

NATIVE STATES
AND
POST-WAR REFORMS

Dhananjayrao Gadgil Library



GIPE-PUNE-000596

G. R. ABHYANKER, B. A., LL. B.

Pleader, Sangli

POORNA :

Printed at the Aryabhushan Press

November 1917

V2-2.N1
E7

596

Printed and published by Anant Vinayak Patwardhan at the
Aryabhushan Press, Budhwar Peth, Poona City.

His Excellency the Right Hon'ble Baron Chelmsford,

P. C., G. M. S. I., G. C. M. G., G. M. I. E.,

The Viceroy and Governor General of India,

&

To,

The Right Hon'ble Edwin Samuel Montagu, M. P.,

The Secretary of State for India.

May it Please Your Excellency,

SIR,

I the undersigned beg to submit this note containing suggestions about the reforms pertaining to Native States after the termination of the war. Your Excellency has acknowledged in glowing terms the services rendered by Native States in the present war. The ruling chiefs and princes have risen to the full height of their imperial responsibilities and the Government of His Majesty has shown its appreciation by selecting one of the illustrious ruling chiefs to take part in the deliberations of the Imperial War Cabinet.

2. In the changed circumstances and after the undoubted assurances of their unshaken and unshakable allegiance and their splendid loyalty, the ruling chiefs and princes deserve to be elevated to the position of equal partnership in

the Empire. With a
ventured to suggest

I have

- (a) a reorganisation of the armies of Native States;
- (b) the providing of facilities for enlistment in the regular army;
- (c) the establishment of military colleges; and
- (d) the creation of a Council of Defence to control their armies.

3. This change in the position of the ruling chiefs and princes, it is respectfully submitted, will have necessarily and as a matter of logical sequence, to be followed by considerable freedom of action being allowed to those princes, and I have suggested in the accompanying note that the restrictions under which the ruling chiefs and princes are at present labouring may be relaxed or removed, and a corresponding reform be introduced into the political and diplomatic service of Government.

4. The recent announcement of the goal of British administration by you, Sir, has evoked feelings of deep rejoicings even in Native States. The spread of education, the growing influence of the press in British India and the example of representative institutions in British India have awakened a self-consciousness in the subjects of Native States and the declaration of the policy of His Majesty's Government has kindled new hopes and aspirations in their minds. The sentiments expressed by the representatives of Indian princes in the recent Chiefs' Conference about the policy of Your Excellency's Government and the constitutional reforms which are in contemplation show the spirit in which this noble announcement is hailed by the ruling chiefs and princes of Native States.

5. Your Excellency has expressed a desire to discuss questions affecting the ruling princes, their States and their subjects. Your Excellency has also encouraged the ruling chiefs and princes to formulate their proposals for a constitutional chamber to represent the interests of Native States in matters of Imperial and joint concern and has held out hopes of an informal discussion of this subject with you, Sir, at the close of your stay in this country. I have taken the liberty to suggest in this behalf a scheme of provincial and imperial conferences of ruling chiefs and have tentatively defined the scope of the duties and functions which may be assigned to them.

6. The subjects of Native States hardly possess any constitutional rights, such as are enjoyed by British subjects. They are not associated with the administration and there are no self-governing institutions in these States. The press does not wield any appreciable influence in the territories administered by the ruling chiefs and princes. Your Excellency's desire to discuss the questions pertaining to the subjects of Native States, it is respectfully submitted, cannot be adequately fulfilled unless some constitutional machinery is provided which will enable them to voice their feelings and sentiments. I crave permission to place the scheme of imperial and provincial conferences of the subjects of Native States, which in my humble opinion is calculated to secure this object. I have also ventured to suggest the creation of a post of an Indian political secretary with the view that he may interpret the wishes of Native States and bring to bear his intimate knowledge of the situation in the disposal of business.

7. In submitting these suggestions, I beg to assure Your Excellency and you, Sir, that my whole solicitude has been to respect the treaty rights and engagements so highly

prized by the ruling chiefs and I have suggested a scheme which will ensure the happiness and contentment of the subjects of Native States without violating in any the least degree the spirit of these treaties and which will lead to the development and growth of reform from within and will eventually bless the Native States with constitutional government.

8. I have submitted a memorandum of the chief points of this scheme, which is attached hereto as Appendix A.

9. The sagacious and courageous statesmanship and broad-minded sympathies of Your Excellency and of you, Sir, have inspired confidence in me to submit this scheme. The desire to serve in my own humble way the interests of one-fourth of the population of my countrymen in Native States is my only excuse. I, therefore, pray that Your Excellency and you, Sir, will be pleased to take into your earnest consideration these suggestions affecting an integral portion of the population of this country at a time when Your Excellency and you, Sir, are engaged in finding a solution of the question of constitutional reform in British India.

I beg to remain,
Your Excellency's and your
most obedient servant,
G. R. ABHYANKER.

Appendices.

Appendix A.

Native States and Post-War Reforms.

Memorandum of the principal points of the proposed scheme.

The announcement made in the House of Commons of the goal of British Administration in India as the development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire, and the arrival of the Secretary of State for India to confer with men of all shades of opinions about the schemes of Post-War reforms have awakened intensely keen interest all over this vast continent. Lord Islington in his Oxford speech said that in any final scheme of Indian Self-Government, provision must be made for the Native States which in area and population cover one-third of the peninsula. He further observed that they must come into the scheme of their own free-will. How far this suggestion would be taken up by the Ruling Princes and Chiefs remains yet to be seen. However acting upon this suggestion and as one deeply interested in the welfare of the Native States, I beg to submit the following summary of a scheme which I wish to propose in this connection.

(1) The valuable services which the Native States have rendered during the present crisis and the unswerving and passionate loyalty which they have displayed, lead to the inevitable conclusion that the policy of distrust which characterised the relations of the paramount power towards the Native States should be relaxed and completely altered. The confidence reposed in the Native States has been enthusiastically and sincerely returned by them. The policy of keeping the armies of Native States in an effete and moribund condition deserves to be altogether abandoned.

The Imperial Service troops though very limited in number belonging to some of these Native States have acquitted themselves very creditably during the present war. If the armies, regular and irregular, at present employed by Native States are thoroughly reorganised, disciplined, drilled and armed in the modern fashion, they would be a tower of strength to the Empire. The resources of the Native States are now frittered away in keeping up a vain show. They would be turned to good account if they are spent in maintaining these forces in a fighting condition.

(2) The second suggestion is that in view of the readiness and willingness of the subjects of the Native States in contributing largely towards the prosecution of the war and the relief of distress caused by it and proofs of deep and abiding loyalty given by them under the present trying conditions, they should be allowed to enlist as volunteers and enter the regular army. This would materially facilitate recruitment in the army and will help the solution of the question of man power of the Empire.

(3) The third suggestion is that Military Colleges should be established to give training to cadets of Native States, to Collaterals of the Ruling Chiefs and Princes and to the members of the Indian aristocracy and gentry. If the armies of the Native States are reformed and are turned into fighting units, they would require a large number of officers. They would offer vast opportunities of military employments to the Ruling Cadets and the nobility in Native States. This reform will also relieve many Ruling Princes and Chiefs from the anxieties of finding suitable occupation to the members of their fraternity.

(4) The fourth suggestion is that a Council of Defence should be established consisting of the members of the Executive Council of the Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief, the Chief of the Staff, the Head of the Army Department, three Ruling Chiefs, with the Viceroy at its head. This Council should determine all questions about the strength, training, discipline and equipment of the forces of Native States. The armies of Native States officered by their nobility and commanded by their Ruling Princes are to serve

under the
under the
Council and
ould be entirely
the van-
creation of this
ive States would
make it impossible for these forces to become a source of
danger to the Empire and threaten the peace of British India
at any time.

The above suggestions are made on the cardinal assumption viz. that responsible Government of an autonomous character would be soon established in British India. Self-Government or Home Rule would remove the alien character of British rule. The Government would become thoroughly national and in such an eventuality there would be no room for conflict of interests between Native States and British India.

(5) The fifth suggestion is that the Political and diplomatic service should be thoroughly revised. The institution of keeping Political Officers at the Courts of Native States to overawe their administrations has become out of date. The loyalty of Native States is completely assured. The elements of disaffection and strife have disappeared long ago. There is no necessity of keeping military officers any longer in these posts. The political officers are not responsible for the good administration of the Native States entrusted to their charge. They cannot interfere by reason of the non-intervention policy. They, however, have to hear complaints of all sorts against the Native rule. Their intervention knows no fixed rules based on any principle. Their position has become very anomalous. It is, therefore, suggested that the powers of revision, correction and advice now exercised by these officers in the internal administration of Native States and on the applications of the subjects of the Native States against their Rulers, should be taken away from them. Their duties should be limited to the external affairs of the States. This suggestion has been made on the assumption that responsible Government of an autonomous type should be established in Native States on the lines adopted in British India. If responsible Government is established in Native States, there would be absolutely no necessity for any subject of Native State to seek

redress for any grievance at the hands of a foreign agency like that of a political officer.

(6) The sixth suggestion is that if, by reason of the backward condition of some Native States and the unwillingness of Ruling Chiefs to establish responsible government in their States and the unavoidable delay in the assimilation of self-governing institutions, the present order of things is to continue any longer, a tentative measure is suggested for immediate adoption. The powers of supervision and correction now exercised by the political officers on the applications of the subjects of Native States against their Rulers should be handed over to a judge of the court of the highest judicature in every Province within whose territorial jurisdiction the Native States are situated. In the case of the Native States under the direct control of the Government of India, a Bench of two or three judges of the position and standing of High Court Judges should be established for the same purpose. This system will give entire satisfaction to the subjects of Native States. Ruling Princes and Chiefs would certainly accept, with greater alacrity, the decisions in revision of such Judges rather than the arbitrary commands in the name of advice of the political officers. The political officers also, who are generally military men, would welcome this change as a great relief.

(7) The seventh suggestion is about the formation of the Conferences of Ruling Chiefs and Princes and the subjects of Native States. The Ruling Chiefs, and Princes are not allowed to communicate with one another or to consult and deliberate on matters affecting their interests. They have no position in the constitution of the Empire. The subjects of the Native States have no *locus-standi* whatsoever in the administration of this country. It is therefore, suggested:—

(a) that an Imperial Conference of Ruling Chiefs and Princes should be established similar to the Imperial Legislative Council. All Chiefs, at whose Courts Political Residents are stationed like Baroda, Hyderabad, Kashmir, Mysore, Nepal,

Bhutan, Sikkim, should be included
such representatives as are elected by
Provincial Conferences of Ruling Chiefs.

- (b) There should be Provincial Conferences of Ruling Chiefs for United Bengal, for the Presidency of Bombay, for the Presidency of Madras, for Central Provinces, for the Punjab, for the United Provinces, for Central India, for Rajputana and for Burma, in all nine. The States now under the Government of India such as those of the North-West Frontier, Baluchistan and Afghanistan should be included in the Punjab for this purpose. Tibet may be included under United Bengal. Central India States and Rajputana should be separated from the Government of India for this purpose.

The Imperial Conference should be presided over by the Viceroy and should also include some officials selected by the Viceroy to assist in the deliberations. Out of the nine Provincial Conferences, seven should be presided over by the Heads of Provincial Governments and should include such officials appointed by these Heads of Provinces for the conduct of the business. The two Provincial Conferences of Central India and Rajputana should be presided over by the Agents to the Governor-General in those two Agencies. Subjects to be discussed by these Conferences should mainly relate to the Native States concerned. All questions about the defence of the Empire, about the co-operation of Native States in this connection, about the laws to be introduced in Native States should be considered by these Conferences. Measures of British Legislation and British policy, which affect the interests of the subjects of Native States along with those of British India, should also be submitted for the consideration of these Conferences. The Imperial Chiefs' Conference may be of considerable use in selecting members to the future Imperial War Conferences. The creation of Chiefs' Conferences would be an entirely one-sided reform. The Ruling Princes and Chiefs are thoroughly autocratic. In none of the Native States, self-governing

institutions of a genuine character are introduced. The subjects of Native States have no control over their revenues, over the services and they cannot in the smallest degree shape the policy or the laws of their States. There is, therefore, no identity of interests between the subjects of Native States and their Rulers. A Native State includes both its Ruling Chief and its subjects. Unless, therefore, the Chief is really a representative of the interests of his subjects, mere reliance on autocratic Rulers for the opinions of subjects concerned would be unjust and unfair. Unless responsible Government is established in Native States, the Ruling Chiefs cannot claim to represent their subjects. Solicitude, which is at present evinced for the well-being of one-fourth of the population of the whole of India by the Paramount Power, is not merely a regard for a few hundred autocrats, but implies the desire to better the status and position of this dumb, helpless and unrepresented mass. In a scheme, therefore, of self-government and responsible administration, the subjects of Native States must find a place. It is, therefore, proposed that along with the Chiefs conferences, there should be Conferences of the subjects of Native States for the same areas. The selection of subjects to these Conferences should depend upon some rules based on education, property and status. They should also be presided over like the Chiefs' Conference by the same authorities and should be assisted by the same officials. The topics to be discussed should also be identical. Subjects of Native States are as much interested and as much entitled as the Ruling Chiefs to discuss, for instance, questions like the forms of administration in a minority, the education that should be given to their Rulers, the improvement of agriculture and commerce, the reciprocity of Insolvency and Extradition Laws, the question of compensation of lands acquired for Railway purposes, the improvement of cattle and many others. These two chambers, one of the Ruling Princes and one of their subjects, would act and react on each other and would materially advance the interests of them both. Some very difficult and very delicate questions such as disputed successions, rights between State and State or the trial of a Chief for maladministration can

be conveniently decided by a mixed committee of both these Chambers presided over by a British Judicial Officer. The dispute about the rights of Native States against the Paramount Power may also be decided by a mixed commission consisting of two representatives of these Conferences and two high Judicial Officers of the British Government. This will greatly relieve the paramount Power of an amount of unpleasantness and awkwardness in handling these cases, The creation and development of self-governing institutions in Native States will never advance unless these popular Chambers of the subjects of Native States are created side by side with those of Ruling Princes. The creation of these popular Chambers in furtherance of these objects would save the Paramount Power from the criticism of interfering with the sovereignty of Native States and their Treaty obligations.

These bodies should at the outset be of an advisory character. Concurrent opinions of them both should have a binding character subject to the veto of the Crown. Their functions should be solely limited to the discussions of questions affecting the Native States only and such measures of the British Government as affect their interests and throw any obligations on them.

This bi-cameral system is suggested with the sole object of securing effective representation of the two component parts of the Native States ; viz. the Ruling Princes and their subjects in any organic union that may be brought about in the near future. There are four considerations to be borne in mind in judging of this bi-cameral system.

- (1) Ruling Princes, by reason of their notions of dignity, would not like to sit with the commoners of their State in one and the same Chamber. If this had been possible, it would not have been necessary to suggest two Chambers.
- (2) When Ruling Princes give responsible Government to their subjects, they would be really representatives of them and in such a contingency the Conferences of the subjects of Native States would become superfluous and may be abolished.

- (3) These two organisations are intended to become the compliments of each other. They should not play in the hands of interested persons to stifle each other.
- (4) If Native Princes want to pose as the leaders and spokesmen of their subjects, they should, of their own free-will and by a concerted action on their own part, bring into existence such bodies to ensure responsible hearing to their demands. If they take this initiative, it would not be necessary for the Paramount Power to create them. If, however, they fail to do this, they cannot claim to represent their subjects and the creation of these Conferences of subjects of Native States should become imperative.

(8) The eighth suggestion is that there should be a Secretary to the Political Department holding appointment for a fixed period and selected from the subjects of Native States, in the Secretariat of each Provincial Government and one in the Secretariat of the Government of India. All matters disposed of in the Political Department in an executive capacity and affecting the interests of Native States should in the first place pass through the hands of this Officer, who should represent the views of the Ruling Chiefs and Princes and of their subjects. At present neither the Imperial Government nor the Provincial Government has the advantage of knowing the views of Native States from one, who can claim acquaintance with them. Government has simply to rely upon the *ex parte* reports of the Political Officers in deciding all questions disposed of by the Political Department. As time advances, the suggested reorganisation of the Native States would lead to a vast development of work of this Department, which would increase both in volume and in importance. The position of Political Secretary should, in these circumstances, be elevated to that of a member of the Executive Council holding the portfolio of Native States.

(9) The ninth suggestion is that there should be a constitution in each Native State. It should make it obligatory on each Ruling Prince to determine and separate his Khasgi

or Civil list from the income of the State ; it should enjoin the Chief to create a Representative Assembly for his State with powers analogous to those of the Provincial Council in British India. It should compel the Ruling Chief to constitute an Executive Council, half the members of which must be elected by the Representative Assembly of the State. The position of a Ruling Chief under these circumstances would be like that of the Head of a Province with a large Civil list and with a right to command the forces if they exist. The subjects shall have a responsible voice in the administration. Such a constitution would enure to the benefit of both the Rulers and the ruled in a Native State. The creation of the Conferences of the subjects of Native States and those of the Ruling Princes under the guidance the of Paramount Power would alone lead to this happy consummation.

Appendix B.

Extract from articles contributed by the present writer to the Mahratta.

I

Contributions of the Native States to the Indian Exchequer.

(30-10-1904.)

Since the Native States were incorporated into the British Empire the position of subordination has entailed enormous sacrifices on their part. The Native States have been termed the "partners of the Empire," but the partnership is like that of a giant and a dwarf, wherein the weaker side invariably goes to the wall. We will discuss the direct contribution made by the Native States to the Indian Exchequer. According to the census of 1901 the population of British India and the Native States is as follows :—

British India—23,15,60,664.

Native States—6,27,46,014.

The population of the Native States is a little over one-fourth of that of British India and as the blessings of peace are enjoyed by the Native States, it is argued that full 25 per cent, of the total military expenditure of the Indian Empire should be borne by the native states. There is no tax such as a Poll-tax or a War-tax levied in India, the proceeds of which are exclusively appropriated for the purpose of defraying the military expenditure. The enormous outlay on the military department in India is paid out of the general Revenues of the country which are solely derived from the various taxes imposed on the people. The incidence of some of these taxes which go to form the nucleus of the revenues of India falls

on the subjects of native states and the extent of this incidence will conclusively prove that more than 25 p. c. of the military expenditure of the country is borne directly by the subjects of the native states. In dealing with this subject the difficulty at the outset is about the sources of information on this point. All the official reports and Blue books deal with the aspect of incidence of taxation on the various provinces which constitute British India. But how the incidence of various taxes levied by the Indian Government falls upon the subjects of Native States is studiously ignored from all the official publications. The main outcome of the Indian protectorate is the removal of all restrictions on the freedom of trade. There are no Inter-state barriers of customs duties or transit duties which prevent the expansion of British trade and commerce freely into the territories administered by the Native States. Mr. (now Sir William) Lee-Warner who is a past-master in the art of diplomatic and mischievous writings says that the "union of the whole Empire has been consolidated in recent years by numerous engagements with the Chiefs for the removal of injurious restrictions on trade." The right of imposition of transit duties has been asserted by the British Government in its treaties with the Native States as an imperial prerogative. This important achievement of free trade has been instrumental in bringing to the Indian treasury a handsome quota of its enormous collections. The principal sources of the revenues of British India may be divided into two groups with regard to their incidence on the subjects of the Native States. The first group comprises the items of Land revenue, opium, stamp, registration, provincial rates, assessed taxes, and miscellaneous net receipts. The second group includes salt, excise, customs, forest, post and telegraph receipts, proceeds of railways and mint. The taxes included in the first group are collected from the subjects of British India alone. The Land-tax is paid by the ryots directly to the Government. The opium revenue is derived from the export trade of this drug and is not paid by the subjects either of British India or Native States. The Stamp and Registration duties are paid by those who have immediate interests in the transactions pertaining to British India and are paid almost

Appendix B.

Extract from articles contributed by the present writer to the Mahratta.

I

Contributions of the Native States to the Indian Exchequer.

(30-10-1904.)

Since the Native States were incorporated into the British Empire the position of subordination has entailed enormous sacrifices on their part. The Native States have been termed the "partners of the Empire," but the partnership is like that of a giant and a dwarf, wherein the weaker side invariably goes to the wall. We will discuss the direct contribution made by the Native States to the Indian Exchequer. According to the census of 1901 the population of British India and the Native States is as follows :—

British India—23,15,60,664.

Native States—6,27,46,014.

The population of the Native States is a little over one-fourth of that of British India and as the blessings of peace are enjoyed by the Native States, it is argued that full 25 per cent, of the total military expenditure of the Indian Empire should be borne by the native states. There is no tax such as a Poll-tax or a War-tax levied in India, the proceeds of which are exclusively appropriated for the purpose of defraying the military expenditure. The enormous outlay on the military department in India is paid out of the general Revenues of the country which are solely derived from the various taxes imposed on the people. The incidence of some of these taxes which go to form the nucleus of the revenues of India falls

on the subjects of native states and the extent of this incidence will conclusively prove that more than 25 p. c. of the military expenditure of the country is borne directly by the subjects of the native states. In dealing with this subject the difficulty at the outset is about the sources of information on this point. All the official reports and Blue books deal with the aspect of incidence of taxation on the various provinces which constitute British India. But how the incidence of various taxes levied by the Indian Government falls upon the subjects of Native States is studiously ignored from all the official publications. The main outcome of the Indian protectorate is the removal of all restrictions on the freedom of trade. There are no Inter-state barriers of customs duties or transit duties which prevent the expansion of British trade and commerce freely into the territories administered by the Native States. Mr. (now Sir William) Lee-Warner who is a past-master in the art of diplomatic and mischievous writings says that the "union of the whole Empire has been consolidated in recent years by numerous engagements with the Chiefs for the removal of injurious restrictions on trade." The right of imposition of transit duties has been asserted by the British Government in its treaties with the Native States as an imperial prerogative. This important achievement of free trade has been instrumental in bringing to the Indian treasury a handsome quota of its enormous collections. The principal sources of the revenues of British India may be divided into two groups with regard to their incidence on the subjects of the Native States. The first group comprises the items of Land revenue, opium, stamp, registration, provincial rates, assessed taxes, and miscellaneous net receipts. The second group includes salt, excise, customs, forest, post and telegraph receipts, proceeds of railways and mint. The taxes included in the first group are collected from the subjects of British India alone. The Land-tax is paid by the ryots directly to the Government. The opium revenue is derived from the export trade of this drug and is not paid by the subjects either of British India or Native States. The Stamp and Registration duties are paid by those who have immediate interests in the transactions pertaining to British India and are paid almost

by the subjects of the paramount power. The Provincial rates and assessed taxes are distributed over the area of British India alone. The incidence therefore of the first group of taxes does not at all fall upon the subjects of the Native States. But the incidence of taxes mentioned in the second group directly falls upon the subjects of the Native States and they pay rateably according to their numbers. The salt tax is a monopoly of the British Government. Only three native states, namely Travancore, Jodhpur and Mandi possess the sources of producing salt. The Sambhar Lake and the Didwana and Pachbadra sources of salt though belonging to the Jodhpur State are worked and leased by the Government of India. The Jodhpur State receives a fixed amount for its share of royalty but the production and manufacture of salt is entirely into the hands of the British Government. The manufacture of salt is prohibited on pain of penalty everywhere in India and the heavy duty levied upon this article of daily necessity falls into the coffers of the Indian Government. The subjects of the native states consume salt as their fellow brethren in British India and the incidence of this taxation is proportionately borne by them. The customs duties though paid immediately by third persons are necessarily borne by the subjects of the native states according to the doctrine of the "universal diffusion of taxes" which prevails in every country. The several articles which are taxed under this head such as arms, ammunition, military stores, liquors, petroleum, silver bullion are the monopolies of the British Government and British traders and the subjects of the native states indirectly pay the taxation in proportion to their number. The principal sources of revenues of this head are derived from import duties, on arms, ammunition, liquors, petroleum, cotton manufactures, countervailing duties on sugar, excise duty on cotton, &c.; all these articles by the introduction of free trade supply the wants of the subjects of the native states on whom the duty imposed upon these articles is saddled along with the proper cost. The excise revenue is made up of the license and distillery fees and duties on foreign liquors, country spirits, toddy, opium and its preparations, ganjya & other hemp drugs. Such of the native states as possess trees from which country liquor is produced have their Abkari

revenues farmed by the British Government and the native states receive a fixed amount for their share of royalty. The production and sale of all hemp drugs, that of opium and its preparations are the monopolies of the British Government. As the subjects of the native states consume these articles they contribute a proportionate share of the income derived from this source. The post office and the telegraph are the monopolies of the Imperial Power. The railways also are monopolised by the British Government. The subjects of the native States have manifold dealings with British India and bear the brunt of the taxation on this head. The subjects of the Native States travel through railways, carry on export and import trade through the medium of railway agencies; they use ordinary and service postage stamps, they remit money orders, registered articles and parcels to various persons living in British India and thus the taxes derived from these sources are distributed over them commensurate with their wants. The receipts derived from the mints are also borne by the Native States. With the exception of a few states the British Indian currency is the only legal tender in Native States. The British currency is also recognised as a legal tender in those few states which have their own currency system. But as the subjects of the Native States have wider dealings with the inhabitants of British India they prefer the universal legal tender to their limited currency. The effect of this system has been the gradual restriction of the State currency and the expansion of the British coinage. The forest revenue also is recovered by the sale of the forest produce such as teak Sandal Wool, Caontchone, Lac, Cutch, Gambler, Myrabolams and Cardamoms. The Native States with few exceptions have very little forest area at their disposal and they are obliged to make purchases of these articles and thus contribute to the income derived from these sources. It would therefore appear that free trade, free competition, imperial monopolies and prerogatives have made British India and the Native States, a world of perfect mobility where taxes are diffused over the entire extent and shifted to the individual according to his wants. And these considerations have totally removed the distinction between the sta-

tus of a Native State subject and British Indian subject so far as taxation is concerned. And as the wants of the various species of humanity are identical and as the distribution of taxation is unhindered in its course they all contribute to the revenues of British India. The following table will show the amount of revenues derived from the incidence of the taxes comprised in the second group and paid by the subjects of the Native States.

	Net Receipts.
Salt	5673991 £
Customs	3734517 £
Excise	4025770 £
Forest	1362227 £
Post office, Telegraph and Mint	158347 £
Railway Revenue account.....	846616 £
	<hr/>
	Total... 15801468 £
A fourth share contributed by the Native States, } 3950367 £
Annual tributes from the Native States. } 556980 £
	<hr/>
	Total... 4507347 £

The annual tributes recovered from the Native States have their origin in the subsidiary system which required the States to maintain at their expense troops for the protection of the British flag in India. The working of this system created various complications and ultimately it was abolished and the payment of annual tributes was made compulsory on the Native States. These tributes show the nature and extent of the obligation of participating in the defence which devolved on the States at that time. It has been asserted by certain writers that the tributes do not represent the pecuniary equivalent of the obligation of sharing in the defence but that they are a set off against claims relinquished by the East India Company. But none of them has tried to show what these claims are and what their nature is. A careful reading of the various treaties and engagements between the suzerain power and the Native States would inevitably lead to the conclusion that the annual tributes are the

substituted forms of the obligation of rendering service to the Empire. The subsidiary system also was based on the principles of feudal tenure and was introduced solely with a view to distribute the burden of the defence. Certain Native States agreed to contribute annual tributes and certain others ceded territories such as the Berars for adequately discharging their obligations in this respect.* The Native States, therefore, over and above, paying the expressed and stipulated quantum of the burden of defence are contributing incessantly a fourth share of the various taxes mentioned above

*Many Native States have ceded territories to the paramount power for the upkeep of the contingents and subsidiary forces which were gradually amalgamated into the regular British Army. They do not exist separately at the present time. The territories handed over by the Native States are incorporated into British Dominions. This arrangement was effected by the paramount power on the plea of efficiency of the army and administrative convenience. Whatever may be the reasons it was necessary in fairness to the Native States concerned to show the gross revenues of these territories under the head of tributes from Native States. Nearly 75 years have elapsed since these territories were taken from the Native States, the revenues have increased almost fourfold at the present time. The mention of this income under the head of tribute from Native States would enable the reader to know the contributions made by the Native States for the defence of the Empire. The studious omissions to state the income derived from such territories as coming from the Native States in the official accounts has led to a great injustice to the states concerned and has lent colour to the fallacious doctrine that Native States are not bearing their proper quota of the cost of maintaining the peace and order in this country the advantages of which the Native States do enjoy along with British India. The hollowness of this mischievous cry raised by Lord Curzon and echoed by the Agakhan was completely exposed at that time.

(Indirect Contributions.)

11-12-1916.

The extent and magnitude of the advantages derived from the Native States are not properly appreciated by persons living in the British Territory. We shall categorically review them in this article. The British Government levies fees on succession to the Native States. The imposition of this burden is regarded as the prerogative of the Crown. Certain Native States are by express treaty obligations exempted from paying *Nazarana*. But the greed of the Political Department knows no bounds. The words of the treaty are twisted and strained, unnatural constructions are put upon the phrases employed in the treaty to suit the conveniences of any particular occasion for the exaction of this form of tribute. The adoption of the present Chief of Jamkhandi in the Southern Maratta Jahagirs is a flagrant instance on this point. The adoption of the present Chief of Jamkhandi was performed according to the letter of the treaty by the late Chief. But after the demise of Appasaheb Jamkhandikar *Nazarana* has been extorted from the State during the minority administration without any justification what so ever. The installation of a Prince or Chief or the marriage ceremony of a Maharaja is always made the occasion of a gathering of exalted officers such as the Viceroy, Governor, Resident and other European officers and gentry in the State. These festive occasions afford a pretext for sumptuous banquets pleasant sports and felicitous gaieties of a diversified character. Nazars are presented on such occasions and no pains are spared to make the guests feel comfortable and quite at home. The ordinary globe-trotters and cold weather tourists from Europe always come with introductory letters to various Chiefs and Princes all over India and enjoy their unstinted hospitality. His Excellency Lord Amptill bore testimony to this in his speech at the Kashmir banquet. The Viceroy and the Governor, after the

work at the Secretariat and the worry of official red-tapism find relaxation in their usual visits to the Native States. Royalty is nowhere so highly entertained and magnificently welcomed as in the Native States in India. These States vie with one another in their receptions to an heir-apparent or a personage of royal blood. His Majesty the Emperor has retained a vivid impression of the costly and splendid reception given to him by the various Native Princes when he honoured them with his visit while in India. The Shikar enjoyed in the hunting excursions in Native States is very rare and entails a heavy drain on the resources of the Princes. The beating of the forest, the furnishing of camps in the wild jungles and the reception of the guest appreciably affect the resources of a State. The Princes and Chiefs in India are made to serve as a part of retinue in any triumphal procession of a Durbar such as that held at Delhi. The picturesque dresses, radiant jewellery, dashing equipage and the quaint followers of the Princes and Chiefs in India, all moving in an attitude of supplication and humility, produce an effect which only a master of ceremony like Lord Curzon can properly appreciate and utilize for the purpose of playing on the imagination of oriental races. These royal appendages are purposely attached to the present Darbars held by the representatives of the Crown to impress on the populace the idea of submission and unfettered conquest. The Native States in India contribute to various official and quasi-official schemes initiated by responsible officers in India. The Imperial Institute in London is a sorry spectacle of waste of subscriptions collected from the Native States. The Imperial Institute raised mainly from the funds of the Native States has very little to do with their well-being. The organizers of this institute betrayed the height of ingratitude when they lavishly spent their funds to entertain Colonial Premiers and representatives who were in no way connected with the interest of the Institute and did not even care to write to their patrons the Princes in India, who had assembled in London on the occasion of the Royal Jubilee. The Dufferin fund, the Victoria Memorial Fund and funds of this nature have received munificent help from the Native States. The Native States have also furthered the objects of charitable

institutions in the country. Universities, Colleges, Libraries, Museums, Public Parks and Dispensaries have received valuable contributions from Princes and Chiefs in India only for pleasing the Government. The votaries of officialdom and especially of those of an out-going Viceroy or a Governor count mainly on the support of the Native Princes for the erection of a statue of their favourite deities. In the world of sports, the Native States are to the front with their spontaneous (?) offers of pecuniary assistance. The various cups and prizes awarded to the successful winners of races show the nature of the support given by the Native States. The turf finds a great patron in a Prince or a Chief. The various Gymkhanas have in the list of their donors the various Princes and Chiefs who hardly participate in their advantages. Some of the Gymkhanas have not even the courtesy to admit those patrons into their sacred limits although they are not ashamed to receive help from them. The part played by the Native States in the coming Motor race would bring home the truth of our remarks. The capital of Scindia is to be the abode of coming festivities. The Maharaja is to play the host and receive the guests. The Native States have been used as pasture for various European companies who enjoy absolute monopoly in licenses, mining leases, and other facilities of exploitation. Certain European firms command the offers of some Native States for furnishing medical stores, stationery, furniture and sundry other articles required for consumption. A peripatetic juggler, a circus manager, a reciter or a vagrant for that matter with any sort of credentials in his pocket feeds fat on the resources of the Native States in his rambles throughout the country. All sorts of unqualified persons and worthless mediocrities backed by chits from influential officials find shelter in the Native States and there play pranks with an impudence which a certificated beggar alone can command. We have lately heard the scandal of some Political Agents serving the double function of commission agents to various States in India and this evil is no doubt rampant in many parts of India. Even the wives of certain officers profusely meddle with the affairs of a Prince or Chief and at times chaperon his spouse in private life. In a few instances, this evil be-

comes simply intolerable. The heaviest burden comes from the quarter of official 'easements' of the political department. The system of perquisites is every day violating the moral code even in the opinion of such Anglo-Indian papers as the "Times of India." The *Times*, no doubt, very pertinently remarks that the conduct of certain political officers living practically free at the expense of certain Native Princes and Chiefs is "un-English." It is really a gross abuse of power that the responsible officers drawing fat salaries should indulge in easements which are dishonourable to the instincts of a righteous and upright officer. The political officer "rides his horses, drives his carriages, uses his cooks, shoots his big game, spends money right and left on improvements for his own luxury." We may multiply instances by adding that he uses his *bungalow*, appropriates his furniture, commands his summer retreats, receives gifts, accepts presents and enjoys all things that go to make up his life highly epicurian. Are these not an indirect contribution to the Empire at large and is it too much to expect that the recipients of all these favours should at least possess some consciousness of the sources from which they flow. As the administration of British India is stereotyped, it hardly admits of any latitude for the enjoyment of the various advantages mentioned above. The Native States serve as centres of recreation and pleasure to European Officials and travel (and political week-enders) in India. They are the redeeming features of the routine administration and alleviate considerably the dulness and insipidity of the official life in this country. All these create burdens too large for the Native States and the fact deserves recognition.

Servants of India Society's Pamphlets.

ical Pamphlets:—No. II.

The Public Services in India

BY

HIRDAY NATH KUNZRU, B. A., B. SC.,
Member of the Servants of India Society.

Crown 16 mo. pp. 216. Price As. 10.

Some Press Opinions.

'The case of the Indian Public has ably been set forth in a booklet prepared by Mr. H. N. Kunzru which has just been issued by the Allahabad Branch of the Servants of India Society..... We invite the attention of the Government as well as of the public to this pamphlet, *The Public Services in India*, not merely because it is an able critical and historical review of the whole question but also because of the stress it has laid on the fundamental principles which ought to be followed in recruiting for the public services in this country.'—*Hindu*.

'His treatment of the subject is accurate, comprehensive and systematic. He has put together the booklet with a view "to give a historical account of the efforts made by Indians to vindicate their birth-right to be appointed freely to the higher branches of the public services" and their present position. Naturally there finds place in it an exceedingly well-written criticism of the latest Report of the Public Service Commission. it is a very useful publication and a valuable contribution to Indian political literature.' —*The Hindustan Review*.

'Mr H. N. Kunzru, a member of the Servants of India Society has analysed the report in an excellent pamphlet. It is impossible to go through the book without being shocked at the hopes raised in Indians and shattered, promises held out and broken.'—*Indian Patriot*.

Collections of Hindu Law Texts.

Edited by Mr. J. R. Charpure, B. A., LL. B. (Honrs.)

High Court Vakil Bombay & Fellow of the University of Bombay.

The following books are ready for sale:—

1. The Mitāksharâ with the Yājñavalkya.(Text)... 6-0-0
2. The Mitāksharâ English Translation of Vyawahāra pp. 434 12-8-0
3. Subodhini (Text) 2-8-0
4. Bālabhāṭṭi (Vyawahāra) Text 6-0-0
5. Bālabhāṭṭi (Achāra) Text 10-0-0
6. Vyawahāra-Mayūkha 3-0-0

Apply for copies to:—

The Aryabhushan Press, Poona City.

The Bombay Vaibhav Press, Girgaum, Bombay.

Books of the Day.

—101—

Gokhale & Economic Reforms:

By Professor V. G. Kale, M.A., Fergusson College, Poona, Crown 16 mo. pp. 250. Cloth Bound.

'A thirty years' review of the financial and economic development of India.'

Indian Administration:

By Professor V. G. Kale, M. A., Fergusson College, Poona. Demi. 8vo. pp. 432. Cloth Bound. Third Edition

thoroughly revised, enlarged and brought up-to-date.
'A masterly exposition of the principles and machinery of the governance of India.'

Indian Economics:

By Prof. V. G. Kale, M. A., Professor of History and Economics, Fergusson College, Poona; Demi 8vo. pp. 470. Cloth Bound.

'A text book on Indian Political Economy, describing the economic organization of India and explaining how the principles of Economics should be applied to Indian conditions'

Indian Industrial & Economic Problems:

By Prof. V. G. Kale, M. A., Fergusson College, Poona, Crown 16 mo. pp. 331. Second Edition.

Life of G. K. Gokhale:

By Hon. Mr. R. P. Paranjpye, Principal, Fergusson College, Poona; with nine fine illustrations and facsimile of Gokhale's hand-writing. Crown 16 mo. pp. 88.

Life of Prof. D. K. Karve:

By Hon. Mr. R. P. Paranjpye, Principal, Fergusson College, Poona; with six fine illustrations. Crown 16 mo. pp. 75.

Writings & Speeches:

Of the late Hon. R. P. Ganesh Venkatesh Joshi. Demi. 8vo. pp. 1300. Cloth Bound.

The Writings & Speeches:

Of Sir Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar. Demi. 8vo. pp. 660. Cloth Bound.

A Gist of Mr. Tilak's Gitarahasya:

By Vaman Malhar Joshi, Esq. M. A. 2nd Edition, Pocket. 16 mo. pp. 80.

All these books can be had of:—

The MANAGER, Aryabhushan Press, F. C. S. B.
The Manager, Bombay Vaibhao Press, Bomb