sayajirao appointed commissions and committees to investigate and evaluate the working of the various schemes and projects initiated by him in the State to ascertain whether they were working well and if there was scope for further improvement. Yet no such commission seems to have been ever appointed to evaluate the library movement, nor to determine whether the people were willing to pay taxes for libraries.

It is not clear to this author how people were expected to contribute voluntarily for library maintenance when they were not ready for taxation. If it was believed that the people did not like taxation but were willing to contribute liberally on a voluntary basis, then the Government of Baroda should not have levied any tax at all for any purpose. There is hardly any country in the world where people would enjoy paying taxes and not think in terms of paying as little as possible.

No community in Baroda levied a library tax. The village of Samsabad was a partial exception. It was situated in Baroda taluka. Even there the basis was not “per head of the literate adult male population” as was envisaged in the last of the Rules, but according to income on farm produce. Every villager agreed to give a certain portion of his farm yield for library maintenance. Incidentally, the village spent its own funds for periodical subscriptions and used the Government grant only for books. It is noteworthy that when a tax was imposed by a community in
Baroda as an exceptional case, it was not levied on the original basis set forth in the Rules, but on some other basis.

The people of Baroda suffered not only from frequent famines at the material level, caused by the scarcity of food on account of floods or drought, but they suffered also from perennial famine at the intellectual level, caused by the dearth of suitable books in Gujarati. Thus there was a general shortage of books all over the State. As recorded by Waknis, the village and town libraries were patronized only by subscribers, who got the newspapers delivered at home on loan. Even their total number was small because of the limited number of magazines that could be subscribed by a library, again on account of the dearth of finance. The total amount of subscriptions collected from the “members” as distinct from the “readers” was generally less than the total expenditure incurred in subscribing to the magazines and newspapers and their delivery to subscribers through the employees of the library. So the “subscribers” got more in return than what they paid. The great advantage to the town, however, was the additional assistance received from the Government and panchayats. When these started dwindling, the “business” of running a library became a liability. Under the circumstances the reading and circulation of books among the people remained very limited, mainly because the books were adequate neither in quality nor in quantity. If the district local boards and municipalities had been compelled to levy a library tax, and if the Government had imposed upon itself the responsibility of matching the local funds in full as an obligatory duty, and if all this had been provided under a statutory law, libraries in Baroda might have continued to secure reasonably adequate funds in spite of the merger of the State, as the merger dissolved only the Central Government of Baroda and not the local self-government. The local self-governing institutions like the district boards and city municipalities were allowed to function as before even after the merger of Baroda into Bombay.

Also the publicity and promotion of the library movement in its later stages became weak. The war had paralyzed the activities of the library associations, which had been so active and helpful during the twenties and thirties. Also the Department was suffering from a general shortage of funds. All these factors
led the movement toward its decline.

One of the most powerful causes of the relative failure of Baroda’s library organization was the fact that the type of library organization Borden had proposed never came into being. Borden’s original plan for the Baroda Library System envisaged a perfect hierarchical order among the Central, District, Town, and Village libraries of Baroda.

Borden proposed an organization as shown in Figure 3. In reality, however, the type of library organization that developed could be represented as follows:

![Diagram of Baroda Library System]

**Central Library Department**

Baroda

\[ \text{O} \]

\[ \text{Town Libraries} \]

Prant Libraries

Village Libraries

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**CENTRAL LIBRARY DEPARTMENT**

**BARODA**

- Central Prant Library (Baroda)
- Central Prant Library (Kadi)
- Central Prant Library (Navsari)
- Central Prant Library (Amreli)

- Town Libraries
- Town Libraries
- Town Libraries
- Town Libraries

- Village Libraries
- Village Libraries
- Village Libraries
- Village Libraries

**FIGURE 2**

BORDEN'S ORIGINAL PLAN FOR THE BARODA LIBRARY SYSTEM
It was proposed to extend the authority and control by means of a perfect hierarchy as represented below:

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       ▼
  Central ▶ Prant ▶ Town ▶ Village
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However, in actual practice the lines of authority ran as follows:

```
          Central Library
            ◦
            ▼
                ▼
                Prant
                ▼
                Town
                ▼
                Village
```

The line of communication between the Central Library and other libraries was direct. The Assistant Curator in charge of Country Libraries had to oversee and inspect even the smallest village libraries, which had to report straight to the Central Library Department at Baroda.

The Rules laid down that every village library must report to a designated town library, every town library to the Central Prant Library, and all the Prant Libraries to the Central Library Department at Baroda. The Central Library at Baroda was expected to direct and control the prant libraries. Each prant library was expected to be in charge of a District State officer, who was required to direct, guide, and supervise the town and village libraries within his district. Similarly the librarians of the town libraries were expected to supervise the village libraries under their jurisdiction. However, this total plan remained only at the idea plane; it was never fully implemented.
What the Government could not do, the people did. The library association organized at various levels represented a perfect hierachical order and compensated to some extent for the lack of official organization. In 1935, Sayajirao inquired about the activities of the Baroda State Library Association. The Department reported as follows:

Every Department of the Government of Baroda was provided with subordinate officials posted at District and Taluka headquarters to direct the work of their respective departments in districts and talukas. The Library Department did not have any such officials to assist the Curator of Libraries in his work in districts and talukas. The Deputy Educational Inspectors of the Education Department had been assigned an extra duty of inspection of village and town libraries, but they were so heavily burdened with their own primary duties of examinations, inspection of schools, and compulsory education that they could not satisfactorily perform any duty conducive to the promotion of the library movement.

Reporting to the Secretary of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust on June 10, 1926, Curator Dutt said:

The original idea was to establish State libraries in the capital towns of the four prants or divisions of the State, i.e., in Amreli, Mehsana, Navsari and Baroda with a state officer in charge who should supervise the aided libraries in the towns within his district. Similarly the librarians of the town libraries were to inspect and supervise the village libraries and reading rooms. It was not, however, found possible to carry out the scheme. Mr. Amin was assisted in his inspection work of the other libraries by two inspectors. In 1921 these inspectors were abolished, it being thought that the educational inspectors and deputy inspectors could very well inspect the small libraries within their circles while Mr. Amin could look after the town libraries.

Reports of the Baroda Library Department depict the perennial struggle conducted by the Department to restore the
posts of inspectors and the constant refusal of the Government to comply with this legitimate request of the Department. This shows that the Government did not always give the Department what it requested.

That the type of organization (direction, supervision, and control) Borden envisaged never came into existence is evidenced also by the status of District Libraries in Baroda. Taking Mehsana and Amreli District Libraries as examples, one wonders whether the district libraries were equipped to exercise any control or supervision—if they could even advise other town libraries in the District. For example, in 1926-27, Mehsana spent only a total of Rs. 600 for the staff. The question is: how many trained librarians could have been employed with a meager amount of Rs. 50/- per mensem? Amreli spent only Rs. 427/- per annum on the staff in 1924-25. It was not possible for any district library to be “friend, philosopher, and guide” to other smaller units in the area.

It may be recalled that the Minister of Education, A. M. Masani, supporting the original plans and proposals of Borden in 1911, had himself suggested that the Government should maintain, exclusively at its own cost, state officers as Central District Librarians at each of the three District Libraries (Patan, Amreli, and Navsari). He proposed: “Each of these three libraries should have a trained librarian at its head, maintained at Government expense, who will be responsible for carrying out the library policy of Government with efficiency in that prant.” But his proposal was not accepted.

Not only did the type of administrative organization proposed by Borden remain unrealized, but also the type of inter-library cooperation envisaged by him never came into being. Borden says: “... the system (in Borada) now contains about 500 inter-depending libraries, large and small but mostly small, for small working libraries filled with live books is the main idea of the organization.”

Borden might have planned a co-operative organization of inter-depending libraries, but it was never achieved in full. No doubt there was a central collection which fed all the smaller libraries through travelling library boxes, but the line of communication was direct. The other district (central) libraries hardly
functioned as the central storehouses for the whole district. Borden envisaged a collection of twenty thousand volumes in each of the Prant libraries, but no Prant library ever reached that stage, and there was hardly any inter-library loan or other cooperative activities among the Prant libraries on one hand and other small libraries, located in the same region, on the other.

One of the most important factors that operated against the healthy growth of Baroda libraries was the investment of the authority of management with *ad hoc*, non-statutory, non-official local committees of management, which had no permanence and had no power to raise compulsory funds through taxation. On the other hand, the permanent, statutory, semi-government corporate bodies like the panchayats and municipalities, which had the power to raise funds by taxation for local needs, had nothing to do with the administration of Baroda libraries. This anomaly became another serious drawback in the planning of the Baroda Library System.

The Kadi Prant Panchayat asked Motibhai Amin in 1931 why plans were not worked out to make libraries self-supporting, instead of being dependent upon the financial assistance from the Government and panchayats. Answering this query, Motibhai explained the philosophical foundations of the creation and maintenance of public library service in Baroda. Motibhai went back to 1910 and told why the responsibility for establishing and maintaining the libraries was not entrusted to the care and management of the local self-governing bodies, and why the people’s contribution was made the pre-requisite, the foundation stone. He referred to Borden and his original plan.

Motibhai began with a reference to the Preamble of the Rules. If the generous desire of the Maharaja were to be fulfilled it was imperative for the Government and the people to provide the needed funds. “In progressive countries like America and Europe,” said Motibhai, “the very agencies which take the responsibility to run the schools, i.e. the government and municipalities, also perform the function of providing all the funds needed to administer libraries. In view of the special conditions of India and Baroda, Borden worked out a special scheme for Baroda libraries. He did not prescribe that the responsibility for maintaining the libraries should be an exclusive function of the local boards, but he planned libraries in a way
that best suited the local conditions of Baroda. The responsibility to start a library was kept on the shoulders of the people. They had to initiate and come forward with the demand for libraries supported by their own funds that were matched by the Government and the panchayats (and municipalities) on a tri-partite basis. The internal administration of libraries was entrusted to the local library committees. A close look at the scheme reveals, pointed out Amin, that it is based on the basic principles of co-operation, self-help, and freedom. "I believe," concluded Motibhai, "if there is any institution in the State which is running on the basis of self-help, it is the library."

Waknis says that Borden was influenced by Motibhai, but Borden does not say whether he was influenced by Motibhai and what he would have done if left to himself. However, a significant remark on probable transplantation of American ideas into Indian soil occurs in his report. That it was not so is attested by the planner himself. He says: "I went down to India, not to introduce American methods into Indian libraries, but to engraft the spirit of those methods onto Indian conditions. The resulting methods were in many cases new." One is not sure whether the resulting new methods were also effective in the long run.

It will be appropriate here to discuss the nature and functions of local boards in Baroda. Panchayat (Local Boards) Rules were framed in 1902. Every village with a population of one thousand or above was provided with a panchayat. Not less than five and not more than nine members, half of which were nominated by the Naeb Suba and half elected by the villagers, formed the Panchayats. The Patel, the hereditary officer of the Government, was the President. The village-accountant, talati, and the school-master were ex-officio members. The supervision of village roads, wells and tanks, schools and dharmashalas (charitable rest houses), choras (public squares) and temples, and model farms and all Government or common property, vested in them. Social and medical services, including relief work, was entrusted to them.

Advancement was made in 1920 by the passage of the new Village Panchayat Act. The membership and popular representation were increased. Two-thirds were to be elected, as opposed
to one-half under the old Act. A popular majority in the panchayats was thus ensured, which were also empowered to levy local tax. Sanitation, water-supply, drainage, supervision over public charities, and judicial functions also were entrusted to them.

Even though the local self-governing bodies were not fully representative of the people in earlier days, being composed of members half elected and half nominated, this author believes that the planners of Baroda libraries had no justification in creating *ad hoc* local committees to manage the village and town libraries in Baroda. It cannot be argued that the representatives of the people elected by the subscribers and entrusted with the responsibility of administering the libraries would have been, as a rule, more devoted to the cause of library service than those people who worked with the government officials in local bodies. There were numerous examples when Government officials rendered great service to the movement. Conversely, *Ekikarana* provides many evidences to show that some local library committees of management were as inefficient and corrupt as any of the worst municipalities. Furthermore, if responsibilities for all other local works were entrusted to the local self-governing bodies, there was no reason why the libraries too could not have been entrusted to them.

Speaking before the fifth Baroda Prant Library Conference held at Darapurā (Pada) on January 21, 1945, Curator Waknis outlined the status of the library movement in Baroda as it emerged after thirty-five years of continuous existence. He also attempted an estimate of its ultimate outcome, isolating the factors which did not permit the library service to permeate throughout the land and embrace all the people.

Although the movement had been in existence for thirty-five years, declared Waknis, it had not pervaded the total population. The Department claimed that 86 per cent of the people were provided with library service. Statistically this was correct, but not in reality. The percentage did not correspond to the actual users of libraries, the proportion of readers to the total population being very scanty. The plan as designed by Borden and implemented by Amin might have been tolerably good in term of the initiation, but in 1945 it had become outdated and needed
revision. One of the causes of the unsatisfactory conditions of libraries was the special privileges given to subscribers. The principle might have been helpful to create the initial funds, but subsequently it debarred others from taking any interest in the development of the local library since they were not directly involved in its affairs. They did not care whether it was receiving adequate financial support or not. Also naming the library building by the principal donor created a tendency in the minds of the general public not to feel any sense of ownership or association. "Let them manage the affairs of the Library to whom it belongs," was the feeling of others. Also once a permanent income was assured where a part of the building was rented out, the management did not have any need to go to the people for the annual contribution. The third factor responsible for the neglect of the masses by the management and of the library by the masses was the creation and availability of the Permanent Reserve Fund, the proceeds of which were used as the local contribution. Since the annual funds were made available through the interest on the Permanent Reserve Fund, a kind of complacency was generated. The management did not feel any necessity to go to the people for raising the local contribution every year. Thus there was no direct contact between the people and the management, who did not try to increase the current income. To consider the income derived out of the Reserve Fund as the annual local contribution was tantamount to using, as it were, the interest of the Savings for meeting one's daily expenses of maintenance.

Vaidya and others emphasize the fact that the administration of Baroda libraries was conducted by the elected representatives. But the question is: Elected by whom? By those who contributed financially to the library maintenance fund, by those who paid in cash for the library. Therefore, in a sense these were only subscription libraries as far as the authority and management were concerned. However, they were aided by the State and, therefore, could be used freely by all the people of the locality. Subject to certain limitations of budget and finance, the libraries were free to administer their own affairs. On the occasion of the Seventh All-India Library Conference in 1946, Rajamitra Motilal C. Desai brought out the significance of the
freedom enjoyed by libraries. According to him, they were institutions of culture and education also in the field of public administration.

It was the general practice of all libraries to issue every reader one book and a magazine without any charge, but in view of the local conditions and in order to raise the people’s contribution easily, certain other classes of readers were given additional privileges. There were more than one class of such subscribers, determined on the basis of the amount of subscription paid. Thus the library remained free and public, and also derived a larger income. But this system rested on social and economic discrimination. As the Rules stood, if a rich person did not want to read, he was not required to pay at all. If the extent of privileges to be derived were based on the amount of the payment, a poor yet studious person could not borrow more than one book at a time. A richer person might not need several books, yet he was permitted to draw many. It is pertinent to ask what was the guarantee that those who did not pay at all and still enjoyed library privileges, though limited, were intrinsically incapable of making any payment at all. There were people who would not like to pay anything if a service could be obtained free.

It is maintained here that the merger of Baroda into Bombay was the final cause for the disappearance of the Baroda Library System. Therefore, it is necessary to examine briefly the library policy of the Government of Bombay. In December, 1939, the Government of Bombay appointed a Library Development Committee, specifically to advise them on the formation of a Central Provincial Library in the City of Bombay and three Regional libraries at each of the three linguistic centers, viz. Kannada at Dharwar, Marathi at Poona, and Gujarati at Ahmedabad. The Committee was permitted to deal with any other questions that might be considered relevant. So it went into detail on many aspects pertinent to the development of libraries in Bombay.

The members of the Committee also visited Baroda and studied at first hand its pioneer public library system. The
Committee reported:

The library system at Baroda is well-developed. It is a matter of gratification to the Committee that in the space of some twenty years (!), a vast network of libraries has grown in the State of Baroda and we hope that the Province of Bombay also will very soon achieve a similar success.\textsuperscript{45}

The Committee presented a comprehensive scheme for the development of libraries in Bombay, comprising six stages:

1. Central Library and three regional libraries.
2. District libraries.
3. Taluka libraries.
4. Villages with population between 2,000-5,000.
5. Villages with population between 1,000-2,000.
6. Villages with population less than 1,000.\textsuperscript{46}

It added: "The succeeding stages of the scheme envisage the growth of a network of libraries spreading to district towns, small towns, larger and smaller villages."\textsuperscript{47} It is noteworthy that although the Bombay Library Development Committee was gratified at the progress of the Baroda library movement and hoped that Bombay would very soon achieve a similar success, yet it did not accept the philosophy of Baroda as far as the rural library service was concerned. While Baroda started at the base, Bombay began at the top. The Committee believed that "the extension of the Library System to the villages should follow successful working of the Central and Regional Libraries."\textsuperscript{48} The Committee recommended therefore: "As at present advised, we are deferring the village library system to be worked out at a later date." Naturally, therefore, the village libraries in Baroda did not receive due attention after the State was merged into Bombay.

The members of the Committee could not envisage that Baroda would be a part of Bombay when their recommendations
would be implemented. After the merger of Baroda into Bombay, the Government of the latter state could have revised its earlier policy with regard to the rural library development, but it did not. When Borden visited Baroda in 1910, he found approximately two hundred libraries which were small individually, yet collectively possessed twenty-five thousand volumes. Since they were already organized, they offered him the best kind of foundation on which he might build something better. In the same way, the Bombay Government inherited from Baroda the legacy of a well-developed rural library service which they could have developed further, but they did not.

Similarly, the Central Library of Baroda possessed the largest single collection of Gujarati publications in the whole of Gujarat. Yet it could not figure in the proposals of the Bombay Library Development Committee since Baroda was not a part of Bombay when the Committee prepared its plans. After Baroda was merged into Bombay, the earlier proposals could have been revised and the Central Library of Baroda designated as the Regional Library for Gujarat, but this was not done. The Committee itself had talked about possible modifications of its proposals in the “Prefatory Notes” to its Report: “The limitations of the report presented by us are fully realized; in fact these proposals are only of a tentative character, to be modified from time to time in the light of fresh and greater knowledge.” Nevertheless, when Baroda with its rich tradition of libraries became a part of Bombay, no re-thinking was done. The Central Library of Baroda could not get any place in the total library scheme of Bombay since it was a late-comer. Hansa Mehta, the first Vice-Chancellor of the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, said: “The Central Library at Baroda, was at one time one of the best libraries in the whole country. Its development stopped after the merger of the State with Bombay.”

One of the primary reasons why the development of the Baroda Central Library stopped after 1949 was the absence of any reasonable place in the predetermined scheme of the Bombay Government for this excellent library, a library which had all the potentialities to be developed into the greatest library of Gujarat, yet which was not given its due status by the Bombay Government. Politically and administratively Baroda was turned
overnight into a district only, yet its library was greater than any other district library of the whole of the sub-continent. It was not designated as a regional library, although it deserved the status, and yet it was too large to be treated as a district library.

Due to World War II and other political developments, the Bombay Government could not implement the proposals of its Committee until 1947, the year when India achieved independence. The machinery was then set into motion. The report of the Library Development Committee was accepted as the basis for the subsequent development of libraries in Bombay, which included Baroda as well at a later date. Baroda was incorporated into a state which did not subscribe to its policy of rural library service and which had no desire to continue the development of its Central Library. The development of libraries in Bombay on a planned basis did not begin until India became free, yet a report prepared in 1939, in a different political and social environment, was used as the basis.

Bombay inherited from Baroda a well-developed village library system. It was not possible for Bombay to transform its entire library personality overnight and bring it totally on par with that of Baroda, yet the Government could have permitted the development of village libraries to continue on the earlier basis, at least in those areas which were formerly a part of the State of Baroda. For example, the Travelling Library Service might have been allowed to operate from the Central Library at Baroda into the whole of the new Baroda District, which had an area of 2,969 square miles and as many as 1,194,746 people. But this was not done. The books and boxes were allowed to deteriorate. This Travelling Library Service could even have been continued as an experiment to see the results in a new environment. But the Bombay Government was not interested in the survival of the Baroda library service. Baroda was treated like any other district of Bombay.

The Library Development Committee had also discussed the problem of library taxation. They said: "From our enquiries we find that people are not prepared for any additional tax, much less for a tax for the sake of libraries." The Committee was informed that the taxation was already high. It was argued by the respondents that the local boards could not raise enough even for
their existing needs. They had the power to spend money on libraries if they wished. However, even the richer municipalities were reluctant to support libraries.

The Library Development Committee did not recommend any taxation, yet it expected the people to contribute their share liberally, without specifying any rate or proportion or standard or measurement. It also expected all types of local boards, cooperative societies, and even the credit banks to contribute toward library funds. This writer fails to understand how people were expected to contribute library finance liberally and voluntarily if they were not ready for taxation, which only meant contribution of library finances compulsorily under a law. Probably the Committee believed that even if the people were not ready for taxation, they were ready to offer money as voluntary contributions.

A comparison of Baroda with Bombay in providing library service yields fruitful results. In Bombay, subscription libraries, which were already in existence, were helped and recognised as public libraries. Under the Rules, the management of the Regional, District, and Taluka libraries was kept in the hands of a municipality or a suitable body registered under the Societies Registration Act. This was definitely a difference in approach. The Rules in Bombay stipulated:

Books, periodicals, etc. shall be made available free to all citizens, without distinction of caste, creed, sex, language, vocation or any of them, for reading or reference on the library premises only. This will be without prejudice to the preferential rights or privileges, if any, of the members of the library.

This is a vital Rule as far as the free universal public library service in Bombay is concerned. While every citizen of Bombay had a right of free access to the library reading room without any distinction of caste, creed, color, etc., he was allowed to use the reading materials only inside the Library. He had no right to take any book out on loan. Even this privilege of reading in the library was conditioned by the “preferential right or privileges” enjoyed by the members, the subscribers. If a non-member reader was
actually reading a book in the library, and if the same book was needed by a member-subscriber for loan, the former could have been deprived of it. Here then is a great difference between Baroda and Bombay. In Baroda, as has been shown, every citizen of the State had a right to borrow any book for home use even if he was not a subscriber-member. Bombay had definitely imposed a serious discrimination. A person really too poor to pay any dues could never hope to take a book home from a Bombay library. Such a library would not have, as a rule, received any financial assistance in Baroda. Baroda became a part of a state which had its own distinctive philosophy of public library service.

The Bombay Government did not render any financial assistance to town libraries (to say nothing of village libraries) until 1955-56. One hundred thirty towns were then selected and a beginning was made by giving them a grant of only Rs. 150 each for the first time in 1955-56. By 1955-56, there were five thousand “village libraries,” which were financially assisted as part of the adult (social education) movement. Their grants were increased from Rs. 18 to Rs. 75 a year. As a contrast, it may be noted that Baroda could grant a maximum of Rs. 100 to a village library as early as 1927, while until 1955-56 Bombay gave a maximum of Rs. 18 only, i.e. even after Baroda had been merged into Bombay. Furthermore, Bombay had no provision for grants from the panchayats. It did not give any grant for buildings either. The Curator of Bombay in his “Descriptive Review” states that “the village reading rooms, the children’s library and the labour libraries were indirect results of the Library Development Scheme” of the Bombay Government, and thus admits that the village libraries did not form an intrinsic part of their development scheme. The Government of Bombay in a Press Note64 clearly defined their philosophy of village libraries. They said: “Government accordingly intends to undertake first to help the establishment of village libraries as a necessary adjunct to adult education.”

Here is another contrast between Bombay and Baroda. In Baroda, the village libraries were conceived as necessary adjuncts to primary education, a means to continue and preserve the literacy once acquired, a precautionary, preventive measure to save the children from relapsing into illiteracy. But in Bombay
the village libraries were intended to be a means for adult education, a cure of the disease already existing. There was no attempt to continue self-education throughout life as in Baroda. Under the circumstances, the distinct library personality of Baroda ceased to exist with the political non-existence of Baroda.

One final question that still remains to be discussed: What was the ultimate outcome of the Baroda Library Movement? Waknis concludes one of his significant reports with the following remarks: "Until this provision of ennobling literature is done the establishment and running of libraries may be like so many battles of Blenheim, flattering the conceit of promoters, but prompting grandchildren to ask, "What good came out of it at last?" Today the great-grandchildren of the promoters may very well repeat the question: "What good came out of it at last?"

The value and importance of an experiment does not lie in its size. Baroda's experiments in social, economic, and cultural fields have demonstrated that what was achieved in the west both at the material and cultural level can be tried out even in India. This is the greatest value of Baroda's experiments. Borden said:

I determined to introduce into Baroda what we in the United States have recognized as a goal to be ultimately attained, but which we have not yet reached... If there is any value in this library cooperation throughout a large State, let it be remembered that it was first introduced, not in the home of the modern library movement, our own country, but way down in India, 10,000 miles from here.

In another report Borden said: "What America could only dream of, Baroda could do, and in a measure has done."

Borden established in Baroda not merely scattered libraries here and there but a whole library system. That is the greatest value, the greatest gain. Libraries had been in existence in India and Baroda even before the Baroda Library System was established but there was no unified library organization anywhere in the country. Its first appearance in India outside Baroda could be traced to 1949, the year when Madras enacted its library law and put it into effect. Baroda exercised a tremendous influence on the-
minds of contemporary public leaders in India. Baroda lit the torch which was carried forward by many native states and British provinces in India. A seed sown under the earth disappears, but shoots forth a sapling which turns into a great tree providing cool shade and sweet fruits to many. Something similar happened in Baroda as well. Its library system disappeared in 1949, ironically enough with the advent of independent India, but the inspiration it had already given to the Andhradesa (the country of the Andhras) which formerly formed an invigorating part of Madras, enabled that State to have the first public library Act in the same year. Thus Madras made history, but it owed much to Baroda. The emergence of a public library system in Madras in 1949 was almost like the transmigration of soul, a kind of resurrection, a lamp lighting another lamp. In this sense, the library movement in Baroda was abundantly fruitful.

Bombay's new Government did not fully appreciate the value of Baroda's public library system and did not support it the same way Baroda did. However, its wholesome effects still remain deeply rooted in the soil of Baroda. Even after a lapse of fifteen years, the results of the splendid work of the pioneer state were still found living by a leader of the same Congress party which came to power in Bombay after India achieved independence and destroyed the Baroda Library System. In his "Message" to the Commemoration Volume (1964), Mehdi Nawaz Jung, the then Governor of Gujarat, said: "During my tour in Gujarat, whenever I have been to a village or a town far ahead of other villages and towns, I wondered if it had been a part of old Baroda State and invariably my guessing came true."

Speaking on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee celebrations of the Shree Jayasinhrao Library of Baroda on December 16, 1937, Maharaja Sayajirao said: "I have done the best I could within my limitations and I am happy to say that I have been able to provide a network of libraries for my people, bringing about a healthy change in their outlook, culture and general knowledge." If this is true, then the ultimate outcome of the library movement in Baroda was a real success.
NOTES & REFERENCES

3. *Ibid.* This is very significant remark. Baroda Library Movement was certainly not an absolute failure. Neither can it be called a complete success. All libraries did not fail; it is the system that failed.
6. p. 119
8. 6:2, January-April, 1919.
19. These were consequences of severe economic depression.

25. Borden uses the term "taxation," but the Rules do not. They merely say: "subscription, donation or any other means." It may be inferred that Borden was in favor of taxation as a means of raising public funds, but the Government was not.


32. N.M. Dutt, "History of Indian Libraries from Earliest Times to the Present Day," *Modern Librarian*, 2: 75-76, January, 1932. There was no library authority—a statutory, corporate body—in Baroda, which could establish and control libraries, independently of the decisions of the Government. The Library Department was just a branch of the Education Department and had no power to influence the decisions of the Government one way or the other. It could only request and carry out the others of the Government whatever they might be.


34. See supra, pp. 237-40.


36. Letter of Dutt to the Secretary of the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust dated June 10, 1926. In response to this, the Secretary wrote to Dutt on July 26: "You have made at least as much progress as has been achieved in Great Britain." *Pustakalaya*, 1:286, July, 1926.


38. "Selections from the Baroda Records," Document No. 4, April 18, 1911. Masani knew that Mehsana was only a railway junction and not a cultural center like Patan. Hence he specified Patan to be the home of district library for Mehsana (formerly Kadi) Prant. See supra., p. 65.


movement as something outlandish. The casting vote of President Kudalkar saved the situation. *Indian Library Journal*, 1:11, October, 1924.

42. *Cf. ante*, p. 294.


44. Baroda's library movement under the state patronage started in 1926, and the Committee wrote its report in 1940. Thus there was a "space" of thirty-four years and not twenty.


52. Letter from the Secretary, Government of Bombay, Education Department to the author, dated May 22, 1956, together with the "Rules for Recognition and Grant-in-aid to Regional, District, and Taluka (or Peta) Libraries" and a "Descriptive Review of the Library Development Scheme" by T. D. Waknis, Curator of Libraries, Bombay State.

53. Emphasis added.


Summary and Conclusions

The preceding pages have presented a study of the public library movement in Baroda, the first territory not only among the princely states but also in British India to have been provided with a state-supported free public library system.

There is a divergence of opinion as to the ultimate outcome of the movement. While the official reports claim that it was a success, some critics argue that it was a failure. Also there is no agreement among them as to the determining cause of the failure. The vital questions that needed answering were: Whether the movement in Baroda was fundamentally a failure? Was the movement so narrowly dependent upon the personality of Maharaja Sayajirao that with his death in 1939 the movement too died? Or, did some other factors contribute to the decay, if that was indeed the final outcome of all that the Maharaja had created? In brief, what happened to Baroda libraries and why?

The author had just begun his study when an American librarian asked him what was the objective. "I want to find out why libraries in Baroda did not survive," was his reply. The American librarian had worked in India for seven years and knew about India's libraries and librarianship more than even many Indian librarians. She exclaimed: "What is there to research? I can tell you right away. Maharaja Pratapsinhrao (who succeeded Sayajirao) was interested more in horses (racing)
than in libraries. And that is why Baroda libraries did not survive.” She was just echoing a popular belief, reporting only what she had heard in the bazaars.

This popular belief led Ramakrishna Rao to remark:

This extremely impressive picture of library development did not continue for long even in the State of Baroda. With the death of Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwar the Government lost interest and the people were not ready to support and sustain library service.

This belief was so strong and illusive that the author proposed the following statements as his two hypotheses for research:

C1. The movement was too narrowly dependent upon the personality of the Maharaja to have long survived his personal rule, which ended in 1939, and

C2. The library policy of the post-Sayajirao Government especially with regard to the financial provision from public funds, was not conducive to effective library service.

The above view is proved to be a myth. The truth is that neither Maharaja Pratapsinhrao nor his Government was responsible for the total disappearance of the Baroda Library System. It is evident that the movement was not exclusively dependent on the personality of Maharaja Sayajirao, that the decay had already crept in even while he was alive, that some progress at the previous level was maintained even beyond 1939 and that the post-Sayajirao Government of Baroda was equally interested in the development of libraries and librarianship.

It is further seen that the library movement in Baroda was not a total failure. All libraries in Baroda did not die; it is the system that died and the final cause was the political disappearance of Baroda. The Baroda Library System could have even survived the merger had the Government of Bombay subscribed to the library philosophy of the Baroda Government, especially its policy of rural library service.

Nevertheless the fact remains that many libraries in Baroda
had already become somewhat devitalized by 1949. Thus another major concern of the study was to determine the cause of this devitalization. A significant finding of this study is that the library planning, especially in regard to the provision of finance was not perfect and that it was not effectively carried out either. Also, several environmental factors added their weight and contributed to the final decay and decline.

His Highness the Maharaja Sayajirao-III, Gaekwar of Baroda (1862-1939), ruled over the State for more than sixty years. One of the most progressive princes of modern India, he travelled in western countries extensively and repeatedly and imbibed the new spirit of modern life and culture. He introduced numerous reforms in his State which transformed Baroda economically, socially, and culturally. The Maharaja invited foreign specialists for the development of his State both materially and culturally.

For the establishment of public libraries, Sayajirao chose William Alanson Borden (1853-1931), a leading American librarian. Borden went to Baroda in 1910, but the library movement in Baroda had originated as a people’s movement under the leadership of a public leader, Moti Bhai Amin in the form of Mitra Mandal (Society of Friends) Libraries as early as 1906, and was accorded a substantial state patronage only in 1910 after Borden reached Baroda.

Borden was active in Baroda for three years. As claimed by him, he introduced into Baroda what was recognized as a goal in the United States, but which was still not attained there. Borden claimed further that what America could only dream of, Baroda could do, and in a measure had done. Borden planned a comprehensive network of libraries, constituting a state central library, four district or divisional libraries, forty-five town libraries, and more than a thousand village libraries, all integrated into one chain—a system. He introduced into Baroda many public library services still unknown in India.

At the time he left Baroda, Borden thought that his plan had been well worked out, that its development was provided for, and that a few more years would see it accomplished. However, the growth continued up to a certain stage only, but then stagnation developed, resulting ultimately in decline.

It is found that several factors were responsible for it, an
important one being the lack of adequate and steady finance. The Government of Baroda selected the grante-in-aid system as a means of providing financial contribution from the public funds. The method of distribution, however, was arbitrary and voluntary. There was no compulsion for the Government to give a certain minimum or to give any amount at all. The then prevailing conditions of Baroda probably did not permit Borden to establish an alternative basis like the legislative taxation and an obligatory provision of adequate funds under a law.

It is observed that Borden was not able to see all his proposals fully implemented. Neither the State nor the people possessed adequate resources to permit full realization of his dreams. He had to modify many of his plans to a harmful extent. Borden himself implied that he was not "permitted" to do all that he wanted.

An explanation of the later failures lies in the dissimilarity of organizational structures. The Library Department of Baroda was a part of the State Government. The management of Baroda libraries was not vested in a Central Library Authority, that is, an autonomous corporate statutory body, such as a Library Commission or Board which would represent various public interests, serve as a parent body, and uphold the cause of the institution in every possible way. Such a body may have a degree of independent influence on the decisions of the Government, which a governmental department lacks. Baroda libraries did not have any such organization. Also there was no authority either to prescribe standards of service or to enforce them. This was a cause of decay.

Social and economic conditions in Baroda State proved to be an obstacle to the success of the first experiment in India to provide compulsory free primary education. The same factors operated against the success of the first experiment in India to provide a state-supported free public library system. The Maharaja expected that "the people must rise superior to their circumstances." The people could do so only within their limitations.

Another cause of decline was the failure on the part of libraries to provide enough books that could challenge the varied interests and intellectual demands of the people. The libraries could not buy enough books because of the general lack of finance and
the shortage of good books in Gujarati.

All this seems reasonable, natural, and logical in the early decades of this century. It was the beginning of the library movement. But just as the almost devitalized pioneering libraries were revived by fresh planning, in the same way, the almost devitalized free public libraries, constituting the Baroda Library System, could have been equally revived by a fresh planning in the new environment of the post-independence era. Yet this was not done. The patient was already on the sick-bed, as it were. Instead of administering a new medicine that might have cured him of all illness, and made him strong and vigorous and truly healthy, he was allowed to wither away by sheer neglect, with the result that he got completely disintegrated—never, never to regain his former form. Thus it is concluded that the final cause for the disintegration of the Baroda Library System was the integration of the Baroda into Bombay, a State which did not continue the earlier library policy of its predecessors in the Government of Baroda.

The set of hypotheses proposed for the study have been found to be valid only in a partial manner. While it is true to say that the public libraries did not develop in Baroda until late 19th century since the political, social, economic, and cultural conditions were not conducive, and that libraries came to be established and developed during the early decades of the 20th century through an aggregate of factors; it is not true to say that the movement was too narrowly dependent upon the personality of the Maharaja to have long survived his personal rule, which ended in 1939; or that the library policy of the post-Sayajirao Government, especially with regard to the financial provision from public funds, was not conducive to effective library service; or that the masses were still too under-developed to support public libraries.

But it is found to be true that the example set by the pioneer public library movement in Baroda exercised a tremendous influence on many other regions of India and in this sense the Baroda Library Movement was a real success.
## Appendix A

### A GLOSSARY OF SELECT INDIAN WORDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ānnā</td>
<td>a unit of value equal to 1/16 rupee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crore</td>
<td>ten million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dewān or Dīwān</td>
<td>prime minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhārā Sabhā</td>
<td>legislative council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gādī</td>
<td>throne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grām panchāyat</td>
<td>village local board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jūth manṣals</td>
<td>group circles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lākh</td>
<td>hundred thousand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahāl</td>
<td>administrative subdivision, taluka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahilā</td>
<td>lady</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maṇḍal</td>
<td>society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mitra</td>
<td>friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mofussil</td>
<td>district areas; outlying regions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāeb or Nāib</td>
<td>deputy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nāeb Subāh or Nāib</td>
<td>assistant collector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subāh</td>
<td>festival of nine nights, dedicated to Goddess Durgā. In Gujarat the famous garba dances form an outstanding feature of this festival. Called Durgā-pujā in Bengal and other regions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navarātri</td>
<td>an elected council of elders, organized as a body of self-government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panchāyat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Hindi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petā-mahāl</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prānt</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prānt panchāyat</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purdāh</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pustakālaya</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pustaka</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ Alaya</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rupee</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ryotwāry</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sar-Subāh</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subāh</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tahsildār</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tālukā</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vidyādhikāri</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vidyā+</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adhikāri</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vishīshta panchāyat</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **sub-taluka**
- **district**
- **district local board**
- **veil, seclusion of women from men**
- **library**
- **book**
- **home**
- **basic monetary unit (abbreviation: Re. (singular) Rs. (plural)**
- **System of land assessment where the Government deals directly with the ryot or peasant**
- **chief commissioner**
- **collector**
- **officer in charge of a taluka, also called Vahivatdār**
- **a collectorate or administrative subdivision comprising a revenue district commissioner of education**
- **learning**
- **officer**
- **municipality**
Appendix B

A NOTE ON THE SEARCH FOR THE RESEARCH RESOURCES

The following Bibliography lists the sources that have been studied. One of the most helpful sources is the Pustakālaya (Library), a monthly periodical started in 1925. It was an efficient yet economical means of inter-communication among the librarians, library inspectors, and library committees of Baroda. The Pustakālaya published official circulars, orders, memos and directives, issued by the State Library Department from time to time in order to guide and direct the Baroda libraries scattered all over the State. Since the journal contains the government documents on libraries it provides reliable data on the development of libraries and librarianship in Baroda. Sponsored by the Baroda State Library Association and patronized by the Government, it was published by the Libraries Cooperative Society. As it is in Gujarati, the most popular regional language of Baroda, it could reach everyone interested in the organization and administration of Baroda libraries. Complete files of this Journal beginning with the year 1925 were secured at Missouri on inter-library loan through the courtesy of the Libraries Cooperative Society and were microfilmed in the University Library, where they are now preserved. The Library Miscellany (Baroda) proved to be an equally useful source. Though short-lived, it had provided inspiration to many contemporary librarians through what it published. The
complete files of this valuable journal are now available at the University of Missouri Library. These two sets of Baroda journals contain a wealth of data on the development of libraries and librarianship throughout the State. They report the activities of the Government, panchayats, and the people directed toward the promotion of the library movement.

The series of official publications issued by the Library Department of Baroda and its annual report for the years 1930-41 (all published) serve as important basic sources, all of which were procured and studied. Other annual reports of the Library Department which are still preserved at the Central Library of Baroda in unpublished form, were analyzed and abstracted for the author at Baroda through the help of the State Librarian who transmitted the data to Missouri. The annual reports of the Baroda Administration and the Education Department have also been thoroughly used. These contain a good deal of official information on libraries though not as detailed as found in the annual reports of the Library Department. However, these proved extremely valuable.

Economic, cultural, and social data for the study are derived from the decennial Census reports issued by the Government of Baroda since 1883. These are authoritative, comprehensive, and reliable. To this class can be added publications like *The Gazetteer of the Baroda State* (Bombay, 1923, 2V), *Statistical Abstracts*, and *Statistical Atlas*, etc.

Some writings of Borden are preserved in the back files of *Library Journal* (New York) and *Public Libraries* (Chicago). The Young Men’s Institute Library in New Haven still possesses the Annual reports of Borden written in his own “library hand.” These provide original data on the development of Borden’s ideas and ideals—his plans and practices—in the field of library organization and administration. Therefore, these reports served as a basis for the study of Borden’s way of thinking, his successes and failures at New Haven, and his subsequent work at Baroda.

Miss Abigail D. Dunn succeeded Borden at the Young Men’s Institute in 1910, and worked there through 1960. The writer had the privilege of talking with her. She saw Borden for the first time eight years before she joined the Library. She gave some information on Borden’s life and work. An effort was made.
to locate Borden’s papers, if any, from his daughter-in-law, Mrs. Helen Borden, but she regretted that she had destroyed all of them just a few years ago! Had the request come only a little earlier, said Mrs. Borden, all that Borden had brought from Baroda—and he had brought considerable—would have been secured for the posterity.

Mrs. Elma B. Redfield, the successor to Miss Dunn at the Young Men’s Institute and Miss Doris K. Hendricks, the present librarian proved equally helpful. They arranged an extended interview with Mrs. Hobart Brown, the former Ann Borden, the adopted daughter of Borden and the only surviving member of his family. She also gave a good deal of background information on Borden and his life.

For a history of the Library Movement in Baroda, the Central Library still remained the greatest depository of research materials, especially unpublished documents and classified (confidential) reports. It was essential to get access to the archives of this Library and explore them for securing research resources. With the help of the State Librarian of Baroda, the problem of the great distance between Baroda and Columbia (Missouri) was solved. Shri D. A. Kanitkar, a retired official, was employed in Baroda as a special research assistant, and he worked under the supervision of the State Librarian.

With regard to the condition of old Baroda records, the State Librarian wrote to the author on September 27, 1967 as follows:

Because of the merger of the State, followed by the closing of certain offices altogether, and the shifting of the places of many to suit the reorganization under the new set-up, the past records of the ex-Baroda State seem not to have been taken care of and are now found to have been heaped quite at random and in a disorderly condition, and I have to say that our records are not an exception to it. Search of the records amounts to excavation work and needs to be carried out with patience, perseverance, and due discrimination. The searcher will have to face the same difficulties at other places also.
However, I feel sure that he [Kanitkar] will be able to collect most of the things you need.

Shri Kanitkar had to work with "piles of papers stacked in corners, almost assuming the scene of a heavy stock of wastepaper." He wrote to the author, "This was all about to be destroyed; we have proved lucky because of our timely approach." He went through the old records of the Baroda Central Library and identified all the important documents that seemed to be significant for the study. He had worked there for years and hence he knew well all the highways and byways. A "content analysis" of all was prepared and the final selection made by the author. The entire collection of the selected documents was then taken to Ahmedabad and microfilmed. It consists of about three hundred pages of precious documents, including some of the most valuable materials bearing on Baroda, e.g., The Ten-year Library Development Plan of Borden for Baroda, which contains a large chart in Borden's own beautiful handwriting, and some confidential letters of the Maharaja and his Chief Minister casting a new light on the problem. All there had the greatest effect on the results of the study. These Baroda Government documents have been cited in this study as the "Selections from the Baroda Records."

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1. Kanitkar's letter of October 4, 1967,
Appendix C

SOME NOTES ON BARODA.

For the convenience of readers not familiar with the political, social and economic conditions of Baroda, some notes on these facts are presented here as a postscript.


**Political Status**: The British Government did not rule the whole of India directly. Until August 15, 1947, the country was governed under two distinct political structures. While parts of India were administered directly by the British, about 636 states were partially independent, the degree of their independence varying considerably from unit to unit.

Of these approximately 636 native states, that constituted the so-called “Indian India” as distinct from the “British India” (the two making the “Indian Empire” of the British Government), only five large states (A) were in direct political relations with the British Government in India. These were: Nepal, Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda, and Jammu-Kashmir. Some others (190, B) formed regional agencies and were governed under the
respective political agents to the British Government in India. The rest (441, C) were administered by their rulers under the authority of the provincial governments of India. The following diagram makes the issue clear.

```
The British Govt. in India
   /\  \\
  /  \     /
 /    \   /  \    
|      | /    |     |    |
|      |   t   |     |    |
|      |   e   |     |    |
|      |   r   |     |    |
|      |   i   |     |    |
|      |   D   |     |    |
|      |   (A) |     |    |
5 States
```

The People : The term “People” is to be interpreted in relation to the context. When we mention “the people” in reference to financial support of libraries, we mean that specific segment of the population which had enough income to spare a fraction for the maintenance of libraries. The people were educated, cultured, library-minded, and enlightened. Also they were generous enough to contribute their mite toward the welfare of the people in general—the masses.

When we say that libraries were open to all the people, we mean every human being who was literate and who could read the materials made available by the library. It is to be noted that library leaders of Baroda expected all the people (who could afford to do so) to contribute finance for the creation and maintenance of libraries. And they expected all the people (who could read) to use the library. Libraries were free to all. Any one could borrow a book provided he could read. There was no compulsory charge.

When Borden said, “The whole people pay the bills, the whole people get the goods,” he meant that every citizen had a right of access to every tax-supported institution. Even in the most advanced countries of the world today all the citizens are
not regular users of the public library—only a small segment of the population uses the library. However, a public library is legally open to all. Anyone who can sign his name on the membership application card is entitled to enjoy all the borrowing privileges.

When Maharaja Sayajirao said that the services of the library should not be confined to the English-speaking people, but that it should embrace all the people, he also meant that every citizen had a right of access to the library. At the same time when he said, "If the villagers want permanent libraries they must pay for them wholly," he meant that only those people of the village should pay who could afford to pay. In other words, not all the villagers were required to pay under compulsion. The whole idea behind voluntary contribution was that no one was forced to pay. When the libraries could not raise enough local funds by means of voluntary contributions, they requested Government's permission to charge compulsory subscription which the Government could not permit under any circumstances.

Value of Rupee: The money has been expressed (in this study) in terms of rupees. It may be interesting to note that Borden was paid a salary of Rs. 1020 per month, plus free accommodation and conveyance. His Comprehensive Library Development Scheme would have cost the State, Panchayats and the people approximately two million rupees. The magnitude of this figure can be well realized if we just imagine that Borden himself was given all this amount! Then he could have maintained himself for approximately 163 years, provided, of course, he lived that many years, and, provided further, that the rupee had retained its value and that there was no inflation.

The idea of the value of a rupee can be further obtained if we recall that when Sayajirao donated ten million rupees on the occasion of his Diamond Jubilee, the lowest salary paid to a library clerk was Rs. 200 per year (approximate). Thus the amount donated by the Maharaja represented the annual salary of 50,000 library clerks. The total revenue of the State in that year was 28 million rupees.

We can get a further view of a rupee if we consider that during the year 1910-11 rice was sold in Baroda City at the rate of Rs. 2.461 per maund (18.2 kg. approximate) and wheat
at the rate of Rs. 1.904 per maund. Incidentally, it will be revealing to add that by 1943-44 the price of rice had risen to Rs. 12.5 per maund (5.5 times) and that of wheat Rs. 6.69 (3.5 times).

Per Capita Income: In 1921, out of a total of 12,964 persons assessed for income tax purposes, 6,954 or about 53.7 per cent had an annual income of less than Rs. 1000 and only ten persons had income of Rs. 50,000 or above. As reported by the Baroda Economic Development Committee of 1918-19, the average annual per capita income in Baroda State was only Rs. 45.

Literacy in Baroda: In 1910, the total literacy in Baroda State was only ten per cent. A comparison of the literacy figures of Baroda with those of British Gujarat over several decades shows that Baroda achieved remarkable progress. The following table shows the proportion of literates per thousand of the population of Baroda State to that of the British Gujarat and the rate of progress of literacy in both the regions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Baroda State</th>
<th>British Gujarat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table effectively demonstrates also the fact that Baroda began with low figures in 1901. In two decades it reached an equal status and within a decade it even surpassed its neighbor, the British Gujarat.

The following table presents further evidence of Baroda’s progress:
Appendix C

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Literates</th>
<th>% of Total Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>204,947</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>272,418</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>434,734</td>
<td>17.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>692,975</td>
<td>22.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus there was a regular and steady increase in literacy.

Let it be noted that while in 1941, the total literacy of India as a whole was only 12 per cent, Baroda’s literacy had reached a high mark of 22.9 per cent.

By 1931 Baroda was at the top of all the states and provinces with comparable social, economic and cultural conditions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Literates (per 1,000)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baroda</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>20.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mysore</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bombay</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here are some more figures testifying to Baroda’s phenomenal progress in literacy:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1941</th>
<th>1951</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bombay State</td>
<td>8.93</td>
<td>9.87</td>
<td>18.28</td>
<td>24.56</td>
<td>35.46</td>
<td>12.85</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baroda</td>
<td>13.48</td>
<td>17.15</td>
<td>22.12</td>
<td>28.62</td>
<td>39.02</td>
<td>17.23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mehsana</td>
<td>8.43</td>
<td>12.78</td>
<td>18.16</td>
<td>25.04</td>
<td>34.95</td>
<td>15.06</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amreli</td>
<td>14.49</td>
<td>19.38</td>
<td>25.17</td>
<td>29.71</td>
<td>39.37</td>
<td>19.75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thus it is concluded that the efforts of Maharaja Sayajirao to educate his people were fruitful. Or, to put it differently, no state in India made such outstanding progress in literacy as Baroda did.

The Problem of Translation: The present study has used a great many contemporary Gujarati documents. At times it was difficult to convey the full meaning of the original. A literal translation was inadequate and a free rendering ruined the flavor of the original.

An example of this difficulty is provided by a Gujarati proverb quoted on Page 269 (lines 19-20). Transliterated it reads: So mana sunthanum thase tyare kankari adanum pana that rahese. A free rendering is: "If a mountain is provided, a grain too could be provided." The attempt fails miserably. English does not assimilate the expression and the idea remains foreign. There is no such usage in English.

A literal translation would read: "When hundred maunds (approximately 4000 pounds) of dry ginger are arranged, then a bit (small piece) of fresh ginger too would be arranged." The contrast here is between the fresh ginger and dry ginger. Dry ginger is used to make special types of cookies, especially when a baby is born in the family and the cookies are distributed among the kith and kin as presents. Hence a large quantity is needed. It is costly too.

A reader who knows Gujarati can appreciate the full significance of the proverb. In English this cannot be easily translated. The best we can do is to give a close meaning. Maybe an expert in English proverbs is able to offer a better expression. There is a proverb like "making a mountain of a mole-hill," but it is used to convey a different meaning.
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