and of a cautious but vigilant frontier policy in India.

There was one question of domestic politics to which he had given much attention. He had always been a steady and powerful advocate of popular Education, and especially of Technical Education. He regarded the instruction and true enlightenment of the people as the best, perhaps the only permanent, weapon of civilisation against the socialistic tendencies which threaten to divert the democracy in Europe from the sure although slow paths of economic progress.

On Lord Reay's arrival in India he found himself associated with a military colleague of great ability. The Commander-in-Chief of Bombay, General Sir Arthur Hardinge, K.C.B., knew India and the Indians well and was a thorough man of the world, with literary tastes and varied social accomplishments. As the head of the Bombay Army his strong point was believed to be infantry tactics. He rendered a lasting service by enforcing the principle of selection for regimental commands on the ground of personal qualifications, rather than on hard and fast seniority claims. In the discussions which then occupied the attention of the Government with regard to the reform of the 'Silladar' system of Irregular Cavalry, he also took a decisive part. His successor, Sir Charles Arbuthnot, K.C.B., R.A., was in many respects Sir Arthur's complement—a hard-working soldier, of retiring manners, whose elaborate and carefully considered Minutes on the Bombay, Aden, and Karáchi defences form State

Papers of high historical importance. His successor in turn was the Duke of Connaught. The popularity of His Royal Highness with the army both European and Native, the plans which he set on foot or supported for its welfare, the mark which he left on the military organisation of Bombay, and the universal regret testified at his departure alike by the Native Chiefs and by the various races and communities in the British districts, will long be remembered. During his tenure of office there was no detachment of the Bombay Army which he did not personally inspect. His colleagues in Council had special reasons for appreciating the tact with which His Royal Highness reconciled his rank as the son of the Sovereign with his official position as second in the governing body of an Indian Presidency. The Duke and Duchess of Connaught made every one feel that they really enjoyed India and Indian service, and that they frankly identified themselves with the life of those around them.

The Civil Members of Lord Reay's Council, men of my own service and some of them personal friends, I must touch off with a light hand. Sir James Peile, K.C.S.I, was the Revenue Member until 1886, when he was advanced to the Council of the Governor-General of India. He was regarded as the representative civilian of the 'head-quarters' type' in the Bombay Council; reserved in manner, very methodical in work and preferring to do it in writing rather than by oral discussion, fond of old lines, but in educational matters progressive. In forest and excise affairs he was opposed to change, and a steady supporter of the

permanent officials of those departments; strongly putting forward the revenue aspect of each question. He had acquired valuable experience in dealing with Native States as a Political Officer, and had mastered the working of the central mechanism of Government, both in the Secretariat and in various special employments. He knew Káthiáwár thoroughly, with its multitudinous petty States, and rendered important service to education in our own districts as Director of Public Instruction. In 1885 he acted as Governor and President in Council in Bombay, during the brief interval between the date on which the out-going Governor laid down his Office and Lord Reay's arrival. The Feudatory Chiefs held him in reverence, and the new Governor heartily acknowledged his obligations to him in questions connected with their management. Although best known as what is called in India 'a strong departmental man,' Sir James Peile recognised the necessity of according a more effective voice to Native opinion, and proved a firm supporter of Lord Dufferin's policy in regard to an extended Native representation in the Legislative Councils.

He was succeeded by a civilian of a different but equally well-marked type. Sir James Bellot Richey, K.C.I.E., was essentially a 'District officer,' with the minute and painstaking knowledge of the local administration and of the people which that term connotes. An agreeable colleague in Council, very open-minded, not afraid of innovations, conciliatory, and popular, he inclined to the more liberal view in

the forest and excise measures which were destined to form so important a feature of Lord Reay's administration. Sir James Richey unfortunately suffered from bad health, and when compelled to go home on leave, Mr. Pritchard, C S.I.[1], acted for him. Mr. Pritchard was a strong representative of the revenue interests in all measures. He had himself increased the revenue from the excise, and this subject was with him one of keen personal conviction. In forest questions he inclined to what was regarded as the Liberal party in the Government. Both Sir James Peile and Sir James Richey were Oxford men, the former of Oriel, the latter of Exeter College. Together with their colléagues, Sir Raymond West and Mr. Naylor, to be presently mentioned, they were among the early fruits of the competitive system for recruiting the India Civil Service.

Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E., M.A., became a Member of the Bombay Council in 1887. His service had been chiefly in the Judicial Department, and it was as Judicial Member that he proved of great value to Lord Reay's Government. In addition to the ordinary acquirements of a barrister-at-law and a High Court Judge, Sir Raymond West had the enthusiasm and special learning of a jurist, and as such was apt to be regarded as tending towards the doctrinaire type of administrator. A writer of erudite Minutes, exceedingly loyal to Bombay interests, and opposed to any undue interference of the Government of India, he fought effectively with pen and tongue for the views

[1] Now Sir Charles Pritchard, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

of himself and his colleagues. Generally speaking he belonged to the Liberal party in the Government, was a scientific political economist, a strong advocate of education, and very popular with the Natives. Sir Raymond West was probably the best debater in the Legislative Council of Bombay during the five years under review.

Mr. Naylor, C.S.I., who acted as a temporary member of Council on two occasions, belonged to the less strongly pronounced type of judicial officer; conscientious, avoiding friction, fond of a tough piece of work, he will be remembered as the practical author of the new municipal constitution for the city of Bombay.

The most brilliant member of the Bombay Council during the five years under review was, by common consent, Sir Maxwell Melvill. This genial and accomplished man is now no more, and I may therefore with propriety give a somewhat fuller sketch of his character and career than would be suitable in the case of his colleagues still living. Arriving in India in 1855, he early disclosed a bent towards the judicial branch of the administration, and marked himself as a man certain to obtain the highest positions which it offered. Having served as an Assistant Magistrate and Collector, and as an Assistant Judge in the Bombay Presidency proper, he won distinction as Judicial Assistant Commissioner in Sind. After not more than about eight years' service he was offered the coveted and lucrative appointment of Judicial and Political Secretary to the Bombay Government by

Sir Bartle Frere, one of the finest judges of men who ever ruled Western India. This extraordinary piece of promotion the young civilian declined, out of friendship for Mr. Mansfield, under whom he had served in Sind, and who, he knew, desired the post. He acted for a short time as Registrar-General of Assurances, and in 1866 was appointed Judicial Commissioner and Judge of the Sadr or Chief Court in Sind. In 1868 he was selected as one of the Commissioners to enquire into the failure of the Bank of Bombay, and in the following year, 1869, he took his seat as a judge of the High Court. This office he held for fifteen years, until advanced to the Bombay Council in 1884. He declined the offer of a membership of the Viceroy's Council—the highest appointment open to a Bombay civilian—on the ground of weak health.

But Sir Maxwell Melvill, or Max Melvill as he was affectionately called throughout his career, was an important personality and a living influence quite apart from his official work. In economics he did not shrink from declaring himself a protectionist of the American type—that is to say an advocate for protection not for a single isolated country, but for a great continent like America or India made up of a number of States, possessing within them the resources for almost every kind of production, indeed for almost every form of human industry, and capable of a self-sufficing economic development. One of those who knew him best believes that it was this consciousness of holding views not in accordance with the prevailing doctrines of the Government of India, which influenced

him in declining the seat in the Viceroy's Council. The same friend writes to me:—'What used to strike me most in the character of his mind was that he combined a strong turn for the poetical and picturesque, with the most accurate matter-of-factness. In dealing with a question he would puff away all the froth of exaggeration and false sentiment with a few witty remarks, and present what remained in a manner that always interested. There was nothing didactic about him, and his cleverness was of an infectious sort that made the person he talked with feel on equal terms. He always liked to hear what others had to say, and mended or adjusted his own views as the conversation proceeded. A dispute with him was a real pleasure.

'I used also to be struck with his many-sidedness: for he was a keen sportsman, and a man of society as well as a worker. He was always a centre of refinement and cheerfulness, and had a happy knack of finding something humorous in all the minor troubles of life. And the wonder was that he could do all this with a fragile constitution that would have excused a life of apathy and inertia. He was scarcely ever really well, and on two or three occasions at death's door from weakness. His work would of course not compare with that of some others in India from the elaborative point of view; and one may say that its characteristic was ease, not effort. But his work was sound, and true all the same—and probably few men have made so few mistakes.' His hospitality was proverbial even in hospitable Bombay. He moved

through life with a grace and tolerance that made him a favourite among a wide circle, and with a capacity for sincere and self-abnegating friendship that will long dwell in the memory of the few who knew the inner nature of the man.

I have dwelt on the different types of Lord Reay's civilian colleagues in Council, because those types are truly representative of the Bombay Civil Service at large—the Service whose varied experience and often conflicting opinions have to be amalgamated and harmonised in the corporate measures of the Presidency Government; the Service, moreover, by which those measures have to be practically carried out. For although made up of widely diversified component parts, the Government of Bombay, as of other Indian Provinces, presents the outward form of an entity firmly compacted together, and wielding the strength of the Greek ideal of 'the one in many.' In its external relations it ordinarily deals with the Supreme Government practically represented by the Governor-General-in-Council at Simla or Calcutta, but on certain occasions with the Secretary of State direct. Its internal business with the Bombay Presidency Administration it discharges through the medium of the Secretariat, assisted and humanised by the personal intercourse of the Governor with the District Officers and the Heads of Departments.

It is necessary here to say a few words in regard to the external relations of Lord Reay's Government towards the Supreme Government of India.

The decentralisation policy which Lord Mayo

inaugurated, in 1871, in Indian finance has, in its later developments, given a new importance to the relations between the Central and the Provincial Governments. The remarkable feature of those relations at present is that on mere matters of detail constant reference to the Central Government may be necessary, while on many large questions involving important principles, such references may almost be avoided. Thus to take an example in the Department of Public Instruction. I am informed that the foundation of the Fergusson College in Poona, which amounted to a new departure in the self-education of the Maráthá country, did not necessitate a single communication between the Simla and Bombay Secretariats; while the endowment of a new Professorship at the Grant Medical College, affecting no question of general principle, required a lengthy correspondence between the two Secretariats. Even in legislative matters the lines of local initiative and of Central control are not clearly demarcated. Theoretically the Local Legislature deals with local legislation. But, speaking practically of the period under review, the Bombay Government passed several important acts without interference by the Central Government, whilst other bills not of a strictly local character, yet not more important in their consequences, were considered to require amendment in detail by the Governor-General-in-Council

It is not possible, therefore, in the present transition state of India, to define exactly the limits of local legislation and administration in regard to the Central

control. But the growing burdens imposed on the Supreme Government by the extension of the Empire, steadily make for decentralisation, and the centrifugal force is always gathering strength. Lord Reay, like other self-reliant Provincial Governors, believed that this tendency is in the right direction. He regarded the spectacle of the ablest and most experienced administrators in India, one set of them at Simla and another at a provincial capital, spending their best days in keen dialectic controversy over administrative details, as a spectacle altogether unsuited to the India of the present day. As a matter of fact, although the demarcating lines as to which questions are imperial and which provincial are nowhere clearly defined, a tacit understanding has gradually grown up. It is right to add that the influence of both the Viceroys, Lord Dufferin and Lord Lansdowne, during the period under review, was opposed to needless interference by the Simla Secretariat with the Provincial Governments.

Personally, Lord Reay was in full accord with Sir Stafford Northcote (Lord Iddesleigh) in favour of further decentralisation. Routine is the bane of bureaucracy. It is a natural parasite of the Anglo-Indian form of government, and to it a peculiarly dangerous parasite. Lord Reay regarded a cautious extension of the powers of the Provincial Governments as a practical antidote to the paralysing influences of routine, and in his relations with the Supreme Government of India he acted frankly on this conviction.

As regards the internal division of labour within the Government of Bombay itself, the Governor's relations

are primarily with his Members of Council, and in a secondary although an almost equal degree with his Secretariat. Lord Reay retained in his own hands the more special charge of the Political, Military, Ecclesiastical, and Public Works Departments, throughout his whole tenure of office. During the last year of his Government he had also charge of the Department of Public Instruction. The Judicial Department, including the judicial side of our political relations with the Native States, formed the particular charge of one of the two Civilian Members of the Council, commonly known as the Judicial Member. In like manner the other Civilian, or Revenue, Member of Council was responsible for the initiation and conduct of the Government in the Revenue Department, including under that comprehensive term the relations of the Government to the land and the cultivators, besides the various branches of administration which it ordinarily embraces in European countries. The questions in the Revenue Department are, however, so vitally important to the welfare of the people, and their economic side is so deeply interesting to any one accustomed to deal with landed property in Europe, that no conscientious Governor can divest himself of an enormous amount of work connected with them. As a matter of fact, very few Minutes written by Lord Reay's colleague in Council in the Revenue Department were returned to the Secretariat without some exchange of thought between the Governor and the Revenue Member.

The branch of the administration which came least

within Lord Reay's direct and personal management was the Judicial Department. Lord Reay's studies under one of the most accomplished of continental jurists made him realise the extremely intricate and technical character of the mixture of English with Hindu and Muhammadan law administered in the Indian Courts. Indeed, it would have been unwise for any Governor appointed from England to attempt to override the long and comprehensive experience of such colleagues as Sir Maxwell Melvill and Sir Raymond West in the practical conduct of Indian judicial questions. Such questions are even more essentially matters for Indian experts, and of even a more technical character, than those which arise in the Public Works Department itself.

Lord Reay took the view that the constitutional advisers of the Governor are his Members of Council in a much more direct sense than his Secretaries. He held that to govern chiefly on Secretariat Notes is a dangerous although a not uncommon error in India. The Secretaries to an Indian Government are very important functionaries, younger and often personally more vigorous than the Members of Council, with their further careers still before them, and chosen for their powers of quickly grasping questions and smoothly performing many kinds of work. Lord Reay carefully chose the strongest men he could find in the Service for his Secretaries, quite independently of whether their personal views coincided with his own. But he realised with great distinctness the tendency of the Secretariat to run in bureaucratic grooves, and he

endeavoured to correct this tendency by freely and constantly consulting with the District Officers direct, and with the heads of the European and native communities. He believed that as an English Chancellor of the Exchequer maintains personal communication in regard to the larger matters of finance with the leaders of the City, so an Indian Governor should maintain a personal communication with the non-official leaders of the Provinces which he administers. The Secretaries had always the right of stating their views to him with absolute frankness in their Secretariat Notes, and of giving personal explanations if they desired to do so. But having a Council appointed under Act of Parliament, it seemed to Lord Reay that personal discussion should ordinarily take place between himself and his Members of Council, rather than with the Members of the Secretariat.

As this is a question which arises under every new Governor in India, and as Lord Reay held strong opinions in regard to it, it may be proper to state at a little further length his own views. He held that a Governor must not allow himself to become the mouthpiece of his Secretariat. That it is as President of his Council, and with the Members of his Council, that all important business should be transacted. That it is even necessary to guard against the Secretariat invading the province of the Council. That when a Secretary and a Member of Council take divergent views with respect to any question, the difficulty is aggravated if the Governor backs his Secretary, unless his Council are well aware that he is not under Secretariat in-

fluences. Acting on this conviction Lord Reay departed from the system of receiving regular weekly visits from the Chief Secretaries, and of transacting work with them in person. He thought that that system, while certainly saving trouble, and while necessary in the more complicated mechanism of the Supreme Government of India, exposed a Provincial Governor to the temptation of not looking himself so closely into each question as he would otherwise be forced to do. Lord Reay preferred reading what the Secretaries had to say, and then talking over their opinions with the Members of Council in cases where a difference of opinion arose.

On matters of trade and finance Lord Reay was always anxious to consult the Members of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, and especially Sir Forbes Adam, the distinguished head of that body. In railway matters he advised freely and personally with the managers of the chief lines; in the Public Works Department with the leading engineers; on Military matters with experienced officers; on Educational questions with the leading professors and inspectors of schools, in addition to the Director of Public Instruction; on Revenue questions with the District officials, both European and Indian, and with the Native Inámdárs or landholders who were qualified by their special knowledge to give an opinion. This system of consultation outside the Council and Secretariat, added both to the labour and to the interest of Lord Reay's work. It is a system which all energetic Governors make use of, to a larger or smaller extent.

But with Lord Reay it formed a cardinal principle, as he believed that it helped to counteract the tendency to bureaucratic onesidedness which he regarded as a constant danger to Indian government. On the one hand it increased the knowledge of the Governor, and the confidence of the public which soon became aware that the Governor did not act on *ex parte* statements and that his was not a government by 'file.' On the other hand it was sometimes not altogether agreeable to the immediate entourage of the Governor, and perhaps tended to temper the enthusiasm with which some Governors have been regarded by their Secretariat

In the difficult matter of patronage, Lord Reay endeavoured to make all other considerations subordinate to individual fitness. Where two candidates were of equal fitness, seniority prevailed. But Lord Reay made it clearly understood that for the higher or more special appointments, fitness, not seniority, guided his selection; and that, for example, a Commissionership of a Division was not necessarily given to the senior Collector on the list. This principle was not always popular with the Service, but it was fully endorsed by the Government of India.

The presence of an officer at head-quarters, constituted, in Lord Reay's opinion, no special title to promotion. Good district work, knowledge of the people and of the living forces among them, were regarded by Lord Reay as superior claims to an indoor acquaintance with rules and regulations. Appointments based on such considerations did not always

give complete satisfaction in a Service in which seniority has, and rightly has, strong rights. But similar principles were adopted by Sir Arthur Hardinge as Commander-in-Chief, in filling up vacancies, conspicuously in the case of colonels of regiments; and Lord Reay believed that the Bombay Army was indebted to Sir Arthur Hardinge for an increase of efficiency on this as on other grounds.

In regard also to the difficult question as to the employment of military officers in civil or political appointments, Lord Reay entertained distinct views of his own. On various occasions he expressed his opinion as to the high character of the Civil Service in general and of the younger members of it in particular. Very few services in the world, he thought, could show such an amount of honest hard work, or so high a standard of personal honour in positions of isolation, where a man's work and a man's conduct have to be regulated so decisively by what is right in his own eyes. Lord Reay was not in favour of employing military officers in civil departments. He heartily acknowledged that a good soldier makes a good official. But he thought that the system of drawing away the most promising among the young regimental officers for civil employ meant a serious loss to the army, especially at a time when the military authorities were complaining of the insufficiency of officers for regimental duty. He believed that the reasons which in former times rendered it expedient to employ military officers in the political department, that is to say in the relations of the British Govern-

ment towards the Native Chiefs, had lost much of their old force, and that other imperative considerations had arisen on the other side. In the majority of cases he thought we are now bound to place at the Native Courts civil officers who have had experience in the working of the rural administration in British Districts, and who carry with them into political employment the knowledge and standards which they have thus acquired. Such men seemed to him best qualified to aid the rulers of Native States in the improvement of their territories.

The Governor of a Presidency like Bombay, divided by the history, language and character of the people into four distinct Provinces, is essentially a peripatetic ruler. Lord Reay attached great importance to his tours, as they brought him into personal contact alike with Native Chiefs and their Ministers, with the District Officers, and with the heads of the local communities. As he carried on the business of government with the same personal care while on tour, as when residing in one of his three administrative headquarters (Bombay, Poona, and Mahábaleshwar), a very large amount of his work had to be done on paper. He preferred to personally discuss questions with his Members of Council individually, to the more formal meetings of the Council itself. It so happened that his principal colleagues during his five years of government took the same view, and two at least of them were famous as Minute writers. The result was that Councils were only held when the collective decision of the Government was required, while on the other

hand the State Papers and Records referring to the five years under review are particularly full and able. The shortest Minutes are those by the Governor, and few heads of Indian Provinces have been more studious of brevity in this respect. Lord Reay's own view was that by steady individual discussion with his colleagues a question was more likely to be thoroughly threshed out, than at a formal meeting of Council at which it might be more difficult for a member to give way after once delivering his opinion.

Lord Reay regarded the Secretariat as an instrument of administration, not of Government. This is an important distinction, and one which, with the growth of municipal and other organisations of local self-government in India, becomes every year more significant. It is one thing to deal with administrative principles and to practically work them out; another to deal with the principles of government which underlie alike the principles and details of administration. With regard to the first class of business Lord Reay, with a special knowledge of the bureaucratic régime in European countries, has recorded his opinion that it would be impossible to assign too high a place in all the essentials of efficiency to the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. He became more and more impressed with the administrative merits of that bureaucracy, the more intimately he became acquainted with its inner working. He believed that the Indian Service presents a combination of theoretical and practical ability, together with a high standard of personal character not to be found in either of the two European Countries in which

the bureaucratic system has been carried to its highest perfection, Germany and France. But he held, not the less firmly, that a bureaucratic administration must understand that its horizon is limited by the nature of its duties, and that there are other and higher functions which must be reserved to the Government.

There is something to be said in favour of a clearly defined view of this kind; something, too, against it. Sooner or later an Indian Governor has to recognise that in India, with its vast territories and diversified local peculiarities, the district administration is, in a much more than European sense, the actual Government of the country. By 'government' Lord Reay understood the grasp of the political and social situation, and the reaction of the one on the other. For example, the Indian administration is apt to look upon what has been called the temperance movement, or the opposition to excise facilities for the liquor traffic, as a spurious movement. Lord Reay, on the other hand, believed it to be a movement which represented a certain amount of conviction on the part of many concerned in it, and an engine of agitation by which others sought to win the sympathies of a powerful party in England. Or to take another and more important example. Many Indian officers hold that local self-government spoils good administration. Lord Reay was willing to acknowledge that a thoroughly good civilian works an Indian District more efficiently than municipalities or local boards can at present be expected to do. But he also held that municipal self-government is the necessary school for the exten-

sion of local institutions, and of that expansion of the Legislative Councils which he regarded as inevitable in the near future of India.

He believed that an unchecked bureaucracy in India would, with the progress of Indian education and enlightenment, produce sooner or later the same unfortunate results which it has produced in Ireland. But, on the other hand, that no man can be a good Indian Governor who does not appreciate and make full use of the wonderful administrative instrument which he possesses in the bureaucratic organisation of the Indian Civil Service. He thought it possible to reconcile these two views, and he never lost sight of them in the practical work of Government. Whether it is really possible to reconcile them without a considerable amount of friction, is one of the chief problems in governing India during its present transition stage.

CHAPTER V.

DEALINGS WITH THE NATIVE STATES.

LORD REAY retained in his own hands, throughout the five years under review, the charge of the 'Political Department' which conducts the relations of the British Government towards the Native States. For the duties of this Department his early diplomatic training had given him both a personal taste and a special aptitude. The territories under Native Princes or Chiefs formed more than a third of the whole area of the Bombay Presidency and aggregate 82,324 square miles[1]. This is inclusive of the great Hindu State of Baroda (8570 square miles); of which the political control was transferred, in 1875, from the Bombay Government to the Governor-General in Council. The Native States which remain under the supervision of the Government of Bombay have an area of 73,753 square miles[2], and a population in 1881 of seven million inhabitants.

The relations of these Native States to the British

[1] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. iii. p 48. Ed. 1885.

[2] *Parliamentary Statistical Abstract relating to British India.* Statement I, 1889. The areas and population are always given according to the Census of 1881—the Census which regulated administrative statistics during the five years under review.

Government are regulated by a long series of Treaties and Engagements many of which date from the third quarter of the last century. But broadly speaking, and for present purposes, they rest upon the general settlement effected for Western India at the close of the third Maráthá War in 1818–20[1]. Some of the States are of great extent and are thickly peopled; others are under petty chiefs, thinly inhabited and in a backward state; others again are mountainous or jungly tracts. For administrative purposes, and exclusive of Baroda, they are divided into eighteen States or groups of States, presenting many varieties of internal government, and wide differences alike as to the powers exercised by their Chiefs and as to the social condition of their people. Thus the great Káthiáwár group had in 1881 an area exceeding 20,000 square miles, and a population of close on 2½ millions. The little State of Savanúr had barely 70 square miles, while Nárukot had only 6,440 inhabitants. With regard to the pressure of the population on the soil, which forms a dominant factor in the problems of Indian administration, they present equally striking contrasts. Starting from the Khándesh States (the Dángs) with 15 persons to the square mile, or Khairpur with 21 persons to the square mile, they proceed in an ascending scale through a general average of 110 persons to the square mile, to the densely peopled districts of Kolhápur with a population of 284 to the square mile.

[1] Sir Charles Aitchison's '*Treaties, Engagements and Sunnuds*,' vol. iv. Foreign Office Press, Calcutta. Ed. 1876.

The political relations between the British Government and the Native States are maintained by the presence of a British Agent or representative at the principal Courts. The position and duties of this Agent vary in the different States, and are regulated either by the terms of the original Treaties or by more recent *sanads* or patents granted by the British Government. In some instances, as in Cutch, the function of the Agent is confined to giving advice, and to a general surveillance of the policy pursued by the Native Chief. In other cases the Agent is invested with an effective share in the administration; while States whose rulers are minors—and the number of these is always large—are directly managed by European or Native officers, or by mixed Regencies, appointed by the Government of Bombay. In all cases the Political Agent is in close and confidential communication with the Political Department of the Bombay Government—the Department which Lord Reay retained as his special charge.

Perhaps the most characteristic feature of the eighteen groups of the Bombay Native States is the extraordinary number of petty principalities into which they are sub-divided. The Káthiáwár group alone contains no fewer than 187 separate States. The recognition of these multitudinous jurisdictions is due in part to the circumstance that the early Bombay administrators regarded the *de facto* exercise of civil and criminal jurisdiction by a landholder in Feudatory territory as carrying with it a *quasi*-sovereign status. In most of the States the British Agent exercises not

only a political but a judicial control. A large amount of judicial work accordingly devolves on the Governor-in-Council, who in criminal cases acts as a Court of Reference and Appeal, and in civil matters as a Court of Appeal, from decisions in the Native States.

But greatly as the Bombay Native States differ in respect to their size, to the condition of their people, and to the degree of political control exercised by the British Government, they present still more striking diversities in regard to the characters of their ruling chiefs. We are apt to speak and to think of the Native Chiefs of India as if they were a homogeneous class, differentiated indeed by religion into Muhammadans and Hindus, but governing on the same old-world patterns, and regulated as to their motives and conduct by a common love of *laissez faire*. In the following pages we shall see how wide apart is this popular conception from the actual facts. The comparative isolation of the Indian Princes tends to develop in each of them a strong individuality, whether for good or for evil. Indeed, so important is the personality of the Chief of a Native State, that any attempt at a comprehensive survey of the separate types which they exhibit would involve an elaboration of treatment quite beyond the scope of the present book. Instead, therefore, of losing the thread of this chapter in multitudinous details, I propose first to exhibit the general principles which guided Lord Reay in his dealings with the Native Chiefs; then to give a sketch of certain of them with whose characters he became personally intimate; concluding with a

summary of the principal transactions in the various groups of States during the five years of his government of Bombay.

Lord Reay believed that in the political control of the Native Chiefs, there should be a minimum of interference, a maximum of encouragement to those who had at heart the good administration of their States, and in confirmed cases of misrule such a form of intervention as should protect the interests of their people without trenching on the hereditary right of succession vested in the family of the Chief. He did not expect the Chiefs to introduce all our methods of administration. On the contrary he held that while we are trying to develop local self-government in our own municipalities and Districts, even at a possible sacrifice of efficiency for the moment, it would be unreasonable to deny a free hand in local self-government to the Native Chiefs on their own lines, even if those lines are not exactly those which we should prefer.

Thus the regular payment of a fixed Land-Revenue in cash is a fundamental principle in the British Districts. But if a Native Chief thought it better to preserve the more elastic method of paying in kind, or of paying a large sum in favourable seasons and a smaller sum in bad ones, Lord Reay did not deem it needful to press for uniformity. Again, if Native Chiefs applied for officials trained in our service, the Bombay Government made a point of complying, but equally made a point of not urging the Chiefs to make such applications. On the other hand it steadily kept

before them the advantages of improved roads, and in certain States of railways, of irrigation, of education, and of the abolition of those grievous internal tariffs or customs duties which strangle trade in a conglomeration of petty separate Chiefdoms such as Káthiáwár and other of the Bombay groups. The surrender of revenue derived from this latter source was in some instances considerable during the five years under review, and reflected the highest credit on the Chiefs.

The question of jurisdiction over railways in the Native States demanded the serious attention of the Bombay Political Department. It is natural that the Chiefs should wish to keep that jurisdiction in their own hands, when the railways are constructed out of their own revenues. In States where there are fair magistrates and an efficient police, and which are willing to introduce our Railway Act, Lord Reay thought that not much harm would probably arise from such independent jurisdictions, as long as the line of railway did not form part of a trunk system. On the whole, however, he held that, in a gigantic railway system like that of the Indian Empire, the safety of the travelling public and of goods in transit requires a continuous police and magisterial supervision which can only be secured by a central control, and an unbroken chain of responsibility. The post and the telegraph are Imperial departments for this reason, and the railway system will in time probably become so, alike in the British Provinces and the Native States.

During the period under review, the Bombay Government acted on the principle that, where the

public interest did not clearly demand interference, no interference should be exercised. In States like Bhaunagar and Morvi, in which an intelligent initiative introduced important railways, the Bombay Political Department held it impolitic to disquiet the Rulers by any curtailment of their railway jurisdiction, unless the public safety absolutely and imperatively compelled it. Lord Reay believed that the spread of railways through Native Territories is of much greater importance than the immediate exercise of British jurisdiction along the lines; and that our efforts should rather be directed to persuade the Chiefs to adopt our Railway Act, and thus secure to travellers and goods the safeguards which it provides.

Non-interference was thus the key-note of Lord Reay's policy towards the Native States, but where the Governor felt that intervention was necessary to protect a people from callous and obdurate misrule, he did not hesitate. In the State of ——, for example, extreme measures were found needful. The Chief represented a peculiar type. A religious devotee and a miser, with little concern for his people, obstinate as Pharaoh but a man of pleasant manners and a good deal of humour, he filled his garners with hoards of grain which he allowed to rot rather than serve it out to his subjects during famine. After many fruitless remonstrances, Lord Reay's government found it needful to depose this Chief, and to bring his State for a time under a British officer. An English Administrator was accordingly appointed, with instructions to put an end to the abuses of which the people had

justly complained, but to refrain from any sudden or violent reforms which might shock native prejudices.

This temporary measure completely altered the condition of the State. The treasure which the Chief had accumulated at the cost of the misery of his people, was brought forth from his palace and employed in giving wages to a multitude of labourers, employed on railway and other useful public works. The people soon forgot their old discontent, and it was found possible to introduce cautious yet beneficial reforms not only in the judicial and revenue administration, but also with reference to education, forests, public works, and the coinage and miscellaneous cesses current in the State.

Perhaps in no position has a civilian a better opportunity for the exercise of his powers, than in a Native State which has been suffering from misrule. Assisted by good native officials, and not hampered by too minute instructions from his own Government, he can bring order out of chaos in an incredibly short time. Indeed, the moment that British rule is established in such a State, the people take for granted that extortion will cease and justice will prevail. But the reforms, although easily introduced, do not always take deep root under such a system of temporary administration. Lord Reay realised this, but he felt it his duty to make it clear that our administration could only be of a temporary character; that the rights of the ruling house were only in abeyance; and that its restoration was only a question of time.

In the State of ——, the Bombay Government

had to deal with a Chief of a more hopeless class. The personal habits of this petty potentate at length rendered him unfit to discharge the duties of his position, and a British officer was appointed to reform the abuses into which he had allowed his Administration to sink. The other Native Chiefs felt no alarm, being well aware of the temporary character of the remedy applied, and of the causes which rendered that remedy imperative. In a very short time the State recovered under its British superintendent, and the hereditary rights of the ruling family were clearly maintained throughout.

In regard to the vital question of Adoption, the Bombay Political Department while under Lord Reay's charge maintained its liberal policy. The more important Chiefs hold *sanads* or patents conveying the right to adopt a son not only to succeed to their private property, but also to their public *status* as Ruler of the people. The principle was laid down in the Queen's Proclamation on the transfer of India from the Company to the Crown in 1858, and received immediate effect by a multitude of *sanads* granted shortly afterwards. Acting on this principle, Lord Reay favoured a policy of further extending the grant of *sanads* to Chiefs not previously in possession of them. In his speech on the Jubilee of the Queen-Empress, Lord Reay could truly state: '"We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of Native Princes as our own" are the words of Her Majesty's Proclamation. This pledge also has been carefully redeemed.'

In connection with the right of adoption, Lord Reay felt very deeply the responsibility which devolved on him personally, when the minor sons, whether natural or adoptive of Native Chiefs were left to the care of the British Government by the death of their father. His provision for the education of the young Rájá of Kolhápur will serve to illustrate this side of his political work.

The Rájás of Kolhápur, a Maráthá Principality of the first class with a population of nearly a million, have long held a conspicuous position among the Native States of Bombay. The great Maráthá houses of the Gáekwár, Sindhia, and Holkar, esteem an alliance with the Kolhápur dynasty as an honour. The tragic fate of the last two Rulers of Kolhápur appealed in a special manner to the sympathies of the British Government on behalf of the present minor. In 1866, the Rájá of Kolhápur died without a natural heir. His adopted successor, a young Prince of great promise, died at Florence, while returning to India from a European tour; in his turn leaving no natural heir. His adopted successor became insane, and dying in 1883 without issue, was again succeeded by adoption, by the present minor, who was the son of the Regent of the State.

Lord Reay endeavoured to discharge his duty to this representative of an ancient and powerful, although recently unfortunate family, by a close personal care over his education. The young Rájá was at first sent to the College for Native Princes at Rájkot in Káthiáwár, accompanied by his younger brother the

Chief of Kágal, a youthful uncle, and another boy. After a time Lord Reay thought it right to bring the young Chief nearer to his own dominions, and devised a special scheme for his education. He selected as his place of residence the healthy town of Dhárwár, a British Station of the first class in the southern Maráthá country, where the young Chief would be surrounded by manly English influences. At the same time he took care not to segregate him from his own countrymen, and to this end formed a group of five other youths of princely or noble birth, to be educated along with him. The group of six consisted of the young Rájá of Kolhápur, his brother the Chief of Kágal, his juvenile uncle, and another young Maráthá nobleman, together with the son of His Highness the Mahárájá of Bhaunagar and a young companion from Káthiáwár. An able junior civilian, Mr. Fraser, was appointed tutor to the six youths, aided by picked instructors. Lord Reay kept up a friendly personal intercourse with the lads, and was rewarded by their confidence and esteem. His ward, the young Rájá of Kolhápur, came frequently to visit him, and still continues to write to him in England.

The main object of our education of young chiefs, Lord Reay maintained, should be to give them a high sense of honour, of truthfulness, and of responsibility towards their people. The branches of knowledge which he considered most important for them, are English and Indian history and literature, Political Economy, and the principles of Jurisprudence. He urged the employment of men of talent for the in-

struction of Native Princes, men who had the gift of interesting their pupils, and rousing their faculties, so that the Chiefs should not abandon their books when raised to the State-cushion. He held that as much of their education as they can receive in India, should be given to them there; and that they should as a rule only be permitted to go to England after they have obtained a complete command of English. He insisted that we ought never to lose sight of the fact that the Chiefs are to spend their lives among their own people, and that we cannot with impunity sever in early life the ties which bind a Chief to his native country. The benefits of an English education or of a visit to England would be too dearly bought, if the Chief were to reach manhood devoid of sympathy for his people or bereft of their affection and confidence.

Several of the Chiefs are now on their own initiative sending their boys to obtain a complete liberal education in England. Lord Reay did not deem it his duty to throw impediments in their way, but still less did he think it his duty to urge such an experiment upon them. He believed that the true policy of educating the Native Chiefs was to adhere firmly, although temperately, to the lines laid down by Lord Mayo, and to encourage Colleges for Chiefs, like those at Rájkot and Ajmere which will ever be identified with Lord Mayo's name. But he realised the very great difficulties with which such Indian Etons have to contend. The boys are of all ages, with every conceivable deficiency in their previous education, so that it becomes

almost impossible to work a well-regulated class-system. The usual incentives to steady work are absent in the case of the eldest sons; and for the younger sons of the Indian Princes there is unhappily, at present, no career which they can make for themselves by proficiency in any branch of knowledge.

This latter consideration weighed heavily both with the Governor and with His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught during their residence in India, and a partial remedy suggested itself to both their minds. They believed that, not only would it be an excellent opening for the younger sons of Chiefs, but also an additional source of stability to our rule, if a Military education and commissions in the Army could be granted to the élite of the young Indian aristocracy.

The Supreme Government did not however find it possible to give immediate effect to this proposal. For the present organisation of our Native Army is based upon regimental promotion from the ranks, on the ground of tried courage and proved fitness. This system has great merits. It not only secures a steady upward flow through the non-commissioned to the commissioned grades in the Native Regiments of a most valuable class of officers, but it also maintains the *status* of military service in the ranks as an honourable profession alike for gentle and simple in Native society. The problem of the future is how to combine the two systems, so as to allow of direct commissions to specially qualified sons of Chiefs, without rendering the ranks less attractive to the upper rural classes and the sons of small landholders. The Governor and

His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught favoured the establishment of an Indian Sandhurst, as a step in this direction; with due provision also for promotion by merit from the ranks.

The possibility of employing the younger sons of Chiefs in our civil or political administration also formed a subject of anxious thought with Lord Reay. At present a Native Chief and his younger brothers are practically debarred from taking any part in the British administration. Lord Reay had hopes that the College for Chiefs at Rájkot might receive such a development as would render it an avenue to civil employment under our Government. He did not advocate its affiliation to the Bombay University, because a University education does not proceed upon the lines best suited to the requirements of the native aristocracy. But he thought that a certificate of good conduct, merit and capacity by the Rájkot College might be recognised as a ground for granting to the younger sons of Chiefs an admission to certain offices under the Bombay Government. In order that such certificates should carry real weight, however, he perceived that it would be necessary to raise the standards of the College, and to require a more satisfactory previous education than that which the younger sons of Chiefs usually bring to it.

It would be unwise to hide the difficulties underlying these proposals, and the further difficulties arising from the fact that the young gentlemen are not in the strict sense of the word British subjects. But the importance of the results to be obtained seemed to the

Governor to justify some elasticity in the methods employed. The Bombay Presidency has so large a number of States and especially of petty States under its Political Supervision, that if their co-operation could be secured by the conviction that the Rájkot College afforded a practical outlet for their sons, the College might be equipped on a perfect footing by the aid of contributions from the States themselves.

The intimate personal relations which the Governor had with many of the Native Chiefs, convinced him of the excellent material which, with vigilant care and more elastic methods, may in the future be developed out of their order. The most important of the Bombay States, Baroda, is, as I have mentioned, in direct relationship with the Supreme Government. But the Governor of Bombay has necessarily much intercourse with His Highness the Gáckwár of Baroda as the Premier Hindu Prince of India. His Highness talked freely and earnestly with Lord Reay as to his views and hopes in life. It was the great ambition of His Highness that Baroda should become a pattern Native State, and that the standards of rural administration should be assimilated as nearly as possible to a British District. His careful education by Mr. Elliot and His Highness's residence in England, have taught him a contempt for a merely superficial appearance of good government, or for administrative shams of any sort. His aim is not to have a show capital with fine palaces, hospitals, colleges, a public library, and public gardens (although his large revenues and careful finance permit him also to enjoy these luxuries), but to have his dis-

tricts well administered and to spread education among his people.

To assist him in his task the Gáekwár recruits from the best of the Native officials in the Bombay Presidency. Every year the number of rural schools in his territories is increased. The Gáekwár won Lord Reay's sincere admiration by the great pains he took to master both sides of each question as it arose His Highness is a discreet and cautious ruler who, while appreciating the high results attained by British administrative methods, thoroughly realises the necessity of carrying his subjects with him, and of suiting the pace of progress so as not to break away from what is good in Native tradition, or to sacrifice the confidence and affection of his people.

The Gáekwár has strong sympathies with his own race the Maráthás, and is in an especial manner bent on promoting their interests and raising their status. He never forgets that, although the Premier Hindu Prince of India, he is first of all and above all the foremost man of the ancient Maráthá race. He clearly sees that the progress of that race must now be made on industrial lines. He devotes both time and money to the spread of education in all parts of his territories, to the construction of railways, the introduction of a plentiful supply of good water to his capital, and to numerous public works. As an illustration of the pains which His Highness takes to master administrative details may be mentioned a lengthy conversation which he had with the Governor on the vexed question of the subsoil water assessment—a question which, as

we shall see, has exercised the ingenuity of the ablest of our own administrators in Gujarát.

The value of the Gáekwár's moral influence, alike upon his Court and upon the upper classes of his subjects, can hardly be exaggerated. His home life is pure. He does not spend money on costly trifles, and his palaces are furnished like English country-houses. Hospitable to strangers, and fond of a quiet talk with an English visitor, he appreciates chief of all straightforwardness and candour among those by whom he is surrounded. His subjects are proud of him, and the more His Highness resides among his people, the more they grow to understand and to like him. Being a strong ruler, he is naturally sensitive to interference with his own affairs, and in the matter of railway jurisdiction he objects to it stiffly. As the Baroda territory overlaps and intercepts the British districts of Gujarát in every direction, the public works carried out by the Gáekwár are of great benefit to our own subjects, and involve close personal relations between the British and Baroda administrators—relations which the Governor, as the Member of Council in charge of the Bombay Political Department, maintained on an amicable footing of reciprocal confidence.

Perhaps the most important group of Native States under the Political Department of the Bombay Government are the 187 Chiefdoms of Káthiáwár. Of these, 13 pay no tribute, 105 pay tribute to the British Government, 79 to the Gáekwár of Baroda; while 134 also pay a tribute to the Nawáb of Junágarh. They exhibit a perplexing congeries of jurisdictions,

with a mixed tributary responsibility to the British Government and to the two Native Princes just named, the result of a long history of disquiet and warfare brought to a close by numerous treaties.

The delicate and complicated control required for the management of so large a group of Chiefs, some of them ancient and powerful, others of them poor, and all of them proud, must ever be a subject of personal and peculiar interest to a Governor of Bombay. As many of them are connected by marriage with the Princes of Rájputána, Lord Reay thought it his duty to cultivate cordial relations with the great Rájput houses. He visited Udaipur, Jodhpur, and Jaipur, and brought away with him very pleasant remembrances of their hospitality, and a high impression of the loyalty of these Chiefs to our rule. The Mahárāná of Udaipur, the most ancient of the Rájput princely families, struck Lord Reay by the simplicity and strength of his character. His private life is regulated by the same pure standards as those of the Gáekwár, although he did not have the same educational advantages as those which the Gáekwár has enjoyed. The Mahárájá of Jodhpur seemed to Lord Reay a real native king—living in affectionate friendship with his family and dependents, supporting his distinguished brother Sir Pratab Singh in his plans for improving the condition of his army and his subjects, wisely generous in his expenditure on railways and irrigation, and sparing no effort to rear up the heir to the State in liberal and manly instincts, so that he too may be a true Rájput ruler. At Jaipur Lord Reay was especially impressed

by the vitality of Hindu art under an enlightened Native Prince aided by able European advisers.

Even careful writers are apt to speak and think of the Káthiáwár group of States as an entity. As a matter of fact their 187 Chiefs present as widely different types as are to be found among the nobles of Europe, from the semi-Tartar Russian prince to the haughty and languid Spanish grandee. If we are to understand the problems involved in our political control over Káthiáwár, we must first realise the striking diversity in the character and the aims of its Rulers. Let me endeavour, therefore, to place a few of their strongly marked personalities before the eyes of the reader.

In Bhaunagar for example, the Chief, although he has never visited England, forms his system of administration upon British models. Educated at the College for Chiefs at Rájkot under careful European supervision, he determined after consulting Lord Reay to re-cast the framework of his government upon the basis of a Council, each member of which should have a special Department. Among these, his most trusted adviser is the English head of his Public Works Department. His Judicial Councillor is an experienced Parsi, formerly a Presidency Magistrate in Bombay. His Revenue Councillor is a Bráhman. By means of this Council, the Mahárájá of Bhaunagar has quietly but effectively freed the State from the monopoly of offices formerly exercised by the too-powerful caste of Nágar Bráhmans. He spends the revenue of his State wisely and liberally on State

purposes, promotes railways, and is thoroughly loyal to the British power. The Grand Cross of the Star of India was conferred on His Highness, in recognition of his merits as the Ruler of a pattern State.

In the Káthiáwár principality of Gondal[1], on the other hand, the Chief has been much in England, and is again, studying medicine in the University of Edinburgh. Extremely reserved, but hospitable in a princely manner to visitors, well aware of his own treaty rights, and determined to allow no infringement either on his political status or his personal dignity, his single grievance against the ruling power was the permission accorded during his minority to his Muhammadan subjects at Dhoráji to slaughter kine for food. He is an example of the new type of Chief developed by frequent visits to England. Such a Chief sees for himself how Englishmen treat each other, and he returns to India, disposed neither to fear nor to flatter the English political officers with whom he has to deal. He accordingly bears himself with a more manly personal attitude towards the Government than the older school of Chiefs; but at the same time with a more complete conception of the strength of the Paramount Power, and of the unity of interest which has grown up between that Power and the Native Princes. His Highness is perhaps the only Rájput Chief in India whose princess accompanies him to England, and drives out with her husband and visits English ladies in Bombay.

[1] Area, 1024 square miles. Population, 159,741 persons in 1891. Revenue, Rs. 1,200,000. Tribute, Rs. 110,721.

The Thákur of Gondal has a Parsi as his Prime Minister, and his State is admirably managed. The State took an active part in the construction of the Gondal-Bhaunagar Railway, and during Lord Reay's tenure of office the Chief carried out his share of the important line which connects the town of Dhoráji with the harbour of Porbandar. Having studied medicine in the University of Edinburgh, he maintains six hospitals which, in the year 1890–91, gave relief to 49,914 patients, and performed 1,466 operations. His system of State medical relief includes a travelling hospital, and it has succeeded to a remarkable degree in winning the confidence of his female subjects; 28,784, or over 57 per cent of the whole patients, being women and children. A vaccination department looks after the rising generation, while an asylum and orphanage provide for 792 of the aged and infirm, and for those who are left without natural protectors to the care of the State.

Seventy-five schools, aided and inspected by the State, give instruction to 4,619 pupils, with all the latest improvements for female education, and night schools for the poorer cultivating classes whose sons cannot be spared from the fields during the day. The administration of justice is conducted by seven courts, the Chief presiding in person in the Supreme Court of Appeal, and his place being taken by the Prime Minister during the absence of His Highness in England. Examinations are held of the police officers in the criminal law and rules of evidence current in the Gondal territory, and a conference with the Police

Superintendents of the neighbouring States was held to concert measures for the suppression of crime on their frontiers. An Administration Report of his State is regularly published, drawn up on the system of chapters prescribed for the similar reports in the British Provinces, and dealing quite frankly with the successes and failures of the administrative year. The result of good government in a Native State is illustrated in a very practical form by the census of Gondal taken during the year 1891. While the increase of population from 1881 to 1891 throughout the British Provinces, after adjustments for changes of area, is returned at 11 per cent,[1] the people in the State of Gondal increased by nearly 18 per cent. The progress of municipal life, a new element of hopefulness in India, has been still more rapid. Gondal has five municipal towns, each with a local government of its own. The average increase of population in these five municipalities was 19½ per cent during the decade from 1881 to 1891 ; and in two important towns it reached the extraordinary rates of 23¼ and 25 per cent.

The Chief of Morvi is a ruler of a different type. He has all the traditional features of the noble Rájput, is fond of every manly exercise, and a first-rate rider. Following the most vigorous examples of the old Native School, he allows no body of ministers to grow up between his own personality and the people, but governs for himself with a keen eye to the revenue,

[1] I have to take this rate from the preliminary Census tables furnished to the Secretary of State—the only returns which have yet reached England, September, 1891.

and a disdain of anything like philanthropic ostentation, although he has model schools to show when needful. In his dealings with strangers he displays the old-world courtesy of the Rájput prince, and, like other princes of that type, he has a good many troubles with his numerous brotherhood and blood relations. This type he has firmly adhered to notwithstanding a residence in England and in our North American Dominion. In his intercourse with British officers he demeans himself as a comrade and fellow-sportsman—as one who thoroughly understands and likes their ways, and who has driven his dog-cart down Piccadilly and purchased a tract of land in Canada. He thoroughly appreciates the necessity of a liberal expenditure on railways, if a Native State is to hold its own in these days, and has not only brought his own territories into the railway system, but has invested money in lines outside them. One of his most intimate friends is the English gentleman at the head of his Public Works Department. He has sent his son to be educated in England.

The Chief of Jasdán was a ruler of a still older school. A strict upholder of ancient etiquette, and a recognised referee on Káthiáwár local customs, and as to what could and could not be done by the numerous classes of Chiefs, he enjoyed in a marked manner the respect alike of his brother-rulers and of the Paramount Power. His manners were perfect, extremely courteous, dignified and full of self-respect A fine rider, and a good chess-player, very sagacious in the management of a State upon conservative lines, he frankly declared

himself a man of the old school. Nevertheless, he recognised the new condition of things which was growing up around him, and sent his son to Cambridge to fit him for the altered future of the Indian feudatory order.

The Thákur of Lakhtar clung even more closely to ancient traditions. He urged the necessity of a more religious (or orthodox Hindu) teaching at the College for young Chiefs at Rájkot, and was wont to vigorously press this view, together with a grievance which he had about the Salt Revenue, in his personal conversations with Lord Reay. The Governor deemed it a part of his duty to encourage the Native Chiefs to lay open their minds to him, and to make them feel that his intercourse with them was not merely an exchange of courtesies, but an interchange of views on the subjects which they had at heart. In thus trying to give reality to his personal relations with the Native Chiefs, Lord Reay frankly faced the fact that he could not always expect to obtain their support for his own measures.

Thus the Ráo of Cutch [1], a thoroughly well-educated man and always most courteous and friendly in his intercourse with the Governor, proved little accessible to arguments for the abolition of Customs duties, and on other subjects in regard to which His Highness thought that his State held a peculiar position. His Highness has the advantage of having a long coast-line for his main frontier, and he believed it to be his best

[1] Area of Cutch, 6,500 square miles. Population (1881), 512,084. Revenue, Rs. 1,603,050.

policy to maintain his isolated position as a maritime Chief rather than to open up his country by railways. In spite of these differences the Ráo of Cutch came frequently to see the Governor, and went to England for the Jubilee of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress. His Highness's domestic life is exemplary. He is a keen sportsman, very fond of his brother, but not seeking intimate relations with any beyond his own family circle.

Lord Reay endeavoured to become really acquainted with the personal characters of the Chiefs, and with the views, traditions and ideals which they might be chary of expressing on paper, but which regulated their action both in public and private affairs. It would be wrong, however, to let it be supposed that all the Chiefs of the Káthiáwár belonged to the pleasing types which I have indicated. Thus the Thákur of —— disappointed every effort which the Governor could make for his welfare. Addicted to drink, he lacked courtesy and dignity in his private intercourse, and wasted a keen intelligence through infirmity of moral character. He died despised by his subjects, and his death was a relief rather than a regret to those responsible for the political supervision of his State. I ought to add that this was by no means the only case of the kind with which Lord Reay had, to his sorrow, to deal.

Having thus summarised the widely different types presented by the Káthiáwár group of Chiefs, it may be well to take a single State, and to exhibit at length the system which the Bombay Government has pursued

in relation to it during the present generation. As a single example is all that space allows me to select by way of illustration, I shall take the first-class Káthiáwár State of Bhaunagar, in regard to which I have some personal knowledge, and I have also to thank its former joint administrator, Mr. Percival, for much valuable information[1]. In regard to the States already mentioned, I have confined my view to the period of Lord Reay's administration. I select Bhaunagar as an illustration of the general principles of policy, steadily and continuously applied by the Bombay Government to the Native States under its care.

On the death of the late Thákur of Bhaunagar, in 1870, there was no member of the family with sufficient ability and authority to be entrusted with the control of the State. The present Thákur (since advanced to the rank of Mahárájá) was then 12 years old. Bhaunagar State enjoyed the reputation of being well governed by certain families of Nágar Bráhmans, who exercised the chief authority, and at the head of whom was Gaurishankar Udeshankar, the Diwán or Prime Minister, a man of great talent.

The Governor of Bombay at that time, Sir Philip Wodehouse, determined to place the authority exercised by the late Thákur, as the chief of a first-class State, in the hands jointly of a member of the Bombay Civil Service, Mr. Percival, and the Bráhman Prime Minister, Gaurishankar. The object was to obtain a

[1] The following account of Bhaunagar is condensed from a manuscript narrative from Mr. Percival's hand.

continuity of Native rule, improved by English influence, without introducing any new system which the young Chief might be unable or unwilling to maintain when he came to power.

The officials of the Bhaunagar State had been brought into unusually close contact with the authorities of the adjoining British district of Ahmadábád, owing partly to the position of the State on the coast near to several British ports, and also because a large portion of the State had been for half a century placed under the British Courts of Law, in consequence of an act of cruelty done by one of the previous Thákurs. Gaurishankar's conduct of the delicate relations with the Bombay Government, which finally resulted in the withdrawal of the British Courts, showed the highest ability and tact. He was also successful in the management of the turbulent Káthi landowners, who had until recent times constantly disturbed the peace of Káthiáwár by open resistance to the Chiefs, or by going into outlawry (báhirwatia) and committing atrocities upon innocent villagers, in order to force the States to comply with their demands. These Káthis are numerous and powerful in Bhaunagar, but Gaurishankar arranged terms with most of them, and kept the rest from serious outbreaks such as from time to time occurred in other parts of the province. The high price of cotton during the American Civil War largely increased the revenue of the State, and a considerable balance had been accumulated in the treasury. In 1870, therefore, the joint administration of Mr. Percival and Gaurishankar commenced under favourable circumstances.

The chief offices in Bhaunagar were held by families of Nágar Bráhmans, all more or less related to each other and to the Prime Minister Gaurishankar. It was by means of this strong organisation that he and his predecessors had been enabled to control the State. The moderation of the ruling Bráhmans, in a position of great temptation, had been praiseworthy, and they were not slow to accept new ideas.

The first matter for consideration by the joint administrators was the education of the young Thákur Takhtsingji, and fortunately it had shortly before been decided, under Lord Mayo's auspices, to build a College for the Káthiáwár Chiefs and their relatives at Rájkot. In January 1871 the College was opened, and Takhtsingji, with three of his dependents, was the first to enter it. The sons of Chiefs, who up to that time had always been suspicious and jealous of each other, now met for the first time under one roof, and, thanks to the admirable system and temper of the Principal, Mr. Macnaghten, learned to grow up together on friendly terms. Takhtsingji was just 13 years of age, and he contributed to the success of the new College by frankly submitting to its rules, by taking with him only a small retinue of servants, and by encouraging other young Chiefs to come. On his return to the College after his first vacation, his brother, aged 11, was to have gone with him, but his mother absolutely refused to part with him, and threatened to dash her head against the wall if he went. The young Thákur went without him, and it was only after considerable delay that the mother's scruples could be overcome.

After three years at the Rájkot College, Captain H. L. Nutt was appointed tutor to the young Thákur in 1874, and the Chief continued his education at home, or in travelling with his tutor.

In accordance with the custom of the family he was early married—in 1874. The joint administrators had only to arrange for the wedding ceremonies; as the young Chief had been betrothed by his father to five girls, one of whom had died, and the marriages of the remaining four were all carried out at the same time in April 1874. A new wing to the palace was built, in which each lady was provided with a separate suite of rooms, something like a modern flat. Each lady received a similar present of jewellery; the store of jewels in the treasury sufficing for most of what was wanted. It is usual to build a large temporary hall for receptions on such occasions, but a permanent iron structure supplied its place. When covered with tinsel and richly furnished, it made a magnificent hall for the ceremonials, and now serves as a market.

The accounts of the State for several years previous to the Thákur's death had been placed under seal, and, an independent examination of them being required, a special Hindu auditor, now the Diwán of Junágarh, was invited to undertake it A mixed body of State dependents, consisting of horse and foot, household and outdoor servants, relatives, slaves, men, women, and boys, to the number of about 2000, appeared before Mr. Percival to receive a year's pay at the Diwali or New Year of 1870. A great many of these had little or no duty to perform, and their allowances had

been given as pensions or as charity. A more regular system was gradually introduced, but it was probably not so economical to the public purse, for a good native master puts up with an old servant as long as possible, rather than dismiss or pension him. The same kindly careless feeling had existed with regard to the animals owned by the State. There were thirty elephants; a great and useless expense, especially since the price of their food had risen. They had grown out of date as roads and the use of carriages increased. Native Chiefs found that a four-in-hand of horses could be kept for about the same cost as one elephant, and on public occasions smart four-in-hand carriages were beginning to be the fashion.

There were 800 buffaloes, of a very fine breed, which took prizes at all the shows; besides 2000 other animals, camels, horses, cows, bullocks and goats, which had never been weeded out as they became old and useless. There was a strong feeling against selling the superfluous buffaloes and cows, and at first even against the sale of horses. No objection, however, was made to giving away the old animals, and a crowd of pious mendicants were set upon horseback and rode away whither they would. Twenty elephants and 150 camels were sold at once, and in the course of two years the other domestic animals were reduced to about half the original number.

The State requires a large supply of horses, and has facilities for breeding them. An establishment for this purpose was started with excellent results in improving the breed. The pure Káthiáwár strain

is hardy and enduring, but too small for purposes of draught.

The most pressing want in 1870 was a supply of water for the town of Bhaunagar, which had become a harbour with a considerable import and export trade. Many hundreds of bullock-carts, laden with unpressed cotton, daily entered the town at the beginning of the hot season, when there was scarcely enough water for the inhabitants to drink. The animals could not stay in the town a single day, and besides the inconvenience and harm to the townspeople from a limited supply of bad water, the business of the port was carried on with increasing difficulty. A young English engineer, Mr. Monckton, had been employed by the State in the time of the late Thákur to carry out public works, and his hands were now full. The services of Mr. East, an engineer who had been on the Madras Irrigation Company's works, were engaged, and finally he took a contract to carry out a scheme of water supply to the town. The 'Gaurishankar Lake,' a body of water about two miles long, was constructed, and its waters were admitted to the town on the 22nd August, 1872. The present development of the town, with its gardens and largely increased population, could not have been possible without this assured supply of good water.

The appointment of Mr. Proctor Sims by the Bombay Government in 1875 to superintend the public works of the State, marked a new departure. He had control of an expenditure of from seven to eight lacs of rupees a year. Under his administration the High School and

Courts of Justice at Bhaunagar have been built from designs by Major Mant, lighthouses have been erected, and dispensaries, district courts, and other necessary buildings have been completed. Even more important work has been done in the construction of a good system of roads, of which 160 miles bridged and 50 miles unbridged have been brought into use. An instance of the interference which may be caused by the opposition of an unprogressive neighbouring Chief to the efforts of an enlightened administration may be here noted. The —— State prevented the erection of an important bridge over the Bhaunagar Creek, notwithstanding the serious inconvenience caused to the steam ferry by the strength of the tide. Not satisfied with roads, the joint administrators strongly advocated the construction of railways, but it was not until 1877–78 that Bhaunagar, Gondal, and other States commenced the survey for the present line at their own cost, and without insisting on a guarantee from the Supreme Government.

The armed police force which maintains order in the Bhaunagar State, consists of 200 men, and the only other disciplined body is the Thákur's escort of 50 cavalry commanded by the son of an English chaplain, who has been converted to Islám. The jail is very well managed, although on January 15, 1872, it was the scene of a serious outbreak, in which three of the armed police and fourteen prisoners were killed.

Notwithstanding the importance of its customs-duties levied on the sea-borne commerce, three-fourths of the revenue of the State of Bhaunagar is derived from

the land, and the introduction of the British-Indian system of settlement has had a marked effect upon the prosperity of the country. When the joint administrators began their work in 1870, the land-revenue was levied in kind or as a share of the gross produce. This method had the usual good and bad results. It benefited the landlord in good years and relieved the tenant in times of scarcity; but it discouraged the energy and skill of the cultivator and checked the growth of capital in his hands. All produce had to be carried to the village grain-yard, where it was measured and divided between the State and the cultivator; much was begged or pilfered in transit, much was eaten by peacocks and other birds, and much was spoilt by exposure. So great was the damage caused to cotton, the staple crop, that Gaurishankar attempted to have it measured while still standing; an attempt which had to be abandoned owing to the complaints of cultivators, who were unable to pick their cotton when it was ready, because the valuer had not come in time or the 'permit' had not been given. When Mr. Percival joined Gaurishankar in the administration of the State, this wasteful system was replaced by cash payments. At the end of two years, that is by 1872, cash settlements were made of every holding in the State on the basis of the former nett receipts, and the payments were fixed for four years. The new scheme was received with unexpected enthusiasm, and though it was declared optional and not enforced by law, only 10 or 12 per cent of the cultivators preferred to continue on the old system, and these were chiefly inhabitants of poor villages.

As the necessary sequel of the introduction of the land-system in use in British territory, a careful survey of the State of Bhaunagar was undertaken. In October, 1872, Mr. T. R. Fernandez, of the Gujarát Survey, was placed at the disposal of the joint administrators by the Bombay Government, and in about seven years the country was carefully measured and mapped, and boundary marks were erected. In 1876 the first rough settlement, which had given such satisfaction, was revised, and continued for another four years. In 1878, after the Thákur had himself assumed the administration, the results were thus recorded in the annual report: 'This settlement has worked extremely well. Its advantages to the State are very great, and that the bulk of the cultivators prefer it to the old system is shown by the fact of their almost universal acceptance of it. Its financial result has been to keep the revenue of the State at much the same total as before its introduction, though large quantities of waste land have been brought into cultivation.'

The successful introduction of the land-settlement into Bhaunagar is an instance of the influence for good exerted by the Bombay Government upon the Native States politically connected with it. Not only did it render the land-revenue less onerous to the cultivators, without diminishing the income of the State, but it facilitated economic reforms in other departments. The joint administrators reduced the special tax on sugar-cane fields; they suspended the tax on fruit-trees until the trees were bearing well, with the result

that in 1876 no fewer than 1660 mango and 430 cocoa-nut trees were planted by ráyats on waste land; they replaced the tax on the sale of houses by a moderate stamp duty on registered sales; and they kept the customs-duties so low that traders were encouraged to use the port, and soon raised it to an unprecedented condition of commercial prosperity. Where the country was bare of trees from its open and exposed position, the joint administrators started extensive protected plantations, one of which at Mhowa contained nearly 100,000 cocoa-nut trees. They also opened dispensaries in all the chief towns and founded numerous schools.

Bhaunagar was the first State in Káthiáwár to welcome inspection by the Bombay Department of Education, and to maintain girls' schools, the chief officials and the Thákur himself setting an example by sending their daughters to the school in the capital. Care was taken to secure the impartial administration of justice in both civil and criminal cases. A judge was appointed in each district, with a Court of Appeal of three judges at Bhaunagar, from which lay a final appeal to the Thákur. The State has a short code of law of its own; but practically the Indian Civil and Criminal Codes are in force, and supersede the old local regulations. The chief difficulty in a small Native State is to secure the independence of the judges. The revenue officer in each district is an autocrat, and expects to be consulted in every case of any importance. No change of system can alter this, but higher salaries, improved courts, and the selection of suitable men have tended to strengthen