

SAMALDAS PARMANANDDAS.



BY

HARILAL SAVAILAL,

Late Naib-Dewan of Bhavnagar.



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The late Mr. Samaldas Parmananddas.

Born 18th June 1828.

Died 25th August 1884.

INTRODUCTION.

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The author has told us in his preface that he was handicapped in writing this sketch of the life and work of Mr. Samaldas Parmananddas by the almost total absence of anything in the nature of diaries or letters, and that he has had to draw largely from materials collected for a comprehensive history of Bhavnagar, kindly placed at his disposal by the present Dewan of that State. It was inevitable that a work produced under such conditions should partake largely of the character of a history of Bhavnagar during the period comprised by the career of the distinguished administrator rather than that of a biography. Yet it will be evident to the reader that the author has succeeded in imparting a considerable amount of personality to the account that he has drawn up of the career of Mr. Samaldas. To a large extent, this is due to the fact that Mr. Samaldas lived almost wholly for the State: first his father, and then his uncle, were Dewans of Bhavnagar, and in Indian households the preoccupation of the head easily spreads to all including the youngest members. At an age when it is not permissible at the present day to appear for the Matriculation examination, Mr. Samaldas was already apprenticed to the service of the State. The author has given us a valuable description of the education which in those days was considered suitable and sufficient for one who was intended for high office in the public service. Mr. Samaldas' school education consisted of a thorough grounding in the three Rs. and the indigenous system of accounts; he had besides received instruction in Sanskrit, and at the age of twelve, when he was taken over by his father to Bhavnagar, he began the study of Persian in which he early attained such a proficiency that he was often requested to read and translate passages from the classics of the language, to the then ruling Chief of Bhavnagar. The advantages of such an education consisted less in what it did for a young mind than in what it did not do. Its positive contents were, judged by our modern standards, inconsiderable: but it did not crush the tender shoot under a load of examinations and it left plenty of room for one's native talent to develop in. Nor should we forget that the

Shri. C.M. Joshi.

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best training for a statesman everywhere and in all times, and more especially in Native States, is in the knowledge of men. Experts can be had in plenty to advise on any special subject. But it is the statesman's business pre-eminently to deal with men and occasions. A perusal of this book shows that Mr. Samaldas possessed in a remarkable degree the knack of understanding the point of view of those with whom he had to deal and of putting his own case in such a way as could be readily understood by them.

His first regular appointment in the service of the State was Secretary in the Political and Revenue Departments of the Darbar. He was only about eighteen years of age then but he was well acquainted with the work entrusted to him as he had often been present at the discussion of public questions which his father, Dewan Parmananddas, had to place before the Chief for disposal. The foot then planted on the ladder of preferment never slackened or wavered: step by step he rose to the highest office in the State amid the acclamation of all who had opportunities of knowing his work in the several capacities in which he was tested from time to time. During the thirty-three years which intervened between his entrance into State service and his appointment as Chief Minister, he had acted as Magistrate, as Judge, as legislator and as negotiator in delicate and difficult transactions; and had in every case made his mark by his moderation, sound sense, and breadth of outlook. Jealous of the privileges of the State, and ready to undergo any amount of personal discomfort and even humiliation in watching them, he was no *Don Quixote* and knew when to press its claims and when to let the storm hurtle past in silence. His work in organising a judicial system and in framing a code of laws for the State, is among his highest claims to statesmanship. The impulse, no doubt, came from outside. To Colonel Keatinge, who was then Political Agent in Kathiawar, belongs the credit of pressing this question on the attention of the Chiefs of the Province. In reply to the remonstrance of one of them—not Bhavnagar—that the Political Agent's suggestion in this regard amounted to a violation of the Queen's Proclamation guaranteeing the rights and privileges of Native States, that true friend of Kathiawar

Chiefs, wrote a letter which contained the following memorable warning: "But is not your Highness aware that there is a power which rules princes, upsets governments, and laughs at Political Agents? It is called Public Opinion. And if you continue to surround yourself with persons who are absolutely ignorant of passing events, to keep your country without Courts of Justice, and without written laws, and to mould your administration with the tradition of the year 1808, Public opinion will crush you." A few months later (September 1863) the same officer in announcing to the Chiefs of Kathiawar the orders of the Government of India depriving the Darbar of Udaipur of almost all executive powers, took occasion to warn them that, however anxious Government might be to continue to Native States the control of their own territories, there was a point beyond which mismanagement could not be allowed to proceed. "Bear in mind," the circular concluded, "that up to the present no State in Kathiawad has any judicial system, any written law, or any recognised Civil or Criminal Court." Bhavnagar was the first State to take in hand this important reform, and it devolved on Mr. Samaldas as Chief Judge to organise the judicial system and later on to frame a code of laws. The very next year the Political Officer in charge of the State was able to report that the business of the new courts was proceeding regularly and satisfactorily. It is foreign to the purpose of this introduction to follow Mr. Samaldas' career in all its stages or to recapitulate the events which have been set forth in ample detail by the author. Another matter in which Mr. Samaldas proved himself to be ahead of his times, was the introduction of the railway into Kathiawar. The fact that, after his death, a first grade Arts College was considered by the Maharaja whose confidence he enjoyed for years, to be the most suitable memorial of him, attests to his love of learning in all forms. In various ways he sought to infuse into an autocratic system the elements of a civilised administration, and his attempts were vouchsafed a large measure of success.

We get some glimpses in the book of the views of Mr. Samaldas in social and religious topics. The philosophy of the Vedant is sometimes said to be opposed to a life of action. Mr. Samaldas' instance is not the only one of an Indian statesman

combining in himself a belief in Maya and a life of strenuous action. Against the kaleidoscopic background which the work presents, stands out in easy prominence the figure of Samaldas, ready of resource, patient and painstaking, energetic but not precipitous, firm in the assertion of authority, but always inclined to temper justice with mercy. He is undoubtedly entitled to a high place in the distinguished galaxy of Indian statesmen to whom it is chiefly due that the Native States enjoy today a recognised and honourable position in the Imperial system.

K. NATARAJAN.

PREFACE.

More than twenty-seven years have passed away since the lamentable death of Mr. Samaldas. During this time many of his friends desired to see his biography written and published. Anxious as have been Mr. Vithaldas and Mr. Lalubhai, the two worthy sons of Mr. Samaldas, to comply with this desire, great difficulty in collecting materials for it has delayed the work. Mr. Samaldas never kept a private diary, and never kept copies of correspondence with his friends. And he greatly detested the idea of keeping copies of State paper for his private use. He even used to destroy letters from his friends after they had been replied. In fact, there was scarcely any material available from his papers which could be made use of in writing his biography. And although the statistical account of Bhávnagar, and the Káthiawád portion of the Bombay Gazetteer (Vol. VIII) supply some materials, but they are not sufficient for the purposes of the biography. They may be called only subsidiary to the other important materials. Fortunately, in the meanwhile, materials were collected for a comprehensive history of the Bhávnagar State, which, it was expected, would render material help in the preparation of the biography, and this expectation has been fully realized. These materials, for the kind permission for the use of which, Mr. Vithaldas and Mr. Lalubhai, are greatly indebted to Mr. Parbháshankar. D. Pattani, C. I. E., Diwán Sahib of Bhávnagar, have been found useful not only for the biography of Mr. Samaldas, but also for that of his revered father Mr. Parmananddás who, first as private Karbhari, (Minister) and latterly as Chief Minister, served the Bhávnagar State for over thirty years. It is from these and other available materials that the biography of Mr. Samaldas and that of his respected father have been prepared.

Mr. Samaldas' valuable services to the State are so well known and so fresh in the living memory as to need no further observations than what has been made in the body of his biography. But as nearly a century has passed away since the

time of the first connection of Mr. Parmananddás with the State of Bhavnagar, and as, moreover, sixty-one years have elapsed since his death, a few words by way of observation may be added here to the sketch of his biography to enable the reader to form a correct conception of the time of great disturbance and disorders in the Province and the State when Mr. Parmánanddás commenced his career as a Minister of Bhavnagar.

More than a hundred years have rolled over the period when the British Government interposed between the Kathiawád States and their Maratha blackmailers. One of the objects with which the Government so interposed was humanity. For, never before since at least the time of the last invasion of Mahmud of Gazni, and the sack of Somnath by him, had Káthiawad, then known as Saurashtra, enjoyed peace, tranquility and order. The story of the mediæval age, when on the decline of the Kings of Anhilvád the onrush and settlement of the different tribes of the Rájputs began, and that of the modern time, when the British Government became the paramount power in Western India, may be left out as foreign to the present work. But the events immediately preceding the permanent tribute settlement (1807-8 A. D.) were full of horrors. Internecine wars, and blood feuds, plunder and devastation of one or the other State was the order of the day. Everybody cut everybody's else throat and whoever was strong in the field successfully encroached on his weaker neighbour. The periodical visitation of the Mulkiri army of the Marathas, so peculiarly suited to their mercenary temper, carried with it fire and sword; and spread devastation and havoc throughout the Province. The Commandants of the Mulkiri army always invariably insisted upon increasing their exactions which the landholders resisted to the utmost of their power. With the Rájput rulers of the country it was a point of honour to resist as long as possible the levy of any tribute whatever, and this fact has been reflected in the wars of the successive rulers of Bhavnagar from the time of Mahárájá Bhavsinhji I to that of Mahárájá Wakhtsinhji when only three years before the tribute settlement the Maratha army was repulsed. But the Maratha army did not retire before it had inflicted incalculable injury on the resisting Chief. "The march of

the army," says the author of Rasmala* "was thenceforth marked "by every species of plunder, and desolation, the ripe crops were "swept from the fields, the villages were wantonly fired and "destroyed, nothing was allowed to remain but the bare walls "of the houses, and it frequently happened that every acre of his "lands was left bare, and every hamlet in his territory reduced "to a heap of smouldering ruins before the Rájput Chieftain "condescended to the payment of the tribute demanded." In fact, as so tersely observed † by Sir William Leewarner, "the "ruler of Baroda employed his army, not in the field against a "public enemy, but in the tributary provinces against those who "had a right to his protection."

But, although, as said before, the object of the tribute settlement was humanitarian and to secure peace and order, both within and beyond the province, the political control of it having remained in the hands of the officers of Baroda from the time of the settlement and up till 1820, this object was not fully gained. Upwards of eighty-eight estates, which were recognized as separate tribute paying Táluka's were absorbed in or united with other States, and most of these absorptions were made by the Gaekwar Subah or Viceroy, Vithalráo Deváji for his master. The abuses of power, the extortions and generally the mismanagement of the Gaekwar Officers largely contributed to bring the province to the brink of ruin, and otherwise to germinate the disorders and distress which spread in the province for a long time even after the British Government assumed its paramount control (1820); and gained for its social and political system, the ill-reputation of "a system of "sanguinary boundary disputes, murders, "robbery, abduction and self-outlawry."

As if all these misfortunes were not sufficient for the Bhavnagar State, it received a shocking and crushing injury from a quarter which should have been the last to inflict it. The position of its ruler was made most intolerable by being deprived of the power of exercising civil and criminal jurisdiction, and reduced to the position of a mere subject in his own capital by the British Government. And this painful position had become the more

* p. 395. Edition of 1878.

† The Protected Princes of India. p. 108.

difficult and embarrassing as within the short interval of ten years the strong Minister—Rupji Desái, and the strong ruler Máharájá Wakhtsinhji passed away, leaving the youthful ruler Máharájá Wajesinhji to meet the struggle as best as he could with the several difficulties which had grown up in and around the State. And he began to cope with these difficulties without a Minister in whom he could repose implicit confidence and trust, and one who could be proof against the threats and pressure of the earlier British Officers of the Khedá (Kairá) collectorate. It was in this sore hour of need that Mahárájá Wajesinhji set his mind upon Mr. Parmananddás, and invited him to accept the responsible position of his trusted Minister and adviser, and, nothing daunted, Mr. Parmananddás accepted it.

No one who reads the biography of Mr. Parmananddás can fail to come to the conclusion that his greatness consisted in the simplicity of character, and an ardent desire to serve his State and master faithfully, loyally and to the best of his ability even at no small risk of his personal safety and convenience. And one must come to the irresistible conclusion that the State and its ruler never possessed a more devoted and trustworthy servant.

A biography of an Indian Statesman is always useful, interesting and instructive. To write such a biography some time after the lifetime of a statesman removes from the path of the writer most of the difficulties which he must encounter if he were to take up the work while the statesman is alive. Lapse of time permits one to judge the life and work of a statesman with a dispassionate and an unbiassed mind. To those living in the atmosphere of a Native State it is hardly necessary to say how often one used to find in former days, party feelings running high in some places. A convenient, perhaps a long distance of time soothes down the ill feelings which, from various causes one may have harboured against a Statesman, and enables a candour to alter his judgment, and admire his work which he may not have liked or approved before. A statesman is after all a human being, and cannot be above the failings to which human beings are more or less subject. It would be both unfair and uncharitable to prick at his failings, if there be any, and studiedly ignore

his good parts and deeds. In estimating the work of a statesman one must always bear in mind the great truth as said by a sage as follows :—निर्दोष एकोहरी :

A biographer is often open to the charges of being partial to his hero. But the writer of the present biography conscientiously believes that he has done nothing more than to tell a plain narrative of facts and events, and the noble deeds of the several members of the noble family of Mr. Parmananddás from the materials—mostly authenticated records—at his command. It being his first attempt at writing a biography, he respectfully craves the indulgence of the readers for any shortcomings which may be found in this work.

The grateful acknowledgements of the writer of this work are due to Mr. Ratilál Maneklal, whom Mr. Samaldás treated more as a trusted friend than his official Secretary for his many valuable suggestions in the preparation of this work.

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SAMALDAS PARMANANDDAS,

SCHOLAR AND STATESMAN.

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.



PART I.

The fortunes of the family of Samaldás late Diwán of Bhavnagar, were closely connected with the modern history of Gujarat, and of its peninsular sub-division, the ancient Sourashtra, now known as Káthiawád. And the fortunes of this family have been indissolubly bound up with the modern history of Bhavnagar since close upon a century—a period during which this family has maintained unbroken connection with this State. This family has furnished to the State three Diwáns successively and other high officers in the course of nearly a hundred years. These Diwáns have taken a leading part in bringing it to its present prosperous condition; and have largely contributed in making it one of the well governed States in India.

The family of Samaldás belongs to the Wadnagará Nagar The Family of Samaldás. caste, and would seem to have settled at Goghá ever since that town came into prominence as a sea-port town. The progenitor of the Samaldas family was one Shavdás, who had two sons named Somji and Surji, both of whom distinguished themselves in military service under the Moghal government. Surji had three sons one of whom was Kanji from whom the Samaldás family has descended. The biography of Samaldás would be incomplete without a brief account of the life and work of his distinguished grand-father and father from whom he inherited his many great qualities. This biographical account will, therefore, be divided into three parts, the first part treating of the life and work of his grand-father Ranchhoddás, the second treating those of his father Parmananddás, and the third part will be devoted to the life and work of Samaldás.

Sixth in descent from Kanji was Ranchhoddás, the grand-father of Samaldás, who served with conspicuous valour and ability under Damaji II, the founder of the Baroda State, while he was struggling for supremacy in Gujarat and Káthiáwád.

Ranchhoddás, grand-father of Samaldás.

Ranchhoddás was born at Gogha at about the time when Bhávnagar was founded (A. D. 1723) by the famous Mahárájá Bhávsinhji. At this time Goghá was an Imperial domain, and was held in *Jagir* by a Babi family who were often ousted therefrom and reinstated. It was also shared by the Gohil Rulers of Bhavnagar. Ranchhoddás was one of the five sons of Gabaldás. He received his education at an indigenous school at Goghá where he was taught reading, writing and the old Indian system of accounts and book-keeping, which was all that was then required to qualify a boy for his occupation in life, and served also to protect him against unfair dealings. His investiture with the sacred thread was followed by his marriage, and the birth of a son called Ládharám, step-brother of Parmananddás, father of Samaldás. Ranchhoddás lost his wife before he was twenty years old.

About this time a change came over the circumstances of the family. Born and brought up in affluence, Ranchhoddás had now to face adversity. He had to provide the means of support for himself and his family. He did not lose heart. Energetic and enterprising as he was from his boyhood, he was also possessed of a bold spirit. At this time Gogha had lost all its trade and affluence. Ranchhoddás therefore determined to try his fortunes in other lands.

A few years before Ranchhoddás left Goghá, Dámáji II had succeeded his father Piláji Gaekwar. Ranchhoddás had heard that Dámáji held Nagars in high estimation, and was largely employing them both in the civil and military services of his newly consolidated State.

Ranchhoddás goes to Baroda for Service.

Accompanied by another Nagar, Ranchhoddás left Goghá for Baroda. Their road passed through the Bhal, then a mere salt waste, lying in the northern direction of Bhávnagar—an inhospitable, treeless, waterless flat where sweet water could not be obtained

for miles together. Ranchhoddás and his companion each carried with them a small earthen vessel called *Chambu* filled with sweet water. In the midst of the plain they saw a man and a woman lying on the ground, apparently dead. On nearing them they found that they were both still alive. Ranchhoddás poured some water on the lips of the man, and he revived. He then told a sad tale of suffering without water and said that but for the timely arrival of the travellers the couple would have lost their lives. In spite of the remonstrance of his companion, Ranchhoddás gave away all the stock of his water, and received the blessings of the couple, and then continued his journey. In a few days Ranchhoddás arrived at Baroda where he met one Bhanji, a Nagar who, like himself, had come for service from Junágadh, and was employed by Dámáji. By this time Bhanji had been promoted to a high post, and Dámáji always kept him with him in all his wars and regarded him as one of his chief advisers. Through the good offices of Bhanji, Ranchhoddás was soon enrolled in the Barodá service.

Bhánji and Ranchhoddás soon became close friends. They fought shoulder to shoulder in many of Dámáji's wars. So highly pleased was Bhánji with the intelligence, tact, patience and gallantry of the youthful Ranchhoddás, that he married his daughter Chandan Kuwari Bai to him, and Parmanddas, father of Samaldás, was the issue of this union. By this marriage Samaldas' family became related to Anantji, late Diwán of Junágadh, and also to Narchhangprasád, late a Councillor of that State.

Each year after A. D. 1740 Dámáji grew into more importance. He had already subjected Káthiáwád to a regular tribute. His wars were many and his acquisitions of territorial possessions and new rights were also many. On many a battle-field Dámáji was greatly pleased with the intrepidity, coolness and tact displayed by Ranchhoddás whom he held in high estimation.

In the large army which Dámáji retained, and in which, besides the Marathás, a considerable number of foreign mercenaries were employed, the number of Arabs preponderated. Some idea of the enormous number of Arabs employed by Dámáji may be formed from the fact that when General Goddard advanced on

Ahmadábád with a British force in 1780, that city alone numbered over six thousand Arabs amongst its garrison. To conciliate this wild, unruly and ferocious soldiery, numbering thousands, required no little tact, prudence and patience. To keep them well in hand, and to regulate their enormous pay and emoluments required a trustworthy, honest and loyal man who could be trusted by Dámáji as well as by the Chief of the Arab force. At this time the Chief of the Arab force was one Abud Manani. At his request Dámáji selected and appointed Ranchhoddás as the Agent of the Arab force. For several years, besides taking part in the administration of the State, and loyally assisting Dámáji in the difficult task of consolidating his vast conquests, Ranchhoddás managed the affairs of the Arabs with great credit and gained their entire confidence.

Bhanji, in whom Dámáji reposed full confidence, and who had taken strong measures against the malpractices of the Maratha Brahmans, now got disgusted with the intrigues of these Brahmans against him, and requested Dámáji to accept his resignation, which the latter refused to do till at last Bhanji expressed his strong determination to completely renounce the world, and becoming a *Sanyási* left Baroda. Ranchhoddás also resigned, but on no account would Dámáji accept his resignation. He had therefore to remain in the Baroda Service.

Bhanji resigns Baroda Service.

Dámáji now admitted Ranchhoddás into his councils, and, without terminating his connection with the Arab force, made him one of his chief advisers on all administrative affairs. Dámáji fully appreciated Ranchhoddás worth and, in about 1762, when he was in the zenith of his power, and when his influence in Gujarat was admittedly greater than that of the Peshwá, he pressed Ranchhoddás to accept the post of the Diwán of his State. The latter, however, thankfully and very wisely declined the offer.

Dámáji promotes Ranchhoddás to the post of one of his ministers.

Dámáji died at Pátan in August 1768. It is said that he was a great chemist, and had often tried to find the philosopher's stone, and that it was while breathing the sickly vapour of some poisonous drugs that he met with his death.

Death of Dámáji.

Dámáji's death was soon followed by disputes for succession to the Baroda *Masnad*, which sensibly diminished the importance of the Gaekwar's power.

Ranchhoddás considered it prudent now to retire from the Gaekwar service. Soon after the return in triumph of Fatesinh Ráo from Pooná 1778, Ranchhoddás obtained permission to retire, and he returned to Goghá.

Ranchhoddás retires from the Gaekwar Service and returns to Goghá.

He was for a long time remembered in Baroda as a generous and large-hearted gentleman, and as an administrator of great ability and liberal views. It was largely through his influence that many Gujaratis and Káthiáwádis were admitted in the Baroda Service in the time of Dámáji, and it was through his good offices that Shevakráam Desai, who is said to have accompanied Ranchhoddás when he left Goghá, and who will again be mentioned later on, was taken in the Baroda service and promoted to the high post of the Mamlatdár of the Dámánagar Mahal (division) under the Amreli Panch Mahal.

After his retirement from Baroda Service Ranchhoddás settled in Goghá, which was then in the joint possession of the Peshwá and the Bhavnagar Darbár. The possession of the former originated with the partition treaty of 1751-52 between Dámáji and the Peshwá and that of the latter dated from the time of Mokhadáji, one of the ancestors of the Ruler of Bhavnagar. A. D. 1309-1347.

Ranchhoddás settles at Goghá.

The illustrious Maharájá Wakhtsinhji succeeded in 1772 to what was then a small principality—seigniorship—of his forefathers. That wise and farsighted Chief in his endeavours to foster and develop the trade of Bhavnagar, was inviting persons of wealth to settle at Bhavnagar. He invited the rich and influential community of Nágars, whose head-quarters were at Goghá, to settle at Bhavnagar. They were largely employed in all the departments of the State, and this attraction induced many Nágars to settle permanently at Bhavnagar. Among those so invited was Ranchhoddás. The invitation was gladly accepted, and Ranchhoddás loyally assisted the Maharájá in his endeavours

Maharájá Wakhtsinhji of Bhavnagar invites Ranchhoddás to settle at Bhavnagar.

to induce several merchants and traders to settle in Bhavnagar. Ranchhoddás built large and comfortable houses for himself and his brothers in Bhavnagar. Be it said to the great credit of the Nágars of Goghá that their faithful, loyal and valuable services, to no small extent, helped to make Bhavnagar what it is today. Ranchhoddás, who had large and commodious houses for himself and family in Goghá, had established a banking firm there with a branch at Bhavnagar. He lived partly at Goghá and partly at Bhavnagar.

In about Samvat Year 1839 (A. D. 1783) an incident occurred which may be mentioned as illustrating the manners of the times and the unusual integrity of the career of Ranchhoddás. We have already mentioned the name of Jamadar Abud Manani, the Chief of the Arab force at Baroda. At about the time of which we are speaking, Abud had retired from the Gaekwad service to go to Mecca on pilgrimage. Goghá then being the port of embarkation of pilgrims to Mecca, Abud accompanied by a number of Arabs arrived there with a large amount of money which he had received on account of the arrears of pay, etc, and to bid farewell to his old friend before taking ship for the pilgrimage. Ranchhoddás most cordially received and lavishly entertained him. He took him to Bhavnagar to show him his new house and to introduce him to Mahárájá Wakhtsinhji. Arriving at Bhavnagar, Abud was seated in the courtyard of the house with a large concourse of the Arabs and other notable personages of Bhavnagar. Abud now all of a sudden unsheathed his dagger, and began to flourish it. Everyone present was astonished and some were alarmed at this unexpected scene. Wild and ferocious as the Arab soldiers were known to be one could not know how and where the ferocious looking Abud would use his dagger. He suddenly stood up and struck the dagger in the wooden pillar opposite him, took out a piece of the wood therefrom, and replaced the dagger in its sheath. He sat down and began to smell the piece and shook his head repeatedly. Ranchhoddás now asked the reason of his action. He replied that he was told by some evil-minded persons that Ranchhoddás had amassed so much wealth at Baroda that he had built his new house with sandal-wood, but that he was sorry to find that such

Ahmad Mauani visits
Ranchhoddás at Goghá.

was not the case. He added that it would have given him great pleasure to find the house of the Agent of so large a force as that of the Arabs and the Minister of Dámáji the Great, built of sandal-wood. Abud now placed a large heap of money before him, and asked Ranchhoddás to take as much of the money as he liked. To an avaricious and unscrupulous man the offer would have been most tempting. Ranchhoddás heartily thanked Abud for his offer, but refused to take a single pie of the money which Abud had earned after a hard service of so many years, and he added that he had enough to live honestly during the rest of his life.

Ranchhoddás introduced Abud to Mahárájá Wakhtsinhji, who was then preparing an army to chastise the Khashiá Kolis of Mahwá. These Kolis had usurped Jhanjmer, Wagnagar and Mahwá and were plundering the villages of the district of Talájá, which the Mahárájá had just then obtained, and they were also harassing the trade of Bhavnagar on the sea. Mahárájá Wakhtsinhji wanted to strengthen his Arab soldiery and asked Ranchhoddás to assist him. The latter induced Abud to part with a large number of his Arabs, who were thereupon enlisted in the service of the Darbár.

A few years after this event Ranchhoddás died in about A. D. 1796 leaving behind him his son Juthibái and his son Parmananddás by his second wife.

Death of Ranchhoddás. Ladhárám by his first wife, and his daughter Juthibái and his son Parmananddás by his second wife.

PART II.
 PARMANANDDAS.
 CHAPTER I.

To write an account of this statesman's life and work after a lapse of more than three quarters of a century, after not only he himself but also his co-adjutors and fellow workers have all passed away, and in the absence of adequate or with scanty materials is extremely difficult. But fortunately the events, which happened in the course of the long connection of Parmananddas and his family with the Bhavnagar Darbár and most of which are chronicled in the history of Bhavnagar and elsewhere, enable us to gather together such fragmentary materials, which place his life and work, his unswerving loyalty to his master, and devotion to his duties, and his meritorious services to the State in their true light. His life and work show us that, patient and reserved as he was, he never cared to push himself forward in any work. Like many a great statesman he was often maligned and traduced by designing persons, but all this neither disheartened nor deterred him in the performance of his duties. He was always deaf to slanderers and traducers. When beset with difficulties—and there were many during his ministership—he patiently and steadfastly persevered to attain the goal of his object. He stood like a pillar of rock by the State and the master he served even at the risk of personal inconvenience and safety. He accepted the ministership of the State when many able men declined or hesitated to accept it owing to the action of the British officers of the day. His unbounded generosity and open-handed charity saved many a family from ruin and starvation. He was proud of the caste to which he belonged, and like his father, extended a helping hand to many a needy member of his caste. It is a pleasant duty and privilege to chronicle, briefly as it will be, the account of the life and work of so noble-minded a statesman like Parmananddas.

Parmananddas was born in about Samvat year 1850 A. D. 1794. This was about the time when Maharájá Wakhtsinhji, having conquered the rich district of Kundlá, was preparing to chastise the Káthi confederacy which was formed against him for the recovery of

Birth and infancy.

that district for the Khumán Káthis. He was left an orphan at a tender age in the care of his sister Juthibái, his half-brother Ladharam having separated from the family during the life-time of Ranchhoddás. Juthibai, who was married to Ozá Velji Motábhai, was an accomplished lady, and she carefully brought up her brother.

The centuries of political commotion, anarchy and terrorism, which preceded the establishment of the supremacy of the British power, did much to break up the schools which turned out the great scholars of ancient and medieval India. At the close of the eighteenth century, and indeed in the first half of the nineteenth century, the province of Gujarat, and its peninsular sub-division, Kathiáwad, had no educational institutions worth the name. Education was received only by those whose avocations made it worth their while to learn either at indigenous schools or privately. In towns were generally to be found persons—mostly Brahmans—teaching classes of boys of the mercantile and writer castes, and boys of wealthy families were taught by private tutors. This sort of education produced many statesmen, merchants and traders, who in their day did credit to their country. But if the instruction imparted did not include the English language and modern literature or science, it certainly taught boys their duties in the positions in life to which they were born. It made the boys good men of business both in the administrative and mercantile spheres. It made them good caligraphists and accountants. Students at these schools generally attained great proficiency in doing sums in arithmetic without the use of slate or paper. The education thus imparted was extremely useful for all practical requirements in those days.

Effect of Education most salutary.

Parmananddas' sister, Juthibái, was particular in seeing that her brother received the best education then available. Besides receiving instruction in the indigenous school at Goghá, Parmananddas studied Persian under a private tutor, the Kaji of Goghá.

Parmánanddas' Education and early life.

Parmananddas received the *Upnayan* Samskár, or investiture with the sacred thread, when he was about nine or ten years old.

When about fourteen years old he was married to Rájubá, second sister of the late Gavari Shankar Udayshankar, C. S. I., of Bhavnagar, by whom he had four sons namely, Bapubhai, Parbhudás, Amthabhái and Samaldás.

Parmananddás displayed early signs of aptitude for business. He was prudent, cautious, patient and circumspect, and he displayed these qualities in a measure far beyond his age in his work both as a banker and as an administrator. He continued the banking firms of his father in Goghá and Bhavnagar. Goghá had then become a British possession under the treaty of Bassein. The British authorities were then striving their best to restore the trade of the port of Goghá, which had been lost owing to mismanagement during its possession by the Peshwá.

CHAPTER II.

Mahárájá Wakhtsinhji had owing to his old age entrusted the management of the State to his son and heir-apparent Wajesinhji. The Mulk-giri force of the Marathas, the annual and frequent visitations of which used to bring desolation to many of the states in the Province, had ceased to give trouble, thanks to the tribute settlement of Colonel Walker. But the effect caused by their depredations continued to be felt for long. And there was another merciless enemy that followed in the wake of the Maratha horse. The dire calamities brought by the famine of A. D. 1811-12 and others which followed in a cycle, had exhausted all the resources of almost all the states of the Province, and Bhavnagar, too had its share of them. The State had to borrow large sums of money from different bankers or Gosains, and Bháts or Arabs stood as guarantee or surety for their repayment. We find from the letters from Mahárájá Wakhtsinhji to Colonel Walker what a constant source of trouble and annoyance these Bháts had become, and how exacting they were in receiving hospitalities when once they became surety for a loan. And we know also what immense trouble, short only of bloodshed, the Arab Jamedárs gave to the Bhavnagar Darbár. And those who know Bhavnagar must have been struck with the large area of building sites which the Gosains had occupied and the palatial buildings built on them by most

Bhavnagar State beset with troubles.

of these Gosains out of the money they exacted for standing surety for the loans raised by the State. The bitter experience gained by the successive chiefs from contact with such greedy people, had made them wiser, and quite a new and less troublesome method was now adopted for raising loans without which it was impossible to carry on the administration of the State. His steady perseverance in and aptitude for business had by this time established the reputation of Parmananddás as a sound, safe and reliable banker. The heir-apparent to the Bhavnagar *Gadi* took him into his confidence and sought his advice. He heartily assisted the Darbár in financing loans from Ahmedabad and Baroda bankers, and was thus frequently brought into contact with Prince Wajesinhji who soon learnt to trust him implicitly. The method now adopted by Wajesinhji, with the advice and co-operation of Parmananddás, firmly established the high credit of the Darbár. To every loan raised either the private department of the Chief or of the heir-apparent contributed a portion, and the remainder was made up by the bankers. The revenue of a stated Mahal or district, which was hypothecated, was regularly paid in the banker's firm as stipulated.

CHAPTER III.

In 1816 Mahárájá Wakhtsinhji died and was succeeded by his son Wajesinhji. Soon after his accession Mahárájá Wajesinhji, who had formed a high opinion of Parmananddás' character, ability, honesty, and uprightness, and who greatly valued his advice in all financial matters, induced him to accept his ministership with special charge of his private department. It was in about Samvat 1873-74, A. D. 1817-18, that Parmananddás accepted the ministership.

Parmananddás takes office under the Bhavnagar Darbár.

The closing years of the eighteenth century saw the Bhavnagar Darbár engaged in frequent disputes with the British Government which had established itself by that time as the paramount power. The domestic quarrels at Baroda, after the death of Fatesinh Ráo Gaekwár, A. D. 1789, gave the British authorities an opportunity for acquiring not only large districts either in *Inam* or for the maintenance of a subsidiary force, but also, under the several engagements entered into between A. D.

1789 and A. D. 1805, an almost unlimited power of interference in the internal affairs of that State. And the treacherous and hostile conduct of Baji Ráo, the last of the Peshwás, raised the British to the position of Paramount Power not only in the Bombay Presidency but throughout India.

One of the disputes which caused endless trouble to the Bhavnagar Darbár and brought ruin to the trade at the port of Bhavnagar, was the acquisition of the port of Dholera by the British. With a view to improve their commerce and eventually political intercourse with Káthiáwád, the British authorities had for many years their eye on the port of Dholera. They deputed a Mr. DeSouza, a Portuguese merchant, trading at Bombay, to inspect Dholera and the other neighbouring places which were, through that merchant, offered to them by a minor branch of the Grassia proprietors of Dholera. Mr. De Souza, who proved an implacable enemy to the ruler of Bhavnagar, introduced the Grassias to the Governor, Mr. Duncan, and got them to write over the port to the British Government. He also suggested the acquisition of the districts of Dhandhuká, Ranpur and Gogha, from the Peshwá, to whom they were tributary. To complete the transaction regarding the port of Dholera, Mr. Governor Duncan obtained from Anand Ráo Gaekwar, who held these districts with other portions of Gujárát in farm from the Peshwá, a Parwáná on the 2nd June 1802. At or about the same time under a secret treaty, a village from the Surat district was granted to Ravji, the Baroda Minister, who was charged to further British interests at the Gaekwár Court.

The Grassia proprietors of Dholera, who are descended from the ancient Chudasama rulers of Junágadh, were related to the ruling house of Bhavnagar. Almost all the successive rulers of Bhavnagar had married in the family of these Chudasamás. Their leader who conducted the business of the community, handed over in A. D. 1798 to Maharajá Wakhtsinhji the port of Dholera, reserving for his people certain rights. The Darbár took possession of the port and began to manage its affairs. It was a subordinate and a minor branch of this family which, as stated above made over the port to the British Government through

Bhavnagar Darbár acquires Dholera in A. D. 1798.

Mr. De Souza. Mr. Governor Duncan, in his letter to the Supreme Government, admitted that what was transferred by the Grassia proprietors to the Bhavnagar Darbár, was actually made over to the Darbar and was consequently in its possession. But strangely enough the Governor described the Grassia proprietors, who had written over Dholera to Bhavnagar, as being "in a proportion too insignificant (not exceeding eleven "parts in a hundred) in the village of Dholera." Mr. (afterwards Sir) James B. Peile, however, pointed out in his report on the several matters in dispute between the Bhavnagar Darbár and the British Government, that these Grassias' share was sixty-one and a quarter in the village of Dholera and not eleven parts in a hundred as stated by Mr. Governor Duncan.

But the fiat had gone forth. The right of the Peshwá, as Sovereign or over-lord of Dholera was set at naught, the Bhavnagar men who were admittedly in possession of Dholera were expelled therefrom, and the English took possession of and hoisted their flag on Dholera, and all this on the strength of the conveyance obtained from the Grassias who held a minor share.

As stated before Mr. Governor Duncan was anxious to secure the districts of Dhanduká, Ránpur and Goghá, and instructed the Resident at the Court of the Peshwá to obtain for the British Government the farm of these districts. The Resident replied that he would watch for an opportunity to do so.

The period between A. D. 1795 and 1802 was a disastrous one for the independence of the Peshwá, and was most favourable for the ascendancy of the British power. As had happened at Baroda, so it now happened at Poona. In 1795 A. D. the young Peshwá Madhavrao, a boy of great promise, died, in fact committed suicide, and his death was soon followed by disputes and dissensions which threatened to ruin the Peshwá's independence, and to bring about the dissolution of the Maratha confederacy. The dissensions resulted in the accession of the ill-fated Baji Rao as Peshwá through the military power of Dolat Ráo Sindhiá, who used his ascendancy among the Maratha Chiefs to defeat the negotiations for an alliance with the Peshwá, which was long talked of and pressed on the Peshwá by the British Resident at Poona, but which, owing to the vacillation of Baji Ráo, had not been completed.

British officers take possession of Dholera and oust Bhavnagar.

Affairs at Poona.

The ascendancy of Dolat Ráo Sindhia in the Peshwá's councils roused the jealousy of Jaswant Ráo Holkar, which resulted in a battle between the united forces of Sindhia and the Peshwá, and those of the Holkar, and a crushing defeat of the former. The crisis was opportune for the rehabilitation of British influence at Poona, and overtures for a subsidiary force now made by Bájí Rao were favourably received by the British Resident. In the meanwhile, however, the Peshwá fled from Poona on the advance of the Holkar's forces on that city. Pursued by the Holkar's force, the fugitive Peshwá, flying from one place to another, arrived at Bassein in an English ship on the 6th December 1802. At the end of that month Colonel Close, the British Resident at Poona, also arrived at Bassein and presented the draft of a treaty to the Peshwá. On the 31st December 1802 the celebrated Treaty of Bassein was signed, and the Peshwá signed away his independence for ever.

Events which brought about the Treaty of Bassein, 1802.

As soon as the overtures for a subsidiary force were made by Baji Rao, on the eve of his flight from Poona, the Resident at Baroda was directed, on December 3rd, 1802, to prepare and send down, as soon as possible, an authentic statement of the Peshwá's Paraganahs (districts), then under lease to the Gaekwar with their full annual value. A copy of the answer from the Resident at Baroda was transmitted to Colonel Close, Resident at Poona, from which the latter prepared in succession three distinct schedules of territories to be ceded by the Peshwá. It is remarkable that Dhandhuká, with Chuda, Ránpur and Goghá, were included in all of them, and in a Memorandum, dated 21st December, the Governor writes: "Our having Petlád and Dhandhuka will be of much political convenience, the former adjoining and immediately connected with Cambay and Dholka, and the other as including the two ports of Dholera and Gogha." This remarkable Memorandum distinctly shows not only the anxiety of Mr. Governor Duncan to obtain the port of Goghá but also his great anxiety for curing, what in fact was, the invalid title under which he had obtained the port of Dholera.

By article IV of the Treaty of Bassein the Peshwá ceded to the British Government certain territories detailed in the schedule annexed thereto for the regular payment of the whole expense of the subsidiary force. These districts remained until 1805 in the charge of the British Resident at Baroda, and from that time till 1818, when Ahmadábad was formed into a separate Collectorate, they formed part of the Collectorate of Kheda (Kaira), or as it was then called, the Eastern Zillah (district) north of the Mahi river. Nothing of any importance occurred until 1805, or indeed until Colonel Walker, the British Resident at Baroda, retired from service and relinquished charge of his office. However, from the time that the management of the three ceded districts passed into the hands of the Collector of Kheda, the question of the proprietary rights of the Chiefs large as well as small, whose districts or villages were geographically situated in the three ceded districts, and who, consequently, paid tribute to the Peshwá, was seriously raised, and their right of exercising civil and criminal jurisdiction in their respective possessions was denied. But just and fair-minded as Colonel Walker was, he stood up for these Chiefs, and clearly pointed out, in his several letters to the Government of Bombay, the absolute right of these Chiefs both as proprietors and as holders of jurisdiction.

If we may accept as true the Hindu belief of transmigration of souls, it would appear that the proverbial hunger of the Rajput to get land had entered into the body of Mr. Governor Duncan. For very soon after his acceptance of the writing over of Dholera, we find him anxious to obtain territorial possessions either on this side of Gujarat or in some part of Káthiáwád. But Colonel Walker, with that wisdom which characterized his tribute settlement with the different Chiefs of Káthiáwád, which will be noticed hereafter, warned the Governor against accepting the offers made by several petty Grassias (among whom were the Khumán Káthis of Kundlá), and added that "in the prosecution of our views in Káthiáwád, humanity is a principal consideration, and the Honourable Company's advantage, honour, and reputation will consist in reconciling the animosities of the rival Chieftains instead of availing ourselves of the precarious benefits to be derived from their dissensions."

Of the several events which occurred between A. D. 1802 and 1815, a few important ones may be briefly noticed here. In 1804, Maharaja Wakhtsinghji repulsed the Gaekwar force, which marched on Sihor under Bábaji for recovery of arrears of tribute. It appeared again before Bhavnagar in 1805, but in consequence of a threat from the British Resident at Baroda, the Maharaja amicably settled with Bábaji. The Peshwá's claims against the Gaekwar for the tribute of Káthiáwád were settled, and the farm of the former's share in Gujarat and Káthiáwád, was renewed for ten years under the guarantee of the British Government in 1804.

In A. D. 1807-8 the celebrated Permanent Tribute Settlement of Káthiáwád referred to above, was made by Colonel Walker; and the levy, which up to then was, by no means, distinguishable from the levy of black-mail, then received the hall-mark of tribute, and what was till then always uncertain and precarious, took the form of a perpetual fixed payment. On the execution of the Fael Zamin, or bond for the regular payment of the tribute and preservation of order and peace, the British Government extended their guarantee to each individual Chief for their possession and immunity from interference or molestation either by the Gaekwar or the Peshwá.

Maharájá Wakhtsinhji readily and voluntarily concurred in the transfer of his tribute by the Gaekwar to the British Government, and this fact was reported to the Bombay Government "with much pleasure" by Colonel Walker.

It is remarkable that in the Tribute Settlement of A. D. 1807-8 the rights of the Peshwá in Káthiáwád were completely overlooked. The Gaekwar was entitled to the greater part of the Káthiáwád tribute not in his own right but in his capacity of farmer under the Peshwá. Yet the engagements concluded with the Chiefs, were drawn up solely in the Gaekwar's name. And strangely enough, although seven years of the lease renewed in 1804 to the Gaekwar under British guarantee, still remained unexpired, neither the Peshwá's consent to the settlement was obtained, nor was he even informed till 1814, of what had been

Rights of the Peshwá overlooked.

The Permanent Tribute Settlement of Káthiáwád.

Important events between A. D. 1802 and 1815.

done with regard to his rights. When the time came for the renewal of the lease, disputes arose which resulted in the murder of Gangadhar Shastri—the trusted Agent of the Gaekwad who was deputed to Poona under the guarantee of the British Government, and it resulted eventually in the downfall of the Peshwá. But before the deposition of the Peshwá, 1818, he was forced to sign a treaty in June 1817, by the seventh article of which the tribute of Káthiáwád, due to him, was ceded to the British Government.

To complete the chain of our narrative it may be stated here that, after the tribute settlement, and up to 1820 Káthiawad affairs were controlled by the Gaekwad's Agent, Vithal Rao Devaji. The British Government, on the deposition of the Peshwá, having succeeded to his rights in 1818 and having obtained from the Gaekwad a cession of his, in 1820, became the paramount power in Káthiáwád. A political Agency was established in 1820, but the details of affairs were not taken up till 1822.

CHAPTER IV.

Colonel Watson in his Statistical account of Bhavnagar p. 38, observes that owing to the cession of the districts of Dhandhuká, Ránpur and Goghá to the British Government, by the treaty of Bassein, English interference in the affairs of Bhavnagar in the Dhandhuka, Ránpur and Gogha districts became every day more minute, which Maharaja Wakhtsinhji bitterly resented. So far as the possessions of the Bhavnagar Darbár, which were geographically situated within the districts of Dhandhuká, Ránpur and Gogha, were concerned, the Darbár hailed with delight the advent of the British, their old ally, in the place of the Peshwá in these districts, and Maharaja Wakhtsinhji felt himself secure in his friendship with the British that they would not suffer him to be despoiled of his territories. But this delight, this conviction of security proved only transitory. This Chief, whose friendship, as stated above, was cultivated with assiduity and attention when the resources of the Presidency were limited, was by an edict of the Bombay Government; Regulation VI of 1816, deprived of his sovereign right of civil and criminal jurisdiction over those of

English interference in the affairs of Bhavnagar in the Dhandhuka, Ránpur and Gogha districts.

his possessions which, unfortunately, were, as stated above, geographically situated in the Dhandhuka, Rānpur and Gogha districts, and reduced to the position of a mere subject of the British in his own capital, the seat from which he administered policy and justice and exercised the sovereign power of life and death. Colonel Watson in his Statistical account of Bhavnagar very properly observes that this was a severe blow to Maharaja Wakhtsinhji and is said to have hastened his end. The amount of tribute paid to the Peshwá and afterwards to the English for these possessions was Rs. 11,651, and it was declared in 1804-5 by Colonel Walker as fixed Jama or tribute. It was, however, steadily increased from 1810, and within six years raised to Rs. 32,000 at the time of Maharaja Wakhtsinhji's death. When he remonstrated against this innovation and enormous increase in the fixed amount of tribute, he had the grim satisfaction to learn from Government that he was to pay like other Grásiás. Here again this independent Sovereign Chief was, by a stroke of the pen, reduced to the level of a Grasia. It was no doubt this cruel, ungenerous and harsh treatment which killed Maharaja Wakhtsinhji in 1816.

Maharaja Wajesinhji succeeded to the *Gádi* of his ancestors at a most critical time in the history of the State, and in his hour of distress Parmanandás became his minister to advise and assist him.

Succession of Maharaja Wajesinhji.

As mentioned before, no sooner were the districts of Dhandhuka, Rānpur and Gogha transferred to the newly created Collectorate of Kheda, than the Collector, the interests of whose districts were constantly clashing with those of the Bhavnagar Chief, began to look upon him with no friendly eye, and even asserted that he was not an independent Chief but a *Zamindar*, interpreting the word as in Bengal as a middle-man or rent collector who stood between the rayats and the Government. He ignored the fact that the Moghal Government in Gujarat used the word *Zamindar* in the sense of original landowner of the country. The Baroda Residency advocated the claims of the Bhavnagar Chief to be considered independent, while the Kheda Collector maintained that the tribute might be increased at pleasure, and that he was in fact but a farmer of the Government rights.

There was absolutely no distinguishable feature between the political condition of the districts of Dhandhuká, Rānpur and Goghá ceded by the Peshwá by the treaty of Bassein in 1802, and the rest of the Káthiawad States—tributaries either to the Peshwá or to the Gaekwád, which could justify the Collector of Khedá in alleging that the Chiefs in these ceded districts were mere farmers of Government rights. And there was absolutely nothing in the Treaty of Bassein which could entitle the British Government to assume and exercise jurisdiction in the possessions of the Chiefs in the ceded districts.

From the time of the partition treaty of 1752-53 between the Peshwá and the Gaekwád, whereby the Peshwá's seizure of one-half of the Gaekwád's share only added another claimant to black-mail in Gujarat, and up to the time of the treaty of Bassein—and even several years after that event—the districts of Dhundhaká, Rānpur and Goghá, were treated as *Mulkgiri* districts, where the Marathas could not levy tribute—black-mail without an armed force. Sir James B. Peile, the late Talukdári Settlement Officer, in his account of the Talukdárs of Gujarat says that “It is, of course, familiar to all readers that the Mulkgiri country has been treated as foreign territory and the tribute due from it fixed in perpetuity.” And Sir C. N. Aitchison, formerly Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, in his work on Treaties, etc., Vol., VI p. 177-78 (edition of 1892,) after describing the exactions by the Mulkgiri Army in Káthiawad, and Colonel Walker's permanent tribute settlement thereof, says that “in the districts ceded to the British Government by the Peshwa and the Gaekwád in 1802-3 the same system of Mulkgiri collections and the comparative independence of the land-holders were found to exist, more

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“especially in Gogha, Dhandhuká and Dholká, which are now talukás of the British districts of Áhmadábád. The enforcement of British laws has long since obliterated this state of affairs in the British districts, but in Káthiawád it was stereotyped by the engagements which it was the policy of the day to conclude while yet the Province was under the Peshwá and the Gaekwád.” It will be perfectly clear from the forego-

* Ceded by the Peshwá; Rānpur is now a sub-division of Dhandhuka ceded by the Gaekwád.

ing extracts that the independence and ownership of the Chiefs in the ceded districts were destroyed and obliterated by the mighty British power which neither the rapacious Moghals nor the marauding Marathas in their palmy days could do.

Now, with regard to the treaty of Bassein, the circumstances under which Baji Ráo Peshwá executed that instrument have already been stated. In the Proclamation, issued by the Hon'ble Mr. Elphinstone under orders from the Governor General, when Baji Ráo was deposed, it is said that in 1802, "Baji Rao was expelled from his dominions, and took refuge in Bassein where he "was dependent on the bounty of Khande Rao Rastea." In the haste and distress under which Baji Ráo consented to the treaty of Bassein he would have given away anything and everything which was asked of him just only to regain his *Musnad* with the help of the British army. But he did not cede anything which he did not possess. And he certainly did not, as he could not, cede jurisdiction simply because he had no right and title to it. The treaty itself is remarkably silent about it. And, for a long number of years, the British officers of the day themselves doubted whether jurisdiction was at all ceded. The silence of the treaty of Bassein about jurisdiction is the more remarkable as compared with the treaty entered into with Anand Rao Gaekwád only a few months (March 1802) before the treaty of Bassein was executed, whereby the district of Chikhali (Chickley) in the Surat Collectorate was ceded to the British Government "in full sovereignty for ever ;" because it was from the draft presented by the British Resident that Baji Rao executed the treaty of Bassein.

A number of high authorities (Governor the Hon'ble Mr. Elphinstone, successive Residents at Baroda, Colonel Lang and others) can be cited to show that the Chiefs in the ceded districts were Sovereign princes with whom the British Government had no rights to interfere beyond the collection of a tribute. The observations made by the late Mr. A. K. Forbes, the author of the *Rasmala*, may be cited here. Having served in Gujarat, in the revenue and judicial departments, and also having served as Political Agent in Mahi Kantha and Káthiáwád, he had obtained first-hand knowledge of the status and tenures of the rulers of States in those countries. His work, the *Rasmala*, is in

* Aitchison's Treaties Vol. VI, p. 104 1892, edition.

fact the first and most important epitome of the history of Gujarát hitherto made, and is admitted by all as the work of a profound and accurate scholar. He says: "In regard to the "jurisdiction of the local Chiefs, the British Government had "at least acted inconsistently. When in 1802 they accepted the "territory of Dholera forming part of the Paraganah or district of "Dhandhuká, then subject to the Peshwá, and in face of the "Maratha princes' rights, hoisted their flag therein as Sovereign, "they not only assented to, but positively asserted that which they "so often afterwards denied, the Sovereign rights of the local "Chieftains. Thirteen years afterwards, however, when the "jurisdiction of the Rawal of Bhávnagar in the Paraganah of "Goghá was in question, they endeavoured to prove by laboured "and untenable historical arguments, that the Chief had been "entitled to exercise no jurisdiction at all. The general question "was confused by an unnecessary and impracticable attempt to "maintain it as a fact that the state of subordination which we "wished to establish had actually existed under the now fallen "Governments of the Mahomadans and the Marathas."

With the deprivation of their jurisdiction the troubles of the Chief of Bhávnagar increased. In 1818 the Collectorate of Ahmadábád was formed, and the districts of Dhandhuká, Ranpur and Goghá were detached from the Khedá Collectorate and placed under that of Ahmadábád. With the ever-growing troubles at the hands of the Ahmadábád Magistracy and Police, from which neither the Ruler of Bhavnagar nor his minister knew any peace, the British authorities took every conceivable measure to divert trade from the port of Bhávnagar to their ports of Goghá and Dholerá, and to such an extent were the measures enforced that by the time Parmananddás assumed the post of minister, very little trade was left at the port of Bhávnagar which only a decade before was described by Colonel Walker as being a considerable emporium of trade.

It is said that to the increase made from time to time by the British Officers in their tribute, Maharajá Wakhtsinhji, and after him Maharaja Wajesinhji assented. But those who have studied the procedure in the exaction of an enhancement of the

Increase in tribute enforced.

tribute in the ceded district, could say that a refusal to agree to such enhancement would have resulted in the loss of the entire possession for which the tribute was paid.* For a lease, originally a simple one, was gradually expanded by the over-zealous Collectors into a formidable instrument with stipulations for the increase of tribute, and was presented to the tribute payer, who had the alternative of either signing it as was laid before him or of being ejected from his hereditary possessions. He was, consequently, obliged to sign it.

The foregoing were some of the various difficulties—external difficulties and painful circumstances with which the State and its youthful Ruler, Maharajá Wajesinhji, were surrounded when Parmananddás was called upon to assume the office of Minister of the State.

Internal troubles and difficult conditions in the State when Parmananddás became Minister.

We will now notice some of the internal troubles and difficulties which existed in the State at this time.

CHAPTER V.

We have already stated that the famines of 1811-12, the fiercest and most destructive on record, which were followed in succession by famines, excessive rain, visitation of locusts, pestilence and destructive frosts, had worked havoc and brought dire calamities on and exhausted the resources of the State. Then again since the death of Rupji Desái in 1806, no one, however, able and strong, dared to take upon himself the responsible office of Minister of the State without incurring the displeasure of the British officers of the Khedá Collectorate. This fear, whether well-founded or not, had received support from the great pressure which was brought to bear by the officers on Rupji Desái himself, and afterwards on his brother Somji Desái, when he succeeded his brother as Minister, to resign the Darbár service, and serve the interests of the British. The *Jamabandi* report, dated 19th April 1814, from Mr. R. Rowels, then Collector of Kheda, clearly shows this fact, and it furthermore shows that, as a punishment to the two brothers, which in fact resulted as a punishment to their future progeny, for their refusal to turn faithless to the Darbár their hereditary *Desáigiri vatan*, in the Goghá district was

* Letter No. 2232 of 1866, Revenue Department, from the Government of Bombay to the Government of India.

transferred to another member of the family, descended from a different branch, who had worked zealously, perhaps over-zealously, against the interests of the Bháynagar Darbár, and whom Mr. Rowels had ennobled with the designation of his "Karbári at Bhavnagar." We can easily imagine the reasons which must have induced many able persons to hesitate and decline to accept the post of the Minister of State, and we can say that to Parmananddás is due great credit for his acceptance of the post under such difficult circumstances.

The administration of the State was conducted by a number of Karbharis posted to different districts to administer their affairs, under the direct supervision of the Chief. There was neither cohesion in the method of administration, nor was there a central authority, a responsible Minister, to check abuses or to regulate the finances. Of course, having regard to the condition of things existing at that time, it was necessary to place the important district of Mahuvá in the charge of a strong man to keep under control the descendants of the once notorious pirate Khashiá Kolis of Waghanagar and Mahuvá, and also equally necessary to place the district of Kundlá, another important district, in charge also of a strong man who could keep the descendants of the notorious freebooter Khumán clan of the Káthi race. And, although the Swáminárayan form of faith had reformed the once notorious Khachar Káthi of Gadhada, the turbulent element which existed on the borders of this district rendered it also necessary to keep it under a strong man, who was also called a Karbhári. In fact every large and important district had its own Karbhári. The revenue was realized by farming out districts into large or small divisions, some times a few villages in the districts. The farmers were naturally anxious and did their best to squeeze out of the cultivators and others as much as possible.

Such were the conditions which existed outside and inside the State when Parmananddás entered the service of the State.

CHAPTER VI.

The first work taken in hand by Parmananddás was financial reorganization. He had, before he accepted the State service, already assisted the Darbár to

free them from the grip of the Bâroth, Gosains, and Bâvâ money-lenders and sureties, who were gnawing at the very vitals of the State, and had, by their arrogant and overbearing conduct, become a terror to its ruler. And, after he accepted the ministership, he would have succeeded in gradually discharging the debts for which the Arab Jamedar had stood as guarantee or surety, and also the arrears of pay of the Arab soldiery for which the Jamadar in 1851 seized Mahuvâ, had not the Khuman rebellion and the successive famines occurred.

The method adopted by Parmananddâs was best suited to the time in which he lived. It was a sort of rough budget. At the end of every Hindu year, districts and their various subdivisions were farmed out to different persons. The effects of the farming system have been already described. When this was completed a *Lekh* or document in the form of an order was passed by the Hazur to the Chief Karbhâri, detailing the estimated revenues from all sources, and also the estimated expenditure under all major heads. The clear understanding between the Chief and his Minister was that the expenditure was not to exceed the revenues realized. This measure would, in a few years, have restored the finances of the State to a healthy condition, and with the cordial support of Maharâjâ Wajesinhji, Parmananddâs would have succeeded in freeing the State from all incumbrances. But for various untoward circumstances over which neither Parmananddâs nor his master, Maharâjâ Wajesinhji could have had any control this was rendered impossible. The Khuman outlawry and rebellion, which devastated the rich district of Kundlâ, and other parts of the State, the very heavy military expenditure, which had to be incurred for the suppression of the rebellion, and a succession of bad seasons, tended to upset the plans and measures which Parmananddâs had commenced to carry out. Patient, steady and systematic in his labours, he did not lose heart, but persevered in the path he had chalked out in the interests of the State.

The second measure, by no means less important than the first, was in respect of raising loans. What this plan was and how it established confidence among bankers have been stated above.

For an adequate appreciation of the wise and beneficial measures introduced by Parmananddâs, it is necessary to briefly notice here the condition which obtained in almost all the States of Kâthiâwâd at about this time.

The Peshwâ's fall from a dynastic seat, firmly established British power throughout what is now known as the Bombay Presidency. Bâji Rao was deposed and his territories were conquered by the British Government in 1818, who thus became the owners of the largest share of the Kâthiâwâd tribute, settled and fixed by Colonel Walker.

On the 1st November 1819, the Hon'ble Mr. Elphinstone, formerly British Resident at Poona became the Governor of Bombay. By this time the Government of Bombay were satisfied of the necessity of instituting the fullest inquiry into the causes which led to almost all the Kâthiâwâd States, which had now become tributary to Government, being unable to fulfil their tribute engagements, and appointed Captain Barnwell, then Assistant Resident at Baroda, to make the necessary investigation into the condition of these States. At the same time the attention of that officer was directed to the existing condition of the several Chieftains, the causes that may have led to their decline, and the measures that may be best adapted to promote the prosperity of their principalities consistently with a just regard for the engagements contracted by Colonel Walker and for the integrity of their dominions and their independence.

Anand Rao Gaekwad, dying in 1819, was succeeded by his brother Sayâji Rao. To instal him on the *Masnad*, the Governor Mr. Elphinstone proceeded to Baroda. By this time Captain Barnwell seems to have submitted his report on the deplorable condition of the Kâthiâwâd States. In para 22 of his very able and exhaustive minute on Baroda affairs, dated 18th April 1820, the Hon'ble Mr. Elphinstone summarised the then existing condition of Kâthiâwâd as follows:—"There seems to be but "one opinion among all the gentlemen who have had opportunities of judging on the alteration in the state of Kâthiâwâd "since our troops first entered that Province. All agree that it

"has declined from a state of high prosperity to one of extreme misery, that the spirit of the people is entirely broken, and that they are no longer capable of defending themselves against the Khosás* and other invaders whom they formerly were always able to repel. This unfortunate change is no doubt chiefly to be ascribed to the famine and pestilence which raged in Káthiáwád in 1813. The exactions of Bábáji in the three years preceding Colonel Walker's settlement, must have also sown the seeds of the decline of the province, but it seems also to be the general opinion that the encroachments and extortions of the Gaekwad's officers since the settlement have contributed their share to the ruin of Káthiáwád. These exactions appear to have been made under the pretence of interest on the arrears of the tribute, and of presents and fees to the officers employed, and the encroachments which are represented (by Captain Barnwell in particular) are still more injurious as stated by him to have been effected by introducing a creature of Diwánji (the Gaekwad's Commander) into the office of Minister to each of these Chiefs. By this plan some hopes of relief from pressing demands of tribute were held out to them, but in the end the Diwánji or his dependants and his new Minister preyed upon the Zamindár at their discretion. If it were desirable to restore things to their ancient footing which seems more than doubtful in the present state of the surrounding country, it is now impracticable, and there remains no alternative but to bestow effectually on our part that protection which the Zamindárs are no longer capable of affording themselves."

The Governor, on a consideration of the facts mentioned above and similar others, proposed, and Sayaji Rao Gaekwad ultimately agreed, that the British Government should collect the Gaekwad tribute in Káthiáwád, and that Sayaji Rao should engage to have no concern with his tributaries unless the British call for his aid. This arrangement culminated in a convention, dated 3rd April 1821, and Captain Barnwell,

The right of collecting Gaekwad tribute in Káthiáwád transferred to the British Government, 1820.

* Khosás, a tribe of marauders from Sindh used to raid Káthiáwád, Palanpur and other districts of Gujarat. Their daring forays in the east of Káthiáwád in 1817-18 added largely to the already existing misery.

Establishment of the Káthiáwád Political Agency 1820-22.

who was already acquainted with the condition of the Province, was appointed Political Agent, though he did not assume the management of affairs till 1822.

It would appear that after further enquiry, the Hon'ble Mr. Elphinstone in another minute observed *inter alia* that the Chiefs of the Province were formerly "constantly engaged in wars among themselves, and liable to the devastation of the Maratha army, * * They are now quite peaceable, but circumstances have prevented their being prosperous. Famine, the plague, and the cholera, and the incursions of the marauders from Cutch and the desert, have carried off a third of the population, and left almost all the Chiefs in debts and difficulty."

As the only means of securing the tribute, it had been proposed to supersede almost all the Chiefs for a term of ten or twelve years; farming their lands and reserving to them a pecuniary allowance. To the Hon'ble Mr. Elphinstone this seemed too drastic a measure.* He was content to take from them a temporary assignment of their lands, sufficient to guarantee the payment of a portion of the tribute. It was many years before Káthiáwád recovered its prosperity.

It would appear on an examination of the statement, submitted on 5th July 1831 by the Political Agent Mr. D. A. Blane, and published at pages 73 to 161 of the selections from the Records of the Government of Bombay, No. XXXIX, new series, that almost all the large States, now ranking as First or Second Class States, were more or less placed under the supervision of Government, that, while the revenues of some them were farmed out under the guarantee of Government, bankers' security under the guarantee of Government was obtained from others for the regular discharge of tribute. Not only does Bhavnagar not appear in any of these categories, but, on the contrary, the remarks made with reference to it in this same statement is worth quoting here. It is said among other things that, "In many parts

High encomium on Bhavnagar administration, 1831.

"it contains a very unruly population, and under the present want of co-operation in the punishment of banditii many afford

* M. S. Elphinstone, by J. S. Cotton, M. A. *Rulers of India Series*, Edited by Sir W. Hunter; p. 170.

"them refuge, but on the whole the management is efficiently conducted and the Thakor is a person of ability and energy." This high eulogium, recorded at a time when the condition of almost all the Káthiáwád States was considered unsatisfactory, and that too by such a shrewd and able administrator, as Mr. D. A. Blane, is very satisfactory, and is, moreover, one which the descendants of Parmananddás may justly be proud of. For it was Parmananddás who, as Chief Minister, enjoying as he did a full measure of the confidence and support of his master, Maharaja Wajesinhji, was solely responsible for the efficient management of this State.

CHAPTER VII.

The degrading position to which the Sovereign Prince of Bhavnagar was reduced in his own capital was most distressing to him and to his Minister Parmananddás. Very soon after he joined the service of the State, Parmananddás took up the matter of submitting the grievances of his Chief to Government. Happily Parmananddás had the pen of a ready writer. The representations which he prepared from time to time, among which some were for the restoration of the Sovereign rights of civil and criminal jurisdiction, were full of weighty and well-reasoned arguments, founded on unassailable grounds. These were prepared in Gujarati in the name of and signed by Maharaja Wajesinhji, and were translated into English in the Secretariat. The replies to these representations were sent in the name and over the signature of Secretary to Government, Persian Department, and, as was to be expected, these were mostly based on the well-known proverb "might is right."

During the eight years that Mr. Elphinstone was Governor of Bombay he visited every part of the Presidency twice. He visited Kachh and settled the affairs of that much disturbed State. He visited Gujarat twice, and paid a flying visit to Gogha in 1821.

When the Governor was at Goghá Maharaja Wajesinhji accompanied by his Minister Parmananddás, paid a visit to him. By this time the list of his grievances had swollen and had become a pretty large one. He was often subjected to a great many

Representation about restoration of jurisdiction submitted to Government.

Maharaja Wajesinhji visits the Governor at Goghá.

insults, indignities, hardships, and annoyances. His tribute for his villages in the ceded districts was largely increased. The Governor, Mr. Elphinstone, courteously received Maharaja Wajesinhji, listened to all his grievances patiently, and promised to give them his best consideration.

The knowledge and impression which he obtained in the course of his inquiry on different matters during his travels have all been recorded in very able and exhaustive minutes, in one of which, dated 6th April 1821, the Governor describes the effect of the introduction of the jurisdiction of the British Courts (Adalat) in the territories of the Chiefs of Gujarat situated in the ceded districts. He finds reasons to regret that some modifications were not made in the British Codes before they were applied to a people in a state of society so different from that which the British laws contemplate, and he also regrets that the effect has been to deprive these Chiefs of all their power and consequence, and nearly the whole of their revenue; and that "almost all these changes have, in effect taken place within these three years."

The Governor then suggested certain measures which had for their object the better treatment of the several petty Talukdárs of Gujarat; and with regard to the Chief of Bhavnagar he proposed that he "should be appointed a special Commissioner for his own villages in the Goghá Paragnah, with powers considerably above those of the Fouzdári Amin."

It was evident that, although the Governor was convinced of the great wrongs done to the Bhavnagar Chief by the enforcement of British Laws and Regulations in his villages in the three ceded districts, he was not able to do more than scant justice to him. He could not go against the behests of the merchant princes of Leadenhall Street, nor could he heal the wounds inflicted with a stroke of the pen by his predecessors. But he did some thing. It was in fact the beginning of a policy of more considerate treatment of Maharaja Wajesinhji, which, however, was destined to last only so long Mr. Elphinstone was at the head of the Presidency.

Mr. Elphinstone's minutes.

The Governor suggests better treatment of the Chief of Bhavnagar.

The seed sown by Parmananddás began to grow slowly. It was nearly forty years before the plant blossomed and yielded fruit. The son had the privilege of reaping the harvests of his father's sowing. For Sámaldás had an important part to play in the final settlement of the restitution of the sovereign rights of civil and criminal jurisdiction in the 116 villages situated in the ceded districts to the State, protests against the deprivation of which were commenced and unceasingly carried on by his father Parmananddás.

The first measure taken under the instructions of the Governor, with the object of affording some security against annoyance from vexatious litigation in the British Courts, was the provision made in the law (Regulation of 1823), re-enacted in clause 3 of Chapter I of Regulation V of 1827, that no suit against the Chief of Bhavnagar for land or for other immovable property which he may have acquired previous to the 31st December 1802 (the date of the treaty of Bassein) should be entertained by the British Courts, and that, likewise, no other demand whatever against the Chief of Bhavnagar which was of a date prior to 20th July 1815 (the date of Regulation VI of 1815 by which the Chief was deprived of his civil and criminal jurisdiction) shall be cognizable by the British Civil Courts.

The second measure adopted was the appointment of a *Fouzdári Amin*, or Magistrate for the Bhavnagar villages which were subjected to the operation of British Laws and Regulations. As the acceptance of any office or functions "with powers even considerably above those of a *Fouzdári Amin*" under British Laws and Regulations, as proposed by the Governor, would have been fatal to his claim for the restoration of the full civil and criminal jurisdiction his State was deprived of, and would, moreover, have been derogatory to the position of a Sovereign Chief of his standing, Mahárájá Wajesinhji refused to accept it. A near relation of his, Zálá Nanbhá, however, was appointed *Fouzdári Amin* under the District Magistrate of Ahmedábád, and the police was placed under him.

Certain exemptions from the operation of law in favour of Bhavnagar.

Appointment of a *Fouzdári Amin* for Bhavnagar.

CHAPTER VIII.

Though these measures afforded only partial relief to the Chief of Bhavnagar, they had yet the effect of rousing the ire of the Magistracy and police of Ahmedábád. Intriguing persons, traducers and a host of low characters soon found an easy, and as they thought, profitable trade in trumping up baseless and malicious charges, and fabricating and concocting evidence, not only against the Minister but against the Chief also. The Magistracy and the police easily believed all such charges, proceedings were instituted, processes and in some instances even warrants for the arrest of the Chief and his responsible Minister, were issued, and they were subjected to all sorts of indignities. All these brought out a crop of blackmailers, who, being easily believed by the Zillah authorities, had nothing to lose and everything to gain if the Chief or the Minister yielded to their threats. It would be both painful and tedious to narrate all the harassments, hardships and indignities from which the Chief and his Minister suffered in various ways from time to time. In faithfully serving his master, Parmananddás, patiently suffered the great indignity of being sent to goal on fabricated and trumped up accusations. The proceedings of the Magistrate were on appeal quashed either by the Sessions Judge of Ahmedábád or the Sadar Adalat, now High Court, and sometimes the Government of Bombay who then exercised a healthy control over the Judicial Courts of the Presidency, interfered to do justice to the Chief and his Minister. These proceedings which, in fact, amounted to persecutions against the Minister Parmananddás, were only relaxed when the blackmailers found that he remained staunch and loyal to his master, despite the frantic efforts of designing persons to malign and traduce him. They now found that Parmananddás remained deaf to the slanders and calumnies. They relaxed their efforts when they found that he stood like a rock in support of the interests of the State and the master he served even at the risk of personal inconvenience and safety. We do not wish to enlarge upon the sickening and unsavoury list of the hardships, troubles and indignities to which the Chief and his

Intrigues and plots against the Chief of Bhavnagar and his Minister Parmananddás.

Faithful and loyal services of Parmananddás.

Minister Parmananddás were so frequently subjected. But we cannot help remarking here that a less loyal, patient, and courageous Minister would have preferred his personal safety and dignity to that of his loyal and faithful duty to the State and the master he served.

CHAPTER IX.

The story of the revolt and outlawry of the Kundlá Khumáns belongs to the history of Bhavnagar. From the very time when Mahárájá Wakhtsinhji conquered Kundlá the Khumáns or most of them were impatient of the Bhávnagar rule. If they ever possessed any independent status they had lost it entirely by their own misconduct. Their rapacious habits, their hereditary love for robbery, rapine and devastation had led them to commit raids into Bhávnagar territory which brought on them severe chastisement at the hands of Maharaja Wakhtsinhji. Though apparently quieted down after this, they were only waiting for an opportunity to give free scope to their inborn habit of lawlessness. This they found after the death of Mahárájá Wakhtsinhji. In 1820, in consequence of a quarrel amongst themselves, the Khumáns went into outlawry and subsequently rose in open rebellion against the State.

The period between A. D. 1820 and 1828 was a record of crimes and excesses of a most revolting nature. The Political Agent, Captain Barnwell, on assuming control in the Province, was naturally anxious to put down this rebellion. But in spite of all measures adopted by Mahárájá Wajesinhji and the Political Agent, the crimes and excesses of the Khumáns increased. Not only was there no co-operation on the part of the neighbouring Chiefs in the punishment of such outlaws as the Khumáns, but the latter often found refuge in the Junágadh and Palitáná territories and were openly sheltered in the villages of the Jetpur Taluká.

Mahárájá Wajesinhji now (1822) employed Shevakráam Rájáram Desái as one of the Karbháris with the special duty of suppressing the Khumán outlawry. The Mahárájá with his Karbhári Shevakráam Desái often pursued the Khumáns and dispersed their bands who, when hard pressed, retired either in

the Gir Forest or in the neighbouring Jetpur villages. A chance discovery and a hot pursuit by the force from Kundlá, surprised the Khumáns in a Jetpur village, when in the scuffle Háda Khumán, the chief of the outlaws was slain, and two grand-sons and one grand-daughter of Hada were captured. This convinced the Political Agent of the fact of the Khumáns receiving shelter in Jetpur villages. Captain Barnwell at once sent for the principal shareholders of Jetpur and put them in confinement. He placed the Jetpur estate under attachment, appointing to its charge Desái Shewakráam Bhawani Shankar of Goghá with a guard of five hundred infantry and hoisted the British Flag on the ramparts of Jetpur. The Jetpur shareholder Talukdars were only released on their engaging to capture all the Khuman outlaws and hand them over to Maharaja Wajesinhji, offering as securities certain other Káthi Talukdars, among whom the Chief of Jasdan was one. In the next year, that is, 1824, the Jetpur Talukdars took the Khumáns to Bhavnagar; but after lengthy negotiations no arrangement was concluded, and the Talukdars took the Khumáns back to Jetpur from whence the outlawry was recommenced with greater ferocity than before in Bhávnagar territory.

Captain Barnwell, the strong officer whom the Káthis feared most, had by this time left the Province to go home with the famous despatch from Sir John Malcolm, then Governor of Bombay, to the Court of Directors, on the subject of the quarrel with the Judges of the Sadar Adalat of Bombay;* and the officiating incumbent of the Political Agency was not able to take any strong measures.

In 1828 Shevakaram Desái resigned the office of Chief Karbhári owing to old age. His whole time was devoted to enforcing measures for the suppression of the Khumán revolt, and Parmananddás was already conducting the duties of Chief Karbhári. Mahárájá Wajesinhji, therefore, nominated him to that post.

CHAPTER X.

In March 1828, Mr. D. A. Blane of the Bombay Civil service, was appointed Political Agent. Soon after his arrival in

* Life and correspondence of Sir John Malcolm by J. W. Kaye.

the Province he issued peremptory orders to the Káthi Talukdárs of Jetpur, Jasdan and others to deliver up the Khuman outlaws,

The Khuman outlaws delivered up by their Securities to the Political Agent, who hands them over to the Bhavnagar Darbár.

warning them at the same time that severe measures would be taken against them on their failure to carry out his orders. The outlaws were now delivered up to the Political Agent by their securities, and the

Agent handed them over to the Bhavnagar Darbár.

Now was the time for exercising patience, forbearance, tact and mercy, qualities with which Parmananddás was endowed by nature. To restore to them all their holdings, (*grás* villages), which they enjoyed before their outlawry, but which were attached by the Darbár on their revolting against their authority, would be setting a premium on outlawry, while on the other hand to confiscate to the State *all* their holdings, would for ever leave them discontented and free to act against the Darbár as they pleased. There was no doubt that the record of their crimes—crimes of the most heinous, atrocious and revolting nature which an outlaw could commit,—entitled them to no consideration. But being delivered up by their securities, and having, moreover, on their arrival at Bhavnagar, laid down their swords before Maharaja Wajesinhji in token of their loyalty and obedience to the Darbár orders, for the future they were deemed objects of mercy.

Parmananddás, however, was careful in insisting upon the condition as the basis of settlement, with the Khumáns, that some portion of their *Grás* must be assigned to the Darbár on account of the losses it had suffered—a term then used for forfeiture. In his Statistical Account of Bhavnagar, Colonel Watson very aptly summarises this settlement. “The Kathis surrendered the “undermentioned villages as compensation for the damage they “inflicted *viz.* a half share of Nesri, the entire village of Jira, a “fourth share of Vijpadi, a fourth share in Bhamodra Mota, and “a half of the villages of Mitialá, Ambaldi, Bhamodrá Náná, and “Dolti, and half of the remaining three-fourths of Bhamodrá “Mota, and in this year they agreed also to do military service. “Mr. Blane (then Political Agent) sent this arrangement to the “Bombay Government for instructions, and received their “sanction.”

Forfeiture of Gras, first precedent.

This is the first case, on the record of the Political Agency, after its establishment in the Province, of forfeiture of *Grás* to the State as a punishment for excesses committed by outlaws, and the credit of setting this first precedent is entirely due to Parmananddás. We shall have to refer hereafter to another case of forfeiture of *grás* in which also the credit of upholding the sovereign right of such punishment is entirely due to Parmananddás.

Another measure, which had for its object keeping the Khumáns in peace and quiet, was the security again obtained from the Talukdár shareholders of Jetpur. They again stood securities through the Political Agency, for the future good behaviour of the Khumáns, thus ensuring effective measures against their again breaking out in rebellion and disturbing the peace of the country.

Perpetual security for peace taken from the Khumáns.

CHAPTER XI.

The repopulation of the deserted villages of Kundla and other districts was now taken in hand. It was soon found that one of the chief obstacles to the repopulation of some of the villages of the Kundlá district was the share in the produce thereof and the *Gharkhed* or demesne lands held therein, by the Khumans and that unless a complete separation of interests was effected, constant friction would take place.

Those who have had to make peaceful and amicable arrangements of such a complicated character as the separation of interests with a *Grásiá*, can alone appreciate the great many difficulties which have to be overcome in accomplishing it. Besides the patience and tact, which Parmananddás possessed, he had won the confidence of the Khumáns in the course of the negotiation for the settlement of their *grás*. Parmananddás succeeded in effecting a separation of the interests of the Khumáns in the co-shared villages in a fair and equitable manner, which greatly pleased Mr. Blane, the Political Agent.

The repopulation of the villages was now taken in hand. The Khumáns, during their long outlawry, had laid waste and burnt not only the villages of the Kundla district, but had

Separation of interests of the Khumans: a difficult task accomplished.

committed excesses in several villages of other districts as well. Their raids and forays had reached within a few miles of Bhávnagar itself. Although Sevakarám Desái, the then Chief Karbhári, had the full support of Maharaja Wajesinhji, and of that of his purse and *sibandi* (soldiery) he did not succeed in repopulating these villages because the alarms and reports spread by the adherents of the Khumáns that they were coming to raid, drove away the people who had come to establish villages.

Restoration of peace in the districts inspired confidence in the Darbár's power of protecting them, and in a few years all the villages were repopulated and became thriving.

The method adopted by Parmananddás, although not quite free from openings for abuse, was the one most suitable to the then existing situation, and was likewise one which found favour in several places at that time.

Land Revenue system
adopted by Parmanand-
dás.

This is neither the place nor the time for entering into a discussion of the relative merits of the different systems of realizing land revenue. All systems have their inherent merits and defects. It must be said however that of all the different systems of land administration, the *Bhágvatai*, or grain share, finds favour more than other systems. Under this system the interests of the landlord and the tenant are identical. They suffer together in a bad season, and rejoice together over a prosperous harvest, and thus the system is more beneficial to both parties than a cash assessment rigidly enforced. The history of Gujarat tells us that Mirza Isa Tarkhán, the twenty-fourth Viceroy of Gujarat under the Moghals, finding the *Bhágvatai* system eminently suited to the genius of the people, introduced* it into Gujarat, in place of the money assessment, which prevailed since the time of Raja Todar Mal, and that by this measure he restored the Province in a short time to a prosperous condition. What had happened in Gujarát and elsewhere on the introduction in 1825-26 of the settlement on the Madrás principle under Captain Cruickshank, Parmananddás could not have failed to notice. The excessive character of the assessment reduced the cultivators to poverty and distress. The following is a quotation from the Bombay Administration Report for 1892-93. "Every effort was made,

* Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. VIII, p. 295.

"lawful and unlawful, to get the utmost out of the wretched
"peasantry, who were subjected to torture in some instances
"cruel and revolting beyond description, if they could or would
"not yield to what was demanded. Numbers abandoned their
"homes and fled into neighbouring Native States, large tracts of
"land were thrown out of cultivation, and in some districts no
"more than a third of the cultivated area remained in
"occupation."

The system adopted by Parmánanddás was generally the *Bhágvatai* system. His moderation and sympathetic treatment induced many people to come and settle in the deserted villages. Lands were leased to cultivators on favourable terms. And, as in consequence of the successive famines and bad seasons and the Khumán outlawry, it was almost impossible for the State to bear the expenses of repopulating a number of villages, they had to be farmed out to respectable persons who undertook to bear the cost of repopulation and of inducing cultivators to come and settle therein. At the same time the *Izardar* or farmer was bound down to respect the system of revenue collection prevailing in other villages and to conform to all village customs. The farming system, a relic of Maratha rule, was about this time largely resorted to by the British Government in the Ahmedábád and Khedá Collectories, as would appear from a minute of the Hon'ble Mr. Elphinstone, dated 6th April 1827.

These and other similar wise measures restored the Kundlá and other districts in a few years to a prosperous condition, and the luxuriant crops of sugarcane and cotton were once more smiling on their lands.

CHAPTER XII.

Within eight years from 1816 the tribute for the Darbár villages in the ceded districts had reached to Rs. 53,000, by leaps and bounds. The vehement protest of the Bhávnagar Darbár against this enhancement and their prayer to have their tribute fixed permanently were unheeded by Government. As mentioned before, the Chief had no option but to choose between the two evils, either to sign the lease as it was laid before him, thereby agreeing to the increment in his tribute as proposed or to suffer ejection from his possessions. The Darbár, therefore,

Increase in the tribute,
and Sir John Malcolm's
opinion about fixing it
permanently.

had to choose the lesser evil of signing the lease and of agreeing to the increase in their tribute.

Sir John Malcolm succeeded the Hon'ble Mr. Elphinstone in November 1827. He, like his predecessor, was firmly of opinion that a Governor of Bombay could not perform his duties satisfactorily without frequently visiting the different parts of the Presidency. At the end of 1829 he visited Baroda and Gujarat, and in the beginning of 1830 he visited Kachh and Káthiáwád. It was, probably, during his tour in Káthiáwád that he locally examined the question of the increase in tribute. In his minute penned in 1830 he examined the prevailing revenue administration of Gujarat, and made certain suggestions. "He was also," says Mr. A. Rogers in his "Land Revenue of Bombay," "as a political measure, in favour of granting the Thakor of Bhavnagar a permanent in place of a fluctuating settlement, of which the latter complained greatly." Gifted with a noble mind and a high sense of fair dealing Sir John Malcolm disapproved the treatment meted out to the Chiefs of Gujarat. But the centralization of authority with the Government of India left very little or no option to the Bombay Government. Sir John Malcolm attributed the attitude of the Supreme Government to the influence of officers who were bred in Calcutta, and who believed that the Chiefs and Jagirdárs of the Bombay Presidency were "like the Babus and Bengal Zamindars."*

By 1835-36 the amount of tribute was raised to Rs. 59,000, and in the next year it was raised to Rs. 63,000 by Mr. Jackson, then Collector of Ahmedábád. Thus in less than thirty years the tribute had been raised to nearly six times the original amount. And, although by this time it was ruled† that a Talukdar's right to his estate ceased with the expiration of his lease, and that, until the settlement was renewed,—such renewal being at the option of Government,—he had no further right to the produce of his estate, Maharaja Wajesinhji now determined to refuse to sign the lease or to pay the tribute until some satisfactory settlement was come to. His refusal to sign the lease and pay the enhanced tribute, was met by coercive measures. Mr. Jackson, who refused to listen to the protest of the Darbár, imposed a daily fine

* Life and Correspondence of Sir John Malcolm by J. W. Kaye, Vol. II, p. 543.
† The Land Revenue of Bombay by A. Rogers, Vol. I pp. 32, 33.

(Mohsal) of Rs. 300 until the increased amount of the tribute was paid. After waiting for nearly a month, during which time representations were repeatedly submitted to the Revenue Commissioner and to the Bombay Government, the increased amount was paid into the Gogha Treasury. But the Collector was still relentless. From the amount paid on account of the tribute the Collector deducted Rs. 8,000 on account of the daily fine of Rs. 300 which he had continued for 27 days. The Government of Bombay, however, were less hard than the Collector. They ordered the refund of the fine, and it was very probably under their orders that the amount of tribute was reduced to Rs. 53,000 in 1838-39. As no alternative was left to Mahárájá Wajesinhji, he agreed to a long lease at this amount.

We will here leave the question of tribute which will have to be adverted to further on as we proceed.

CHAPTER XIII.

Anxious as Parmananddás was for a peaceful settlement with the Khumáns, for the repopulation of the villages of the Kundlá and other districts, and for an equitable adjustment of the ever increasing amount of tribute, he was equally anxious to restore the almost vanishing trade of the port of Bhavnagar. The rivalry of the British ports of Dholera and Goghá with the port of Bhávnagar, and the strong measures which the British officers took from time to time to divert trade from the port of Bhavnagar to those ports, had nearly ruined its trade, and it required strenuous efforts on the part of Parmananddás to sustain what little vitality was left in it.

It was the inland position of the port of Bhavnagar and the firmness of Mahárájá Wajesinhji and his faithful and loyal Minister, which saved the port from falling into the vortex of the ordinary British Indian ports. For, as observed by Sir Lewis Tupper in "Our Indian Protectorates," "to secure the coasts and the rivers was a part, and a consistent part of, Lord Wellesley's general design."

We have already stated how, and with what object, the British Government obtained the ports of Dholera and Goghá between 1802-3. At this time there was no trade either at Dholera or Goghá, but the trade at the port of Bhavnagar was in

a flourishing condition. In 1807-8 Colonel Walker* found the port of Bhavnagar "the chief mart, and the channel of the "import and export trade of Káthiawád, Áhmedábád and "Marwar." When the port of Dholera was obtained from the irresponsible Grasiás "it was confidently predicted that in the "strong hands of the Company a port would speedily arise which "would supplant Bhávnagar, as Bhávnagar has supplanted Goghá."† Had the efforts of the officers of the Company been confined to fair and legitimate competition, the port of Bhávnagar would not have suffered the heavy losses which it admittedly suffered. The strong hands of the officers of the Company became stronger after the treaty of Bassein. Duties were considerably lowered on merchandize which was taken to the port of Dholera instead of to the port of Bhavnagar. Orders were then issued to warn traders, who lived in British territory, not to take goods to the port of Bhávnagar, and, not content with this, posts were established at Vartej and Nári, the two main trade routes to Bhávnagar, which levied prohibitive duties on goods passing to Bhavnagar, but which allowed goods to go duty free to the port of Goghá. By these, and by similar other measures, trade was largely diverted from Bhavnagar to Dholera and Goghá, and when in 1817-18, Parmananddás was appointed Minister, very little, if any, trade was left existing at the port of Bhavnagar.

Patient, circumspect, and with a home-bred fundamental knowledge of the wants of traders and merchants, Parmananddás soon adopted measures which gradually brought back some of the traders and merchants who had forsaken Bhavnagar.

It would be remembered that Government had a share in the sea customs at Bhávnagar which was managed by their officers and that the Darbár share was managed by the Darbár officers. The rate of customs levied, and the tariff of prices on which they were levied, by the British Officers was a heavy one, and, although alterations and modifications in the rate of levying customs and the tariff of prices were made from time to time in favour of British ports in the Bombay Presidency, the one in use

* Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. IV, p. 91.

† Selections from the records of the Bombay Government No. XXXVII, new Series, pp. 104-111.

at the port of Bhavnagar was enforced without any alteration whatsoever, and the frequent complaints of the Darbár remained unnoticed. To counterbalance the heavy losses which would otherwise fall on traders and merchants, Parmananddás advised Maharaja Wajesinhji to lower the rates of customs he levied on account of the Darbár share, and also to lower the tariff of prices. Although this measure resulted in heavy loss to the customs receipts of the Darbár it was deemed necessary to preserve the trade of the port of Bhavnagar.

The next measure adopted, an important one, was lending money to those merchants who brought cotton to Bhávnagar. The method employed was that the Darbár lent money to the merchants at a rate of interest considerably lower than that asked elsewhere. The merchants were thereby enabled to offer the same attractions to the travelling agents, who, consequently, drew a large portion of the cotton produce of the surrounding non-British country to Bhavnagar. Capital being a necessity, this ready command of it was an advantage to the merchants not outweighed by the low customs which they paid to the Darbár.

There was yet another important measure which Parmananddás adopted to save the trade of Bhavnagar from total ruin.

On the decline of the Maratha power in Gujarat, Wajsur

Wajsur ná valavum or black-mail of Wajsur on traders at the British port of Dholera.

Khachar, the notorious Chief of Jasdan, had extended his inroads into the districts of Dhandhuka and Ranpur, among others; and the black-mail that he exacted was known by the name of *Wajsur nu valavun*. To such an extent had this nuisance grown that on the cession of the port of Dholera it was found convenient by the British Government to sanction the payment of this black-mail. Out of the Dholera dues one-third was, under the sanction of Government, paid to the Chief of Jasdan for passports or policies of insurance against the plundering attacks of his clansmen,* and the merchants, who resorted to Dholera, were permitted to secure the safe transit of their goods by paying Wajsur his fees. The amount paid from the Dholera dues was commuted in 1817 into a fixed payment equal to the average of the past receipts. Other Káthi Chiefs besides Jasdan received regular contributions from the

* Bombay Gazetteer Vol. IV p. 92.

merchants. Mr. Diggle estimated that in the Dholera subdivision alone Rs. 19,000 a year were paid by the traders to petty Chiefs nominally for protection, really for forbearance.

So far as the State of Bhavnagar was concerned, Wajsur had become wiser after the heavy chastisement inflicted on him by Maharaja Wakhtsinhji who took Jasdán and humbled him.

However, to secure merchants and producers of cotton against molestation by plunderers they were furnished with escorts by Parmananddás. They were thus enabled to take away the money or merchandize to their homes without any payment at all.

In A. D. 1825, a famine occurred throughout the Province.

Famine of A. D. 1825. Mahárájá Wajesinhji, who traded largely on his own account and owned several ships, sent eleven ships to foreign ports to bring grain, and by importing largely much alleviated the sufferings of his subjects due to famine throughout his dominions. This famine fell with special severity upon the Bhavnagar State. The rainfall was deficient, and the national calamity was aggravated by disturbances in the State. Jogidás and other Khumáns, who had risen in rebellion against the State, committed heinous crimes and depredations, and burnt many villages. So desperate were the inroads of these marauders, and so intense was the distress caused by the failure of rains that but for the prompt and generous measures taken by Mahárájá Wajesinhji, and the assiduity with which these measures were carried out by Parmananddás, the consequences would have been most serious.

CHAPTER XIV.

But although Parmananddás had successfully managed the famine operations, had restored peace in the State, had turned the Kundlá district from waste into a garden land, had established the credit of the State on a sound and firm footing, had redeemed the trade of the port of Bhávnagar from sure and certain death, and had rendered numerous other valuable services, the officers (Revenue, Magistracy and Police) of Ahmadábád left him no peace. Their interference in the affairs of Bhavnagar became every day more minute and, although Parmananddás opposed this with all his

ability, and bitterly resented it, the onward progress of interference continued unabated. Not only the Minister but also the Chief himself remained in constant fear of ill-treatment at the hands of those against whose actions they continuously complained. The tribute was increased to an enormous amount, the mint at Bhávnagar,* an unquestionable attribute of sovereign authority, was suppressed, the Darbár's share in the sea and land customs of Goghá, collected by their own establishment, was first stopped and then arbitrarily commuted in 1818. This last was considered one of the chief obstacles to the success of the plan for attracting trade to the port of Goghá, while the trade at the port of Bhavnagar, in which the continuance of the Government share was considered no obstacle, was ruined. While several vexatious inland imposts, which hindered the trade finding its way to the British ports of Dholera and Gogha, were forbidden and abolished by specially promulgated proclamations in 1817, new inland imposts were purposely established to prevent trade from seeking the port of Bhávnagar. Several other rights and privileges of the Chief of Bhávnagar were either trampled on or interfered with, and he and his Minister were often fined for most trivial matters. The list of grievances had greatly increased by 1836.

Parmananddás, always active for the preservation and the safeguarding of the rights and honour of his Chief, lost no time in approaching the authorities with representations on each occasion whenever an injurious or oppressive measure was enforced by the authorities of the Ahmadábád Zillah. So numerous and incessant had the complaints become, that at last in 1836 the Government of Sir Robert Grant appointed a commission consisting of Mr. Pelly, Commissioner of Customs, Mr. Jackson, Collector of Ahmadábád, and Mr. Erskine, Political Agent of Káthiáwád, to inquire into and report on the grievances of the Darbár. The two latter officers deputed one of their assistants to take their place on the Commission. Parmananddás represented the State before the Commission.

The Commission held several sittings at Goghá, discussed his several grievances with Mahárájá Wajesinhji personally and with his Minister Parmananddás, and some of the grievances

* Minute by Sir H. S. Maine, No. 22, March 22nd, 1864. The Government of India by Sir Courtenay Ilbert p. 461.

were redressed, such as, for instance, compensation was fixed for the Darbár's right in the sea and land customs and other rights in Goghá, and for the loss occasioned by the stopping of the coinage of money at Bhavnagar.*

And here we record with pleasure an instance of the eminent service which Parmananddás performed, and of which his descendants may justly feel proud. As a result of the strong representations made on several occasions to the Government of Bombay, and repeated before the Commission by Parmananddás, the Government of Sir Robert Grant (1835-37) proposed the restoration of the civil and criminal jurisdiction to the Bhavnagar Darbár, of which it was deprived in 1815, but the merchant princes of Leadenhall Street still remained unmoved. But the opinion of the Bombay Government of 1837 served the just cause of the Bhavnagar Darbár in 1853, for which credit is entirely due to Parmananddás.

As the engagements entered into by the Chiefs in 1807-8,

Establishment of the
Court of Criminal Justice
in Káthiáwád, 1831.

besides considerations of financial and political expediency, prevented the subjection of the Káthiáwád Chiefs to ordinary

British rule; and, moreover, as no course of reform was open save to introduce a special authority suited to the obligations of the British Government, the actual condition of the country and the usages and character of its inhabitants, it was proposed to establish a Court of Criminal Justice of Káthiáwád, with the Political Agent (now Agent to the Governor) or an assistant deputed by him, as President, with three or more members, selected by the President from among the Talukdárs and principal officers of the Darbár. The Court of Directors in 1830 while approving the institution of the Court observed that "we are glad to find that it has the complete concurrence of the Chiefs themselves."

CHAPTER XV.

Following in chronological order we now come to the question of assignment of *Grás* to the two sons and three grandsons of Maharájá

Assignment of *Gras* to
the cadets.

Wajesinhji, which arose while Parmanand-

dás was Minister, and gave not a little trouble.

* Aitchison's Treaties Vol. VI. New edition, p. 263.

Mahárájá Wajesinhji had three sons, viz. (1) Bhávsinhji, (2) Nársinhji and (3) Akherajji: the latter two were uterine brothers by Bái Nahanibá. The heir-apparent, Kuwár Bhávsinhji, died during the life-time of his father, leaving four sons, viz. (1) Dajirajji or Akherajji who, on the death of his father became heir-apparent, (2) Jaswantsinhji, (3) Rupsinhji and (4) Devisinhji. While the former two were born by separate mothers, the latter two were uterine brothers.

In every Rájput State, where the custom of primogeniture obtains, the younger sons, called in the common parlance of the country, *Bhayad*, have an inherent right to receive certain portion of their ancestral property in *Grás*—called *Kapál Grás* or forehead *grás*—in appanage which, in proportion to the capability of the State, may be either one or more than one village or areas, and which on the death of the grantee without male issue reverts to the State.

As Mahárájá Wajesinhji advanced in age the question of making *Grás* provision for his sons and grandsons became more acute. In consequence of the great influence which the mother of his two sons had gained over him, he desired to make inordinate grants of *Grás* to his two sons, to which the heir-apparent very properly objected. We will not enter into the details of this dispute in which, in order to please the Mahárájá, some of his officers sided with him, while other officers of the State to carry favour with the heir-apparent who, they knew, would come to the *Gadi* at no distant date, sided with the latter. But it may be said to the credit of Parmananddás that he remained perfectly neutral.

When, at last, the truth was brought home to Mahárájá Wajesinhji by his friend Colonel Lang, the Political Agent, that the inordinate grant would result in the dismemberment of the State which Government would not permit, he granted three villages each to his two sons, and three villages each to his three grandsons. Although at this time Parmananddás had retired from active service he was consulted both by Mahárájá Wajesinhji and Colonel Lang.

How prudent, circumspect and far-sighted Mahárájá Wajesinhji was, and how carefully he safeguarded the right of

reversion of the State, can best be gathered from the fact that he made these grants in severalty and by separate *lekhs* (grants), thereby shutting out all future questions of joint grants or co-parcenary.

CHAPTER XVI.

While Parmananddās was engaged before the Commission of 1836, Sadul Kháshíá of Monpur, a village under the district of Mahuvá, began to give trouble. He belonged to a tribe of Mers or Kolis, who claim their descent from Visoji, one of the sons of Ranoji, and a grandson of Sejakji Gohil, the founder of the Gohil principalities in Káthiáwád. Visoji, after deserting his parental home, married a daughter of Dhan Mer, the celebrated Mer Chief of Dhandhuká, and settled at Khás, a village in the neighbourhood of Dhandhuká. It is after the village of Khas that the descendants of Visoji are called Khashiá.

Gradually finding their way to Mahuvá and the neighbouring sea-shore they took to piracy, and became a terror on the sea. They were routed by Mahárájá Wakhtsinhji, who, after his conquest of Mahuva, granted them certain villages for their maintenance.

Nothing occurred for over half a century to disturb the peace of that part of the country where Monpur is situated.

It would appear that Sadul had inherited without exception all the habits of lawlessness of his ancestors. After the death of his father, Samat Khashiá, Sadul began to associate with dacoits and highway robbers, and harboured and sheltered outlaws and other criminals. Eventually in 1836 he made a daring attack on the temples of the Jains on the Shetrunjaya hill, and carried off large booty. On the complaint of Palitána and that of the Jain community, the Political Agent directed Bhavnagar either to produce the guilty or persons to pay compensation. This was in accordance with the terms of the *Fáel-Zamin* Bond which Bhavnagar, with certain other States of Káthiáwád, had executed at the time of the permanent tribute settlement. To enforce the demand the Political Agent subsequently imposed a *Mohsal* (daily fine) on the State. The Darbár now *Mohsalled* (imposed daily fine on) Sadul Khashiá. At this time Champraj

Wala of Charkhá, a separate tribute-paying Tálukdár, then a notorious outlaw against Amreli, was receiving shelter in the house of Sadul. He, seeing the annoyance which the Darbári *Mohsals* gave to Sadul, incited him to join with him in outlawry holding out to him hopes of recovering Mahuvá. Sadul, a daring and reckless spirit by birth, seduced by the picture of an outlaw's life, joined Champráj with a large band of bad characters. During his outlawry he committed several heinous crimes, and received shelter in the Gir and in Junágadh territory.

The stringent measures adopted by Mahárájá Wajesinhji proved successful at last. Sadul was in 1840 surprised in a Koli's house in the village of Motha of the district of Uná under Junágadh, by the Bhavnagar soldiery. He was captured and brought to Bhavnagar.

As Sadul's first crime was committed on the Shetrunjay hill in Palitána, and as that State was then held in farm under the guarantee of Government, by the Ahmadábád banker, Sheth Wakhatchand Khushalchand, in consequence of accumulation of debt, etc., Sadul was sent to the Political Agent by Mahárájá Wajesinhji for trial of all the crimes which he had committed while in outlawry.

Sadul was tried by the Criminal Court of Justice of Káthiáwád, presided over by the Political Agent, Mr. D. A. Blane. He was convicted and sentenced to suffer ten years imprisonment, and his entire *Grás* was declared forfeited to the Bhávnagar Darbár. However, as provision had to be made for Sadul's two sons and for himself should he survive his imprisonment, the Darbár, by separate *Lekhs*, regranted the villages of Jámbura and Chuná to each of his two sons and the village of Monpur to Sadul Khashiá. As the sanction of Government was necessary for the transference of the prisoner to the Ahmadábád Jail, the proceedings of the Court were submitted to the Government. In according sanction the following letter,* No. 881, Bombay Castle, dated 29th March 1841, Political Department, was addressed to the Political Agent.

* Printed collection of Government Resolutions, Vol. I, p. 50.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated 23rd January last, submitting the proceedings of the Court of Criminal Justice for Káthiáwád in the trial of Sadul Khashiá for having been in rebellion against the Thakor of Bhavnagar.

2. In reply, I am directed to inform you that the Honourable the Governor in Council concurs in the conviction of the prisoner, and confirms the sentence which has been passed on him by the Court, namely, imprisonment for a period of ten years, and to furnish efficient security prior to being set at liberty.

3. In the opinion of the Government, however the sentence of imprisonment for life would have been a more appropriate punishment for the great offences which the prisoner has committed.

4. The Governor in Council sanctions the forfeiture of the prisoner's Grás and the appropriation of the amount in the manner proposed by you.

5. The prisoner should be transferred to the Ahmadábád jail for the purpose of undergoing his sentence under the provisions of Regulation IX of 1833.

Here again was a clear and undoubted case of sentence of forfeiture of *Grás* for crimes committed while in rebellion against the Darbár, and the precedent established by Parmananddás in the case of the Kundlá Khumáns of forfeiture of Grás and of furnishing efficient security, was closely followed. It must in truth be owned that the credit of establishing the precedents is entirely due to Parmananddás.

CHAPTER XVII.

In 1845, the heir-apparent Kumar Shri Bhávsinhji died at Sihor. This was a heavy blow in his old-age to Mahárájá Wajesinhji, which was aggravated by the indignity which the Ahmadábád police inflicted on him on this occasion. One Dharamchand, a notorious character who lived by black-mailing, well knowing that the Mahárájá would rather pay any amount of money he would stipulate than suffer indignity, accused the favourite Rani of Mahárájá Wajesinhji and her two sons before the Magistrate of Ahmadábád of having, by means of sorcery and enchantment, taken the life of the heir-apparent. It is scarcely necessary to say that the Magistrate at once dismissed the charge which was so incredible and atrocious. Dharmchand was not satisfied with this result. Seeing that the Mahárájá and his

Death of the Heir-Apparent Kumar Shri Bhávsinhji.

Minister treated with contempt all his threats he, though defeated on one point, tried the success of another. He now trumped up an accusation against the Mahárájá's two younger sons of having procured the death of the heir-apparent by poison. On this accusation being brought before the Magistrate of Ahmadábád, he directed the police of Goghá to investigate the charge, which they did in a most vexatious manner, insisting on examining not only the Chief (Mahárájá Wajesinhji) and his two younger sons, but his Ráni also; an indignity to which no Rájput of position should be subjected, much less one of such high rank as Mahárájá Wajesinhji who, though deprived of his sovereign jurisdiction and authority in his own capital, was an acknowledged sovereign Prince in the other parts of his territory.

Finding that the police of Goghá were bent upon humiliating him in the eyes of his own subjects as well as in those of his brother Chiefs throughout the Province, Mahárájá Wajesinhji deputed his Minister Parmananddás to Ahmadábád to appeal to the good sense of the Magistrate. Parmananddás so convinced the Magistrate of the inherent impossibility of poisoning the heir-apparent, who lived with his mother and wives at Sihor, while the younger sons lived at Bhavnagar, and the one had never seen or met the others for some years past, that the Magistrate summarily dismissed the charge.

CHAPTER XVIII.

In 1841-42, Mahárájá Wajesinhji ordered the levy of a small tax on all alienated lands. Although this tax had become a source of large revenue in the neighbouring British territory, it was altogether a new tax in the Bhavnagar State. In consequence of the lawlessness then prevailing in the country, and as the State contained in many parts a very unruly population which held or had occupied lands in consideration for service, grave doubts were entertained as regards the success which this new policy would be attended with. The need for service had greatly decreased with the restoration of peace in the State. But it was feared that some of the service-holders of the unruly tribes might give trouble. And this fear was not without foundation. For directly steps were taken for levying this tax some of these people began to show signs of opposition and unrest. But the moderation,

firmness and tact with which Parmananddás dealt with all such truculent people allayed the fears of all, and the tax was successfully recovered for about two or three years when it was, after Parmananddás' retirement, abandoned to be revived in the Ministership of his grandson Vithaldás.

In 1844, the steps taken by the Government of Bombay resulted in heavy loss in revenue to the Bhavnagar Darbár. By Act No. XIX of 1844, Government abolished town duties and *Makát* and all other taxes on trades and professions within the Bombay Presidency. For an adequate perception of the grievousness of the wrong, injustice and the worry inflicted by this measure on the Darbár, it is necessary to give briefly a few facts bearing on this subject.

It must be stated at the outset that although the loss occasioned to Government by the abolition of these taxes was more than fully compensated by the increase in the salt tax, the enforcement of this Act was insisted upon without any compensating gain in those villages of the State which were placed under British Laws and Regulations.

The excise on salt in the Bombay Presidency only dates from 1838* when a tax of eight annas a maund was imposed and transit duties and other vexatious taxes were abolished by Act XXVII of 1837. This tax being of a fiscal nature the provisions of the Act were not, as they could not be, enforced in the Bhavnagar villages. The whole revenue† derived from the salt tax at Bombay was about Rs. 2,75,000; which rose to Rs. 23,58,220 in 1849-50.

Pending the completion of the inquiries which were instituted as regards the origin and extent of certain duties and local cesses within the Presidency of Bombay, the salt‡ tax was raised to Re. 1, on every Maund of 3,200 *Tolás* weight of salt from September 1st, 1844, in order to equalise the average price of salt then obtaining in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay.

* Narin's Revenue Handbook, 3rd edition, p. 284.

† Modern India by George Campbell; late of the Bengal Civil Service Second Edition, p. 386.

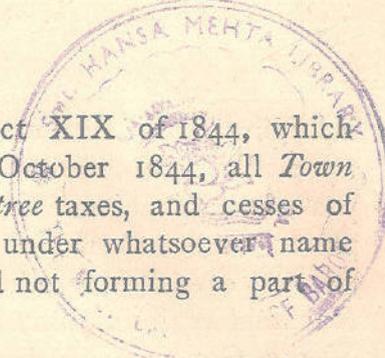
‡ Act XVI of 1844.

Act XVI was soon followed by Act XIX of 1844, which enacted "that from the 1st day of October 1844, all *Town duties, Kasab Vera Mohtar fas, Balutree* taxes, and cesses of every kind on trades and professions under whatsoever name within the Presidency of Bombay, and not forming a part of the land revenue, shall be abolished."

As no British enactments, other than the Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure, had ever been applied to Bhavnagar itself and the villages of which the Darbár were deprived of their jurisdiction, and as, moreover, the enforcement of this Act was tantamount to direct interference in the fiscal and municipal economy of the State, Mahárájá Wajesinhji very naturally refused to enforce this Act. But his refusal, beyond delaying the introduction of the Act, proved of no avail. For, although this Act had come into operation in other parts of the Bombay Presidency immediately after the Act was passed, it was not until July 1845 that it was enforced in the Bhavnagar villages under compulsion from the Revenue officers of the Bombay Government.

Mahárájá Wajesinhji was very naturally alarmed at this fresh instance of high-handed action of Government officers, which not only deprived him of a large source of annual revenue to his State, but had the effect of setting a pernicious precedent in respect of the application of British Revenue enactments to his villages, placed under British jurisdiction. On the one hand, having had no alternative left to him, he had agreed in 1840 to pay the large amount of Rs. 53,000 on account of his tribute fixed by Mr. Vibert, the Revenue Commissioner, Northern Division, and now on the other he was to be deprived of an income twice as much as the amount of tribute. It is hardly necessary to say here that Mahárájá Wajesinhji could ill-afford to suffer such a heavy loss.

Fortunately at about this time Mr. D. A. Blane who was for several years in Káthiáwád as Political Agent, was Revenue Commissioner of Northern Division. He was a sympathetic officer, endowed with just and fair views, and having seen, while in Káthiáwád, the *status* and privileges which the several Chiefs,



Compulsory introduction of Act XVI of 1844 in the Bhavnagar villages.

including that of Bhavnagar, enjoyed, he at least did not look upon the rights and privileges which Maharaja Wajesinhji possessed and enjoyed in his own capital and in the villages placed under British laws and regulations, with the same jealous eye as the other officers of the Ahmedabad Zillah. Mahārājā Wajesinhji, by this time had gained enough experience of the Government system of red-tape-ism to know that no number of representations would help him in removing this stupendous wrong. He, therefore, deputed his Karbhāri Parmananddās to submit his new grievance to Mr. Blane. Parmananddās found him sympathetic but, as the provisions of the Act were being enforced under Government orders, he could render no other assistance beyond assuring him that he would not force Maharaja Wajesinhji to pay the amount of the tribute (Rs. 53,000) which he had not paid from the time of the compulsory abolition of the Town Duties in Bhavnagar and the other villages.

As soon as the action of Maharaja Wajesinhji in refusing to make the payment of the tribute was reported to Government, he was informed that steps would be taken to give him justice.

Several officers were deputed from time to time to inquire and report as to the amount of compensation which may be found due to the Darbār. The amount suggested was considered extravagantly large though on a subsequent careful examination of it it was found to be the lowest one. The Darbār were then approached with different proposals such as a life-grant, or a bond in lieu of compensation, but none of these were accepted as it was a question of perpetual compensation.

By 1846 the Darbār were in a position to form a correct estimate of the annual loss inflicted on the State by the abolition of town and other duties. This estimate came to over a lakh of rupees. But besides this annual loss of revenue, there was another and a very serious loss which no amount of money could compensate. The Darbār considered these taxes as old and hereditary rights and a source of power and importance as such taxes could be imposed by the power alone to which sovereign authority appertained. And Mahārājā Wajesinhji was fully prepared to brave all difficulties rather than give up the attribute of his vanishing sovereign authority in his own capital.

That the Darbār had suffered a very heavy loss by the abolition of the town duties otherwise called *Sāyar* duties or *Sāyar Verā*, is shown by the fact that in the agreement concluded between the British Government and His Highness Jaswantsinhji on the 22nd December 1860, the Darbār were given credit for the amount of Rs. 12,21,041-13-7 on account of the loss they sustained from July 1845 to May 1861. This comes to an annual average of about Rs. 75,000 which was arrived at after various deductions being, in some cases arbitrarily made in almost all the different items of the revenue from these taxes.

CHAPTER XIX.

In 1847, Parmananddās resigned the office of Minister owing to advancing years, and Mahārājā Wajesinhji's private Karbhāri, Girjāshankar Karunāshankar dying this year, the Mahārājā entrusted the Karbhār to Messrs. Gavarishankar Udayshankar and Desāi Santokrām, son of the old Minister Shevakrām Rājārām, in joint charge. Broken down in health by the incessant worries and troubles given him by the Magistracy and Police of the Ahmedābād Zillah, Parmananddās died within three years of his retirement from the active service of the State.

Of Parmananddās it may truly be said that he died in harness. Up to the time of his death he was thoroughly trusted and consulted by Mahārājā Wajesinhji on all important affairs concerning the State, and he was often deputed with Gavari-shankar to advice and assist him whenever there were important matters either before the Political Agency or the Zillah authorities. During his long service extending over thirty years he never gave cause to Maharaja Wajesinhji to doubt his good faith or sincerity. And yet we are told that on one occasion in 1824-25 doubting the good faith of Parmananddās in connection with a Civil Suit instituted by a banker of Bhavnagar in the Ahmadabad Court against Maharaja Wajesinhji, the Mahārājā approached Vithal Rao Divanji, said to have been then Gaekwad Subah or Viceroy at Amreli for the loan of the services of his brother for the post of his Karbhāri. Such a statement ought never to have been allowed to appear in the place in which it has appeared. Absolutely without foundation as this statement would

Retirement of Parmananddās from active service 1847-50.

appear to be, it bears on its face the stamp of improbability. In the first place so shrewd and cautious a prince as Maharaja Wajesinhji would never have raised and promoted Parmananddás to such a high and responsible post as that of his Chief Karbhári if Parmananddás had ever given him cause to doubt his good faith and sincerity. Then in the second place the story of Mahárájá Wajesinhji approaching Vithal Ráo Divánji in 1824-25 would appear absurd and incredible to all students of the history of Baroda and Káthiáwád. For Vithal Ráo Divánji was not Subah or Viceroy of Amreli in 1824-25 he having left Káthiáwád for good in 1820,* and there was the British Political Agency already established in Káthiáwád in 1820-22. Vithal Rao Divánji had, so far as the Káthiáwád States were concerned, ceased to be a person of any consequence as in the course of Captain Barnwell's inquiry so many abuses of power and instances of extortion on the part of the Divánji and his adherents were brought to light that the Hon'ble Mr. Elphinstone† was anxious for his removal from Káthiáwád, as it would take away one of the principal obstacles to the sort of settlement which the Governor desired to make in the Province. Vithal Ráo Divánji, therefore, was removed in 1820 from Káthiáwád. He was afterwards thrust on Sayaji Ráo Gaekwád as his Minister, which action ultimately, with other causes, resulted in an open rupture in the relations of the Gaekwád with the British Government, and the sequestration for a time of several districts including Amreli.

As Minister of Bhávnagar Parmananddás was respected by the officers of the Political Agency, and loved by the people of the State. He was one of the most popular Ministers who had the privilege of administering the affairs of the State. He was with the people and of the people but never over the people. It would be difficult for those who are unfamiliar with native customs and manners to understand how deeply the sentiment of the people is touched, and how openly they show veneration and respect to their Chief and Minister though placed beyond the reach of their power and authority. Such people still recognize

* Colonel Jackson in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency Vol. VIII, p. 364.
† Elphinstone's Minute, dated April 18th 1820.

their Chief as their *Dhani* or *Lord* even though the British Courts may exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction in his estate.

As an instance of the high respect in which Parmananddás was held by the officers of the Káthiáwád Political Agency and the Bombay Government we may mention here that he was the only Minister, with the exception of that of Junágadh, who was considered worthy of a title being prefixed to his name. In a list* of persons of respectability, including Government servants, who were addressed with the title of *Azam*, submitted to Government on 28th February 1853, by the Political Agent, we find the name of Parmananddás, among certain Ruling Chiefs and persons "of respectability" who were entitled to the honorary title of *Azam*.

Sir Roper Lethbridge, in the list of Indian Titles, with a glossary of their meaning, given at pages XI to XXIII of his well-known work. "The Golden Book of India" gives the meaning of the title of *Azam* as "*Very great*."

Looking now at such a distance of time, when titles and honours are so freely bestowed, and when the title of *Azam* is used as a prefix to even a petty officer such as a Nyáyádhish or a Thánedár, we can well afford to discount the value of that title like a depreciated coin. But, when we consider the fact that before 1861 titles and honours were sparingly conferred by the Imperial Government on deserving persons, that titular distinctions in India have their political and official value, that with the exception of Junágadh only two of the First Class Chiefs, namely that of Bhávnagar and of Nawanager, have been mentioned in the list as entitled to the title of *Azam*, that none of the other First Class Chiefs, or, indeed any other Chiefs of Káthiáwád, and that none of the Ministers of any State except that of Junágadh, were deemed worthy of that title, we might learn to set a high value on that title of which Parmananddás was considered worthy. How particular were the officers of the Political Agency in those days in even showing a slight mark of respect to persons of high rank and respectability may be best

* Selections from the records of the Bombay Government No. XXXIX and Series, p. 361.

seen from the fact that most of the Ministers of even the First Class States were not deemed entitled to sit on a chair—they had to remain standing in the presence of the officers. It was only in Colonel Keatinges' time that all the Ministers of First Class States got permission, so to speak, to sit on a chair under his Circular* No. 4 of 11th February 1863.

We have already briefly noticed the suppression of the revolts of the Kundlá Khumans and of that of Sadul Khashia of Mopur, and we have also briefly stated about the repopulation of the several villages and large tracts of lands laid waste by these marauders. Speaking about Mr. Samaldás' family at the opening ceremony of the Samaldás Memorial College performed by His Excellency Lord Reay, late Governor of Bombay, on December 17th, 1886 he, in alluding to Parmanandás' administration, observed that, :—" Of his good deeds we may " chronicle the suppression of outlawry of the Káthis of Kundlá, " and the Khashiás of Mahuvá, and a subject in which I am " much interested, and which is as important in 1886 as it was in " 1828—I mean the cultivation of waste lands."

Observations made by Lord Reay late Governor of Bombay on Parmanandás administration.

CHAPTER XX.

Retrospective view of some of the important items of Parmananddas' Administration.

In honestly appreciating the administration of Parmanandás history will pass its judgment not by the standard of the time in which we live, but by the standard of the time in which he lived and worked for the good of the State. Let us by our present day experience, examine some of the principal branches of administration, such as Revenue, Education, Justice, Public Works, Medical Institutions, which did not exist in Parmanandás' time, and then venture to offer observations on each of them in the light of the available contemporary records or authorities. Let us say at once that the revenue of the State was small, and that there were no Educational Institutions, Courts of Justice, Public Works, Medical Institutions and other agencies in Bhavnagar State in Parmánanddas' time which we see at present

* Káthiáwád Local Directory, 1871, p. 256.

in it and in almost all the States in the Province, and now let us offer an explanation on each of these subjects, judging them by the standard of the time at which Parmanandás worked as Karbhári or Minister of Bhavnagar, and not forgetting the great many difficulties both internal and external which existed to impede any and all attempts at progressive administration.

The estimated revenue of the State, which has been given from time to time in the printed records of Government and of those of the Bhávnagar State, has been tabulated below:—

Year. A. D.	Popula- tion.	Amount of Revenue.	Authority.
1807-8		Rs. 7,00,000	Appendix to Colonel Walker's report D. 15th May 1808.
1831	3,80,000	7,05,000	Selections from the records of the Bombay Govt. No. XXXIX p. 748.
1854	2,07,900	8,50,000	Do. p. 380.
1864		8,00,000	Aitchison's Treaties, etc., Vol. VI, Edition of 1864.
1870	4,00,000	20,00,000	Káthiáwád Local Directory for 1870, pp. 172-3.
1876	4,03,754	25,00,000	Aitchison's Treaties, etc., Vol. IV, Edition 1876, p. 117.
1898	4,67,282	35,00,000	Do. Vol. VI, Edition of 1892, p. 197.
1907-8	4,12,664	32,75,336	Report on the Administration of the Bhavnagar State for 1907-8.
1909-10	4,40,236	32,48,819	Report on the Administration of the Bhavnagar State for 1910-11.

The increase in revenue in comparatively recent times has been due, as is well known, to various causes, among which the chief was the rise in value of cotton during the year of the American War (1863-64). The high price which cotton fetched in the market brought large tracts of land under cotton cultivation. The semi-barbarous condition of the country, when murder, highway robbery, abduction, arson and self-outlawry and other similar crimes were rampant throughout the province, to which the State of Bhavnagar was no exception, greatly retarded progress and prosperity. The very low price which then obtained, was another of the several other causes, which brought a small revenue to the State. There is yet another cause, mentioned by Colonel Barton, the late Political Agent, in his contribution on revenue and finance to the Káthiáwád Gazetteer (p. 337). He says "There is always a large uncertain quantity never brought to book in State accounts but credited to the private income of the Chief or to members of his family. Villages are assigned in maintenance or alienated as appanages to sons and other relations, or taxes are farmed and their proceeds carried to some private accounts." This practice prevailed in every State large and small in the province. Speaking of the increase in the revenue of all the States in the province, Colonel Barton further on observes :—"In spite of the loss of many rich districts in 1812, the Junágadh yearly revenues, which in 1808 Colonel Walker estimated at £ 55,000 Rs. 5,50,000 are now supposed to have reached £ 3,00,000 (Rs. 30,00,000) a year. The Bhavnagar income has similarly risen from "£70,000 (Rs. 7,00,000) to £ 2,30,000 (Rs. 23,00,000) and is likely to advance still further under the progressive policy of the present administration." This was written in 1884 when Sámaldás was at the head of the administration as Diwán. Colonel Barton adds that "Among the Second Class States, the revenue of Gondal has risen from £ 40,000 (Rs. 4,00,000) in Colonel Walker's time to £ 1,12,000 (Rs. 12,00,000), and a proportionate increase may be observed in the income of all the smaller States."

Then again there were other obstacles which greatly retarded the development of the resources of the State ; as for instance, there was within the limits of each petty Talukdar's

estate a post for the collection of fees or *Chula Vero*, otherwise called transit duty. There are several hundred Talukás in this peninsula, and each Talukdar levied transit duty according to his pleasure and discretion, so that each cart with goods or grain had to pay its way to the sea-coast, or a town with a market, almost from village to village. And very often Talukdars prohibited the passage of merchandize or food-stuff through or out of his land. The result of the prevalence of such hindrances to the freedom of trade in the peninsula can better be imagined than described.

It will be remembered that it was after the downfall of the Peshwá, Baji Rao in 1818, that the Presidency of Bombay was formed. The biographers of the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone have demonstrated the fact that in 1824, when that statesman penned his famous minute on education Bombay was considered as, being probably the most backward of all the Presidencies in respect of education. His educational policy encountered no little opposition from the Court of Directors as well as from his own Council. If this was the case in the British territories, how much more deplorable should have been the case in a backward province like Káthiáwád, whose insular and isolated position did not bring it into touch with the agencies of the Western civilization until within the course of the last fifty years! In 1860, Mr. A. K. Forbes, then in charge of the Káthiáwád Political Agency, was very much impressed with the not merely stationary but reactionary policy of the Native States in the Province, and he said that some of the ablest of the Chiefs' Ministers adopted a reactionary policy on system whenever they found a possibility of doing so, that the inhabitants of Káthiáwád generally did not improve or even desire improvement, and that while Káthiáwád stood still, retrograde in point of civilization, the adjacent British territory rapidly improved, and the contrast became every day more apparent. It appeared to him that unless the tide turned in the direction of improvement, the fate of the province was only a question of time.

It would be rather tedious to follow the foundation and spread of education in Káthiáwád. The first vernacular school in the province was established in 1837, and it was supported by

Government. In 1852 a school, called Government School was established at Bhavnagar. It was not until 1852-53 that the strenuous exertions of the Political Agent, for the diffusion of education in the province, was crowned with success, though only partially in the beginning.

Until 1863 there were no regular Courts of Justice and no regular police in any State in the Province.

Justice. Almost every crime was compounded for money which was frequently settled by *Pancháyats* through the cognizance, and often at the instance, of the Agency. It was only in 1864 that regular Courts of civil and criminal justice were established at Bhavnagar and in its dependent Mahals;* and Samaldás was appointed Chief Judge of the Supreme (High) Court.

One of the praiseworthy tendencies of Native States is to follow and adopt all that is suitable to their respective States on the improvements effected in the British districts in their neighbourhood and elsewhere.

Public Works. So far as British India was concerned the Court of Directors† of the Hon'ble East India Company until almost the termination of their existence, did not recognise the prosecution of Public Works as a necessary part of their policy. The construction of a road or a canal was regarded by them, in their early days, much in the same light as a war would be, as an unavoidable evil, to be undertaken only when it could not be postponed any longer, and not, if possible, to be repeated. To the students of the history of India it is well-known that up to the year 1850, India, so far as railways were concerned, was a blank on the world's map. And the condition in the district of Áhmadábád, situated in the immediate neighbourhood of Káthiáwád was in no wise better, if not worse, than the rest of India. At the end of the first half of the present century, the only made road outside the city and cantonment of Áhmadábád was near Gogha. It was only after 1850 that attention was paid to the construction of roads.

* Káthiáwád Political Agency Gazette No. 22 of 1864.

† Sir John Strachey on India, p. 124.

Having regard to these facts it should cease to be a matter for wonder that until 1865 there was not a single mile of road in the Province and that there were no public works worth the name in any part of it. Colonel (afterwards Sir) Le Grand Jacob, the late Political Agent, in his report upon the general condition in the year 1842 of the Province, submitted to Government on the 4th October 1842, wrote at para 38.*

"Roads and Communications.

"There are no made roads and canals in the country. The soil, however, permits of good natural roads, and the drainage by multitudes of streams prevents even the black soil from seriously interfering with monsoon communication. The roads might be rendered excellent by small outlay, but the Chiefs are indifferent to the improvements of their estates, and the tenure by which the best Karbháris hold their power is too fragile for them to attempt deviation from the customary routine."

Such was the general condition in the Province, and, indeed throughout India, and no blame could justly be laid at the door of Parmananddás that in his time (A. D. 1828-1847) no public works and no roads were constructed.

The State of Bhávnagar was the first State in the Province to establish a dispensary in 1866, and *Medical Institutions.* Junagadh followed it in 1868, and from that time dispensaries increased. Before 1866, however, the only medical institution in Káthiáwád was the Rájkot Civil Hospital, now called the West Hospital.

As much has been made of the existence of a number of *Mohsals* or running fines which were imposed by the officers of the Agency, when Parmananddás resigned the office of Chief Karbhári, it becomes necessary to go into the question of *Mohsalling* more at length than it would be otherwise necessary.

The power of inflicting *Mohsals* on States and Talukás, large and small, was taken by the Political Agency under the *Faél Zamin* bonds,† passed by the several States at the time of

* Selections from the records of the Bombay Government No. XXXIX, new series, p. 194.

† Aitchison's Treaties, etc., Vol. VI, pp. 206, 127.

the permanent tribute settlement of 1807-8, and has been reflected in the supplementary Rules, framed by the States themselves and approved by Government as rules for the settlement of claims of the subordinate *Bhayads* and *Mul Grásiás* of Káthiáwád States. The fact that a Court, established by and exercising the jurisdiction and authority in *Grás* cases delegated to it by the several states, should have been authorized in 1873 with the power of inflicting *Mohsals* on all inclusive of the First Class States "to ensure attention to the orders and "processes of the Court" shows that no sensitiveness as regards the indignity, which the imposition of a *Mohsal* carries with it, was entertained by the states.

But whatever the notion of indignity may be, let us, with an unbiassed mind, consider the state of things as it existed in Parmananddas' time.

Some years after the establishment of the Káthiáwád Political Agency the most conservative and retrogressive policy was advocated by the earlier officers of the Political Agency. In fact, there was no settled system of disposing of the business that came before it. Perhaps they belonged to the school of Sir George Campbell who, in his history of modern India, published in 1853, wrote at page 164 on the subject of the British political relations with the Indian Chiefs: "There is "no uniform system, and it is impossible to give any definite "explanation of what things we do meddle with, and what we "don't."

In Káthiáwád not only did the Political officers interfere in *Grás* cases, in which a State was directly concerned, but they frequently interfered in matters of family disputes among the *Grásiás* themselves, and in favour of their dependants and connections also. And even a common subject was able successfully to appeal for the interference of the Agency between himself and his Chief. All these were in addition to the complaints which could be entertained by the Agency under the *Fáel Zamin* Bonds. Unsettled boundary disputes, which often were attended with bloodshed on the approach of every monsoon, self-outlawry, highway robberies, arson, abduction, and a host of other disputes came for settlement before the Agency which also

entertained and inquired into complaints such as cattle-lifting, betrothal, breach of betrothal engagements, subsistence allowance to a wife, remarriage before and after first husband's death, fraudulent marriage, illicit intercourse, and a number of other petty offences both against person and property.

Again the immense length of time during which *Grás* and other disputes remained unsettled, was another source of trouble. When the late Mr. A. K. Forbes assumed charge of the Káthiáwád Political Agency (1859) he found* that many of these disputes, "have been thirty or forty years under discussion "without any settlement, and even when a decision has been "passed it is by no means held to be final, but on the contrary "the case is reopened over and over again, and several more or "less opposite awards are given in it sometimes by the same "officer. In fact no one can say that any decision is really a "final one." * * "The apprehension under which the "Political Agents labour that an unfavourable decision may "drive a *Grasiá* into *bahirwuttee* or outlawry, and thus affect "the tranquility of the province * * a case is strained to "favour a *Grásiá* to the detriment of the Talukdár, or if it is so "wholly bad in itself as not even to admit of this, it is kept open "and no decision passed in it at all because none can be given "in the *Grásiá's* favour. * * The general idea of *Mohusllee* is "that of quartering armed men upon a delinquent, and compelling "him to provide subsistence for them until he affords the "superior power, satisfaction." This condition of things continued without restraint until the introduction of Colonel Keatinge's classification scheme (1863-64).

Impartially considering the subject of *Mohsals* in Parmananddas' time, it should cease to be a matter for wonder whether a few or a legion of *Mohsals* were imposed or kept standing at Bhávnagar when the fact is taken into consideration that, with about two-thirds of its villages co-shared by *Grásiás*, or in which land is held by *Grásiás*, with many parts containing a very unruly population, with foreign territories bordering on all its sides, with numerous villages owned by different States or Talukás scattered and interlaced all over its territory, with hundreds of boundary

* The Affairs of Káthiáwád, pp. 4, 5, 6.

disputes resulting in bloodshed at the approach of each monsoon, with the lawless social and political condition of the Province, and with the lax and retrogressive policy and procedure adopted by the Agency in those days, the State could not have met the numerous calls of these officers without displeasing them, it could not have compounded, it could not have settled all sorts and manners of the never-ending claims by all sorts of people—both from within and without the State without setting a premium on groundless, frivolous and fictitious complaints.

What would seem to be most probable in connection with this matter of *Mohsals* is that Parmananddás had to choose between two evils—the lesser and the greater. The lesser evil was to submit to the indignity of being *Mohsalled*, (an indignity regarding which all the large and small states of Káthiáwád showed no sensitiveness in 1873, as mentioned before); and thereby preserve and safeguard the rights and interests of the State and the Master he served; and the greater evil was to yield to the threats and coercive measures, and thereby sacrifice the rights, property and interests of the State. If Parmananddás chose the lesser evil no candid critic will justly find fault with him. In short then neither the Mahárájá, nor the Karbhári nor the Vakil could honestly be blamed for a practice which was followed by the officers of the Agency in the expectation that this sort of political pressure will “eventually cause the Talukdár to afford some satisfaction to the aggrieved.”

To what extent the practice of *Mohsalling* had degenerated, has been described by Mr. Forbes. He says:—“The custom has gradually grown up of giving some times several notes, or service of *Mohsali* to one party to serve, and great laxity has crept into the whole system. The original idea that the *Mohsali* sepoy was quartered on the refractory party and received his fee every day has fallen into oblivion. It is, I believe, quite common for peons at present to serve their notes and then go home and call for money due at the end of the month, if convenient, or else postpone doing so until a better opportunity offers. As they draw Batta when serving notes, and not at other times, it is their interest to avoid pressing the person *Mohsalled* too much; lest he should be driven to

“procure the note’s withdrawal. The matter has now become “one of account.”

On further inquiry Mr. Forbes would have found that the *Mohsalli* establishment or peons never exceeded a hundred and twenty, that a large number of these were kept to serve in the Agency offices, and that in their stead native officials of the Agency sent their own relations and dependants as *Mohsals*. The larger the State *Mohsalled* the greater the number of these gentlemen *Mohsals* profited, who, of course were not easy to be removed or recalled.

We have said before that owing to advancing years Parmananddás resigned office as the Chief Karbhári of the State, and also that although not in active Service he, in fact, continued to serve it until his death.

The office of Chief Karbhári or minister in Parmananddás time was not a bed of roses: it was full of thorns. He was beset with different troubles both from within and without the State. He had to put up with many discordant elements, jealous persons and intriguers in the State. But the noble qualities of patience and forgiveness with which Parmananddás was endowed stood him in good stead. If in the hour of his trouble Mahárájá Wajesinhji listened to vile and intriguing persons, he never withdrew the confidence he had reposed in Parmananddás.

From without the State Parmananddás was incessantly troubled. Ever since the establishment of the British paramountcy in the Province, its Agents had adopted a most conservative policy. Apparently they had adopted for their guidance the motto “*Junulopvú nahi, navú karvú nahi, i. e., not to destroy old, not to introduce new,*” and this was reflected abundantly in the disposal of business daily brought before them, and it would be difficult to say how long such a state of things would have lasted if it were not exposed by the late Mr. A. K. Forbes, Colonel Keatinge and Colonel Wallace. On the other hand the earlier officers of the Ahmadábád Collectorate were taking all and every measure in their power to reduce the Sovereign Chief of Bhavnagar to the level of a Grásiá, whose estate—the villages placed under British Laws and Regulations—they thought he

was holding on lease-hold tenure, which was continuable or terminable at the pleasure of Government. Gigantic efforts were made by Parmananddás to arrest the onward rush of this tide as it would have ended in the annihilation of the privileges and rights of the State. These and other troubles, too numerous to be mentioned here made him prematurely old and hastened his end. If the credit for meritorious, loyal and faithful services, which is justly due to Parmananddás, has been appropriated by others we wish them joy in the possession of it, though not justly their due.

It must be owned here that, however clever and able an administrator may be, he cannot by himself and single-handed, achieve that amount of success which he could achieve with the confidence and support of his master, and the cordial assistance of his lieutenants. Parmananddás was singularly fortunate in receiving the full confidence and support of Mahàrájá Wajesinhji, and he was equally fortunate in receiving loyal and willing assistance from his lieutenants, among whom may prominently be mentioned, Girjashankar Kurnashankar, Gavarishankar Udayshankar, his son Bapubhai, Desái Santokram Shevakram, Tulshi Baxi and Savailal Somji.

Parmananddás loved peace, and hated strife and conflict, above all things, and he often lent the great influence of his personality in ending strifes and quarrels, and spreading peace and concord in their place. An instance of his praiseworthy exertions in this direction may be mentioned here.

Parmananddás was going to Prabhásh Pátan with a large number of his caste fellows. On his way he had to pass through the town of Junágadh. At this time the Nagar caste of Junágadh was divided into two parties or rather actions. This had happened in consequence of Diwán Laxmishankar, grand-nephew of the celebrated Diwán Amarji, taking a second wife in the life time of the first. This was considered a violation of the time-honoured custom, amounting almost to law, of the Nágars, and he was consequently put out of caste. Some went over to Laxmishankar's side, while the remainder formed a faction in opposition to that of Laxmishankar. The latter faction was

in power in the State, and used every means to harass and persecute Laxmishankar's party. The matter had assumed a grave aspect when Parmananddás, accompanied by a large number of his caste fellows and other retainers, on his way to Prabhás Patan, had encamped at a village close to the town of Junágadh. On his intention of moving his camp on the next day to Vanthali, without visiting Junágadh, becoming known, leading members of both parties went to see him and requested him to come to Junágadh, which he refused to do telling them that so long as there was so much strife between them, it would be unbecoming to one in his position of Chief Karbhári of Bhavnagar and also head of the Nagar caste of Goghá-Bhavnagar to visit Junágadh. He pleaded that as the cause of their dividing into two parties had sometime since ceased to exist they should cast off their ill-feelings and reunite into one caste. He consented to go to Junágadh on the clear understanding that they should make up their differences, reunite into one caste, and admit Laxmishankar unconditionally into it, and dine together. Better counsels now prevailed and they, at last, agreed to what was proposed by Parmananddás. On the next day Parmananddás moved to Junágadh, he himself gave a caste-dinner at which all the Nágars including Laxmishankar dined; and thus brought the strife to an end. He was not allowed to leave Junágadh until all the leading Nágars gave a number of caste-dinners in his honour. It may be mentioned here that he was well received in Darbár by the then Nawab Sahib Bahadur Khanji (A. D. 1811-1840.)

Generous to a fault, he was liberal in his charities. It is said of him that his left hand did not know what his right hand gave away. He supported many a needy family. He had large parties of his caste-fellows at the time of morning and evening meals. He died a poor man, if not in debt.

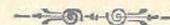
When he died Mahàrájá Wajesinhji called his four sons in his presence, consoled them, and told them that he, and not they, had lost Parmananddás, that in him they must thenceforth regard as their Parmananddás, and that he would take care of them as did their father during his lifetime. And he fulfilled his promise. During his life time he kept Bapubhai, the eldest

son, as one of his Karbháris, he appointed the second son Parbhudás as *Fouzdari Amin* of Bhavnagar, to the third he gave a handsome pension, and the youngest, Sámaldás, whom he would have appointed his Chief Karbhári when Parmanandás resigned, had he consented, he kept in the *Hazur* as Superintendent of the *Mulki Daftar*, or the Political Department.

Parmananddás was an accomplished Persian scholar. His drafts of State papers, whether addressed to Government, the Political Agent, or the British authorities of the Ahmadabad Zillah, were admirably worded, in excellent language, and they carried conviction of the cause advocated therein. Like the good Great Queen, who wished all important State papers drafted by Lord Derby, Mahárájá Wajesinhji wished all important State papers drafted by Parmananddás.

SAMALDAS PARMANANDDAS,

SCHOLAR AND STATESMAN.



It is now our pleasant privilege to write a brief account of the life of Mr. Samaldas, a scholar and an Indian Statesman of a high order.

Samaldas was born at Gogha on the 18th June 1828. It was about this time that his father, Parmananddas, then Chief Karbhari of the Bhavnagar State was successfully effecting peaceful arrangements with the outlaw Khuman Kathis of the Kundla Parganah, and also successfully endeavouring to repopulate several villages of that and other Parganahs which had been laid waste by the raids and excesses committed by the outlaws.

Samaldas was the youngest of the four sons born to Parmananddas by his wife Rajuba, who was one of the two sisters of the late Mr. Gaurishanker Udayashanker, C. S. I. The eldest of the four brothers was Bapubhai, who was one of the Karbharis or Ministers of the State, and attended to the more important business of the State at the Court of the Political Agent, Kathiawad. The second brother, Parbhudas, filled high offices in the Political and Revenue branches of the administration of the State, and was also Fouzdari Amin, or Magistrate of Bhavnagar. Parbhudas also continued the banking firm established by his father. The third brother Amthabhai was affected with mental derangement. The fourth brother is the subject of the present biographical account.

Samaldas had the misfortune of losing his mother while he was only four years of age. He was brought up by his maternal aunt Achiba, elder sister of Mr. Gaurishanker, and mother of Desai Santokram. He gave early promise of future greatness, and his intelligence and intellectual capacity were found to be of no mean order. He was sent to the indigenous school in Gogha at an early age, where he made fair progress in Gujarati as it was then taught by untrained masters. When he was about six

years old his father thought that he might as well prosecute his education at an indigenous school in Bhavnagar under his own care, and he asked his relations at Gogha to send him to Bhavnagar. Just as young Samaldas was about to leave Gogha, a vernacular school was opened there by Government under a trained master. As there was no vernacular school established at that time at Bhavnagar (indeed the first school was opened by Government in 1852), Parmananddas thought it advisable to keep him there to complete his education.

It was about this time that considerable efforts were made by the British officers for the development and fostering of the trade at the port of Gogha, and special favours were shown to that town. An Assistant Collector was stationed in that town as also a detachment of native infantry. The Collector of Customs, (a post then newly created) also spent much of his time there. These European officers used to visit the school daily, and gave every encouragement to the boys. So also did the Revenue Commissioner, the Collector and the Judge who often visited the school and inspected it whenever they visited Gogha. This was but a part of the instructions issued to all the responsible officers of Government in the famous minute of the Honourable Mount Stuart Elphinstone on the foundation and spread of Education in the Bombay Presidency. As directed in that minute, the Educational Society, which gave place first to a sister Society called the Native School Society, and latterly to a Board of Education, prepared text books in vernacular languages, which, while studiously avoiding inclusion of religious or any other topic likely to arouse discontent among Natives, embodied all that was considered good for the young minds, and moral and physical science formed an important part of them. Sir Erskine Perry, Chief Justice of Bombay, and Mr. John Harkness, Professor in the Elphinstone College, and other gentlemen, while on the Board of Education, exerted their best to promote the study of Gujarati and vernacular literature generally.

The Education imparted at the time.

Young Samaldas was among the first who joined the newly established school at Gogha. In this, what in the beginning was a superior indigenous school, instruction was imparted in reading,

writing, arithmetic, native accounts, etc. In fact the pupils were well grounded in useful knowledge, and the study of mental arithmetic was carried to a high pitch of excellence. The first master, Jeshanker Hariram, a native of Ahmadabad, was as sympathetic as he was an able teacher. He treated his pupils as his children, and the pupils began to venerate him more and more every day. The general intelligence, smartness and aptitude for learning displayed by Samaldas attracted the master's notice, and he soon became one of his favourite pupils.

It may be mentioned here that Mehetaji Jeshanker lived for many years to see his favourite pupil occupying the position of one of the ministers of the Bhavnagar State, and that he, and after him his widow, used regularly to receive a pension from Samaldas.

Before the Board of Education assumed control of Education (1840), the duty of inspecting schools devolved, as mentioned before, on the high officers of Government in the Revenue, Judicial, and Customs Departments. These officers inspected the school, and examined the boys, whenever they paid a visit to Gogha. Young Samaldas, always at the head of his class, carried away many prizes for proficiency in learning at the hands of these officers, and he often carried off special prizes for steady good handwriting, to which the masters of those days paid particular attention.

While yet at school, he used to hear the celebrated national epic Ramayana by Tulsidas in the Hindi language daily chanted at home by one Jivanji, a Nagar then in the service of Desai Santokram, who knew something of the Hindi and Brij languages, common in Upper India. Samaldas never missed a day, and it became, as it were, his daily recreation to listen to this poem. As time passed his thirst for learning Hindi and Brij increased, and, as the Ramayana contains some of the main principles of Vedant and Bhagvat Gita, he felt the thirst which he quenched to his full satisfaction.

Studies Hindi and Brij Bhasha.

Samaldas had the faculty of realising the truth that with the completion of education in the school he did not exhaust it, but that it was only just a beginning. He, therefore, began to study

Brij Bhasha, and by the time he went to Bhavnagar to reside with his father, he had read Padmakar's Bhasha Hitopadesh, Ratiram's Chhandsur Pingal, Jasuram's Rajniti, a poem which was treasured in every native Darbar, and other poems. His study of Pingal enabled him to compose poems in his leisure hours. He had more yearning for learning than for outdoor games.

Those were not days of cramming. All lessons were taught in the school, and the pupil was not left to seek assistance from private tutors to prepare his lessons at home. The school master took particular care to discover the difficulties which his pupils felt, and soon explained and removed them. With a good retentive memory and intelligence Samaldas prepared all his lessons in the school, and found a good many spare hours, both in the morning and afternoon, to devote to other studies.

While yet ten years of age he was invested with the sacred thread, and he was subsequently married to Bai Mahalaxmi, only daughter of Oza Nathabhai Samalji, a well to do Nagar gentleman of Gogha. At this time, and up to Samvat 1934 (1878 A. D.) the Nagar community of Bhavnagar used to celebrate marriages at Gogha, their original head-quarters. When Parmananddas celebrated the ceremonies of investing his sons with sacred thread as well as their marriage at Gogha, Maharaja Wajesinhji graced each of these occasions with his presence, and presented rich dresses of honour to Parmananddas and his sons.

Soon after his investment with the sacred thread Samaldas began to study *Gayatri*, a Vedic metre of 24 syllables of a very hard sacred verse, repeated by every Brahmin at his Sandhya, or the morning, noon, and evening prayers. At this time there were several Nagar Brahmins residing in Gogha, well versed in *Karmkand*, or in that department of the Vedas, which relates to ceremonial acts and sacrificial rites, and some of them were well known for their knowledge of the Sanskrit language. Coming into contact with some of them, Samaldas was

Relation between pupils and masters.

Investiture with sacred thread and marriage.

Commences to study the Sanskrit language.

deeply impressed with the beauty of the Sanskrit language, which he commenced to learn. But before he could make fair progress in that language he was called by his father to come and reside with him at Bhavnagar.

Arriving at Bhavnagar in about A. D. 1840-41, he continued his study of Sanskrit. But as his father, who was an accomplished scholar of the Persian language, and who was greatly pleased with the progress Samaldas had made with his other studies, desired him now to take up Persian for his study, he commenced to learn it under Kasim Ali, a well known Kaji of Bhavnagar and a Persian scholar of some renown. As in Sanskrit, so in Persian, Samaldas felt fascinated by the richness of its flowing expressions and within three years he made considerable progress in it. Beginning with *Karima*, he read *Gulistan*, *Sikandar-Namah*, and *Shah-Namah*. *Shah-Namah*, the most difficult of all these works, proved most interesting to him, and inspired in him a desire for Chess-playing, in which he subsequently became very proficient. He also read the works of *Abul-Fazl*, the celebrated historian of Akbar. Samaldas used to go daily to the Kaji's house, where he met the native Vaid *Govindji*. They studied Persian together at the Kaji's and in the evening Samaldas used to go to the Vaid's to read works on native medicine.

Maharaja Wajesinhjee, who had taken a parental interest in Samaldas, sometimes used to hear stories from Persian works translated by him. He now directed him to read *Shah-Namah* to him. As the reading continued from day to day in the morning, after the old Chief had taken his *Kasumba* (opium,) he became more and more deeply interested in the stories as unfolded in the work, and as was translated and expressed by Samaldas in his silvery voice. So charmed was Maharaja Wajesinhjee with these stories that one morning, it is said, while he was deeply engrossed in the account of the battle between Alexander the Great, otherwise called *Sikandar* and *Darams*, -*Dara*, or *Porus*, the elder, his grand-son *Sardarsingh* came in and informed him that his breakfast was served and

Maharaja Wajesinhjee hears from Samaldas stories from Persian books.

ready in the adjoining room. Without paying any attention to what the grandson said he continued to listen to the account of the war saying that he felt more pleasure in the story than in the deliciousness of his rich breakfast. So pleased was he with Samaldas's rendering of these stories that he gave rich presents to him on several occasions.

Samaldas continued his study of Sanskrit, first under Pandit Pursotam Pandya, and afterwards under the wellknown Shastris, Ranchhodji, and his son Nirbhayaramji of Sihor for several years, and read, *Sharswat, Shadling, Margopadeshika, Dhaturupavli, Raghuvansha, Kiratarjuni*, and several other works. He also read works on *Vedant* such as *Agnan-Bodhini, Ram Gita, Bhagvat Gita, Bhaktamala, Panchdashi*. This was but a beginning which, with his knowledge of Sanskrit, he extended largely afterwards.

CHAPTER II.

In Samvat 1902 (A. D. 1846), Vithaldas was born. He was the eldest son, and his birth was welcome and auspicious, as it was about this time that Samaldas entered the service of the State in which he rose to the highest post, the Diwan.

The affairs of the State at this time were transacted through three departments under the direct control of the Karbhari, (Minister), who, however, disposed of all important matters under the Chief's order. Everything was centralized, and a more complete, and, looking back to that time, we must say, that a more healthy control, was exercised by the Chief through his Karbhari on all the affairs of the State than was done before Parmananddas became Chief Karbhari, when, as has been stated before, there were a number of Karbharis, in fact an anomalous body of Karbharis exercising a sort of *Imperium-in-Imperio*, who often acted without any check or restraint.

As said above there were three large departments, namely, (1) Political, (2) Revenue, accounts, audit and check, and (3) Baxi Daftar, which passed grants and other orders of similar characters.

The first was placed under Bapubhai, Parmananddas' eldest son, but as he had to remain with the Political Agent for a considerable time, it was managed by Girjashankar Kurnashankar who also managed the second department, both through deputies, as, besides attending to these departments Girjashanker acted as private Karbhari to the Chief. The third was managed by Baxi Tulsidas, who in 1854 was reported to Government by the Political Agent as one of the four Karbharis of Bhavnagar.

The first department was far more important than the other two. It received and disposed of all papers relating to political business, both external and internal, and it also received and disposed of all communications from the officers of the Ahmadabad Zillah. But fortunately there was very little red-tapeism in those days.

The State had kept a permanent Vakil, both at Rajkot and Ahmadabad. Desai Shevakram was the first Vakil appointed on the establishment of the Political Agency, and, on his translation to the Kundla Paragnah, he was succeeded by Bapubhai, who on being appointed to the Hazur, (about 1842-43), was succeeded by his assistant, Savailal. Several persons from time to time filled the post of the Darbar Vakil at Ahmadabad among whom may be mentioned, Lalbhai Shukal, Gokal Parekh, with Gaurishanker as his assistant, and Prannath.

To meet the exigency of business at the Agency, Bhavnagar had to keep two Diwans, or a Diwan and his deputy. Either the Diwan or his deputy had to attend the more important business of the State at the camp of the Political Agent. But his presence was utilised and his time was monopolized by the Political Agent by nominating him as one of the Panch (an arbitrator, or as Mr. Forbes puts it, a juror) in important inter-statal and Gras disputes of other States. "In former days" says Mr. A. K. Forbes, "the members of these juries gave unbiassed opinions, and effected satisfactory settlements." In cases of boundary disputes these jurors often visited the disputed land, and settled the boundary on the spot. While his father was Chief Karbhari, Bapubhai acted as second Karbhari, so to speak, and attended to the business at the Political Agency for many years. Latterly he became an invalid owing to continued

sickness, and Girjashanker acted in his place, but as his presence in Bhavnagar was indispensable, Gaurishanker was selected as Parmananddas' deputy to attend to this business.

The constant absence of Girjashanker from Bhavnagar rendered it necessary to appoint an officer in his place in charge of the Mulaki Daftar. Samaldas placed in charge of the political and revenue departments. Samaldas was selected for this post by Maharaja Wajesinhji. It was about this time that the account and audit were separated from the Mulaki Daftar and placed under another officer.

Samaldas was well acquainted with the work of the Mulaki Daftar department, as when all the papers were read, discussed and disposed of in the presence of Maharaja Wajesinhji, he used to accompany his father with the papers and read them, take them back, and prepare replies to these communications, and take them again to the Chief for his seal. In those days all communications were sent under the seal of the Chief. He thus became well acquainted with the work, and rose high in the estimation of Maharaja Wajesinhji, who frequently used to declare in the presence of his Darbaris that Samaldas had become fit for the post of the Chief Karbhari of the State. And the fact was that had Parmananddas been agreeable to the Maharaja's wishes, Samaldas would have been to Bhavnagar what William Pitt was to England. Like Lord Chatham, Parmananddas had drawn out and cultivated the mind of his son, Samaldas, whom he considered as the bright jewel of his family.

In A. D. 1847, owing to advancing years Parmananddas resigned the office of the Chief Minister. At his recommendation Maharaja Wajesinhji entrusted the Karbhar or administration to Gaurishanker and Santokram Desai in joint charge. Retirement of Parmananddas worn by active service.

Towards the close of Maharaja Wajesinhji's reign it was apprehended that some of the Khumans of the Kundla Parangnah might give trouble. Outlawry of the Khumans apprehended. Maharaja Wajesinhji, who had suffered heavy losses in the outlawry of these Khumans, and latterly in that of Sadul Khasia of Monpur, determined to take early measures against their breaking the law once more. He thought,

and rightly thought as the result showed, that conciliatory measures would prove more efficacious in keeping these turbulent Kathis under control, than stronger measures could do. He, therefore, selected Samaldas as the officer best suited for the work, and deputed him to Kundla to preserve order and peace. Here he found that in consequence of their internal feud, and the inducements received from their clansmen, many of whom were then in outlawry against Amreli, some of the descendants of the former outlaw Khumans were showing signs of restlessness. He called the disputant parties before him, heard them patiently and made up their differences in such a manner that they drank *Kasumba* or the red cup at each other's hands, a sure sign of conciliation and satisfactory settlement of their disputes, and returned to their respective homes greatly pleased with the result. Peace was thus preserved, and Maharaja Wajesinhji was much pleased with the action of Samaldas.

Agreeably to Maharaja Wajesinhji's order, who always suspected that the possession of most of the alienated lands had originated in usurpations or unauthorised grants by irresponsible officers or farmers of the district, Samaldas, while at Kundla enquired into and prepared records of all alienated lands held legally or illegally. The crudest method of measurement of land then obtained. But the accuracy and thoroughness with which Samaldas prepared these records are still admired. He would have gone to Mahuva to prepare similar records, but the serious illness of his father necessitated his return to Bhavnagar. Deputation of Samaldas to Kundla for preserving order and peace in the district.

After a short illness Parmananddas died in Samvat 1906 (1850 A. D.). We have already stated in the account of Parmananddas' life that he died in harness, so to speak. We have also already stated how Maharaja Wajesinhji was sorely afflicted by the death of his old and trusted minister, and how, with a true parental regard he solaced his four sons in their hour of distress. It is hardly necessary here to say that it was such kind treatment of servants which, more than anything else, drew the bon Death of Parmananddas, Samvat 1906 (A. D. 1850).

servants and masters closer, and made the servants feel that they were regarded more like children than servants, and that if death should snatch them away their children were sure to be taken care of by the Chief, their master.

Maharaja Wajesinhji desired to keep Samaldas in Bhavnagar, so that he may be near at hand for all important works. His elder brother Parbhudas who was acting as Fauzdari

Samaldas appointed
Magistrate of Bhavnagar.

Amin or Magistrate of Bhavnagar, was transferred to Kundla as revenue officer, and Samaldas was appointed in his place as Magistrate.

Maharaja Wajesinhji died in 1852 A. D. at the ripe age of seventy-two, and was succeeded by his eldest grand-son Akharajji, his eldest son Bhavsinghjee, the heir-apparent having predeceased him in 1845 A. D.

Death of Wajesinghjee
1852 A. D. Maharaja Akharajji III.

CHAPTER III.

The constant and unceasing complaints made by Parmananddas against the unfair treatment accorded to the port of Bhavnagar in respect to the customs duties by Government on account of their share in the trade of Bhavnagar, at last bore fruit in 1851. For, in that year Government appointed a committee, consisting of Mr. Hebbert, then Deputy Commissioner of Customs, and Captain (afterwards Col.) Lang, then Political Agent of Kathiawad. The Committee was convinced of the injustice inflicted on the port of Bhavnagar, for although, as stated before, the rate of customs levied and the tariff of prices on which they were levied at the other British ports in the Bombay Presidency, were revised and lowered from time to time, the standard of customs levied and the tariff of prices enforced at Bhavnagar was fifty years old, and, although the values had then fallen, as stated by Mr. Peile, in some cases several hundred per cent below those in the old tariff than in use, Bhavnagar had the misfortune of being treated hard. It became the more hard by the exceptionally favourable treatment given to the other British ports in close neighbourhood south and north of Bhavnagar. The Committee met half way the demands of the Darbar and revised the tariff,

The Committee of 1851.

and the Darbar had to be satisfied with the small mercies thus shown. Samaldas assisted Gaurishanker at the inquiry by the Committee. The capacity for work and the industry with which materials were prepared by Samaldas gave great satisfaction to Gaurishanker, whose right hand man he became from that time.

As Magistrate Samaldas had to visit all the towns and villages under his charge. The effective police arrangement which he made, put a stop to the robberies and theft which frequently occurred in Bhavnagar itself, and in the several towns and villages.

It may conveniently be mentioned here that, after his residence in Bhavnagar, Samaldas some times used to go to Swami Ramkrishna Bharthiji, originally a Brahmin from Marwar, and listen to his Katha, or reading and explaining works on Vedanta Philosophy in which he felt much interest, and which as mentioned before, he began to study with the assistance of learned Pandits.

Study of the Vedanta
Philosophy.

It was about Samvat 1906-7 (1850-51 A. D.) that the celebrated Vedantic anchorite Paramahansa Sachidanand came to Bhavnagar from Junaghad, where he had known the late Gokulji Zala and had been his preceptor in the Vedanta Philosophy. The late Mansukhram Suryaram Tripathi, a personal friend of Samaldas, in his life and letters of Gokulji Zala says, that in Bhavnagar Samaldas came in contact with him and "the Paramhansa perceived in Samaldas capacities and qualities similar to what he had seen in Gokulji. He wished therefore that they should be united in friendship. At his suggestion Samaldas wrote a letter to Gokulji and thus commenced a friendship which continued to the end with ever increasing affection and regard."

Commencement of
friendship with Gokulji
Zala of Junaghad.

Like Samaldas, Gokulji then held a subordinate post in the administration of the State but both were destined to rise to the highest rung of the ladder. Gokulji became Diwan of Junaghad within about ten years, and Samaldas became Diwan of Bhavnagar, in less than thirty years (he was acting as *de facto* Diwan long before that period), after their first acquaintance at

that time by letter only. But in Samvat 1817 (A. D. 1861), when Gokulji, who was then private Karbhari to the then Nawab Sahib, came to Bhavnagar to see the Political Agent on some business of his State, they met for the first time, and both were glad of this unexpected opportunity of cementing their friendship by personal acquaintance. There were certain similarities between these two statesmen, but there were certain dissimilarities between them also. They were good scholars of the Sanskrit and Persian languages, they were good Vedantins, they hated intrigue, strife and subterfuge, they were cautious reformers, and they were loyal and faithful to their respective masters and the States they served. Life and letters of Gokulji by Mr. Mansukharam p. 17. The one great dissimilarity between them was that, while Gokulji had the weakness of irritability and losing his temper on even trifling matters, Samaldas was always calm, cool and collected, and never exhibited the weakness of losing his temper. If anything happened, which Samaldas greatly disapproved and felt annoyed at the only sign of his temper which could be perceived was the colour of his face which became red on such occasions. In short he had the extraordinary power of controlling his temper. However, with all their similarities and dissimilarities, Gokulji and Samaldas remained intimate friends till death parted them, and no one lamented Gokulji's death more than Samaldas.

Paramhansa Sachidananda remained with Samaldas for some time, and at his request taught him some of the Upanishads. Samaldas was very sorry to part with the Paramahansa when he left Bhavnagar.

Maharaja Akharajji's reign lasted for two years only. He died in 1854. Short though his reign was, it was not altogether uneventful. It was during his reign that an amicable settlement was made with Junaghad of its claim on the Kundla Paragnah, better known as the dispute regarding seventy six villages, through the mediation of the Political Agent, Colonel Lang. It was decided that the Paragnah should remain with Bhavnagar, but that Bhavnagar should pay to Junaghad on account of their claim an annual payment of Rs. 9,000.*

* Statistical account of Bhavnagar p. 46.

Youthful and inexperienced in statecraft as Maharaja Akharajji was, he was sometimes led astray by evil-minded and designing office seekers. A clique came into existence, whose one aim was to discredit the ministers, and get into their shoes. And they got an opportunity in the settlement of Junaghad's claim on the seventy-six villages of the Kundla Parganah of trying their nefarious object by alleging that the settlement was most unfair to Bhavnagar. Akharajji who, while yet heir-apparent, had attended with Gaurishanker at one or two hearings of the dispute, had perceived the Political Agent inclined favourably to the cause of Bhavnagar as was put forth by Gaurishanker, and at whose request the Government attachment on these villages was removed by the Political Agent, was apparently inclined to believe the allegation, though not without great hesitation. He had implicit confidence in the loyalty and devotion of his Minister, but after all he had the frailty of human nature. Of course this unexpected incident caused some uneasiness to the Minister. But in a short time when the Political Agent visited Bhavnagar, the mist disappeared altogether after Akharajji's conversation with that officer on the subject. The Chief was now satisfied that the settlement, which once for all put an end to the endless troubles, was equitable and certainly not unfavourable to Bhavnagar. He dismissed some of the members of the clique, while others were pensioned off. Samaldas who, although performing the functions of Magistrate of Bhavnagar, was a member of Gaurishanker's Ministry, saw for the first time how intrigue was got up and fostered in native States in those days.

As mentioned before Maharaja Akharajji died in 1854 (29th July) without male issue, but leaving one daughter, Bakunvarba, and was succeeded by his brother Jaswantsinhjee. The revenue officers of the Ahmadabad Collectorate now came once more to the front. The direct line having died out, Mr. Alexander Rogers, then Talukdari Settlement Officer, ordered the Mamlatdar of Gogha to take possession, on behalf of the British Government, of the 116 villages, on the plea that a brother could not inherit this portion of the estate. This happened on August 30th, 1854. The Settlement Officer was supported by the Collector of Ahmadabad, Mr. Hadow. The controversy which followed this question

Succession of Jaswant-
sinhjee.

is a subject which properly belongs to the history of Bhavnagar. It is only necessary to observe here that it was the high sense of British justice which saved these villages from the free use of the doctrine of lapse, the pet child of Lord Dalhousie, which was ruling throughout India at this time. On the subject being submitted by the Political Agent, the Government of Lord Elphinstone finally ruled that (Mr. Peile's printed Report, 26th Nov. 1859, P. 253.) "for political reasons, His Lordship in Council will consider the heir to the Gadi, as heir also to the Talukdari estate." His Excellency at the same time despatched to Maharaja Jaswantsinhji a congratulatory *Kharita*.

It may be mentioned here in passing that the succession of Maharaja Jaswantsinhji was disputed by two of his uncles and by one of his half-brothers. But as Jaswantsinhji was the next senior brother of Akharajji, his right of succession, according to the well-known custom of Rajawada, was unquestionable, the claims of his uncles and half-brother did not admit of discussion, and were rejected summarily by Government.

There are two subjects which being both important and interesting, may be noted here in passing. During Lord Elphinstone's regime primary education received a great impetus and a beginning was made with the settlement of the classification of powers of some of the Kathiawad States.

On 10th February 1856, at the express wish of Maharaja Jaswantsinhji, a Girls' School was opened in His Highness's palace where his niece, the daughter of His Highness Akharajji III, might receive the benefit of education with the daughters of his subjects. The noble example thus set and the ardent desire thus evinced by His Highness was further supplemented on the 13th March 1856 by sending his own daughter to study at the school. It was probably about this time that Samaldas met Mr. (afterwards Sir) T. C. Hope, who was then Educational Inspector, Northern Division, and also Mr. E. H. Percival, who was then Assistant Educational Inspector, and who afterwards became Joint Administrator of Bhavnagar.

In combating the views expressed by Lord Ellenborough, the President of the Board of Control, to the Chairman and

Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors, in paragraphs 9 and 10 of his letter, dated 28th April 1858, *viz.*, that "To send a female child to any school at which any men whatever can be present, is so entirely at variance with native feelings that it is hardly credible that the attendance of any such children can have been really voluntary on the part of the parents," and that "there is throughout India, especially among the higher classes, a strong prejudice in favour of domestic education," the late Mr. E. I. Howard, then Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, observed in para. 29th of his letter No. 475, of the 28th February 1859, that there was not in this Presidency the strong prejudice against female schools as His Lordship seemed to imagine. Government, added he, aware of the delicacy of the subject, had not taken active measures to promote female education, and the efforts that had been made were entirely attributable to the voluntary exertions of enlightened individuals, chiefly natives. To make his case still more stronger, Mr. Howard added that "the Thakor of Bhavnagar has opened a Female School without, as far as I know, any pressure from European influence."

Maharaja Jaswantsinhji was the first among the Chiefs of the Province to introduce female education in his State, and Samaldas, the cautious reformer, was the first amongst his caste fellows to send his eldest daughter to this school.

Before Lord Elphinstone laid down the reins of Government (1860), the jurisdictional powers of the First and Second Class States were finally settled.

Soon after his accession to the Gadi, Maharaja Jaswantsinhji desired to keep Samaldas near him as one of his ministers of State. Although he was attending to all the business of the State, he was still Fouzdari Amin or Magistrate of Bhavnagar, and, therefore, before he could be relieved of the Magistrate's post, it was necessary for him to send his resignation to the District Magistrate. This he did, but Mr. G. W. Hadow kept it over for nearly one year. Very probably he was unwilling that so able and intelligent a Magistrate as Samaldas should sever his connection with his department. When Mr. Hadow came to Gogha he asked Samaldas to withdraw his resignation, which of course, he refused to do. Failing persuasion

Mr. Hadow had recourse to coercion. A boat belonging to a merchant of Gogha had been lost with her cargo and crew in the Gulf of Khambhat (Cambay) about a year ago, and the Magistrate of Bhavnagar was directed to report if the wreckage or the crew were found on the Bhavnagar coast. Samaldas had sent in his report and informed the District Magistrate of Ahmadabad, that

nothing had been found. Mr. Hadow, forgetting all about this report, asked Samaldas to submit a report of all the measures he had taken in giving effect to his order. Samaldas had no papers there with him of the inquiry

he had made, and begged to be allowed to send for and consult them. This request was refused by Mr. Hadow who ordered him to submit his report then and there before he left him. Possessed of a wonderfully retentive memory, Samaldas recalled to mind all the measures he had taken in the case, drew up his report and submitted it to Mr. Hadow, who perceiving that Samaldas' determination was unalterable, asked the reason for his resignation. He frankly told him about his long family connection with the State, and that he had already been appointed one of the Ministers. After this explanation Mr. Hadow accepted the resignation.

While Samaldas was Magistrate of Bhavnagar the records of his court were often examined by the Sessions Judges of Ahmadabad, as well as by the Judicial Commissioner of Gujarat while on circuit. All the successive Sessions Judges, among whom may be mentioned Mr. Alexander Kinloch Forbes, who afterwards became Political Agent of Kathiawad, and one of the Judges of the Bombay High Court, and all the successive Judicial Commissioners, among whom may be mentioned Mr. William Frere, who afterwards became one of the members of the Executive Council of the Government of his younger brother Sir H. B. E. Frere, were all pleased with his work.

After relinquishing charge of the Magistrate's Court (1854), Samaldas assisted Gaurishanker in all the affairs of the State, as Assistant Diwan or Karbhari, thus leaving the Minister free to

Samaldas as Assistant Karbhari, being persuasion

Samaldas resigns the post of Magistrate on being appointed a Minister of State.

attend to the more important business at the court of the Political Agent, Kathiawad. The more important work entrusted to Samaldas was in connection with the several claims against Government, and the numerous grievances against the actions of the Magistracy and Police of Ahmadabad, and to which fresh additions were made from time to time by these officers.

In 1856 the marriage of Maharaja Jaswantsinhji with four ladies took place on a very grand scale at Sihor. All the arrangements attendant on this great function were entrusted jointly to Samaldas and Chhaganlal Desai, and the complete success with which they were carried out gave great satisfaction to the Maharaja.

Marriage of Maharaja Jaswantsinhji, 1856.

CHAPTER IV.

Nothing of very great importance took place for a year or so. But in the next year (1857) the ruler of Bhavnagar and his chief officials were subjected to the greatest indignity which it was possible in the power of the Magistracy and Police of Ahmadabad to inflict.

High-handed action of the Magistracy and Police of Ahmadabad.

Colonel Watson in his statistical account of Bhavnagar, at page 47 says, "In A. D. 1857 the Ahmadabad Police interfered in the Bhavnagar affairs, and made false accusations against certain of the chief officials."

As Samaldas had to bear the brunt of this high-handed action it is necessary to mention here the case in which these "false accusations" were made. It will show how recklessly the indignity was inflicted, and how every thing that was said against the Chief and his chief officials was readily believed as gospel truth, and harsh and oppressive measures were taken thereon.

A dancing girl, with her relations, was returning to Bhavnagar from Gujarat. She wore and carried with her some jewelry. At some distance from the village of Sedarda she was waylaid and attacked by robbers and a chance shot wounded her in the palm of one of her arms. No other casualty occurred in the scuffle, and the dancing girl with her relations reached Bhavnagar in safety.

But the designing black-mailers of Bhavnagar discovered in this incident a profitable opportunity for levying black-mail. They got up and concocted a false and cruel story that several murders had been committed by the order of the Chief and certain—almost all—of his chief officials, and this done, they demanded a large amount as black-mail to hush up these imaginary crimes. This, it is needless to say, was refused with the contempt which it deserved. The clique of the black-mailers next petitioned the District Magistrate of Ahmadabad, Mr. G. W. Hadow, accusing the Chief and his chief officials with the most heinous crimes—from murder downwards—which it would be hard to believe that even savage people could commit. But forsooth it was readily believed, and without the slightest semblance of even a preliminary inquiry or a particle of proof, the District Magistrate of Ahmadabad issued warrants against the Chief and his high officials, and forwarded them for execution to the Mamlatdar, a Magistrate of Gogha, with direction to take into custody and send them to Ahmadabad. At the same time Major Agar, the Superintendent of Police, Ahmadabad, ordered his force at Gogha to render every assistance to the Mamlatdar.

In order to threaten and force the Chief and his officials to submit to their nefarious demands the black-mailers took special care to communicate—with exaggeration—the news of the action which the Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police were taking in the matter.

The Mamlatdar of Gogha came to Bhavnagar with a posse of Police and a party of infantry, which was till then located at Gogha. So much show was made of this affair that quite a panic and a terror spread throughout Bhavnagar.

Finding that the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police, Ahmadabad, were bent on inflicting upon him the greatest indignity which it was in their power to inflict, Maharaja Jaswantsinhji immediately left for Kundla, a town where the power and authority of the Magistrate and Police of Ahmadabad

False and malicious charge against the Ruler of Bhavnagar and his chief officials.

Maharaja Jaswantsinhji, with his chief officials leave Bhavnagar.

could not reach. At the same time most of the chief officials left Bhavnagar with him.

But Bhavnagar could not be left to its fate. There was the family of the Chief in the place, there was the State *Toshakhana* (jewelry and other valuables), the treasury and the records. Some responsible official must remain in Bhavnagar to take care of all these. Samaldas was the only official whom Maharaja Jaswantsinhji could trust and place in charge of Bhavnagar. And true to his salt Samaldas was ready to sacrifice every thing, personal safety and inconvenience, in addition to the indignity and harsh treatment which he knew were in store for him. He stood fast to his guns and, like his father, was unmoved by the threats of the malevolents. He was latterly joined by Mehta Shamji Bhimji, a trusted official of the State from Sihor.

Foiled in his attempt to secure the Chief and his chief officials, the Magistrate of Gogha now procured warrants for the arrest of Samaldas and Shamji, and armed with these warrants he now quietly came to Bhavnagar, ostensibly on a friendly visit, and accepted the hospitality of the Darbar. Samaldas as the one responsible officer of the Darbar, then present in Bhavnagar, paid a friendly visit to him. To put Samaldas off his guard, the Mamlatdar at first entered into friendly conversation and then, pretending to show as if he recollected something which he had forgotten, he took out the warrant, which he had concealed underneath his Gadi, and served it on Samaldas. Samaldas who was fully prepared for all eventualities accepted the service of the warrant, and offered to go to Ahmadabad and surrender himself to the District Magistrate. The Mamlatdar, however, refused to accede to his proposal, as, he said, he had strict orders from the Magistrate to send him under Police escort. The warrant against Shamji was served on him at his place of residence, and on the next day they both were sent to Ahmadabad under Police escort. The Police were less oppressive than the District Magistrate and the Mamlatdar. They treated Samaldas and Shamji with all due respect, allowed their cook to prepare their food, and to travel in Darbar conveyances.

Samaldas alone left in charge of Bhavnagar.

Samaldas bears the burden and heat of the day.

It took a week before Samaldas and Shamji reached Ahmadabad. In the meanwhile, the Sessions Judge of Ahmadabad was moved on their behalf to release them on bail on arrival.

Samaldas sent to Ahmadabad.

Fortunately at this time the Sessions Judge was the late Mr. Alexander Kinloch Forbes who, as stated before, successively became Political Agent of Kathiawad, Secretary to Government, Political Department, and a Judge of the Bombay High Court. Of Mr. Forbes, Sir Bartle Frere, the late Governor of Bombay in his speech at the convocation of the University of Bombay, held on the 6th August 1866, very truly observed that:—"It was the innate English love of justice, which, with such singular modesty, was his great characteristic which gave him such a hold on the sympathy of all with whom he came in contact, and which was the true secret of his power." Another high authority wrote of Mr. Forbes that his death was a great calamity to the country, for it was men like him who were the real strength of British rule in India, whose presence inspired confidence in the justice and faith of the English Government, and whose example encouraged the timid, over-awed the forward, and preserved the equilibrium of the political machine.

Mr. Forbes already knew Bhavnagar and all its officials well, and he especially knew Samaldas, as he was acting as the Magistrate of Bhavnagar, when Mr. Forbes was acting as Assistant Judge and Sessions Judge of Ahmadabad. It is very likely that the pleader, who presented the petitions to Mr. Forbes on behalf of Samaldas and Shamji, had very little difficulty in bringing home to the mind of the Sessions Judge the falsity of the accusations made against both these gentlemen. He at once passed an order directing the District Magistrate to release Samaldas and Shamji on bail. This order was given to the pleader to deliver to the Magistrate.

On the day on which Samaldas and Shamji arrived at Ahmadabad, they were taken directly to the District Magistrate. Just as the Magistrate was about to order them to be taken to jail, the pleader delivered the order of the Sessions Judge to him. The Magistrate had no option but to obey the order. He, however,

demanded securities of large amounts for bail, which, it is needless to say, were easily and readily forthcoming.

The Political Agent reports to Government the high-handed action of the Magistracy and Police of Ahmedabad.

We will here leave Samaldas and the affairs of Ahmadabad for the present, and go back to the events at Bhavnagar.

When the District Magistrate of Ahmedabad took the extraordinary action of issuing warrants for the arrest of the Chief of Bhavnagar and his chief officials on the most false and groundless accusations, Gaurishanker the Chief Minister happened to be with the Political Agent. Fortunately the Political Agent was Colonel Lang, an officer of the school of Mountstuart Elphinstone and Malcolm. The Political officials of this school very naturally and properly looked upon the high status and the privileges of the Chiefs with different eyes from the Revenue, Magisterial, and Police officers of the Ahmedabad Zillah. Col. Lang was already well aware of the spitefully high-handed and oppressive actions of the Magistracy and Police of Ahmadabad, and the great indignities and harsh treatment offered by these officials to the Bhavnagar Chief and his officials on several occasions, and had often brought them to the notice of Government. To Col. Lang Gaurishanker reported every thing which had happened at Bhavnagar. Fortunately also he was on his way to Mahuva to which place Maharaja Jaswantsinhjee also had moved from Kundla.

Immediately on Col. Lang's arrival at Mahuva, Maharaja Jaswantsinhjee visited him, and complained that he was in imminent danger of being arrested in his own capital on the most palpably malicious and fabricated accusations, and of being sent like common felons to Ahmedabad with most of his chief officials, under Military and Police escorts. At the same time he said that he would not return to Bhavnagar until some measures were adopted against a repetition of such degrading and oppressive treatment. Col. Lang expressed his regret for what had happened, and promised him his full support.

Maharaja Jaswantsinhjee visits the Political Agent at Mahuva.

Those were not the days of the telegraph. The interior of the country was served by what was called by express post

on all emergent occasions. Col. Lang reported to Government all that had happened at Bhavnagar and impressed on them the necessity of the adoption of some such measure as the one which had been suggested by the Court of Directors in 1853, without delay, and sent his report by the express post.

The Government of Bombay at this time was presided over by a nobleman who was endowed with the innate English love of justice, we mean Lord Elphinstone. He was essentially a governor by birth, and a ruler of uncommon wisdom. It was only in January 1856 that he had paid a visit to Bhavnagar and was much pleased with the progressive administration of the State. He had performed the ceremony of opening an Anglo-Vernacular school at Bhavnagar, the first of its kind in native States in this part of the Presidency; he had visited the Girls' school, distributed prizes, and was greatly pleased with the fair progress the infant school was making, and he had addressed a Kharita to Maharaja Jaswantsinhjee thanking him on behalf of his government for the great liberality shown by His Highness in the cause of education, not only in his own State but elsewhere also. With all this knowledge and personal experience so fresh in his mind, it is probable that Lord Elphinstone was convinced of the absolute necessity of freeing the Chief of Bhavnagar entirely from the power and jurisdiction of the Magistracy and

Act VI of 1859 The Magistrate and Police Superintendent of Ahmedabad relieved of the power of exercising jurisdiction in the 116 villages including Bhavnagar.

Police of Ahmedabad. The Magistrate and the Police Superintendent of the Ahmedabad Zillah were relieved of the power of exercising jurisdiction in the 116 villages, inclusive of Bhavnagar which were placed under the British laws and regulations in 1816, and by Act VI of 1859 they were placed under the Kathiawad Political Agency (subject, however, to the Sessions Judge of Ahmedabad) and an Assistant Political Agent was invested with the powers and authority of a Magistrate. At the same time Gaurishanker, the Chief Karbhari was invested with the powers and authority of Superintendent of Police for Bhavnagar and the 116 villages.

The jurisdiction of the Magistracy and Police of Ahmedabad having been thus entirely eliminated from Bhavnagar, Maharaja Jaswantsinhjee now returned to his own capital with all the chief

Maharaja Jaswantsinhjee returns to Bhavnagar.

officials, much pleased with the satisfactory result of his personal representation to the Political Agent and with the loyal and devoted services of his Minister and other officers of his State.

Let us now return to the affairs at Ahmedabad. Those who had made false and malicious accusations against the Chief and his principal officers, including Samaldas and Shamji, hopelessly and utterly failed in producing even an iota of proof or evidence against any of them. But the case was prolonged for six months, and was finally dismissed by the officer who succeeded Mr. Hadow as Collector and District Magistrate.

Other invaluable services of Samaldas.

In the meanwhile the intriguers and blackmailers, though defeated in one case, tried the effect of another while Mr. Hadow was District Magistrate.

It was about this time that the Sepoy Revolt had broken out, and almost the whole of India was, more or less, bristling with mutinous designs. The Bombay Presidency had fortunately but a small share in the rebellion, and whatever it had of it was promptly put down. But Gujarat caused anxiety for some time, and when the most dangerous archrebel, Tatia Topi, reached Chhota Udaipur, and subsequently recrossed the Narbuda and marched towards Baroda, the situation became rather serious. To reinforce the troops stationed at Ahmedabad, Her Majesty's 89th Regiment under Col. Ferryman, and Capt. Hatch's Battery of Artillery were landed at Gogha during the monsoon with great difficulty and were compelled to make a wide detour to the north owing to the flooded state of the country. Maharaja Jaswantsinhjee rendered every loyal assistance to these troops. The whole country became very disturbed with the rising in the Panch Mahals, disturbances in Ahmedabad itself and at Sunth and Lunawada.

The province of Kathiawad as a whole had fortunately escaped the contamination of the rebellion. But in 1858 the Waghers of Okhamandal, a Mahal or district in the western direction in Kathiawad, belonging to the Gaekwar of Baroda, broke into rebellion and gave much trouble, capturing and plundering Dwarka, Varvala

The Wagher Revolt.

and the island of Bet. From this they were dispersed with great difficulty by the British force by land and by sea. Major Christie, with two hundred sabres of the Gujarat horse and a wing of the 17th Regiment, Native Infantry, from Rajkot marched on the borders of the Ran to cut off the communication between Okhamandal and Kathiawad Peninsula. But in spite of this precaution the Waghers managed to enter into Kathiawad, and took up a strong position on the Abpura Hill.

Now the danger to the peace of Kathiawad at this time was from within and not from without. There were a large number of daring outlaws against several States and Talukas. Then again there were the dangerous tribes of Rahun of Bahara, a district of Navanagar in the neighbourhood of Okhamandal; there were the Meheras of Porbunder, the Mianas of Malia, the Maiyas of Junaghad, the Makaranis and Sindhis and other foreign mercenaries, whose number in the province was estimated at not less than twenty thousand in 1860: what if some of them should join the Waghers and disturb the peace of the country? Although, some of the States (among which Bhavnagar was the first) had offered to place at the disposal of the Political Agent their Sibandhi, Government, while thanking them for their loyal offer, took early measures to reinforce the British troops at Rajkot. Six guns of Aytoun's Battery, a wing of the 33rd Regiment and a detachment of the 14th Regiment Native Infantry, were sent from Ahmedabad. The Waghers were dislodged and driven away from the Abpura Hill.

Taking advantage of this critical situation the clique of intriguers and blackmailers began to fabricate and forge letters full of treasonable matters, purporting to have been addressed by some of the responsible Darbar officials to Samaldas, as if in reply to his communications. With the cunning of reckless forgers and fabricators of false evidence, some of the members of this clique, after posting such letters, took good care to impart the news written by them in the letters so forged to the District Magistrate and Superintendent of Police, and it was credulously believed and taken as a valuable secret by them. These officers now

Condition of Kathiawad (1858-59).

raided the Post Office of Ahmedabad, and demanded all letters addressed to Samaldas, which the Post Master refused to give without the order of Government, as provided for in that behalf in the Post Office Act in force at that time. The letters remained undelivered.

During his enforced sojourn in Ahmedabad, Samaldas used to visit many European officers and cultivate acquaintance with them. He sometimes visited General Roberts, then in command of the force in the Northern Division. In General Roberts he found a noble-hearted and sympathetic officer to whom he related the harsh treatment he received at the hands of the Magistracy and Police of Ahmedabad.

On Samaldas becoming aware of the detention of the letters addressed to him, and the attempts of the District Magistrate and Superintendent of Police to obtain them, he naturally suspected that there was something wrong, and called at the Post Office, took delivery of all such letters, and went with them direct to General Roberts, opened all the letters in his presence, and told him with what ulterior nefarious object those letters were fabricated by a clique existing in Bhavnagar. He then went to the District Magistrate, handed over all the letters to him, and offered to authorise him to take delivery of all the letters addressed to him in future, to keep all such letters as he found treasonable and to take such action thereon which he may deem proper. The District Magistrate was now convinced of the fact of the fabrication of these letters.

We must now draw a veil over the unpleasant affairs at Ahmedabad. Suffice it to say that Samaldas returned to Bhavnagar in triumph over the wrong-doers. This was a signal service, performed at no small personal inconvenience and danger, and Maharaja Jaswantsinhjee was much pleased with it. He resumed the charge of the office of Assistant Diwan.

We have already seen in the account of the life and work of Parmananddas that it was he who had laid the foundation of the representations against the unjust and severe treatment inflicted on the Chief of Bhavnagar, in his being deprived of his

Return of Samaldas in triumph to Bhavnagar.

sovereign rights of Civil and Criminal jurisdiction over the Peshwa tribute paying villages, including the capital town of Bhavnagar, and that the Government of Sir Robert Grant were in favour of restoring the same to the Chief. But no satisfactory settlement having been made about this important question, Maharaja Wajesinhjee, shortly before his death (1852) submitted a memorial in English to the Court of Directors. This memorial together with the extracts of Col. Lang's report and those from the final despatch of the Court of Directors thereon were printed and published when the Bombay High Court questioned the validity of the restoration of jurisdiction by the Government of Bombay in 1866 under a notification and not by an Act of the Legislature.

No one who reads this memorial even at this distant date can fail to feel a pang of sorrow at the extremely harsh and ungenerous treatment given to him, and the great many indignities and insults to which this fine old Chief was subjected from time to time by the officers of the British Government, and no one who reads this memorial can fail to be moved with pity for the position of a mere subject to which he was reduced in his own capital, and also by the pathetic appeal which he made to the British Government in the following words "Alas, how fallen. The son of that Chieftain whose 'friendship the British Government once cultivated with assiduity and attention,' now sues to be allowed to retain that authority in the possession of which the British Nation found him. He seeks no reward for services rendered, no mark of so unequal a friendship, but simply restitution of his own rights."

This memorial had to be submitted through the usual channel, *i. e.*, the Political Agent of Kathiawad. But, after the decision of the Government of Bombay, refusing to give redress to the Bhavnagar Darbar, Col. Lang, the Political Agent, did not consider himself at liberty to receive and forward it on to Government. It was consequently forwarded direct to the Government of Bombay, which now called upon the Political Agent to submit his remarks on this memorial with explanations on certain points on which Government desired information.

Maharaja Wajesinhjee's Memorial of 1852.

In submitting his remarks and explanation Col. Lang brought to bear on the case as set forth in the memorial, his intimate and long knowledge of the condition and status of several States of Kathiawad, who were tributary to the Peshwa. At paragraph 3 of his Report, dated 6th October 1852, he says :-3. "As regards the allegations contained in the Thakor's petition, I do not think that their correctness can be gainsaid. Up to the time of the Treaty of Bassein, I have never been able to ascertain that there was the slightest difference in the Thakor's position in the possessions he held under the Peshwa, and those he held under the Gaekwad, in which he is still independent, and there could have been none between the position of the Thakor and that of the many inferior Tributary Chiefs under the Peshwa, all of whom became subject to our Government on the fall of the Peshwa and still retain their independence. The only difference as regards the Thakor's Gogha Barah, Dhandhuka, and Ranpur Districts, and that over the other Peshwa Tributaries in Kathiawad, is that we succeeded to the one by Treaty, and to the other by conquest. Neither of these titles, however, could warrant our taking more than the Peshwa was entitled to at the time of the cession or conquest in question, but if a plausible excuse could have been offered in either case for an extension of our authority, it would have surely been in that of the conquest, for with respect to the other the Peshwa could not possibly cede, nor we on any principle of justice take, more than belonged to him. Strange to say, however, the reverse of all this has taken place. The Chiefs in the Peshwa Talukas we succeeded by conquest, retain all the independence they formerly possessed, whereas in the ceded districts we have deprived the Thakor of Bhavnagar of the rights he had enjoyed for centuries, and with which the Peshwa, when in the plenitude of his power, never attempted to interfere."

Col. Lang's report on Maharaja Wajesinhjee's Memorial.

In paragraphs 4 & 5 of his letter, Colonel Lang says *inter alia*.

"4. The hardship of the Thakor's case in this respect, will, however, be found, to be fully admitted in Mr. Secretary Willoughby's letter of instructions to the Gogha Committee, dated 1st August 1836, and it must be altogether unnecessary

“for me to enlarge on this part of the subject..... 5. The
 “Thakor of Bhavnagar has never ceased to press his com-
 “plaints on the notice of Government and its several Agents
 “in the province, as may be seen from the numerous petitions he
 “has presented on the subject, commencing with that submitted
 “with Mr. Blane’s letter of 16th May 1829. The very great
 “losses to which the Thakor has been subjected by the additions
 “which have from time to time been made to his *Jamabandhi*,
 “although, the Limbdi Thakor’s Paragnah of Barawala, which
 “is similarly situated in every respect, has been exempted by
 “Government from any increase, is fully explained in paragraph
 “3rd of my letter of the 22nd July last, No. 125. This forms a
 “very small part of his grievance, however, which may be summed
 “up in the humiliating position to which we have reduced this
 “respectable family of being mere subjects in their own
 “capital both of Bhavnagar and Sihor.”

It is perfectly clear from the foregoing extracts that the un-
 ceasing complaints made while Parmananddass was the Chief
 Karbhari of Bhavnagar had begun to bear fruit. We have
 already seen in the account of the life and work of Par-
 mananddas that, when he assumed the office of the Chief Karbhari,
 Mr. Blane was acting as Political Agent. He was succeeded by
 Mr. Willoughby (1832-35). Both these officers were fairminded,
 just and sympathetic, and did not look on the position and
 privileges of the Kathiawad Chiefs with the eyes with which the
 Revenue and the Police officers of the Ahmedabad Zillah used
 to look. To these officers Maharaja Wajesinhjee and his Chief
 Karbhari Parmananddas represented from time to time the num-
 erous grievances of the State, and when they left the Province,
 they carried with them the firm conviction that the Maharaja had
 real cause for complaint, and that he deserved better treatment.
 It is needless to say with what genuine satisfaction Samaldas with
 others reaped the fruit of the seed sown by his revered father.

But these were not the only officers who had reported strong-
 ly in favour of the Bhavnagar case. The successive Residents
 of Baroda,—Col. Walker and others,—and the successive Poli-
 tical Agents of Kathiawad, who had to deal with the case, had
 expressed their opinions equally strongly on it.

It appears from the extract paras 2 and 3 from a Despatch from
 the Honourable the Court of Directors, dated
 1st June 1853, that they were convinced of
 the truth of the case as submitted in the
 memorial, and also of the propriety of re-
 storing the Civil and Criminal jurisdiction to its original rightful
 possessor of the Chief of Bhavnagar. They say in para 3 that:—

“It has been the opinion of most, if not all the authorities,
 “who have at different periods re-examined the case, that the
 “Thakor has been treated with considerable harshness, and
 “though we entertain a strong objection to any kind of privileg-
 “ed jurisdiction, yet as the natural connection of the Thakor’s
 “territories is not with Ahmedabad but with Kathiawad, it
 “would probably be a public advantage rather than a detriment,
 “while it would be highly acceptable to the feelings of the Tha-
 “kor, that the British tribunal, to which he is amenable, should
 “be that of the Political Agent (as is already the case in
 “respect to a part of his possessions) rather than the Civil and
 “Criminal Courts of Ahmedabad. Such an arrangement was
 “recommended by your predecessor in 1837. Lieut. Col. Lang
 “has now made a similar proposal with which you have
 “recorded a partial concurrence, and we are willing that you
 “should deal with this question in such a manner as may, after
 “full consideration, appear to you most advisable, applying
 “to the Legislature of India for such legal power as may be re-
 “quisite for the purpose.”

The concluding portion of para 4 left
 Cause of the delay too much to the discretion of the Govern-
 seven years. ment of Bombay.

The delay of nearly seven years in giving effect—then
 only a partial effect—to the order of the Court of Directors
 may be ascribed to two causes, stated below.

(1) The Government of Bombay perhaps considered it
 advisable to settle the question of jurisdiction along with the
 settlement of the several claims, which were at that time pending
 between the Bhavnagar Darbar and the Government. Probably
 Government also thought that the settlement of the one for

which the Darbar were naturally most anxious, would facilitate the settlement of the others.

(2) Probably in the final settlement of the powers of the different Chiefs of Kathiawad, which it appears from Mr. (afterwards Sir) J. B. Peile's historical notes in the Mangrol case, was pending before Government since 1851, the question of the legal and political status of the Province had incidently arisen. And it also appears from the following excerpts from a minute of Lord Elphinstone, late Governor of Bombay (1853-60), printed at page 500 of the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. VII, that, although the powers of the Chiefs of the first two classes had been partially settled by Government, the larger question, whether the Chiefs were independent or not, or in other words, whether the province of Kathiawad was foreign or British territory, had yet to be settled.

Lord Elphinstone recorded his opinion that, "It seems to me that the Kathiawad Chiefs have always enjoyed independent jurisdiction within their own possessions... As far as history and tradition can be adduced as evidence, it is my opinion, it will prove that the Chieftains of the Peninsula of Kathiawad have always been in respect of their municipal economy perfectly independent of the powers which have successively enjoyed the supremacy in Gujarat, the utmost of their submission being the payment (when exacted by the presence of an army) of tribute, to obtain the forbearance of a power, whose goodwill it was as object to conciliate, because the consequences of its enmity was feared."

The question of the legal status of Kathiawad had to be submitted to the Court of Directors, with whom the power of final order then rested.

It appears that, as in 1863, so in 1856-58, opinions were divided among the officers before whom the question came, some of them maintaining that it was a Foreign Province, while others argued that it was British. It is needless to say here that on the decision of the Court of Directors the future of Kathiawad and that of the independence of its several Chiefs depend-

ed. For, if the Province were declared British territory and its inhabitants British subjects, all would lose their independence and sovereign right of jurisdiction possessed and enjoyed by them from time immemorial, and the Chiefs, reduced to the position of mere British subjects in their own States. And the contemplated transference of all or any of the 116 villages would have been aimless and objectless. For then practically there would be no change in their position; they would not cease to be British territory. But the high sense of English justice came to the help of the Chiefs of Kathiawad, as will be seen from what follows:—

In a Despatch of the 31st March 1858, the Court of Directors decided* that the province of Kathiawad was Foreign Territory and its inhabitants Foreign Subjects, and referring to an opinion by the then Resident of Baroda (Major Davidson) they observed that, "we cannot dismiss this correspondence, which

"has arisen out of this questions of jurisdiction without expressing our surprise that an officer in the high political position (occupied by the officer in question), should have declared his opinion that the whole Province of Kathiawad, with the exception of the district of the Gaekwad, is British territory, and its inhabitants British subjects."

Kathiawad was thus authoritatively declared Foreign Province, and its inhabitants foreign subjects.

This decision also made it perfectly clear that the villages which were to be restored to the jurisdiction of the Darbar would, on restoration, become foreign, as they originally were. After the receipt of this decision steps were taken to carry out the orders of the Court of Directors in the Bhavnagar case.

It may be noted here in passing that by 1858 measures were adopted by the Darbar to introduce a system of criminal justice in the State as suited to the time, and Samaldas was placed in charge of the tribunal of appeal.

The Court of Directors declare Kathiawad to be Foreign Territory. 1858.

System of Criminal justice introduced in the State, 1858.

* Bombay Law Reporter, Vol. VIII, No. 4,

By order No. 1419, dated the 15th April 1859, the Government of Bombay nominated Mr. (afterwards Sir) James B. Peile, of the Bombay Civil Service, on special duty to inquire into the various claims which, from time to time, had been submitted by the Bhavnagar Darbar against Government, and formed the subject of discussion and enquiry by many officers. Mr. Peile, after a lengthy inquiry, at which Samaldas represented the Darbar with Gaurishanker, reviewed the relations and disputes between the Darbar and the British Government, in a report, dated 26th November 1859, which together with the orders passed by Government thereon, were printed at the Educational Society's Press at Byculla, Bombay, in A. D. 1860, and subsequently reprinted at a press in Wadhwan Camp and elsewhere.

Mr. Peile's report noticed.

It would appear on a perusal of this report that no efforts were spared in minimizing and refuting the claims of the Bhavnagar Darbar, and magnifying and maintaining those of Government, and that every possible endeavour was made by laboured but untenable historical arguments and illogical deductions drawn therefrom to show that the Prince of Bhavnagar, who was declared by unimpeachable authorities to be a Sovereign Prince, with whom the British Government had no right to interfere beyond the collection of a tribute, was only a Zamindar—Talukdar—and as such a mere hereditary leaseholder at the pleasure of Government with no proprietary title in the land, and that he was entitled to exercise no jurisdiction at all in the Peshwa tribute paying villages (p. 116). However, by way of small mercies, certain suggestions were made for the consideration of Government.

By the time Mr. Peile's report reached Government, through the Revenue Commissioner of Alienations, Sir George Clerk succeeded Lord Elphinstone as Governor of Bombay (1860-62) (He had acted before, as Governor of Bombay in 1847). Both by education and long and distinguished political experience he was well fitted for this high post. His earliest honours

Sir George Clerk, Governor of Bombay, 1860-62.

had been won among the rank and file of the Bengal Civil Service, and gradually rising to the top, he had constant opportunities of judging of those classes whom later on he was called to rule. He at least could distinguish between a Babu Zamindar of Bengal or a middle man, Talukdar of the North-Western Provinces, and the independent Sovereign Prince of Bhavnagar.

Maharaja Jaswantsinhjee having reason to hope that his State would receive a sympathetic treatment of its various claims against Government, which formed a subject matter of Mr. Peile's report, accredited his State Agent, Merwanji N. Bhownagree, father of Sir Mancherji Bhownagree, to wait upon His Excellency the Governor, Sir George Clerk, for a settlement of these claims, and deputed Samaldas to assist Merwanji. Fortunately Mr. (afterwards Sir) T. C. Hope, Samaldas' old friend was Private Secretary to the Governor, whom His Excellency directed to hold communication with the Agent on these subjects. After a lengthy discussion a statement was prepared and submitted to His Excellency.

It must be mentioned here that, looking at the statement it does not appear that a satisfactory settlement of all the items under dispute had been come to between Mr. Hope and the Darbar Agent. The suggestions on behalf of Government for the settlement of some of the more important items of dispute, were protested against by the Agent. These were carefully noted by Mr. Hope, but without making proper concessions in favour of the Darbar.

The Governor-in-Council disposed of some of the more important items of dispute. He decided (1) that the towns of Bhavnagar and Sihor, and ten subordinate villages should be transferred from the district of Gogha, *i. e.*, from the operation of the British Laws and Regulations and placed under Kathiawad, (2) that the British tribute should be fixed permanently at Rs. 52,000, (3) that the port of Bhavnagar should be admitted to the full benefits of a British port, and (4) that the port of Sundarai should be allowed to be opened as a foreign port subject to certain conditions as regards exports and imports.

The Governor-in-Council disposes of some of the more important items of disputes.

On this settlement a draft of an agreement was drawn up by Mr. Hope and the Darbar Agent in Gujarati, the only language with which Maharaja Jaswantsinhjee who was to sign and seal it, was conversant, and in which Mr. Hope, as is well known, was proficient. But the formal agreement which was drawn up in English neither followed the order of the articles, nor the phraseology of the draft agreement of Mr. Hope and the Darbar Agent, and this caused not a little trouble afterwards, as will be seen hereafter.

But although the matters mentioned above were decided by the Governor-in-Council, there still remained certain mutual claims to be settled. While matters were in train for settlement, a fresh difficulty arose. By Act XXXII of 1860 the Government

of India imposed an Income Tax throughout India, and the States and Talukas of Gujarat under British jurisdiction, as well as their subjects, were declared liable to pay this tax. The impropriety and injustice of requiring these States and Talukas to pay this tax when they were already paying property tax—i. e., Land Revenue or Jama is self-evident. It was as it were taxing the same property twice over, and that too in face of the fact that the enormous increase made in the Jama left very little, if anything, to the Talukdars to maintain themselves and their families, and to bear the Police and other village expenses, etc. But, no, they must submit to the behest of Government. The remonstrance of the Bhavnagar Darbar against the imposition of the Income Tax was of no avail.

In the settlement of the remaining mutual claims, the amount of the Income Tax to be paid by the Darbar was to be fixed, and an agreement between the Darbar and Government had to be drawn up. To avoid all "injudicious interference and unnecessary irritation," Mr. Peile was directed by His Excellency the Governor-in-Council to complete the inquiry and settlement. At the same time he was directed that, before proceeding with this work, he should prepare for submission to the Government of India a draft Act with specifications so that all the places (towns and villages) to be

Government directs Mr. Peile to settle the other items of dispute.

excluded from the operation of the British Laws and Regulations might be comprised and defined.

As it would have taken a great deal of time in the inquiry of the several different claims, a settlement was arrived at by way of compromise, and an agreement was prepared and ratified on 22nd December 1860.* It was signed and sealed by Maharaja Jaswantsinhjee, and the seal of the Government of Bombay and the signature of the Governor, Sir George Clerk, were fixed later on when His Excellency paid a visit to the Maharaja in his own capital.

Compromise between the Bhavnagar Darbar and Government.

Agreement of 1860 signed and sealed by the Governor at Bhavnagar.

The Bhavnagar Darbar had to be satisfied with the small mercies shown in the settlement, fully trusting that the high sense of English justice would, at no distant date in the future, lead this beginning to a complete and satisfactory settlement of all the claims and to the restoration of independent Civil and Criminal jurisdiction over all the 116 villages.

It may be said at this distant date that with all their knowledge of the Darbar's strong case, Gaurishanker and Samaldas ought not to have agreed to any settlement which did not transfer all the 116 villages to the independent jurisdiction of the Darbar, and that they ought not to have agreed to the statement that Government concede as a favour "and not as a right" the transfer of only ten villages.

Remarks on the settlement.

Now it must be remembered that the Court of Directors had in their Despatch extracted above, declared that they entertained "a strong objection to any kind of privileged jurisdiction," and that the Government of Bombay were merely carrying out the order so expressed. The term "as a favour and not as a right" would cease to have any significance or meaning at all when once the villages were transferred to the complete independent jurisdiction of the Darbar on the same footing with regard to jurisdiction as their villages in Kathiawad, which paid tribute to the Gaekwad. In short the responsible officers of the Darbar had to choose between the small concession and none, and we

venture to opine that, having regard to all circumstances, and especially to the peculiar position in which the Darbar were placed, the course taken by them was both politic and farsighted, and that it was the only course open to them.

The draft Act was no doubt ready by this time, and also the power of legislation, which had been taken away from the Governments of Bombay and Madras by the Charter Act of 1833, was by this time restored to them by the Act of 1861 (24, 25. Vic. C. 67). But then the question arose by which Council the Act should be passed, by the Bombay Council or that of the Government of India. That question went to Mr. Ritchie, the then Law member of the Government of India. When the papers came to him he at once put his finger on the critical point. He pointed out that, if Kathiawad was no part of British India, Government would be transferring the scheduled villages into foreign territory, a thing, which he argued, should be done by the Executive and not by the Legislature. The arguments used by Mr. Ritchie are too important to be omitted here. He said:

“ If the Province of Kathiawad be deemed a foreign pro-

vince, not forming part of Her Majesty's

“ dominions in British India, the transfer of

“ Bhavnagar and the ten villages from the

“ jurisdiction of Ahmedabad to that of Ka-

“ thiawad cannot be effected by the proposed Bill, or by any Act
“ of either legislature.”

“ For the transfer of a portion of British territory in India
“ to a Foreign State is, of course, not a fit subject for legisla-
“ tion at all. Moreover, it would fall within the prohibition
“ in the India Council's Act against any legislation affecting
“ the allegiance of the inhabitants to Her Majesty, or the
“ sovereignty or dominion of the Crown over that part of Her
“ Majesty's dominions. And supposing the agreement with the
“ Thakor to have been properly ratified in England, the transfer
“ to a foreign State will already have been effected by that agree-
“ ment, considered as a treaty, and the towns and villages trans-
“ ferred by it would no longer be in British India, or within the
“ jurisdiction for purposes of legislation of the Governor General
“ in Council, or the Governor of Bombay in Council.”

Question regarding the
legal and political status
of Kathiawad again rais-
ed. 1861-63.

The opinion expressed by Mr. Ritchie once more raised the important question, whether or no Kathiawad was Foreign territory, and that question was referred back to the Government of Bombay.

It is probable that it was about this time that the subject of

The question in the Bhav-
nagar case got inter-mix-
ed with the question of
the classification of po-
wers of the Kathiawad
Chiefs.

Col. Keatinge's classification of the powers of the States other than those of the First and Second States was before the Government of Bombay for settlement. Now Kathiawad is a region honeycombed with numerous States and petty Talukas, from a Sovereign of a First Class State to a petty Chiefship of one village, or, sometimes, a part of a village. Perhaps to define the powers of such a conglomeration of States and estates, was found a difficult task by the Government of Bombay of that time, and the best way out of the difficulty was discovered in maintaining the untenable proposition that Kathiawad was British territory and its inhabitants British subjects, and the Government of Bombay came to this conclusion. The strange part of this strange controversy would appear to be that, although so recently as 1858, the Province of Kathiawad was declared by the highest tribunal in the British realm to be Foreign Territory, and that, although ever since the British connection with the Province it was recognized by Government as Foreign Territory, everything was conveniently forgotten, and it was assumed and vehemently contended that it was a part of British Territory.

Sir Bartle Frere, then Governor of Bombay, in a minute,
dated 21st March 1863, only a portion of

Opinion of the Govern-
ment of Bombay that Ka-
thiawad is British Terri-
tory.

which has been extracted at page 309 of the
Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol.
VIII, advocated the proposition in the

following words:—

“ If the British Crown is not Sovereign, and does not claim
“ the allegiance of the inhabitants of Kathiawad as its subjects,
“ who is sovereign and to whom is allegiance due? Clearly not
“ to the Gaekwad, for he transferred his rights to us, clearly not
“ to any of the Chiefs, for as among themselves they admit no
“ superior. The sovereign right of making war and peace, and of

"compelling allegiance under penalty of treason must reside somewhere : if not in the British Crown, where does it reside ?"

Mr. W. E. Frere, as Member of the Bombay Council, concurred with Sir Bartle Frere, and Mr. J. D. Inverarity, fourth member of the Bombay Council from 1862-65, took the same view. Thus then so far as the Government of Bombay was concerned the compact was complete in adjudging Kathiawad as British territory and its inhabitants, including of course all the Chiefs—large and small—British subjects.

Fortunately, however, for the several States of the Province and their Chiefs the Government of India did not endorse the view taken by the Government of Bombay.* Sir Henry Maine, Law Member to Government of India, in a very able minute, convincingly refuted Sir Bartle Frere's contention about sovereignty. He says : "Sovereignty is a term, which in international Law indicates a well ascertained assemblage of separate powers and privileges." The rights which form part of "the aggregate are specifically named by the publicists "who distinguish them as the right to make war and peace, the "right to administer Civil and Criminal justice, the right to "legislate, and so forth. A Sovereign who possesses the whole of "the aggregate of rights is called an independent sovereign, but "there is not, nor has there ever been, anything in international "law to prevent some of these rights being lodged with one "possessor and some with another. Sovereignty has always been "regarded as divisible. It appears to me, therefore, that "the Kathiawad States have been permitted to enjoy several "rights, of which the principal, and it is a well known right of "Sovereignty, is immunity from foreign laws. Their Chiefs have "also been allowed to exercise (within limits) civil and criminal "jurisdiction, and several of them have been in the exercise "of a very marked (though minor) sovereign-right, the right to "coin† money. But far the largest part of the sovereignty has

* The Government of India by Sir Courtney Ilbert p. 460-61. Our Indian Protectorate by S. Tupper p. 18. The Protected Princes of India by Sir W. Lee Warner, p. 30.

† Bhavnagar exercised the Sovereign right of coining money, for the abandonment of which Government compensated it.

"obviously resided in practice with the British Government, and "among the rights which it has exercised appears to me to be "an almost unlimited right of interference for the better order "of the States. I mean that, if the interferences which "have already taken place be referred to as principles, "those principles would justify any amount of interposition so "long as we interpose in good faith for the advantage of the "Chiefs and people of Kathiawad, and so long as we do not "disturb the only unqualified Sovereign-right, which these States "appear to possess the right to immunity from foreign laws."

It may be gathered from the Despatch of the 14th April 1864, from the Government of India to the Secretary of State for India, that along with the question, which incidentally arose in connection with the agreement of 1860 with the Bhavnagar Darbar, the question which arose in disposing of the classification system was also submitted by the Government of India for the decision of the Secretary of State. The Government of India while discussing the proposed new arrangement, said : "The next question refers to the law and the system which "should be applied to Kathiawad. For the due solution of this "question, it is necessary to decide, whether Kathiawad is foreign "or British Territory, and until we receive an expression of the "views of Her Majesty's Government on the question discussed "in our own separate Despatch, the law as at present in force "must remain." On the point thus submitted, the reply of the Secretary of State, in a Despatch of the 31st August 1864, No. 54, Political, was this :—*

"(1) I have taken into consideration in Council the important question submitted to Her Majesty's Government in the "letter of Your Excellency's Government No. 70 of 14th April "1864, respecting the political position of Kathiawad.

"(2) I have read with interest and attention all the "arguments which have been adduced on either side by the "several members of the Governments of India and Bombay. "It is unnecessary that I should examine in detail these conflict-

* Despatch of the Secretary of State, the Magna Charta of Kathiawad declaring Kathiawad to be Foreign Territory, 1864.

"ing arguments, or record an opinion with respect to their
 "relative weight. It is sufficient to say that the Chiefs of
 "Káthiáwád have received formal assurance from the British
 "Government that their rights will be respected, and that the
 "Home Government of India, so lately as 1858, repudiated the
 "opinion that the province of Káthiáwád was British territory
 "and its inhabitants British subjects.

"(3) At the same time, there is no doubt that the British
 "Government have for a lengthened period exercised powers
 "which are unquestionably of a sovereign character, with the full
 "recognition and acquiescence of the Chiefs and people, and
 "have interfered at all times, when occasion required, for the
 "preservation of peace and maintainance of order.

"(4) But we have never exercised the right to apply our
 "Civil and Criminal Codes of Procedure to Káthiáwád, and
 "whatever reforms we have introduced have been made in such
 "a manner as to ensure the co-operation and support of the
 "Chiefs. It has been our aim not to undermine their authority
 "and independence, nor to undertake the internal administration
 "of the Province.

"(5) Her Majesty's Government have no desire to claim
 "any more direct and formal sovereignty than has been exercised
 "ever since our first connection with Káthiáwád, nor to impose
 "British Laws and Regulations on the Chiefs of the Province."

This Despatch of Sir Charles Wood (afterwards Lord
 Halifax), which may be properly called the Magna Charta of
 Káthiáwád, saved the province from being absorbed in British
 India, and once more guaranteed its several Chiefs their in-
 dependence in their respective territorial possessions.

Both before and subsequent to the receipt of the Secretary
 of State's Despatch, His Highness Jaswant-
 sinhjee had requested Government to
 expedite the carrying out of the settlement
 of the arrangements he had entered into
 with the Government of Bombay in 1860. The Government
 communicated His Highness's letter to the Government of India,

Anxiety of Maharaja
 Jaswantsinhji for car-
 rying out the settlement.

who replied by a letter, dated 31st May 1865, of which the follow-
 ing is an extract:—*

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your
 "letter, dated 10th instant, No. 80, forwarding copy of a com-
 "munication from the Thakor of Bhavnagar, asking for an early
 "settlement of the arrangements, entered into with him by Sir
 "George Clerk.

"2. The Thakor's present application is understood to
 "refer to the contemplated transfer of the town of Bhavnagar,
 "of the district of Sihor, and of the villages in Dhandhuka and
 "Gogha, to the supervision of the laws and regulations of the
 "Káthiáwád Political Agency.

"3. His Excellency in Council observes that this matter,
 Direction of the Government of India. "in common with the general question of
 "the future administration of Káthiáwád,
 "was referred for the final consideration of the Bombay Govern-
 "ment in my predecessor's letter No. 132, dated 13th February
 "1865. As Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India has
 "decided that Kathiawad is not British territory, the projected
 "transfer will have been legalised by the agreement concluded
 "between Sir George Clerk and the Thakor, which subsequently
 "received the sanction of the Secretary of State."

"4. His Excellency in Council authorises the contemplated
 "arrangement being at once carried into effect."

At the same time Her Majesty's Government in concurrence
 with the Law officers of the Crown decided that the Government
 of India has power to cede territory to Native States, and " is
 the sole judge of the consideration of the
 State policy by which grants of territory
 must be determined."

This communication, which also conveyed the sanction of
 Resumption of the nego- the Home Government to the agreement of
 tiation with the Darbar. 1860, set the matter at rest, and what was
 of great importance to the Bhavnagar Darbar, was the authority

given to the Government of Bombay to transfer to the jurisdiction of the Darbar not only the ten villages contemplated by the agreement of 1860, but all the 116 villages. The Government of Bombay now resumed negotiation with the Darbar to give proper effect to this order of the Government of India.

By this time fresh additions were made to the already long list of the Darbar's claims against Government, prominent among which was, as stated before the imposition of the Income Tax. The Government of Bombay, under these circumstances, very properly saw the necessity of effecting a complete separation of interest the absence of which was the most fruitful source, not only of constant disagreement and contentions between the Darbar and Govern-

ment, but also of injudicious interference in the affairs of Bhavnagar and unnecessary irritation. To carry out this certain clauses of the agreement, ratified on the 25th December 1860, had to be modified. A give and take arrangement was come to between the Darbar and the Government. The Darbar gave up and

surrendered certain valuable rights and claims against Government, and they also surrendered their claim to the very large sums of money which had become due to them by Government by this time (1866). And for all these valuable considerations Government restored to the Darbar complete Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction over the 116 villages on the same footing and condition as to jurisdiction as the villages under their jurisdiction in Kathiawad. And Government also for valuable considerations relinquished and made over to the Darbar all their share and interests in the port of Bhavnagar, which as mentioned before, was admitted to the full benefits of a British port, so far as the Darbar may desire, and gave up certain claims.

On the basis of this mutual understanding a fresh agreement was executed on 25th April 1866. It was signed and sealed by Maharaja Jaswantsinhjee and His Excellency Sir H. B. Frere.

It may be mentioned here that this fresh agreement was come to after a protracted discussion and consideration of all the

Complete separation of mutual interests, the basis of settlement.

Restoration of Civil and Criminal jurisdiction to the Darbar over the 116 villages.

Agreement of 1866.

different items embraced in it. Gaurishanker and Samaldas had to remain with Mr. Peile for several months and returned to Bhavnagar after the basis of the settlement had been arrived at. The agreement was drafted in English and translated in Gujarati.

The ambiguity and over-cautiousness with which the true intention of the high contracting parties to this agreement—which in fact was a treaty,—were expressed and the great ingenuity with which it was worded gave, in less than four years, not a little trouble, both to the Government and the Darbar. This subject will be adverted to again as we proceed.

The agreement of 1866 was carried into effect by Government by a Notification in the Bombay Government Gazette, dated 29th January 1866, and all the 116 towns and villages, reverted to the Civil and Criminal jurisdiction of the Darbar.

We would be doing him injustice if we omitted to mention here the name of Santokram Desai, one of the ablest officers the Darbar possessed at that time. He was Gaurishanker's sister's son and first cousin of Samaldas. To him and Gaurishanker, Maharaja Wajesinhjee has entrusted the administration of his State in joint charge on the retirement of Parmananddas. He was in fact the backbone or the main-stay, so to speak, of Gaurishanker's administration, and on him fell the responsible duty of supplementing the labours of Gaurishanker and Samaldas by collection from different sources of proof and evidence, whenever required. This proof and evidence were collected and arranged by Samaldas and produced before the inquiring officer.

Maharaja Jaswantsinhjee was much pleased at the satisfactory termination, after a lapse of half a century, of the principal question of restoration to his State of the Civil and Criminal jurisdiction over the 116 villages of which his great-grand-father was deprived by an edict of the Bombay Government in 1816.

Services of Gaurishanker and Samaldas.

Ambiguity of the phraseology of the agreement of 1866.

Government Notification of the 29th January 1866 about the 116 villages.

Services of Santokram Desai.

Maharaja Jaswantsinhjee receives the agreement of 1866 with great gratification.

He felt happy in the thought that, the high sense of English justice, and the loyal and devoted services of his ministers and officers had brought back new life to him, and made him independent in his own capital, the seat from which his forefathers administered policy and justice. And he felt supremely happy in the thought that the fond hope cherished by his revered grandfather Maharaja Wajesinhjee that:—"At the age of 75 I may be supposed to be, as I am, desirous of repose, but I have a duty to discharge as regards my children who succeed me, and my most anxious wish is to feel assured that I shall leave the ancient possession of my house untarnished to posterity, and unshorn of their time-honoured rights and privileges.", was fully realised though not by Maharaja Wajesinhjee himself but by his grand-son Maharaja Jaswantsinhjee, and the prayer with which Maharaja Wajesinhjee concluded his memorial that, "In conclusion my prayer is not that you will confer upon me any reward for past and acknowledged services, but simply that you will restore me to the position occupied by my father at the Treaty of Bassein, and so leave me the same extent of authority in my before mentioned villages, as I still enjoy in my other districts formerly tributary to the Gaekwad.", were fully granted in the time of Maharaja Jaswantsinhjee. His Highness had also reason to be satisfied with the result of the two,—among other subjects of dispute, namely, the ever increasing amount of tribute was permanently fixed at Rs. 52,000, and the port of Bhavnagar which since a few years after it was established was shared, first by the Sidi, the Admiral of the Mughal fleet at Surat, and subsequently by the British Government, now became his sole property with the full benefit of a British port.

To mark his high appreciation of the valuable services performed by Gaurishanker, Santokram Desai, Samaldas, Merwanji and other officers of the State, Maharaja Jaswantsinhjee held a Darbar after the return of the Ministers with the original agreement, at which he bestowed the village of Turkha on Gaurishanker and that of Khubhan on Santokram Desai, and presented to Samaldas and Merwanji each a purse of

High appreciation of the valuable services of his ministers and officials by Maharaja Jaswantsinhjee.

fifty thousand rupees and the services of other officers were adequately rewarded. The services of Samaldas were further appreciated by his Highness Maharaja Takhtasinghji by the bestowal on him of the village of Jalalpur.

We must now deal with the two subjects which belong to the period of 1860-66. These are (1) the establishment of the Civil and Criminal Courts in the State and the introduction of Codes of procedure for their guidance and (2) The classification of the powers of the Kathiawad Chiefs below Second Class. The powers of the Chiefs of the First and Second Class States were not, as stated before, affected by this arrangement.

The Two subjects, i. e.,
(1) The establishment of the Civil and Criminal Courts in the State.
(2) The classification of the powers of Chiefs below second class noticed.

In treating the first subject, the establishment of the Civil and Criminal Courts in the State, etc., we must own that from the time of the accession of Maharaja Jaswantsinhjee to the throne, a new and progressive era had dawned in the State. The Ministers were given free scope to introduce new arrangements in the administration, best suited to the time and condition of the State. Before the ratification of the agreement of 1860, the Darbar were, to borrow the words of Mr. Peile, visibly and properly embarrassed in establishing Courts of Justice in Bhavnagar itself. For, although there was nothing to prevent the establishment of Courts in the districts such as Mahuva and Kundla, which were not under British Laws and Regulations, the Courts of Appeal must be held wherever the Chief resided. And the Chief resided in Bhavnagar, his capital town: so that the Courts of Appeal, namely that of the Sar Nyayadhish (the Chief Judge), which heard appeals from the decisions of the Nyayadhish (Judge) of Mahuva, Kundla and other districts, and the Huzur Court, or the Court of final appeal over which the Chief presided, would, as if it were, be established and held within the jurisdiction of the Judge of Ahmedabad. The illegality of the existence of such a state of things would be self-evident. But the agreement of 1860 tended to remove this great anomaly. Bhavnagar was to be restored to the Civil and Criminal jurisdiction of the Darbar.

It must be admitted that generally speaking none of the States of Kathiawad possessed any regular system for the administration of justice until 1863. To Colonel Keatinge, the Province of Kathiawad is indebted for the rapid advancement it had made in point of civilization, but whose actions were, for some time, misunderstood and misjudged by almost all the large States of the Province, as will be seen from what follows. Perhaps in his anxiety to bring the Province to the level of the adjoining British districts in matters of reform, he attempted much within his short time. He obtained copies of the Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure in force in British India, and sent some to the different States, and directed his assistants to regulate the work of their Courts in the spirit of these Codes. The complaints of the subjects of one State against those of another, which were hitherto received in the name of States and indiscriminately heard politically, were thenceforth to be received in the name of the complaints as civil suits, and a regulated institution fee was ordered to be levied on such complaints. Rules of limitation in Civil suits were promulgated. The Chiefs were informed that he was directed by Government to gradually introduce the Government Rupee as the legal tender in Kathiawad, and that the question of abolishing the mints in Navanagar, Junaghad and Porbandar was under consideration. Free Education even in primary schools was abolished and the levy of a moderate fee was introduced.

All these and similar other measures met with much opposition from the greater Chiefs of the Province. Maharaja Jaswantsinhjee was among the rest of the greater Chiefs, who was at first opposed to the introduction of these measures. But fortunately he had the advantage of meeting Col. Keatinge on occasions more than one and personally discussing the matters with him. His Highness was assured of the advantages which would result to the Province from the introduction of these reforms and he fell in with Colonel Keatinge's views and supported him with all his heart.

It would appear from the correspondence, printed in the Kathiawad Political Agency Gazette, No. 3 of 1863, that Col. Keatinge's measures were strongly protested against in writing

by the larger Chiefs of the Western district, (now Sorath). Of this correspondence Col. Keatinge published a letter addressed to him by his Highness the Nawab Saheb of Junaghad and his own reply thereto.

His Highness the Nawab Saheb observed that the measures were in infringement of Col. Walker's settlement and guarantee, the treaty of Bassein, and Her Gracious Majesty the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, and added that, "Now it is desirable to attempt to improve the administration of justice in the country in accordance with the established custom thereof, but to do so by imposing upon this independent Mulakgiri State (Mulakgiri tabana Rajasthan) the laws and stamp duties in force in the Zillah Districts appear to me improper (ghat padtu puru avtu nathi) my subjects are opposed to it, for the above reasons therefore I too am opposed to it. And your Honour (Sirkar) should not act in this matter without (my) assent," and in conclusion His Highness said that, "Having taken the above paras into consideration, as also Col. Walker's guarantee, the treaty of Bassein, and the Proclamation of Her Gracious Majesty (you will see that) it is not proper that these engagements should be broken by introducing Regulations and levying stamp duties in the Mulakgiri Province, therefore you should lay aside (Mokuf Rakhsho) this intention, but if this cannot be done without a reference to the Bombay Government, then please to forward this paper with your favourable opinion to that Government."

In acknowledging the receipt of the letter, Col. Keatinge said that, so far from infringing Col. Walker's settlement, he wished fully to respect it, that the Province of Kathiawad was not even casually mentioned in the treaty of Bassein, and that His Highness had "utterly misquoted Her Most Gracious Majesty's Proclamation of the 1st November 1858." He also observed that (2) "On my first visit to Kathiawad before I received the charge of the Agency, I ascertained that there were in the Province thirteen States possessing First and Second Class powers of jurisdiction, and that they had neither regular Courts nor written Laws or Regulations for the administration of Justice. I procured copies of the Indian Penal Code, and

“requested all my assistants to conduct their duties as much as possible according to the spirit of these Acts. I also forwarded copies to Your Highness and other Chiefs, but I nowhere mentioned that it was my intention to introduce the Regulations into Kathiawad, on the contrary I have spent many hours in conversation with the ministers of different States, explaining to them my policy and my intention of almost abstaining from interference in the internal economy of the States. But I have stated to all and I beg again to repeat to Your Highness, that the only way in which you can obtain permanent exemption from such minute guidance as you have hitherto been subjected to from this Agency is by making vast improvements in the administration of your country.”

(3) “I am disappointed that, after lengthened discussions with your Highness’s Minister, with two of your personal companions and Jamadars, and lastly with yourself, my views seem as little understood and my assertions as little trusted as if I had not explained myself at all.”

He explained at some length the reasons for his directions to his assistants to receive petitions in the names of individuals, and to demand the payment of an institution fee in cases where individual interests *only* were concerned, and which were not of a political nature, and made the following further observations:—

“I am aware that a cry has been raised that any person paying an institution fee thereby subjects himself to the regulations, and that in bringing forward these measures I wish to annihilate the independent jurisdiction of the Chiefs of Kathiawad. I cannot of course control the fears of the mass of ignorant and interested persons who surround this Agency and prey upon the Talukdars, but I exceedingly regret to find that they influenced Your Highness, that you believe their assertions in preference to mine, and that you seem to have no confidence that Government will extend to you and to your territory the liberal policy they pursue towards the other Princes and Chiefs of India.”

(9) “Having touched on all the subjects brought forward in your letter, I wish once more to assure you officially, as I have already done in conversation, and through your Minister, that

“it is the wish of Government not to interfere in the internal management of your State, and that it is my earnest desire to carry out this policy to the fullest extent.”

“But is not Your Highness aware that there is a power which rules princes, upsets Governments, and laughs at Political Agents? It is called public opinion and if you continue to surround yourself with persons who are absolutely ignorant of passing events, to keep your country without Courts of Justice, and without written Laws, and to mould your administration with the tradition of the year 1808, public opinion will crush you.”

(10) “You have requested me to transmit your letter to the Government of Bombay if I should not think fit to comply with the requests it contains. I cannot do so, for its tone is objectionable throughout, and I must in conclusion assure your Highness that I shall require a more courteous and a better considered style of communication if we are to correspond, as I trust we shall do, on terms of amity.”

It is unnecessary to say here that although Col. Keatinge’s letter was addressed to His Highness the Nawab Sahib of Junaghad, it was undoubtedly intended for the instruction of and as a warning to all the Chiefs of the Province collectively.

A few months after the publication of the foregoing correspondence, Col. Keatinge communicated to the Chiefs, Talukdar and Bhumias by the following Circular letter, under date the 4th September 1865, a Proclamation issued by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India in the Foreign Department, No. 502, dated 16th August 1865, Col. Keatinge’s letter ran as follows:—

(1) (*After Compliments.*) I enclose for your information a translation of Notification No. 502 of the 16th August 1865, issued by order of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India.”

(2) You will perceive that the Durbar of Udaypur, having shown an utter disregard of the principles of justice, have forfeited the confidence of Government, and have been deprived of almost all executive powers during the minority of the Maharaja.”

“(3) I earnestly hope that this example may not be without effect, and that it will impress upon all the Durbars in Kathiawad, that, however anxious Government may be to continue to Native States the control of their own Territories, there is a point beyond which mismanagement cannot be allowed to proceed.”

“(4). Bear in mind that up to the present time no State in Kathiawad has any Judicial system, any written Law, or any recognised Civil and Criminal Court.”

Unaffected, frank and honest as this exposition of his policy was, and clear and friendly as his advice and warning were, he experienced difficulty for some time in bringing home to the minds of most of the chiefs the great truth that it was by an adaptation of the best that was in Eastern tradition to Western standards that a Chief can succeed in making improvements in his State. But Col. Keatinge persevered in his endeavours to introduce reforms, and lost no opportunity of convincing the Chiefs, whenever and whomsoever he met, that he was actuated by the best of motives and acted only in their interest. His endeavours gradually succeeded in dispelling the apprehension with which his measures were at first and for some time regarded, and “the combined opposition against them” steadily and quietly passed away.

Long before Col. Keatinge's arrival in the Province, the State of Bhavnagar under Maharaja Jawantasinhjee had earned for itself the confidence of successive Political Agents, and their good opinion that, among the States of the Province, Bhavnagar was the only “honourable exception” which was convinced of the value of the institutions of Western Civilisation. Maharaja Jaswantsinhjee had already made a beginning and established Courts of Criminal Justice in the two chief towns of the larger Mahals (districts). But it was a small beginning and the courts were hardly regular Courts.

Col. Keatinge, before assuming charge of the Political Agency, had landed at Gogha and visited some parts of the Province. He had seen Mr. A. K. Forbes, who had spoken highly of the progressive administration of Bhavnagar, and he

had long conversations with Maharaja Jaswantsinhjee, who had expressed his desire to introduce a regular judicial system in his State.

Maharaja Jaswantsinhjee, a Prince of liberal and enlightened views, who had the advantage of being advised by such able and energetic Ministers as Gaurishanker and Samaldas, like a true Rajput, true to his promise. By the end of 1863, he had established Courts of Criminal Justice in all the chief towns of the Mahals (districts), except in those which were till then under British Laws and Regulations. His Highness appointed Judges of these Courts, nominating Samaldas as Sar Nyayadhish or Chief Judge, defined their respective power and authority, and made provisional rules to guide their procedure. The Assistant Political Agent, Gohilwad, reported to Col. Keatinge on the 21st May 1864, that “the business of these Criminal Courts has, for some time past, proceeded regularly and satisfactorily.”*

Col. Keatinge was so much pleased with the lead thus given by Maharaja Jaswantsinhjee that he published this correspondence in the Kathiawad Political Agency Gazette No. 22 of 1863 for the edification of the chiefs of Kathiawad, some of whom were till the end of 1866,† expressing their intention of establishing Courts of Justice and of enacting written laws for their guidance, and of constructing a central prison and so forth.

It may be mentioned here that the Government of Bombay took the first opportunity of marking their confidence in the administration of the Bhavnagar State. Under Act, IX, of 1863, known as the Cotton Frauds Act, the Government of Bombay adopted strong repressive measures against adulteration of cotton, which had become so common at that time, consequent on the high prices it fetched on account of the American War. Bhavnagar then being under British jurisdiction the question of the extension of the Cotton Frauds Act to it rested with the Government. But on the recommendation of Col. Keatinge, the Government of Bombay were pleased, by resolution No.* 1462 of 19th April 1864, not only to leave to the Bhavnagar Darbar the work of

* Kathiawad Political Agency Gazette No. 22 of 1864.

† Sir Bartle Frere's Speeches and Addresses, p. 567.

making their own arrangement in Bhavnagar itself to prevent adulteration of cotton, but made over to them the proceeds of the fine which were inflicted by officers of Government prior to this arrangement. An Inspector was appointed with a suitable establishment, and Samaldas was invested with special powers of hearing appeals against the orders of the Inspector. So efficiently were the measures against adulteration of cotton carried out that in a short time the reputation of Bhavnagar cotton, or cotton exported from the Port of Bhavnagar, was established in the Bombay market, and it fetched from ten to fifteen per cent. more than the price of cotton exported to Bombay from the other ports of Kathiawad.

To establish regular Civil and Criminal Courts was not a matter beset with so much difficulty as was the task of selecting and adopting Codes of Procedure for the guidance of these Courts.

But it said here to the credit of the more advanced States of Kathiawad, that they adopt for their model what was best in the law in force for the time being in British India.

Condition of Statute Law in British India upto 1861. Now let us see what the condition was with regard to Statute Law in British India up to 1861.

In 1833 when the time came round for renewing the Charter of the East India Company,† Bentham's views on legislation and codification were receiving much influence on the minds of Law reformers. At that time there were different bodies of Statute law in different parts of India. The regulations of the Bombay Code, which began with the revised code of Mountstuart Elphinstone in 1827, comprising the result of twenty-eight years' previous legislation, had force and validity in the Bombay Presidency till the Indian Penal Code became law (1860).

The Charter Act, (3 & 4 William IV), of 1833 took away from the Government of Madras and Bombay the power of Legislation, and vested the legislative power of the Indian Government exclusively in the Governor-General-in-Council. Under

* Kathiawad Political Agency Gazette No. 25 of 1863.

† Historical Introduction to the Government of India by Sir Courtney Ilbert.

the direction of this Act, the first Indian Law Commission was appointed by the Governor-General-in-Council. The labours of this Commission, of which Macaulay, who was before in Parliament, and was Secretary of the Board of Control, was the most prominent member, resulted directly in the preparation of the Indian Penal Code, which, however, did not become law until 1860, and indirectly, and after long interval of time, in the preparation of the Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure and other Codes of substantive and adjective law, which now form part of the Indian Statute Book. But the Indian Law Commission had ceased to exist before 1853. It seems to have lost much of its vitality after Macaulay's departure from India. It lingered on for many years, published periodically ponderous volumes of reports on which, in many instances, Indian Acts have subsequently been based, but did not succeed in effecting any codification of the laws or customs of the country, and was finally allowed to expire. Efforts, however, were made by the Act of 1853, the last of the Charter Acts, to utilise its labours, and for this purpose power was given to appoint a body of English Commissioners, who on being appointed, were instructed by the Board of Control to consider specially the preparation of a simple and uniform Code of Procedure for Indian Courts, and the amalgamation of the Supreme and Sardar Courts. On these and other like measures, the Judges of the Calcutta Supreme Court very properly observed that very few of the public or persons in office at home, not even the law officers, can be expected to have so comprehensive and clear a view of the Indian system as to know readily and familiarly the bearings of each part of a question which may be raised in connection with the application of law to particular cases.

In the absence of adequate authorities the Judges of the Civil Courts were usually directed to act in accordance with "justice, equity and good conscience." Sir Courtney Ilbert very aptly observes that an Englishman would naturally interpret these words as meaning such rules and principles of English laws as he happened to know and consider applicable to the case, and that thus under the influence of English Judges, native law and usage were, without express legislation, largely supplemented, modified and suppressed by English law. So much then for Civil

cases. And now as regards Criminal cases. It was not, as stated above, until 1860 that the Indian Penal Code was placed on the Indian Statute Book, and similarly it was not until 1861 that the Code of Criminal Procedure was passed. Up to this time there was no uniformity of laws, procedure and punishment in British India, and these differed from province to province. There was no wonder then that things were not different in Native States at that time.

Condition of the Judicial System in the Kathiawad Political Agency.

And now let us turn to the Kathiawad Political Agency and see what was the condition of the judicial system in force in it at that time.

In 1860, the late Mr. A. K. Forbes, when relinquishing charge of the Agency, complained that while Kathiawad stood still or retrograded in point of civilization, the adjacent British territory rapidly improved and that the contrast became every day more apparent. The procedure till then in vogue was a sort of confused mass of loose and lax procedure. Among the different suggestions for reform made by that eminent officer were three of more importance than the others, namely:—(1) that the Judicial and Political matters should be distinguished and kept separate, (2) that the customs of the country should be codified and, (3) that a Code of Procedure of Civil, Criminal and Revenue (attachment) matters for the Agency should be drawn up. The Government of Bombay while approving Mr. Forbes's suggestions observed (19th June 1861) that the Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council would not proceed at once to any large measures of reforms, believing that, in so peculiar a country as Kathiawad was, that improvement alone was safe and would be permanent which was gradual, and "that it will be at present sufficient to direct the immediate attention of the Political Agent (Colonel Barr) to the propriety of keeping separate, as suggested by Mr. Forbes, the Judicial and Political functions of the authorities, to the codification of the *Mulk Sherasta* (customary law of the country), and the procedure of the Agency in Civil, Criminal and Revenue matters, etc." The *Mulk Sherasta*, or customary law of the province, though useful in the crude and undeveloped social and political condition of the province, left much to the discretion

of the Judge, and was an unwritten law, whose codification, though begun in Col. Lang's time (1845-1859), had hardly proceeded further than the initial stage.

Such* then was the condition of the system of Judicial administration in the British districts adjoining the Province and in the Province itself, and it is perfectly clear that the selection of Procedure Codes or laws for the Courts in Bhavnagar presented no small difficulty. This difficulty, as it then appeared, was intensified by the fact, which could not be ignored by those whose duty it was to introduce laws in the State, that, while the people of only a small portion of the State were accustomed to the British laws and regulations, the people of by far the larger portion of the State were unaccustomed to any law, and were certainly wholly unaccustomed to the niceties and complexities of the Anglicised Codes of Procedure in British India.

Samaldas was the only officer in the State who, from his training and knowledge of law, and long experience, was well qualified to overcome this difficulty. To him therefore Maharaja Jaswantsinhjee entrusted the duty of preparing Codes of Procedure suitable to his State, which duty he performed with great diligence and carefulness, and much to his credit. Instead of copying the Anglicised British Indian Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure, as was latterly done by most of the larger States in the Province, Samaldas prepared Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure on the lines of the codification of laws made by a committee of eminent Indian Jurists, appointed by that great statesman, Mountstuart Elphinstone, which, in fact, was a codification of the general customary laws of the country. A finishing touch was given to these Codes by the late Honourable Nanabhai Haridas, one of the ablest Indian Judges of the Bombay High Court, and who, before he was raised to the Bench, was Standing Counsel for the Bhavnagar State.

With the Codes of Procedure so prepared for their guidance, Courts of Civil and Criminal Justice were established at the head-quarters of all the districts or Mahals, with a Court of original civil jurisdiction, a Court of Magistrate, and three Courts of the appellate jurisdiction at Bhavnagar itself.

Civil and Criminal Courts established in the State.

Samaldas prepares Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure for Bhavnagar.

Having had bitter experience of the officers of the Ahmedabad Zillah, who could wield their power as they pleased, in virtue of their possessing combined administrative, executive and judicial functions, Gaurishanker and Samaldas were careful in completely separating the judicial from the executive functions.

Complete separation of Judicial from Executive functions.

Samaldas was appointed *Sar Nyayadhish* or the Chief Judge of the *Sar Nyayadhishi* or the *High Court* of the State. He had the control of the Judicial Department, and he performed with success the arduous duty of bringing into order the judicial machinery of the State out of confusion and chaos. He selected honest and upright men, whom Maharaja Jaswantsinhjee nominated *Nyayadhish* or Judges in the several Courts in the State. One of the Judges so nominated was Vithaldas, the eldest son of Samaldas, who was placed in charge of the Court of original Civil jurisdiction at Bhavnagar.

Samaldas appointed Chief Judicial department.

Soon after the establishment of the Courts Col. Keatinge paid a casual visit to Bhavnagar when at the request of Maharaja Jaswantsinhjee he visited all the Courts in the town, and was well pleased with the work done by the Judges of these Courts. The only fault he found was the want of a suitable building to house the Courts in, and the absence of a Central Jail in Bhavnagar. Both these matters were soon taken in hand, a large and commodious Court-house was built in the heart of the town, and a large Jail was built in the latest style.

Col. Keatinge, while in Bhavnagar, took the opportunity of discussing with Samaldas about the laws best suited to the condition and wants of the Native States in the Province. Anxious as he was for an improvement in the administration of justice in the Province, Col. Keatinge, with his large experience of the Native States of Central India, such as Bhopal and others, was cautious enough to introduce only those laws as were prepared in the spirit of the British Indian Codes of Procedure, and to assist him in this work he imported, on the recommendation of the late Mr. A. K. Forbes, Mr. Mukandrai, one of the ablest Indian Judicial officers of the Bombay Government. Yet,

with all this caution, it was with difficulty that the Secretary of State for India could be persuaded to believe that Col. Keatinge was not forcing the British Indian Laws on the Chiefs of the Province; as will be mentioned further on. After a long and animated discussion with Samaldas, Col. Keatinge was satisfied that the Bhavnagar Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure were best suited to the wants and conditions of the State and its people, and he seems to have duly communicated his impression to the Government of Bombay.

Colonel Keatinge favourably impressed with the Bhavnagar Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure.

As a mark of the high appreciation of the several reforms introduced in his State, and also of his steadfast loyalty, Her Majesty the late Queen and Empress of India was pleased to confer on His Highness Maharaja Jaswantsinhjee, the much coveted title of the Knight Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India. In communicating this news to His Highness, Col. Keatinge very aptly observed that you will "doubtless recognize that the reason of the bestowal of this title is that you are trying to rule your dominions in the spirit of the Empire, and not in accordance with the traditions of the last century, as is unfortunately still the case with so many Rajput Princes."

Maharaja Jaswantsinhjee made K. C. S. I. (1867).

At a Darbar held by His Excellency Sir H. B. E. Frere at the Government House, Bombay, on the 20th February 1867, for the presentation of the Insignia and Grant of the Dignity of Knight Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India to His Highness Maharaja Jaswantsinhjee, His Excellency in the course of his address to the Maharaja expressed his great satisfaction and pleasure at the improvement in the administration of justice effected in the State by His Highness in the following words:— "But what I regard as the peculiar feature of your Highness's administration, which will, I believe, be productive of most good to your people, and will, I am sure give most pleasure to Her Majesty's Government, is the care you have wisely and consistently taken to improve the administration of justice, and to separate it from all that is purely executive. It is a great evil in an autocratic form of Government

" when the purity and efficiency of the administration of justice
 " depends on the personal character of the ruler. Even when
 " the ruler is zealous and regular in the discharge of his judicial
 " duties, his feelings become necessarily involved, he becomes
 " more or less a partisan, and under such an administration
 " there can be no real right of appeal, but the case is far
 " worse when the ruler is indolent or irregular in the discharge
 " of his judicial duties, and they are neglected or entrusted to
 " irresponsible subordinates. Your Highness has set an ex-
 " cellent example to the Chiefs of Western India in providing
 " otherwise than, by personal attention, for the due discharge of
 " your judicial duties. I have seen your printed Code of Regu-
 " lations for the guidance of all your Courts, and I am assured
 " that it embodies much that is valuable and adapted to your
 " dominions, in the spirit of the more elaborate Codes of British
 " India. Major Keatinge tells me that you have appointed judi-
 " cial officers, selected for their probity and intelligence, for
 " the special duty of administering justice, that they are fairly
 " paid and not subject to capricious removal. If your Highness
 " will take care that all these safeguards for the administration
 " of justice are as permanent as possible, Your Highness will
 " not only secure the approval of Her Majesty's Government,
 " but you will establish a permanent claim to be regarded as a
 " benefactor to your people, and a bright example to other
 " Princes. It will give me great pleasure to recount all you
 " have done to Sir George Clerk, G. C. S. I., K. C. B., my pre-
 " decessor in this Government. In the arrangement which he
 " made with you and which I carried out as promised by him,
 " the administration of justice in districts which had been long
 " under direct British rule was entrusted to your Highness.
 " Sir George Clerk confided in your proved anxiety to govern
 " well, and I shall be glad to give him this assurance that his
 " confidence was not misplaced."

These words speak for themselves. The laudable endea-
 vours with which Maharaja Jaswantsinhjee made improvements
 in every branch of administration, and particularly in that of
 the judicial administration of his State were thus fully and
 publicly appreciated by Her late Majesty's Representative in

the Western Presidency, and His Highness had good cause to
 feel deep satisfaction and pride at the success which his endea-
 vours had met with. And he had also cause to feel satisfaction
 at the thought that he had been able to redeem, within a short
 time, the promise he had made to Col. Keatinge to introduce
 reforms in the administration of justice, and that the success of
 his measures was fully appreciated by so keen an observer as
 that officer.

At a time, when the separation of Judicial from execu-
 tive functions has become a burning question
Separation of judicial
from executive functions. throughout British India, the opinion upon
 it of Sir H. B. E. Frere, is most valuable. The relative merits
 and demerits of this question have been discussed since long,
 both sides have had their advocates and no one among British
 officers in India was in a better position than Sir Bartle Frere
 to pronounce an unbiassed verdict upon it. A liberal, just and
 fair-minded statesman, he, at least, was never given to cling
 like ivy round a dogma, as some do, who would never give up
 any power or authority once gained. Having risen from the
 rank and file of the Bombay Civil Service to the top of the
 ladder, Sir Bartle Frere had gained sufficient experience of the
 great many evils and abuses resulting from the combination of
 Executive and Judicial functions in the same person. And we
 find him so well pleased with the peculiar feature of Maharaja
 Jaswantsinhjee's administration of separating Judicial from all
 that was purely Executive, that he unhesitatingly observed that
 it will, with the other improvements in the administration of
 justice, be productive of most good to His Highness's people,
 and it was one which, he felt sure, will give most pleasure to
 Her late Majesty's Government.

Like Maharaja Jaswantsinhjee, Samaldas had good cause for
 satisfaction (we may be allowed to say for pride) at the high
 praise bestowed not only on his Code of Regulations, but also
 on the "probity and intelligence" of the officers, whom
 Samaldas had selected and Maharaja Jaswantsinhjee had appoint-
 ed for Judicial work.

Before leaving this subject we may observe that we can
 gather from Sir Bartle Frere's speech the reason of Sir George

Clerk's postponing the affixture of his seal and signature to the agreement of 1860 till he had visited Bhavnagar. Perhaps he wanted to gain firsthand knowledge of the administration of the State before affixing his seal and signature, and on his visit to Bhavnagar, being pleased with what he saw of the good administration, did affix the seal of Government, and his own signature to the agreement at Bhavnagar, and personally delivered it to Maharaja Jaswantsinhjee who, it is needless to add here, was much gratified at this graceful act on the part of his Excellency the Governor.

And here we will leave for the present the Judicial administration of the State, and take up the second subject mentioned before, the classification of powers of the Chiefs below Second Class States.

We have already seen that after the downfall of the Peshwa (1818) and after the agreement with the Gaekwar (1820) by which he engaged not to make any demand on the Chiefs of Kathiawad except through the British Government, the British Government assumed paramount authority in Kathiawad and that a Political Agency was established thereafter. It is probable that soon after the establishment of the Political Agency, the question, as regards the extent of the British interference in the affairs of the various petty States of the Province, arose.

In connection with this question the Government of Bombay in a Despatch* (November 23rd, 1825) to the Court of Directors said:—"In our management of Kathiawad it has been our policy to abstain, as far as possible from all interference in the internal administration of the petty States, to leave the Chiefs not only independent, but to encourage them to secure their independence, their power and respectability by a just and faithful administration of their affairs." The reply to the Despatch and other communications, which followed was conveyed in a Despatch of the Court of Directors of the 20th July 1830, in which they said:—"All the rights

"which we possess in Kathiawad we acquired from the Peshwa and the Gaekwad, from the former by conquest, and from the latter by mutual arrangement. These rights we considered as limited to the exaction of a tribute, with the power of taking such measures as might be essential to the security of that tribute. Beyond this we did not propose to interfere, and we determined to treat the Kathiawad tributaries as independent Chieftains entitled to uncontrolled exercise of the power of the Government within their own territories, and subject only to the obligation of not molesting our subjects, our allies, and of paying the stipulated tribute to the Government themselves." And in intimating their approval of the establishment of the Chief Court of Criminal Justice in Kathiawad, the Court of Directors observed that, "we are glad to find that it has the complete concurrence of the Chiefs themselves."

Between 1822 and 1858, in spite of the decisive opinions quoted above, doubts as to the precise legal and political status of Kathiawad would seem to have been raised, and each time the Home Authorities repudiated the opinion that Kathiawad was British territory and its inhabitants British subjects.

But although this declaration was made and had been repeated, the question, whether or no Kathiawad was British territory, was as stated before, once more resuscitated. On his arrival in Kathiawad (1863) Col. Keatinge found that, "Among so many petty States there was no model of administration or recognized policy. The jurisdiction of the petty Zamindars was undistinguishable by any precise grade or limitation from that of the greater Chiefs. The only restriction was as to the right of inflicting capital punishment, which was confined (1857) to the Chiefs of the First and Second Classes. There was no magisterial control over the numerous petty Talukdars. None of the States had regular Courts or Codes. In Civil disputes about land, the Political Agent mediated diplomatically between Chief and Chief, and even between Chief and subject land-holder, but cases were very seldom decided." He then submitted a scheme for the consideration and sanction of the Government for the reorganization of the administration, by classifying the petty Chiefs, and defining their powers and the

* The Bombay Law Reporter. Vol. VIII, No. 4.

extent of their jurisdiction. The scheme so submitted by Col. Keatinge would appear to have called forth much discussion between the Governments of Bombay and India. But before the Government of India could come to a final conclusion, it was, as stated before, deemed necessary to obtain a decision of the Secretary for India on the all important question, whether or no Kathiawad was British territory and its inhabitants British subjects. That question was decided by the Secretary of State in his famous despatch No. 54, Political of the 31st August 1864, which has been quoted above:

Kathiawad - having once more Territory and its inhabitants Foreign subjects, the Judicial administration scheme was finally disposed of.

It may be reiterated here that this classification left the plenary and unlimited jurisdiction of the First and Second Class States. It limited and graded the jurisdiction of the rest. But before sanction was accorded, both the Government of India and the Secretary of State would seem to have been alarmed, like the Chiefs affected by the measure, particularly on two points, namely, (1) that the consent of the petty Chief was not obtained, and, (2) that British Indian Codes of Procedure were forced on the Chiefs.

The alarm of the petty Chiefs was allayed by the assurances given to them, that the jurisdiction of their States outside the limited jurisdiction, would be exercised for them and on their behalf by the Officers of the Agency. This jurisdiction, which is called residuary jurisdiction, should be properly called delegated jurisdiction. In fact, as so justly explained by Sir William Lee Warner,* the judiciary powers of these petty Chieftains, vest "for them and by their tacit assent, in the Political Officers of Government." It is a significant fact illustrative of the great care with which the new scheme was carried out that, when the Chieftains too petty to exercise any jurisdiction at all, were grouped together, or, as Sir William Lee Warner speaks of them as "the unclassed Estates or Chiefships extinct in all but name were grouped under an Agency Official called "Thanadar, who exercised on behalf of the Chief the jurisdic-

* Protected Provinces of India, p. 35.

"tion which they were unable to use", it was explained to them by Col. Keatinge that the Thanadars would exercise the jurisdiction as their, the Estate-owners', *Kamdar* or *Karbhari*.

There is yet another point which also shows the great care bestowed in carrying out the reforms in the Province, and how careful Government were not to infringe in any way the dignity or Sovereign rights of the Chiefs. This has been so even as regards the very official designation of the Political officers of the Province. As a part of Col. Keatinge's reform scheme,* the Province was divided into four districts or prants, corresponding to the ancient division of Kathiawad, and European officers were appointed to those districts to superintend the administration generally, and more particularly to try inter-jurisdictional cases, and offenders who had no known Chiefs, or who were under such petty land-holders as might be unable to bring them to trial. At one time the question was raised whether the officer in charge of each of the four Prants, or divisions of the Province, should be called a Political Assistant or a Deputy Commissioner. The Government of India informed Sir Charles Wood, then Secretary of State for India, in their letter of April 14th, 1864,† that they preferred that he should be called a Political Assistant only and not Deputy Commissioner. The term "Deputy Commissioner," it was added, "might imply direct administrative functions within the limit of Chiefships, whereas we consider "that their functions should be chiefly political, and only "administrative under certain limited conditions." This clearly shows what was in the minds of the higher authorities in India, and how careful they were when Col. Keatinge's reform scheme was given effect to.

In making arrangements for conducting the work of the Agency Col. Keatinge was scrupulously careful to avoid interference in the internal affairs of the First Class States of the Province. In a Circular N. 2 of 1863,‡ he directed his Assistants as follows:—"It is my desire that all the matters "connected with the internal management and internal jurisdiction of the Estates of the First Class Chiefs, marginally noted,

* Aitchison's Treaties, etc., Vol. VI, p. 188.

† Bombay Law Reporter, Vol. VIII, No. 4.

‡ Kathiawad Political Agency Gazette, No. 1, 1863.

" in which our interference is absolutely necessary should pass
 " through my own hands, and I consequently
 " request that you will refer any question of
 " that nature to me for adjustment if you
 " should be forced to notice it."

In spite of the care and safeguards with which the reform measures were carried out, the Secretary of State accorded his sanction to them with much hesitation. He remarked in a Despatch* (December 16th, 1864) that in his opinion these measures were prematurely introduced in Kathiawad by the Government of Bombay, and observed that he had " no reason " to believe that the objects which the Bombay Government have " in view may not be attained with the consent of the Chiefs, by " the exercise of a sound discretion and a conciliatory spirit on " the part of the British Officers employed in the country." And then he goes on to say, " I am unwilling to reverse deci- " sions which are being carried into effect and to direct sudden " changes when such a course may weaken the authority of the " Local Government. I will not therefore prescribe the exact " measures which should be resorted to for the withdrawal of the " active and minute interference in the internal administration of " Kathiawad, which has been introduced without sufficient autho- " rity, and of which I cannot approve.....I have to request " therefore that if, after full deliberation, you are satisfied that a " change in the former system is called for, you will, with as little " delay as possible, give your instructions to the Government of " Bombay as to the extent to which they may effect any altera- " tion in that system, or retain any of the changes which they " have introduced, taking care that this is done in a manner not " inconsistent with the views and principles laid down for your " guidance in this despatch, and informing me of the orders " which you may issue on this subject." We have already seen and can well gather from the famous Despatch, Political No. 54 of the 31st August 1864, quoted before, what were the views and principles laid down by Her late Imperial Majesty's Government.

In the meanwhile the Government of India, perhaps in anticipation of the views of the Secretary of State had, on the 14th

* Bombay Law Reporter, Vol. VIII, No. 4.

April 1864, when Sir John Lawrence was Governor-General, intimated to the Government of Bombay, that they had no objection to offer against Colonel Keatinge's reform measures, provided that it was " considerably explained to the Chiefs that " the object is not to circumscribe their power but to fix clearly " and definitely a jurisdiction which had previously been exercis- " ed in a dubious and precarious manner." The instructions to be given them on this head were to be of the simplest character, " so as not to confuse or alarm them."

We have already said that the explanation given to the Chiefs on these and similar other orders allayed their alarm, and in a short time they were reconciled to the new arrangement. Inseparable from the reform scheme was the question of the introduction of laws for the administration of justice, not only in the Courts under the Agency but also in those of the Chiefs who were thenceforth to exercise circumscribed and limited jurisdic- tion. The Government of India and the Home Government were under the impression that the British Indian Laws were being forced on the Chiefs. The Government of India in para- graph 11 of their Despatch* of April 16th, 1864, make the following observations:—

" While we would sanction the arrangements of jurisdic- " tion, and the scale of powers for the several classes of Chiefs " as proposed by Major Keatinge, we could make no attempt " to introduce British Laws, or British Procedure into the " Province without the consent of the Chiefs.....And it should " be fully explained to the Chiefs that all former engagements " between the British Government and them are to be respect- " ed fully in spirit and in letter, as far as may be consistent with " alteration of circumstances, and that it is not intended to force " upon them either British Laws or British Procedure. The " time may perhaps come when the Chiefs perhaps the larger " Chiefs, may consent to adopt our law and procedure, but in " the meantime the matter should not be pressed upon them."

It appeared on further reference that this fact was much misapprehended, for Col. Keatinge never attempted to force " British laws and procedure on the Chiefs. In a letter* (1st

* Bombay Law Reporter, Vol. VIII, No. 4.

November 1865) to the Government of India the Bombay Government observed: "On the first point, the introduction of Codes of Laws, there seems to have been some misunderstanding. It is not correct to state that Major Keatinge has forced these codes on the Chiefs of Kathiawad, who themselves exercise jurisdiction. It will be seen that he had only directed his own Assistants and subordinate officers to be guided by an abridgement of the new Codes. As these officers were formerly guided in their judicial work by the spirit of the Regulations existing in the Bombay Presidency, it seems to His Excellency in Council that Major Keatinge has very properly directed them to be henceforth guided by the principles of the improved codes, which are now law throughout India."

The correspondence on the subject-matter of the classification of powers of the petty Chiefs was concluded with the Resolution of the Government of Bombay, No. 1332 of the 14th May 1866, and this fact was duly notified by Col. Keatinge on June 11th, 1866 in the Kathiawad Political Agency Gazette.

The future predicted by the Government of Sir John Lawrence was soon realised. For within a few years all the States, large and small, established Courts and introduced British codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure as their own. But thanks to the wisdom and farsightedness of Samaldas, Bhavnagar had its own Codes of Law adapted to the condition and wants of the people of the State, which, as stated before, were admired by Sir Bartle Frere. By the middle of 1864, these laws, together with a law of Limitation, were in full working order in all the Courts of the State.

While Samaldas was engaged in organising the Judicial Department of the State, a very distressing domestic calamity befell him. His wife died leaving Lallubhai, the youngest son, an infant, to the care of Samaldas, who bestowed on him all the cares of a parent, and, when he grew, gave him a liberal education and prepared him for the high and responsible post he held in the State, and also for the position of a leading citizen which he occupies in Bombay with so much credit to himself.

* Bombay Law Reporter, Vol. VIII, No. 4.

One of the most important cases which came for disposal in the Sar Nyayadhish or Chief Judge's Court, soon after its establishment, over which Samaldas*presided, was the case of the notorious outlaws, Khumans, Unad, Sato and Visaman, which put to test the strength of character and firmness of the Chief Judge.

As, in this case, the Bombay Government which at first seriously doubted the existence of the right of a State to confiscate the Gras property of a Grasia outlaw for crimes committed in outlawry, on explanation being furnished fully recognized the right of the State, it becomes necessary to give a full account of this case.

Khuman, Unad and Sato with their father Ramo Khuman, who belonged to the village of Krankach, under the Paragnah of Kundla, went in outlawry against their brethren in consequence of a Gras dispute in Samvat 1916 (1860 A.D.)* They were shortly afterwards followed by Khumans Visaman and his brother Suro, who went in outlawry against their aunt Jethibai, and being joined by other evil spirits formed a formidable band. They plundered several Darbar villages and committed most atrocious and heinous crimes, such as murders, maiming and mutilating innocent persons, arson, highway robbery, abduction and other crimes too numerous to be mentioned here. While engaged in plundering the village of Badhada, under Kundla, Ramo was wounded and captured by the Durbar Sibandi, and he ultimately died of cholera in the Kundla Jail.

This was a most anxious and troublesome time. The Province was full of outlaws and armed mercenaries. And, as already stated before, the Waghers, probably encouraged by the events of the Mutiny had risen *en masse*, and possessed themselves of Bet and other places from which they were dislodged by British Force, both by land and sea. A small party of these Waghers, however, took boat to Sutrapada, a road-stead under Junaghad, and being joined by some outlaws of that State, and other evil spirits took Kodinar,—the head-quarter town of an important district under Baroda—by escalade. The Gaekwad foot and Sawars offered no resistance. They plundered the

* Bhavnagar Darbari Gazette, No. 9 of 1867.

town at their leisure, eating and drinking, and feasting large numbers of Brahmans at their pleasure. This event raised the evil spirit of Badmashis, and a general rising in the Province was apprehended.

At this time there were several outlaws against Bhavnagar. The Darbar had therefore to place a strong cordon on the frontier of the State bordering on the Gir, to prevent both the ingress of the Waghers into their territory and the joining of the Khumans and other outlaws with them. So successfully was this measure carried out that not only were the Waghers prevented from entering Bhavnagar territory but the band of the Khuman outlaws was effectually dispersed. Unad left the Province and lived in Palanpur territory disguised as a Koli, wherefrom he was captured through the good offices of the Extra-Assistant Political Agent, Jhalawad. Visaman, Sato and Suro, on committing a crime, were pursued by the Darbar Sibandi. Visaman and Sato escaped, but Suro was killed while resisting capture near Babra. Both Visaman and Sato were however afterwards captured with the assistance of Captain Russell, the then Barwa-Barwatia Officer, and also that of the Chief of Jasdán.

After the usual extradition process, Unad, Visaman and Sato were surrendered to the Bhavnagar Darbár, and after an inquiry before the Nyayadhish of Kundla, they were formally committed to take their trial in the Court of the Sar Nyayadhish or the Chief Judge.

The crimes committed by these outlaws were such that on their being proved, they would call for capital punishment which had become almost unknown in the Province. In reply to a reference from Government 1856, Colonel Lang, the then Political Agent, reported that capital punishment was rarely inflicted in Kathiawad even by the principal Chiefs, and that he found only two cases since the establishment of the Agency (1822) in which such punishment was inflicted. And an impression had got abroad that no capital punishment could be inflicted on a Grasia. This impression which gained currency down to 1870, when the Political Agent under direction from Government, issued Notification

Outlaws against Bhavnagar.

Mr. Piele's Historical note in the Mangrol case.

No. 11* of 3rd May 1870, notifying, for general information the clear "declaration of His Excellency-in-Council that no "privilege exists exempting Grasia from the punishment "of death, and that Government will be prepared to exact this "extreme penalty of the law from all persons, who on the "pretext of obtaining redress of their grievances, set the law at "defiance, and revenge themselves by taking the lives of unoffending persons." There was yet another impression which had gained currency almost to a rule that the landed property of a Grasia cannot be forfeited to his Sovereign Chief for any crime however atrocious.

Now, like the British Penal Code, the Bhavnagar State Code of Criminal Procedure distinctly provides for the extreme penalty of the law, and forfeiture of property for certain crimes among which are murder and outlawry†. But the Khuman's case was the first case since the passing of the Code in which the punishment was to be inflicted. It therefore required not a little courage and firmness to enforce this law in face of the prevailing impressions mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

The Court of Sessions to which the cases of Unad, Sato and Visaman were committed for trial, was presided over by Samaldas, assisted by two assessors. Of the several cases only nine were pressed against them by the Public Prosecutor, and after a lengthy trial all the three prisoners were found guilty of outlawry, murder and other atrocious crimes. Unad and Sato were sentenced to suffer the extreme penalty of law, and forfeiture of their Gras to the Durbar, and Visaman was sentenced to life imprisonment and forfeiture of Gras. These sentences were confirmed by Maharaja Jaswantsinhjee, who also ordered forfeiture of Sura's Gras and made proper provision out of the forfeited Gras for the maintenance of the prisoners' and Sura's families.

The sentence of extreme penalty of law against Unad and Sato was carried out at Bhavnagar on the 26th June 1866, and Visaman was sent to jail. In the great jail outbreak in 1872, Visaman who was one of the ringleaders was killed with others.

* Kathiawad Local Directory, Part II, pp. 453-54.

† Affairs of Kathiawad, p. 47.

To avoid repetition, it may be mentioned here that in 1883,

Government misapprehended the facts of the Borala Case, 1883-1887.

some time before the death of Samaldas. Jaita, son of Visaman, and Hipa, son of Sura, petitioned to the late Rajasthanik Court for the restoration of their father's Gras which, they alleged, was attached by the Durbar without any just cause. The Bhavnagar Vakil was called on for a reply which was duly submitted detailing all the facts of the case. The President of the Court, Colonel Watson, who happened to pass through Bhavnagar took the opportunity of talking over this case with Samaldas. He heard the parties and being satisfied that the Durbar had acted well within their right of forfeiture, finally rejected the petition (15th August 1883). A petition to the Political Agent met with the same fate. Jaita and Hipa now appealed to the Government of Bombay denying in toto the fact of their fathers' outlawry, and denying altogether also the fact of the customary law which allowed forfeiture of Gras as a part of punishment for crimes committed in outlawry. And they put forward everything which legal ingenuity could suggest to them, and argued that the Kathis were governed by the law of MITAKSHARA, and that as under that law the sons have an interest in ancestral property from the moment of their birth, all that could be confiscated in the case of Visaman's Gras was his undivided share during his life-time, while Sura's Gras could not be confiscated at all, because he was dead when the order of confiscation was passed, and that he, therefore, had no estate upon which the order could operate.

The Government of Bombay who were apparently led away by the misleading and fallacious arguments used by the appellants, passed an *ad interim* order, making observations, and directing the Political Agent to obtain Bhavnagar's rejoinder.

So greatly was the case misapprehended by the Government that it appeared from the tone of the order as if Government intended to make it a leading case by making a pronouncement once for all on the question of the Durbar's power to confiscate an outlaw Grasia's Gras.

Maharaja Takhtsinhjee who always zealously watched and safeguarded the powers and authority of his State, directed

Vithaldas who on the demise of his revered father, had succeeded to the Diwan's post, to collect instances from different States of the Province wherein forfeiture of Gras had taken place as punishment for outlawry. A large number of precedents were collected in most of which forfeiture of Gras had been sanctioned by Government. A rejoinder was prepared and submitted which conclusively refuted all the fallacious contentions used in the appeal to Government. And it was also pointed out that the Indo Scythic nomadic tribe of Kathis was governed by no Hindu Law, and certainly not by the Law of *Mitakshara*.

Government passed a Resolution No. 2457,* Political Department, dated 22nd April 1885, in this case. After reviewing the case at some length they observed that, "it is a matter for congratulation that the subject has been dealt with to an adequate extent by the Bhavnagar Criminal Code." But relying on the impression stated before, which had gained currency almost to a rule, that the landed property of a Grasia cannot be forfeited for any crime, however atrocious, Government went on to observe: "But there is room for doubt whether the Durbar had the power of confiscation before the Code was passed, or subsequently otherwise than by virtue of the Code." As the order of the Rajasthanik Court of the 15th August 1883 was passed by the President alone without associating two members, as required by the rules of the Court, Government remanded the case for a rehearing, and prescribed the following three issues:—

(1) To what extent is the Gras held by Visaman affected after his death by the sentence of the Bhavnagar Criminal Court forfeiting Visaman's property to the Durbar?

(2) Whether the confiscation of Siro's Gras after his death was justified by the MULK SHERASTA, and local usage, if so, to what extent?

(3) To what proportion, if any, of the Gras are the petitioners entitled, and are they in possession of such portion?

The case was reheard by a full bench of the Rajasthanik Court. The Bhavnagar Representative, who questioned the

jurisdiction of the Court to hear the case, appeared under protest more as *Amicus Curiae* than as a party to the case, and every one of the precedents which the Durbar had cited in their rejoinder was satisfactorily proved. The Rajasthanik Court, while sustaining the Darbar's contention against its jurisdiction, expressed the opinion that in consonance with the MULK SHERASTA and local usage the Durbar had the right of confiscating an outlaw's Gras, whether alive or dead, and that the petitioners were in possession of the provision made by the Durbar out of the forfeited Gras. And the Court finally rejected the petition.

Against this decision of the Rajasthanik Court, Jaita and Hipa once more appealed to the Government of Bombay which, in finally rejecting the appeal (Resolution* No. 3182, Political Department, dated 16th May 1887) observed among other things that the Rajasthanik Court had come to the conclusion "that it will not inquire into any case in which the order of confiscation has been passed, after a fair trial by a properly constituted Court. This view is in accordance with that stated in Government Resolution No. 2457 of 23rd April 1885, and it distinctly covers the case of the confiscation of Visaman's Gras. It is not so clear that it covers that of Sura's Gras, because Sura was never tried, and the order for the confiscation of his Gras does not appear to have been passed by the Chief Judge judicially, but by the Durbar executively. But there is no doubt that Sura was an outlaw, who was killed while resisting capture, and if his property would have been liable to confiscation if he had survived and been tried, there is no reason why it should escape confiscation merely because he was killed. The Governor-in-Council therefore does not think it necessary to insist upon technical distinction or to dissent from the opinion of the Rajasthanik Court that confiscation must be regarded as a judicial act." And Government also observed that, "There is no doubt that the Bhavnagar Code distinctly authorises confiscation of Gras for outlawry, and the Rajasthanik Court, which is so composed that the greatest weight must be attached to its conclusion upon such a question, is clearly of opinion that

"the Code has in this particular only followed the usage and custom of Kathiawad. The Governor-in-Council would not desire to interfere with, but rather to support and strengthen any measure by which a check is put upon the abominable practice of *Barwatia*, and the atrocities by which it is accompanied."

Maharaja Takhtsinhjee was well pleased with the result of this case. And we can well imagine the deep satisfaction with which Vithaldas received the final decision of the Government. The first precedent of forfeiture of Gras for outlawry which was authoritatively made in the time of his grand-father in consonance with the usage and custom of the country was followed in several other cases. This usage and custom of the country was carefully embodied in the Bhavnagar Criminal Code, and for the first time, after the Code was passed, was enforced by his father, and now in his own time a clear and unequivocal pronouncement was made by the Government of Bombay fully recognizing the power and authority of the State in this behalf.

Between 1863 and 1866 Colonel Keatinge held an annual fair at Rajkot, called "The fairs of the Kathiawad States", and Samaldas represented the Bhavnagar Durbar at all these fairs. A very large number of Khuman Kathis of Kundla with their beautiful mares, the Khashias of the Mahuva Paragnah and leading cultivators of several Mahals (districts) witnessed these fairs at which the exhibition of European agricultural instruments, among which may be mentioned the sugarcane mill, the harrows, the ploughs and the reaping machine, the mowing machine, the sowing drills, and cotton Charkhas, was much admired. But they were found too costly and of complicated contrivance for the ignorant cultivators of the country. Among the Bhavnagar exhibits, the sugarcane, which is grown in the Lilia and Kundla districts were much admired. A single stalk of the white variety was weighed at one of these fairs and found to weigh over 30lbs.

Colonel Keatinge, who himself was a good Persian scholar, was much pleased with Samaldas' attainment of the Persian language. Moreover, he was pleased to find that Kathiawad

* Printed Resolutions of Government, Vol. II, pp. 361-67.

could produce such fine scholars of that language like Gokalji and Samaldas.

In Rajkot, Gokalji, who represented Junaghad, at these fairs, and Samaldas frequently met and spent many pleasant hours together exchanging their views on the Vedant Philosophy and the like subjects. The more Gokalji saw of Samaldas the more his regard for him and his high opinion for his ability and intelligence increased. A few years after this Gokalji met the late Mansukharam Suryaram Tripathi, also a scholar of Vedant, when in course of conversation, says Mansukhram, Gokalji, "spoke very highly of his friend Samaldas's abilities and learning" and asked him "to cultivate his acquaintance when an opportunity offered."

CHAPTER VII.

During his sojourn at Rajkot, Samaldas met his old friend Samaldas as a Social Reformer. Manishanker Kikani, who was then Treasurer of the Agency, and was a great scholar. He and Samaldas differed on many questions of social reform: While Manishanker would advocate a combined advance in action, Samaldas would urge caution and to let time take its own course. For as the Nagar communities of different places in Kathiawad were not then prepared for any radical change in their social habits and manners, any hasty action would end in strife and division among them, which was a thing not to be desired at all. And what Samaldas had predicted actually happened within a few years when the hasty action of the Nagars of Junaghad caused strife and division, and retarded even the slow progress of social reforms.

We will here state how patiently and persistently Samaldas introduced some desirable reforms in the Nagar community of Bhavnagar.

Like the proverbial ivy, the Nagars of Bhavnagar clung to Gogha, once their head-quarters, and went there to celebrate marriages whenever occasion came for that event, which sometimes happened at long,—often at four or five years'—interval. This entailed not only heavy expenditure in transporting every-

thing they required at Gogha, but poor Nagars, to save themselves this expenditure, often married their daughters when they were as yet quite young, and in some cases these child-wives became child widows. Samaldas entirely disapproved of this practice, but waited for an opportunity in his own family when he can take the lead and practise rather than preach.

Such an opportunity occurred in Samvat 1922 (1866 A. D.) when he had to marry his own daughter. He now exhorted all his caste-fellows to celebrate marriages at Bhavnagar. At first he met with strong opposition, but he was firm. At last they agreed and a good commencement was made at Bhavnagar. But unfortunately in the midst of the rejoicings the only daughter of Maharaja Jaswantsinhji died suddenly. All rejoicings were put a stop to, as the Durbar went in mourning for one year, and there was no help but to go to Gogha for the marriages. To those who had opposed Samaldas's advice this sad occurrence served as a pretext to set up prejudice in the minds of the Nagars against celebrating marriages in Bhavnagar. But Samaldas never changed his opinion. When another opportunity came in his family in Samvat 1934 (1878 A. D.) he successfully carried out his intention. From that time forward the Nagars of Gogha and Bhavnagar have been celebrating marriages in Bhavnagar with much advantage to their pocket and convenience.

But this was not all. The history of the Nagars of Gogha and Bhavnagar had no instance to show that any of them had ever been married to a daughter of a Nagar of either Surat or Ahmedabad. The Nagars of Gogha, Bhavnagar, Surat and Ahmedabad belong to the same caste of Wadnagara Nagars, they eat together but they never intermarried. It seemed as if there was a deeprooted prejudice against such an alliance. The absence of such an alliance was not, and it could not have been, on account of the gulf which separates Surat and Bhavnagar. For before the days of steamships Nagars from Gogha and Bhavnagar frequently crossed the gulf to Surat in country boats. It was not, as indeed it could not have been, on account of the natural position of Kathiawad which, but for the narrow strip of land which connects Kathiawad with the Gujarat main-

land, would be almost an island, that no Nagar from Gogha or Bhavnagar was married to a Nagar girl of Ahmedabad. For Nagars from Gogha and Bhavnagar often went to Ahmedabad for business. To prejudice alone, then, can be attributed this barrier. But Samaldas successfully broke through both the prejudice and barrier. When Vithaldas' first wife died, Samaldas chose for his second wife a daughter of the late Vidyaram Motiram, a Nagar gentleman of Surat, and celebrated his marriage in Surat with great eclat. And after the death of the first wife of his second son Lallubhai, Samaldas chose for his second wife a grand-daughter of the late Bholanath Sarabhai, a well-known gentleman of Ahmedabad, and celebrated his marriage in that town. And since that time several Nagars and Nagar Brahmins of Bhavnagar have been married to the daughters of the Nagars of Surat and Ahmedabad.

Before proceeding further we must mention here that, some time after the agreement of 1860 Santokram Desai gradually retired into private life giving place to Samaldas in the administration of the State. The great feature of Gaurishanker's administration was that it was conducted, on the lines of a Cabinet Council. The heads of all and every department of the administration were members of this Council, so to speak, and every one of them was consulted on all important matters of administration, whether they pertained to his department or not. Gaurishanker thoroughly trusted his coadjutors, and they on their part rendered him every loyal and zealous assistance and co-operation. We have already observed in Parmananddas' biography that, however able an administrator might be, he could not by himself achieve that amount of success which he can easily do with the co-operation and assistance of willing coadjutors. Another characteristic of Gaurishanker's administration was that red-tapism was not allowed to enter the confines of the State. Every question, whether it related to the revenue, judicial, political, police or other department of the State, was discussed in the presence of all responsible officers, and settled by them there and then. The one desirable effect of this practice was that it educated and prepared men who can

Samaldas' position in the administration of Bhavnagar after 1860 and before 1870.

at any time fill any casual vacancy in the State. Almost all important questions were first discussed and settled by Samaldas in the Council so composed and then submitted to Gaurishanker for approval. In fact Samaldas acted as the Diwan's Deputy in addition to his own duties of Sar Nyayadhish or Chief Judge. This practice continued up to the time of the introduction of Joint Administration, when as will be mentioned further on, he relinquished the office of Sar Nyayadhish and became Assistant Joint Administrator and Judicial Joint Administrator.

Although a cautious social reformer Samaldas was an orthodox Hindu in religion, and adhered to the rules of caste and community in all social and religious matters. When Maharaja Jaswantsinhjee went on a pilgrimage to Benares in the beginning of Samvat 1924 (A. D. 1868) Samaldas could not accompany him as his presence in Bhavnagar was necessary to assist Gaurishanker in the arduous task of working the reforms which were just then introduced in the different branches of the administration of the State. But at the end of Samvat 1924 (A.D. 1868) he with a small party set out on the pilgrimage. As there was then no direct railway communication between Bombay and Jabalpur, Samaldas had to travel via Nagpur by rail and thence to Jabalpur by carriages.

A very serious accident occurred in Jabalpur which would have cost Samaldas his life but he was providentially saved. From Jabalpur he went by rail to Allahabad-Prayag, the *Tirtha-Raj* or the sovereign of all the sacred places of the Hindus. One day while returning from his bath in the sacred Triveni at Allahabad, he casually heard that the famous Pandits Narayan Shastri and Shivsahaya Shashtri, the well-known commentator of Valmiki Ramayan were living in a building near at hand, and he went to see them. He saw them and fluently conversed with them in Sanskrit which they greatly admired. He next went to Benares, and from thence to Gaya and returned to Benares after performing Shraddha at the former place. He remained in Benares for nearly two months during which time he performed the *Gayatripurasharan Yag*, feasted his caste fellows and Brahmins, made presents to them as also to various charitable institutions, and visited and feasted many a learned Sanyasi and

Pandit. He would have prolonged his stay in Benares where he passed many pleasant hours with the learned, but Maharaja Jaswantsinhji desired him to return to Bhavnagar, as after his return from the pilgrimage he continued in indifferent health which grew bad as time passed. Samaldas, therefore, after visiting Gokul, Mathura and Brindavan, returned to Bhavnagar.

It may be mentioned here in passing that an Exhibition of The Broach Exhibition, 1868. local products and industries was held at Broach in 1868, and opened by Sir S. V. Fitzgerald, then Governor of Bombay. The Princes and Chiefs of Gujarát and Káthiawád were invited to attend it. Mahárájá Jaswantsinhji who had just then returned from his pilgrimage, and who had contracted the illness which in a few months proved fatal, could not attend but deputed his heir-apparent, afterwards Maharaja Takhtsinhji, to represent him at it.

Now, although the first table of salute was sanctioned in Salute. 1857 by Her late Imperial Majesty, its issue in India was delayed by the outbreak of the Mutiny. It was, however, subsequently published in 1860 and 1862 and was revised in 1867. At the time, when the table was first issued the Province of Kathiawar was known very little to the outside world. Its almost insular position, and the extreme difficulty of access to it owing to the absence of made roads, then led to its being considered as a frontier province of the British Empire in India, and, therefore, it had not attracted that notice to which it was entitled. Consequently the claims of the larger and more important States, which were termed First Class States, for higher honours to which they were undoubtedly entitled, were ignored and their Chiefs were included in the table of salute as entitled to a salute of only eleven guns, whilst the States of lesser importance in other parts of India, possessing much smaller territorial areas, population and revenues than the First Class States of Káthiawád, were allowed higher honours and more number of guns to their salute.

When Mahárájá Jaswantsinhji went to Bombay to receive the Grant and Insignia of the Order of the Star of India, he was, under the table of salute, accorded the honour of a salute and a guard of honour. His Highness was now naturally anxious that

if he deputed his heir-apparent to represent him at the Broach Exhibition, he should receive the same salute and other customary marks of respect which were given to an heir-apparent in other parts of India, when deputed by his father to represent him at a Darbar, either public or private. Now, so far as the Province of Káthiawád was concerned, this matter was not settled in the table of salute, and Mahárájá Jaswantsinhji was not inclined to depute his heir-apparent unless that matter was clearly settled. His Highness' wishes were duly communicated through the State Vakil to Colonel Anderson, then Political Agent, who moved the Government of Bombay to obtain the necessary orders of the Government of India which was done accordingly. The young Prince (Maharaja Takhtsinhji) when he went to Broach, was accorded a salute of nine guns and the other accompaniments of ceremonial receptions, and his visit was returned by the Governor, His Excellency Sir Seymour Vesey Fitzgerald.

It may be noted here that the question of according reception to an heir-apparent of a First Class Prince, when deputed by his father to represent him at a Darbar, public or private, disposed of as mentioned in the preceding paragraph, was followed by a Notification of the Government of India, No. 622, Foreign Department, Political, under date the 6th May 1869, which lays down that an heir-apparent so deputed "shall receive a salute of "two guns less than his father, that he shall have an escort and a "guard of honour, each to be smaller in number than what "would have been accorded his father, provided that his father "is entitled to the above mark of respect."

CHAPTER VIII.

After his return to Bhavnagar, Samaldas found that the illness and death of Maharaja Jaswantsinhji. illness of Maharaja Jaswantsinhji was gradually increasing. As His Highness, an orthodox Rajput of the old type, was averse to accepting European medicine, he was treated by Native Vaid. While his health was causing anxiety, his two half-brothers, Devisinghji and Rupsinghji died at short intervals. With the grief of this loss His Highness grew weaker day by day. And now an operation was found necessary. Samaldas at last prevailed upon him to consent to the treatment of the late venerable Dr. Beramji of

Surat, a medical practitioner of great fame who treated his patients in Unani or Persian medicine also. The services of Dr. Beramji and of his son Dr. Barjorji, the late Chief Medical Officer of Bhavnagar, were retained, and for a time improvement in His Highness's condition was noticed. But the disease from which he suffered was found incurable. During his long and painful sickness Samaldas kept day and night near the sick-bed. At last His Highness succumbed to the disease on the 11th April 1870, leaving behind him, two sons, Takhtsinhji, the heir-apparent, and Juwansinhji, the second son.

The unhappy event cast universal grief not only throughout the State but in the Province also. His amiable personal qualities had endeared him to all, and his loss was greatly felt by the poor and the needy to whom his open-handed charity was a God-send.

According to the tradition of the State and Rajwadas Takhtsinhji, the heir-apparent, then a minor of twelve years was, with all the ceremonies attendant on such an occasion, installed on the Gadi of his father. Colonel Anderson, who had come to Bhavnagar on a visit of condolence, performed the ceremony and delivered a Kharita of condolence from His Excellency the Governor-in-Council of Bombay.

The one great wish of Maharaja Jaswantsinhji was that the progressive and prosperous administration of his State, should be maintained by such methods of management as Government might deem best. He implicitly relied on the friendly relations of his State with the Government, and he fully trusted that whatever arrangement Government would make would be best for the welfare of his State and his minor son and successor. On his death-bed he summoned Gaurishankar and his other ministers to his presence and enjoined them to remain steadfast in their loyalty and devotion to the State as they had theretofore done, and to take care of his two minor sons.

Colonel Anderson, an unsophisticated, simple-minded officer of the old type, while in Bhavnagar, seemed inclined to leave

the administration in the hands of Gaurishankar without any extraneous special arrangement, and it was hoped that the administration would be carried on without any assistance from outside agency, as was unfortunately the case in other States of minor Chiefs.

But the environment of Rajkot soon changed the mind of the good old officer, and there were apparent signs of coming trouble. Colonel Anderson submitted his confidential report containing the proposals for the future management of Bhavnagar during the minority of Maharaja Takhtsinhji. For some time he did not tell the State Vakil, Savailal, what he had proposed, but on one occasion, in the course of a casual conversation, he let the cat out of the bag. He told Savailal that he had proposed that Mr.....then his personal assistant, should be appointed Administrator with Gaurishankar as his assistant, and he added that he cannot accommodate two swords in one scabbard. Savailal promptly replied that Gaurishankar would not consent to this arrangement. He reminded Colonel Anderson of what had passed, and what promise he had made to Gaurishankar before he left Bhavnagar. But all this to no effect. Colonel Anderson seemed determined to do what he had intimated in the conversation he would do.

The one weak point in the past administration, which he discovered at Bhavnagar, was that the public accounts for the five years immediately preceding Maharaja Jaswantsinhji's death were not audited. The officer in charge of the audit and check department cannot alone be blamed for this neglect of an important duty. Each and all of the responsible officers of the ministry must come in for his due share of blame. Colonel Anderson tried to magnify this weak point. He kept at Bhavnagar two members of his office establishment, who counted the balance, examined the Toshakhana or jewelry, and sealed them, and also sealed the books in which the accounts were to be audited from the rough notes prepared by the officer in charge of the Accounts Department, and then left for Rajkot. Col. Anderson officially wrote to Gaurishankar that, until the pleasure of Government was known as regards the future management of the State, he should continue to administer as heretofore.

By the time Col. Anderson's views were definitely known through the State Vakil, the State was being subjected to vexatious interference by the Assistant Political Agent at Gohilwad, and the responsible ministers very soon realised the position into which the affairs of the State would be plunged if left to be administered on the lines on which Rajkot and other States were being then managed.

Before 1867 the affairs of a minor Chief's State were conducted by his mother, grand-mother or a Karbhari without any interference from the officers of the Agency. But in 1867 Colonel Keatinge, then Political Agent, took over the affairs of the States of Rajkot and Limbdi under Government management, owing to the minority of their respective Chiefs. In 1869 the State of Gondal was also placed under Government management in consequence of its Chief's minority. The officers who were placed in charge of these States were called Special Assistants for the Political Agent. The powers they exercised were those of a Zilla Judge in civil cases and those of District Magistrate in criminal cases. In civil, criminal, and political matters an appeal lay to the court of the Political Agent, and they committed criminal cases to the Sessions of the Political Agent's Court of Criminal Justice. In point of fact the Courts of the States thus managed, were Agency Courts subordinate to the Political Agent, and, generally, the administration was reconstructed on the British system, and each State was a Prant added to the charge of the Political Agent, who himself and his Assistant in charge of the Prant not infrequently interfered in all the affairs of the State.

To the able and energetic ministers of the late Maharaja Jaswantsinhji, whose individual and collective efforts and faithful and devoted service had brought the Bhavnagar State to the front rank amongst the States of the Province, this realistic picture of a managed State was most distressing. It was impossible for them to serve under such conditions as obtained in the other managed States, but it was much more impossible for them to retire and leave the State to its fate and thereby break the sacred promise these ministers had given to the deceased Maharaja on

Method adopted in 1867 for administering the affairs of a minor Chief's State.

his deathbed to serve faithfully and safeguard the interests of his State and its minor Maharaja.

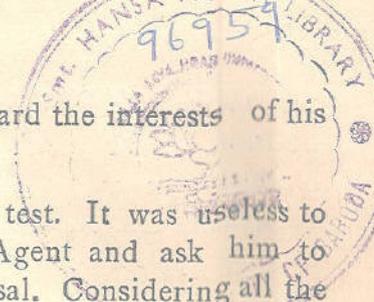
Their worth was now put to a severe test. It was useless to go to the Political Agent and ask him to reconsider his proposal. Considering all the circumstances it was deemed advisable to approach the Government of Bombay. As Gaurishanker could not leave the State without the permission of the Political Agent, Samaldas was deputed to wait upon his Excellency the Governor.

Sailing in the Gulf of Khambat (Cambay) is not always safe, and it is positively dangerous in the rainy season. The monsoon had already broken out when Samaldas took steamer at Gogha for Surat. A less loyal and less courageous servant would have hesitated to leave his house in such a stormy weather. But loyal and devoted to the services of his young master and his State, Samaldas knew that he had a sacred duty to perform in which the Almighty Father of the Universe would protect him. With this conviction he undertook to brave all dangers and started for Bombay.

A few hours after the steamer, one of the old boats of the Indus Flotilla, had left Gogha a storm broke out, and it gradually became so severe that it was feared that she would be lost with all hands on board of her. The storm raged for several hours and her Mahommadan Master warned all hands to prepare for the worst. When nearing *Vaux's Tomb*, or *Bakas-no-Hajiro*, as it is popularly known, the storm gradually abated and, after a most anxious time and perilous journey, Samaldas safely landed at Surat. He took train to Bombay where he learnt that the Hon. Mr. Mansfield, third member of the Executive Council of the Government of Bombay, was then at Matheran. Mr. Mansfield, before he went to *Sindh* as Commissioner, was Revenue and Police Commissioner of Gujarat, and had frequently come in contact with almost all the chief officials of the State, and knew Samaldas well. Samaldas, therefore, very wisely thought of first seeing Mr. Mansfield before going to Mahableshwar. Taking Merwanji, the Durbar Agent, with him he went to Matheran where he had satisfactory

Samaldas deputed to Mahableshwar to wait upon His Excellency the Governor.

Severe storm in the Gulf, Samaldas's life in danger.



interviews with Mr. Mansfield. From him he learnt the true position of affairs. From him he learnt that Colonel Anderson, forgetting his previous reports in which he had spoken highly of the administration of the State, had now reported unfavourably on that very administration generally, and on Gaurishanker's physical incapacity particularly, for conducting the administration. And he also learnt that on his (Mr. Mansfield's) recommendation, Mr. A. A. Barrodaile, then Collector of Ahmedabad, was appointed by Government as Administrator and Gaurishanker as Assistant Administrator of the State, and that Mr. Barrodaile was under orders to proceed at once to Bhavnagar to assume charge of the administration. The explanation given by Samaldas convinced Mr. Mansfield that there were sufficient grounds for reconsidering the arrangement contemplated by Government, and at Samaldas's request he wired to Government to stay orders until Samaldas had waited upon His Excellency the Governor.

Samaldas now proceeded to Mahableshwar where he waited on His Excellency Sir Seymour Fitzgerald, then Governor of Bombay. He was courteously received by His Excellency, who heard patiently all that Samaldas had to represent. He submitted that only a few weeks ago Colonel Anderson himself in public Durbar at Bhavnagar had declared full confidence in the ability, integrity and management of Gaurishanker, and that nothing phenomenal could have happened to incapacitate Gaurishanker from conducting the affairs of the State, and with regard to the appointment of Mr. Barrodaile, he submitted that, having regard to the relations with the State from his father (Mr. H. Barrodaile's time) his appointment as Administrator would not be desirable, and moreover, it would certainly be objected to by the family of the late Chief. After a lengthy and friendly discussion, His Excellency kindly promised to countermand the nomination of Mr. Barrodaile. As Samaldas had emphatically controverted Colonel Anderson's allegation about Gaurishanker's inability to conduct the administration of the State His Excellency wished to call him to Poona. Throughout the interview Samaldas very wisely and carefully refrained from offering any suggestion as regards the future management, and submitted that the late Maharaja Jawantsinhji, fully relying on

Satisfactory interview with H. E. the Governor.

Samaldas asked by the Governor to call Gaurishanker to Poona.

the wisdom of Government, had left the future management of his State in their hands, and that His Highness' family trusted that whatever arrangement Government would make would be the best one in the interest of the minor Chief and his State. His Excellency promised to give his best consideration to the matter.

Soon after the Governor's arrival at Poona, from Mahableshwar, Gaurishanker also arrived there. On the next day after Gaurishanker's arrival there was a levee at the Government House, which Gaurishanker and Samaldas attended. After the customary introduction was made His Excellency requested them to wait in the next room. After the levee was over His Excellency came into the room and conversed with Gaurishanker on different matters, the Oriental Translator to the Government acting as an interpreter. His Excellency was favourably impressed with what he saw of Gaurishanker, and if any impression from Col. Anderson's report had been left on his mind after Samaldas' interview with him at Mahableshwar, the same now entirely disappeared. At a subsequent interview His Excellency desired to know the wishes of the Ministers as regards the form which the future management of the State should take, and as to what safeguards were deemed necessary. A Memorandum which embodied all that was considered necessary for the proper management of the State, was prepared and handed over to His Excellency at the next interview.

Gaurishanker arrives at Poona and his interview with the Governor.

His Excellency the Governor-in-Council decided that the affairs of the State of Bhavnagar should be conducted during the minority of its Chief by a Joint Administration, consisting of an European officer of Government associated with Gaurishanker. Mr. E. H. Percival of the Bombay Civil Service was selected as Government Officer on the Joint Administration. The following notification was issued by the Government under date the 29th June 1870.

Administration of Bhavnagar to be conducted by Joint Administration.

Messrs. E. H. Percival and Gaurishanker appointed Joint Administrators.

Bhavnagar Durbar Gazette No. 10 of 1870.

"Whereas, on account of the decease of His Highness Sir Jaswantsinhji, K.C.S.I., it

" has become necessary to make provision for the due management
 " of the State of Bhavnagar during the minority of His Highness'
 " son and successor, the Right Honourable the Govern^{or-in-}
 " Council is pleased to order that the administration of the State
 " shall be conducted jointly by Mr. E. H. Percival and Mr.
 " Gaurishanker Udayashanker in the name of His Highness
 " Thakor Takhtasinhji.

By order of the Right Honourable
 the Governor-in-Council
 (Sd.) W. WEDDERBURN,
 Ag. Secretary to Govern^{ment-}

Bhavnagar Darbar Gazette, No. 10 of 1870. And the following letter was addressed
 by the Secretary to Mr. Percival.

" Sir,

" I am directed to inform you that the Right Honourable
 " the Governor-in-Council is pleased to appoint you and Mr.
 " Gaurishanker to conduct the administration of the State of
 " Bhavnagar during the minority of His Highness Thakor
 " Takhtasinhji. Your salary will be Rs. 1,800 per mensem.

2. " In all matters of general administration the powers
 " hitherto exercised by His Highness the Thakor Sahib will be
 " jointly exercised by you and Mr. Gaurishanker Udayashanker.
 " In the event of a difference of opinion the casting vote will
 " rest with you.

3. " The administration of Civil and Criminal justice will
 " be conducted in accordance with the Codes and Laws now in
 " force in Bhavnagar. Any modification which it is proposed to
 " make in these Codes will be submitted for the approval of
 " Government, and will not take effect until they have been so
 " approved, and published in the Bhavnagar Gazette.

4. " You will refer for the confirmation of Govern^{ment} at all
 " cases involving capital punishment. In all other Civil and
 " Criminal cases the decision of your joint administration will be
 " final. You will, however, be at liberty to refer for the special

" orders of Government any Civil or Criminal case in which on
 " general grounds you consider such reference necessary.

5. " Government are informed that His Highness the late
 " Thakor was latterly unable to audit the public accounts. You
 " will, therefore, at once take measures to bring up all accounts
 " which you find unaudited at the time of taking charge. This
 " matter will require careful attention and you should report
 " to Government the result of your inquiry.

6. " The affairs of the State will be conducted in the name
 " of the young Thakor His Highness Takhtasinhji. And the
 " present arrangements will cease when he attains his majority,
 " and is in a position to assume the administration in person.

7. " His Excellency in Council believes that the arrange-
 " ments now ordered will be acceptable to the family of the late
 " Thakor, and the people generally, and he trusts that you will
 " receive such support from the local authorities, that Govern-
 " ment will not find it necessary in the interests of the people to
 " exercise more direct control than is now contemplated over
 " the affairs of the State.

8. " The correspondence with Government will be conduct-
 " ed through the Political Agent, who will, however, exercise no
 " direct interference in the affairs of the State."

It may be mentioned here that, before the scheme was
 matured and the orders of Government were passed, every item
 included in the Memorandum presented to the Governor was
 discussed with Gaurishanker and Samaldas by Mr. Percival and
 Mr. (now Sir) William Wedderburn, whose liberal views and
 kind-hearted sympathy for the interests of Bhavnagar and its
 young Chief were beyond all praise. And here it must be
 owned that so unobjectionable were the conditions of the Memo
 found that almost all of them were approved by Government.

The arrangements which Government made, and which
 were carefully embodied in the letter addressed to Mr. Percival,
 were most satisfactory to Gaurishanker and Samaldas, who had
 real cause to congratulate themselves on
 this happy result of their noble efforts.
 For, a very desirable departure is here

Arrangement most
 satisfactory to Gauri-
 shanker and Samaldas.

made from the method theretofore in vogue of managing the affairs of the States of the minor Chiefs. Here for the first time in the history of managed States in the Province, Government showed solicitude in making such arrangements for the management of a minor Chief's State as may be acceptable to the family of the deceased Chief and to the people generally. Here for the first time Government desired the due preservation of laws and procedure in force at the time of the deceased Chief in the State, it was here also for the first time that the administrators were invested with the full powers possessed by the deceased Chief instead of restricted powers, and it was here also for the first time that the direct interference of the Political Agency in the affairs of the State was prohibited by Government.

It may be mentioned here that Thakor Sahib Ravaji of Morbi had died some months before the death of Maharaja Jaswantsinhji, but no arrangement was made for the management of the State. Government very properly followed the same method which they ordered for the administration of the Bhavnagar State.

After Mr. Percival's arrival at Bhavnagar the internal administrative arrangements were reorganised. Samaldas, whose assistance in the discharge of the onerous and multifarious functions of the Joint Administration, was indispensable, was appointed Assistant Joint Administrator. He was succeeded as Chief Judge by Jayantilal, another very able officer of the State.

The Joint Administrators held their office daily. It was attended by Messrs. Percival, Gaurishanker and Samaldas with the Secretary Mr. Ratilal Maneklal, whose thorough work, ability and integrity soon won Mr. Percival's confidence. The practice adopted by the Joint Administrators in the disposal of the work coming before them was this : All the papers were received by the Secretary and first placed before Samaldas, who studied

Mr. Percival arrives at Bhavnagar.

Samaldas appointed Assistant Joint Administrator.

Method of working adopted by the Administrators.

them and called for former papers from different departments, if there were any. All important matters were first discussed with Gaurishanker and then all the papers were taken to Mr. Percival, and they were again discussed in the office between the three gentlemen, and final orders were passed on them. In short, all business-routine, Civil, Criminal, Political or miscellaneous, was transacted with the unanimous opinion of Messrs. Percival, Gaurishanker and Samaldas.

The Joint Administration lasted for eight years, commencing with its formation in July 1870 to its end in April 1878. For the first seven years it consisted of Messrs. Percival and Gaurishanker, with the exception of one year when Mr. Percival went on leave, and Major J. W. Watson acted for him. As a very heavy part of the Joint Administrators' work was to hear and dispose of appeals in Civil and Criminal matters, and as the health of Gaurishanker made it at times difficult to attend to that work, he requested to be relieved of this work and replaced by Samaldas. As no change in the constitution of the Joint Administration could be made without the sanction of Government, Mr. Percival reported the wish of Gaurishanker with his own support. Government sanctioned the arrangement and from May 1872, Samaldas assumed the office of Judicial Joint Administrator, and was associated with the European Joint Administrator in the hearing and disposal of the appeal cases. In February 1877, Mr. Percival was transferred to the Sholapur Collectorate, and was succeeded by Major Watson.

Samaldas appointment Judicial Joint Administrator.

Government sanctions the association of Maharaja Takhtasinhji in the Administration of the State.

Before proceeding further we must state here that on the representation of Gaurishanker and Samaldas both Mr. Percival and Major Watson saw the desirability of associating Maharaja Takhtasinhji with the European Joint Administrator so that he might gain experience and insight into the working of the affairs of his State, and thereby be prepared to assume the responsibility of its administration when the Joint Administration should cease to exist.

It was about this time that, when the British administration was withdrawn from the States of Rajkot and Limbdi, the Chiefs of these States were invested with limited power of jurisdiction in civil and criminal matters under the supervision of the Assistant Political Agent in charge of Prant, and an appeal lay from their decisions to the Court of the Political Agent, and they committed criminal cases to the Court of Sessions of the Political Agent. The Joint Administrators strongly deprecated such a measure, which, with its many attendant evils, lowered the position of the Chiefs who would at no distant date exercise the power of life and death. The Joint Administrators were very properly of opinion, in which they were supported by the Political Agent, Mr. (afterwards Sir) J. B. Piele, that it was far better to admit a young Chief at once to the exercise of full jurisdiction conjointly with a British Officer than to give him trifling powers to begin with under the promise that they would be increased gradually, because in the latter case the judicial machinery of the State had to be cut down to match with the powers of the Chief, which obviously is inconvenient, and because it was better that the Chief should study the method in which full jurisdiction is administered and gradually accustom himself to the actual powers, which he will exercise without check as soon as supervision is withdrawn. And the great advantage of being associated with a British Officer of experience and training in such work is too apparent to be detailed here.

In March 1877, therefore, with the sanction of the Bombay Government, Maharaja Takhtasinhji was associated with Major Watson as Joint Administrator, when Gaurishankar reverted to his former position of Minister and Samaldas reverted to his position of Assistant Diwan. The intelligence and aptitude for work displayed by Maharaja Takhtasinhji enabled Major Watson to report to Government that he may be entrusted with the full power of the State in April 1878, a date by one year earlier than that in which in ordinary course he would attain his majority. Government were pleased to sanction this proposal. It may be mentioned in this place that, when the aforementioned

Government pleased to sanction that Maharaja Takhtasinhji should be entrusted with full powers in April 1878.

Objectionable practice in other minors' States.

proposal was being discussed, Samaldas convinced Major Watson that, according to the Hindu Shastras or philosophy, the age of a child is counted not from the date of its birth but from that of its conception, and that according to this authority Maharaja Takhtasinhji would attain his majority in April 1878 and not in April 1879. This fact was duly mentioned by Major Watson in his report to Government. In June 1877 Major Watson was appointed to act for Col. Law as President of the Rajasthanik Court, and Col. W. C. Parr succeeded him as Joint Administrator.

The subject of the several measures of reform in the administration, introduced by the Joint Administrators properly belongs to the history of Bhavnagar. However, some of them may be noticed here in passing.

Before the introduction of the Joint Administration, power and authority were centralized. In constituting the different departments, certain powers were conferred on the head of each of these departments, and made them directly responsible to the Joint Administrators. This measure left much time to the Joint Administrators, who profitably used it in devising and introducing measures of reform in several branches of the administration.

The first care of the Joint Administrators was the examination of the accounts which as stated before were left unaudited at the time of Maharaja Jaswantsinhji's death. These accounts were left in the hands of the late Mr. Haridas Viharidas Desai of Nadiad, latterly Diwan of Junaghad. He completed the audit in a thorough and impartial manner, and the balance found in the treasury, when the Political Agent took charge of it, corresponded with the balance as ascertained from the audited accounts.

The first great measure taken in hand by the Joint Administrators was the entire reform of the revenue system. The system prevailing in the State at this time was, more or less, the farming system, Paragnahs or the districts were given in farm. The practice, amounting almost to a strict rule introduced in Parmannaddas' time was adhered to with some modification suited to the change of time and condition. The farmer was bound down to take no more than the stipulated share of the State. But even with this safeguard the farming system was open to abuses. This system

was entirely abolished by the Joint Administrators, and a *Khatabandi* or cash settlement for four years, *viz.*, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875 was shortly introduced by them. The introduction of this system, which met half way the cash assessment in force in the neighbouring British districts, without its rigour and inflexibility, was a blessing to the cultivators. The relief to the cultivators by this system can only be appreciated by those who have had the experience of the annoyance and loss which they suffer under the system of payment, partly in kind and partly in cash in a Native State. As an instance in point it may be mentioned here that, in some of States of the Province two measures and two weights were used—by the larger measure and weights the State share was taken, and by the smaller ones the share due to the cultivators and *Grasia*, if there were any, was given. Astounding as this fact may appear, the *Hakpatrak* decisions of the late Rajasthanik Court will show it clearly.

The making of cash settlement in no less than five hundred villages in the Durbar *Khalsa* management, was neither a small nor an easy matter. Entirely unused to this system of payment, the ignorant and uneducated cultivators had their own prejudice against it which, indeed, it was a difficult matter to overcome. But the tact and patience of Samaldas, who, as Assistant Joint Administrator, had charge of this work also, and the loyal operation of Vajeshanker, the Revenue Commissioner, and of that of the several district revenue officers, enabled the difficulties to be soon overcome, and the cultivators were persuaded to agree to a fixed assessment for a short period of four years. Both the Joint Administrators were singularly well qualified for the task: Mr. Percival by his long experience of the British Revenue system in the neighbouring British districts in the Gujarat, and Mr. Gaurishanker by his intimate acquaintance of the local customs. Mr. Percival was of opinion that long leases were not desirable in this country, and that the land revenue should be kept under the control of Government, and should be liable to revision every ten years, with the sole provision that no cultivator's rent should be increased on account of improvements made by himself.

Another blessing which the Joint Administrators conferred on the people of certain towns and large villages was the right

of ownership given to them on which houses were built. They found that nearly 91% of the houses were built of mud. There was a twofold reason for such a state of things, *viz.*, the people could not obtain ownership of the land, and a prohibitive tax on the sales of the houses and lands, which varied at different places from one to eight annas in a rupee or 6% to 50% on the amount of the purchase money, was levied. This tax was at once reduced to a uniform rate of 6¼%. The Joint Administrators, however, effected the concession cautiously. They selected eight towns and 22 villages on the people of which the right of ownership of the land on which houses were built or which were to be built, was conferred. In the time of Maharaja Takhtasinhji, when Samaldas and Vithaldas were successively Diwans, the sale price was considerably reduced, and the right of ownership on buildings and building sites was extended to a large number of the larger and important villages in the State. And following in the footsteps of his illustrious father, Maharaja Bhavsinhji has also conferred this right on the people of several villages. At present only the most unimportant villages, whose people cannot take advantage of the concession, remain without possessing this right.

Besides the reform mentioned above, land and sea-customs were equalized, the revenue divisions were re-distributed, and the pay of all the employees, revenue, judicial, police, and others, was increased, and their respective duties defined clearly. A revenue survey was introduced and public works on a liberal scale were set on foot. A fine and large storage tank was constructed from which an abundant supply of water was carried to the town tanks which were cleared out and greatly improved by stone embankments. The capital town was connected by telegraph and the harbours of Bhavnagar and Mahuva were much improved, and education, both primary and higher, was fostered.

CHAPTER IX.

During the tenure of the Joint Administration several important questions affecting the Province generally had cropped up, from amongst which the following four *viz.* :—(1) The Ghanghali case, (2) Police, (3) Hearing of appeals in *Grasia* cases and (4) Railway, may be briefly mentioned here.

(1) The Ghanghali, better known as Damodar Gordhan *vs.* The Ghanghali Case. Devram Kanji case, which concerned Bhavnagar more than the Province, may be first noticed. We have already alluded to the great ambiguity with which the agreements of 1860 and 1866 were worded so far as the cession or restoration of Civil and Criminal jurisdiction was concerned. Ghanghali is one of the 116 villages which were placed under British Laws and Regulations in 1816. Litigation between the two mentioned before had commenced in 1864, and in 1866 the case had gone before the Bombay High Court in appeal. In the meanwhile the agreement of 1866 was passed, and in pursuance thereof the Government of Bombay published a notification, dated 29th January 1866, in the Government Gazette, announcing that the 116 villages, including Ghanghali were "from and after the 1st February 1866 Samvat 1922, Magh Vadya 2nd, removed from the jurisdiction of the Revenue, Civil, and Criminal Courts of the Bombay Presidency, and transferred to the supervision of the Political Agency in Kathiawad on the same condition as to jurisdiction as the villages of the Taluka of the Thakor of Bhavnagar heretofore in that Province."

Bombay Government Gazette, p. 197.

About eleven months after the publication of this notification the High Court remanded the case to the Court of Ahmedabad which passed a decree in 1869 from which a special appeal was preferred to the Bombay High Court.

The Indian Law Reports, Bombay Series, Vol. I, pp. 376-461.

In the High Court it was contended that, as the village of Ghanghali had been previously removed from the ordinary Civil Courts of the Bombay Presidency, neither the Ahmedabad Court nor the High Court had jurisdiction to deal with the case. A divisional Bench of the High Court, and subsequently a Full Bench of the High Court overruled that objection, and denied the right of the Bombay Government, and indeed that of the Crown, to cede British Territory to a Native Prince in time of peace without the sanction of Parliament.

The Bombay High Court and the Privy Council deny the right of the Bombay Government to cede British territory in time of peace.

Appeal was now preferred to the Privy Council from the decision of the Bombay High Court. At the hearing of the appeal at which Sir William Harcourt and other eminent Counsel were instructed by the Secretary of State for India to appear for the appellant, a great deal of Constitutional Law was discussed. But the judgment of the Committee of the Privy Council turned not on the point of Constitutional Law, but on a side issue. Quoting the words of Article 7 of the agreement of 1860, which were bodily transcribed in Article 8 of the agreement of 1865, that "upon the above conditions Her Majesty's Government agree as follow:—Government cede as a favour, and not as a right, the transfer of Bhavnagar itself, with Wadwa, Sihor, and ten subordinate villages, from the district of Gogha, subject to the Regulations, to the Kathiawad Political Agency," the judgment of the Privy Council proceeded to observe that, "This is not the language of cession. It is *prima facie* nothing more than an engagement for the transfer of the places mentioned, (including Ghanghali) which were then beyond question British Territory, from a regulation Province to an extraordinary jurisdiction." And their Lordships of the Privy Council observed in conclusion that the jurisdiction of the Courts of the Bombay Presidency over Ghanghali rested in 1866 upon British Statutes, and could not be taken away or altered (as long as Ghanghali remained British Territory) so as to substitute for it any Native or other extraordinary jurisdiction except by Legislation. The judgment of the Bombay High Court was confirmed by the Privy Council.

After the judgment of the Privy Council was received, the Government of Bombay requested the Government of India to expedite the completion of the agreements, and take such steps as might be deemed requisite to give legality to the cession of the villages as was intended by these agreements. A notification in the Foreign Department was issued by the Government of India, in which it was declared that the agreements of 1860 and 1866, and the notification of the Government of Bombay of

1866, "were not so worded as to express the true intention, and that the scheduled villages did not thereby legally cease to

The Government of India cures the defect discovered by the Privy Council.

"be British Territory." The defect or the technical flaw so discovered was cured by this notification, and a complete cession of the 166 villages was made to the Durbar, and brought the legal status of these villages into accord with their actual administration. It was very properly deemed by the Government of India that, "all the reasons which originally dictated those engagements exist in full force with the additional reason that our good faith would be called in question if we did not complete them. Perhaps it is superfluous to say that the Thakor himself is urging us to do so."

But although a valid and true cession of the villages from British into Foreign Territory was made, there still remained one important thing to do. The Committee of the Privy Council having come to the conclusion that the agreements of 1860 and 1866 were not sufficient for the purposes of a cession of territory, as was intended, a technical flaw in the title of the Courts (the Durbar Courts) to govern the villages, so far as the exercise of Civil and Criminal jurisdiction was concerned, was discovered. It was thought that the villages were managed illegally in the interval, though in perfect good faith, and it was therefore necessary to cure this illegality. A Bill* was introduced in the Supreme Legislative Council which became Law on the same date, and which completely cured and removed this illegality.

It must be observed here that in the course of the debate on the Bill, Mr. (afterwards Sir) T. C. Hope, who, as stated in the earlier part of our narrative, had originally settled the preliminary basis of the agreement of 1860, relying upon the draft of the agreement of 1860, which Samaldas had prepared in Gujrati and given to Mr. Hope through Merwanji, pointed out that, "it showed most clearly what was the intention of the agreement, afterwards drawn up in English. It stated the several claims of the Thakor of Bhavnagar under main headings, and the first of these was independent Sovereignty or autonomy, the words used being '*Swatantra Hakumat*' in respect of the villages" And Mr. Hope then said that it

* Act No. 20 of 1876.

was perfectly clearly understood, both by Maharaja Jaswant-sinhji and himself that the Durbar were to be allowed to hold these villages as an independent Ruler and not as the subject of any Foreign Power. It is needless to add here that Mr. Hope's authority based on the wording used by Samaldas, which clearly expressed the true intention of the high contracting parties, carried great weight.

The question of the restoration of the Civil and Criminal jurisdiction over the 116 villages was thus finally satisfactorily settled and set at rest, and Samaldas had the great satisfaction to find that the seeds sown by his revered father had borne so sweet fruits to the State, and that his own foresight had proved of so high authority.

One of the two important subjects which in 1870-72 was engaging the attention of Government, related to the proposal submitted by Colonel Anderson, the then Political Agent, Kathiawad, for the organization of a Police Force, to be called the Kathiawad Federal Police, to be paid collectively by the States and Talukas, but to be managed by the Political Agency for the suppression of outlawry, gang-robberies, and other serious crimes, with which, it was reported to Government by the Political Agent from time to time, the whole Province was infested. It had, however, to be admitted that the State of Bhavnagar was absolutely free from outlawry or other serious crimes and that "its police are better organized than the police of other Kathiawad States." At a meeting of the representatives of the States, which Samaldas was deputed by the Joint Administrators to attend, Colonel Anderson urged the necessity of adopting the measures proposed by him. But the representatives denied the existence of the alleged serious crimes, and refused to accord assent to the measure.

The Government of Bombay declined to sanction the proposal of a General Police, because it would involve the transfer of responsibility from the States to Government, and desired to secure the co-operation of the States.

Mr. (afterwards Sir) James B. Peile who was acting as Political Agent during Colonel Anderson's absence on leave, convened a meeting of the representatives of the principal States in March 1873, and to him they again complained that a needlessly unfavourable colour has been given to the state of crimes in the Province, that the serious and trifling offences were not distinguished, that most petty crimes were magnified into serious ones, and that the detection and punishment of the offenders by the Police of the Durbars were not recorded. After a friendly discussion a satisfactory arrangement for the improvement of the State Police was arrived at.

In carrying out the arrangement, great and unexpected difficulty arose in the Bhavnagar State. Those Grasiyas who held sole or entire (Dungari) villages refused the right of the Durbar to appoint the Police Patel or Mukhi in their respective villages and they likewise refused the right of the Durbar to require the service tenants of their villages to serve as Police under the Police Patel or Mukhi. They submitted petitions to the Rajasthanik Court and the Political Agent against, what they thought, to be the encroachment of the Durbar on their vested right of policing their own villages. It was an open secret that, as there was no one in their villages responsible to the Durbar, crimes were not always reported by the Grasiyas. The Rajasthanik Court and the Political Agent refused to interfere, and their appeal to the Bombay Government met with a similar fate. But although foiled on all sides, the attitude of the Grasiyas, who by this time had formed a strong combination, remained hostile and unaltered. The Joint Administrators now proposed to take strong action and attach the villages of the ring-leaders, who were guiding the rest. The matter had now assumed a serious aspect. Samaldas, who was in favour of persuasive measures, obtained the permission of the Joint Administrators to try and persuade the Grasiyas to agree to the proposed arrangements. These Grasiyas, at last, agreed to the proposal suggested by Samaldas, and all their opposition died out. They submitted names of respectable persons suitable to be Police Patel or Mukhi for each of their respective villages, subject to the approval of the

The strong opposition of the Grasiyas of Bhavnagar to the measures got over by the tact and persuasion of Samaldas.

Superintendent of the State Police, they agreed to defray the salary of the Police Patel, and they agreed to place a sufficient number of service-holders under the Police Patel, none of whom were, however, removable at their pleasure.

The opposition and aversion, which were common to all the Grasiyas of the State, to go about with arms under the Durbar's pass, were also got over by tact and persuasion.

In February 1871, the Chiefs of Kathiawad States were not a little surprised and alarmed to learn from the Political Agent through their Vakils that Government was about to appoint a Judicial Assistant to the Political Agent for systematically hearing complaints and suits from the Bhayats and Grasiyas subordinate to them. This was a step which was calculated to reverse the non-interference policy of Colonel Keatinge. Directly that officer had left the Province to take up the post of the Agent to the Governor General in Rajputana, efforts in earnest were made by his successor Colonel Anderson to subvert some of the measures of the non-interference policy inaugurated by Colonel Keatinge, of which the raising of the General Police was one instance, and the hearing of complaints in Gras cases was another.

Hearing of appeals in Gras cases.

Fortunately for the States, the larger and important States then determined to take united action, and fortunately also for them Samaldas happened to be present in Bombay at that time. To him Gaurishankar wrote urging him to see the Government authorities and request them to postpone final orders pending receipt of the representation from the States which, he said, would shortly be submitted. Samaldas saw Mr. (afterwards Sir) William Wedderburn, then Acting Secretary to Government in the Political Department, who with his characteristic fairness, very cordially received him and gave him all the particulars of the measures which were contemplated by Government, and promised that no final orders would be passed by Government before the representation from the States was received and considered by them. Samaldas also saw Mr. (afterwards Sir) James B. Peile, Mr. Ravenscroft, and other officers

Samaldas waits on the Government officers and requests them to postpone final orders pending consideration of States' representation.

of Government. Gaurishanker in reply to Samaldas' letter, dated 18th March 1871, expressed much satisfaction at the result of his interviews with these officers, and added that, Mr. Percival, to whom his letters were read, was also much pleased with the same.

As so justly remarked by Marsukhram Suryaram Tripathi in his 'Life and letters of Gokalji Zala,' "the Political Agent, Colonel Anderson, made the cause of the Grasiyas and Bhayats his own." And it is probable that the *ex-parte* reports which the Political Agent had submitted to Government on isolated and stray cases of outlawry of some Grasiyas had led the Secretary of State for India to form an adverse opinion about the treatment of subordinate Grasiyas by the States of the Province. While we admit that there were a few, very few indeed, small and unimportant States which gave cause for complaint to these Grasiyas, we certainly will say that by far the larger number of the larger and more important States were absolutely free from this sort of imputation. And yet no distinction was made of them in treating the question of hearing complaints and suits of subordinate Grasiyas. The innocent were also to be punished for the conduct of the offenders. The Government of Bombay was moved to take direct action in the matter.

Unfortunately for the States of Kathiawad a combination of circumstances, amongst which the complicated and vexed question of the rights and privileges of the Jadeja Bhayats of Kachh was one then in the forefront, prejudiced Government against them. That question, a long standing one, was, in about 1868, being keenly discussed between His Highness the late Rao Sahib Pragmalji and the Government of Bombay. As in Kathiawad, so in Kachh, the Political Agent had made the cause of the Jadeja Bhayats his own and he was supported by the Governments of Bombay and India, and also by the Home Government.

It appears from the papers placed on the Editors' table when the Rajasthanik Court was constituted that, it was while the question of the Kachha Jadeja Chiefs was being

seriously discussed between Government and the Rao of Kachh, that the Despatch No. 41, dated 30th December 1865, of Sir Charles Wood (afterwards Lord Halifax), then Secretary of State for India, was received on the appeal from Dajibhai of Sejalja against acts of oppression by the then Palitana Chief. And the Bombay Government having invited an expression of opinion from Her late Imperial Majesty's Government on the general question, Lord Cranborne, who had succeeded Sir Charles Wood as Secretary of State for India, remarked, (Despatch, dated 31st January 1867) that it was no part of the intention of Her Majesty's Government in sanctioning Col. Keatinge's reform scheme, to hand

Reversal of Col. Keatinge's non-interference policy.

over to the Chiefs entire Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction, without appeal to the Political Officers, over the Grasiyas, whom "they may have a direct interest in reducing to the level of ryots." The most important fact is discernible from a further despatch, dated 23rd November 1867, of Sir Stafford Northcote, that the status and position of the Grasiyas and Bhayats of the Kathiawad States were confounded with the guaranteed and non-guaranteed Jadeja Bhayat-Chiefs of Kachh. With regard to Kathiawad, Sir Stafford Northcote would seem to have imagined that there were two classes of subordinate Grasiyas involved in the question before him, *viz.*, guaranteed and non-guaranteed, and the question having been thus confused, orders appear to have emanated from the fountainhead for hearing appeals of subordinate Grasiyas in the Court of the Political Agency.

As mentioned above, the States were informed early in 1871, that on the recommendation of the Political Agent, Government were about to appoint a Judicial Assistant for hearing complaints and suits in Gras cases. In March 1871 the Chiefs of the First Class States sent telegrams and representations to H. E. the Governor-in-Council requesting that no final orders may be passed in the matter before considering their representation and granting a personal interview to their Karbharis. In reply Government assured them that final orders will not be passed until H. E. in Council had fully heard and considered any representation they may desire to make and that thereafter if found expedient, H. E. in Council would see the Karbharis before

final orders were issued. They were requested to communicate freely on the subject with the Political Agent.

In submission to the desire of Government the Chiefs had no alternative but to depute their Karbharis to the Political Agent, who had prejudged and had been greatly prejudiced in the matter.

Discussion of the question with the Political Agent, and the troubles consequent on his hostile attitude.

The Karbharis assembled in Rajkot. The States from Class second to fourth, at first not without some hesitation, joined the First Class States. A strong under current, however, began to flow, and irresponsible and interested persons exerted their best to detach them from what was now a union of the States. The task, by no means a light one, of explaining to the representatives of the smaller States the serious aspect of the matter, and of keeping them in hand, devolved on Narsinhprasad of Junaghad and Samaldas. The States under management of the Assistant Political Agent stood aloof, but, the Joint Administrators of Bhavnagar and Morvi, loyally joined in defending the rights and authority of their respective States.

The Karbharis were fully prepared to meet strong opposition to their view of the question from the Political Agent. They at first requested for a clear definition of the term Mulgrasia. Col. Anderson furnished them with one which would have the effect of including all who held land since long, on whatever tenure. The States submitted a definition which with a slight modification was accepted by Government in the final settlement of the matter. And, in reply to the request of the States that the translation into English of the Fael Zamin Bonds, which they had passed in Gujarati to Col. Walker, and which governed their relation with the British Government, was incorrect and that it may be properly corrected, they were informed that there was no material difference between the two. But a Committee subsequently appointed under orders from Government found material difference between the Gujarathi and English translation of the Fael Zamin Bonds and corrected them accordingly. The Karbharis were then asked to submit their representation on the matter.

It was at first proposed to engage a local legal practitioner to prepare the representation, but he demanded a fabulously large fee, and a still larger amount of reward when the question was decided by Government to the satisfaction of the States. At the request of Gokalji and Gaurishanker, Samaldas undertook

Samaldas prepares representation of the State. to prepare the representation. As he did not know English, the representation was prepared in Gujarati and translated into English by the late Mirza Murad Ali Beg, an Englishman by birth but converted to Mahomedanism. Every one of the important points embraced in the Acting Political Secretary's Memo, a copy of which was furnished to the States by order of Government, was concisely but fully met. No one who reads the representation can fail to be struck with the ability, erudition and clear-mindedness which Samaldas brought to bear on it.

The representation of the States was forwarded to Government by Col. Anderson with, it is needless to say, his adverse opinion.

In reply to this representation the States were informed that Government reply to the representation from the States. "in making arrangements for hearing the complaints of the subordinate Grasias, Government were acting under the express instruction of Her Majesty's Secretary of State. And H. E. in Council is not prepared to reopen this part of the question." And after making some other remarks the States were directed to further confer with the Political Agent.

The States now represented to Government that it appeared to them that Col. Anderson entertained views "hurtful to our independence and calculated to cause us considerable embarrassment in the administration of our territories," and they requested that, "before finally passing a decisive resolution on the report of the Political Agent, Your Excellency will be pleased to grant our Karbhari an interview and to fix a time when they may attend at Bombay or Poona for that purpose."

It is probable that H. E. Sir Seymour Fitz-Gerald, then Governor of Bombay, now considered it expedient to grant an interview to the Karbharis and intimated his intention accordingly through the Political Agent. All

The Karbharis of the First Class States invited to Bombay by the Governor for a personal discussion of the question.

the States deputed the Karbharis of the First Class States, who, with their respective Assistant Karbharis, arrived at Poona where they had a satisfactory interview with H. E. the Governor and the Members of his Council. The Political Secretary, Mr. (now Sir) Weddellburn, was authorised to hold communication with them.

Prolonged discussions occupied several weeks both at Poona and Bombay. H. E. the Governor was now satisfied that the States were reasonable, and that they were prepared to accept such a scheme as might secure a maximum amount of protection to the Bhayats and Grasias with a minimum of interference on the part of the British Government with the vested rights and jurisdiction of the States. The preliminary of the scheme which had for its object the institution of a Court of the States for hearing Gras cases having been settled at Poona, the Karbharis returned to Bombay awaiting the return of His Excellency the Governor after the monsoon.

At their first interview in Bombay, the Governor suggested that, now that the preliminaries of the scheme had been settled, it would be better for the Karbharis to return to Rajkot and settle the details thereof with the Political Agent. To this suggestion the Karbharis strongly but respectfully objected and their objections seemed reasonable to His Excellency who directed the Political Agent to come to Bombay.

As it appeared that it would take some time before the Political Agent could come to Bombay, Gokalji and other Karbharis went on a pilgrimage to Benares, Gaurishanker and Samaldas remaining in Bombay. To Samaldas was entrusted the work of drafting the rules of procedure for the proposed Court, which he prepared with great credit to himself.

After the arrival of the Political Agent and the return of the Karbharis from the pilgrimage, the discussion was resumed between the Karbharis on the one part and the Political Secretary assisted by Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Jardine and the Political Agent on the other. The patience, considerateness and fairness with which every point was disposed of by the Political Secretary

made smooth the way for a fair settlement; on the basis of the draft rules which were prepared by Samaldas.

At subsequent discussions His Excellency the Governor, Sir Seymour Fitz Gerald presided*. "Gokalji was the spokesman on the sides of the Chiefs. He conducted the discussion in such a manner as evoked, not unfrequently, very high remarks of praise from His Excellency the Governor." When every thing was fairly and equitably settled, and the Karbharis were congratulating themselves on the termination in so satisfactory a manner of the momentous question, an unexpected and great difficulty arose, which for a time threatened to upset every thing done, and to blast the fond hopes entertained by the Karbharis. At the last meeting the Governor, evidently at the request of Col. Anderson, suggested that the proposed Court should work under the supervision of the Political Agent. On the Karbharis urging strong objections to this course, the Governor was greatly vexed and displeased, and left the meeting hall, telling the Karbharis at the same time that, as they refused to accept this one proposal, Government will now authoritatively interfere and appoint a Judicial Assistant to hear the Gras cases. The situation became the more embarrassing as His Excellency was to leave the same day for Malaheshwar. The good counsels of the Political Secretary however prevailed. The Karbharis obtained time to consider the proposal and His Excellency postponed his departure for a day.

On the next day when the Karbharis met His Excellency, he appeared to be perfectly friendly and asked them as to what conclusion they had come regarding his proposal. They replied through their spokesman that they would rather leave it to His Excellency than suggest any course of their own. The Governor was much pleased with this conciliatory reply and said that he would do nothing to frustrate the great and good object which the Karbharis contemplated. The suggestion then made by His Excellency stands among the last rules of the Rajasthanik Court removed the strong objection of the Karbharis.

* Life and letters of Gokalji, p. 19.

The rules of procedure of the Rajasthanik Court were thus settled, and in taking leave the Karbharis heartily thanked H. E. Sir Seymour Fitzgerald for the uniform courtesy he showed to them and for the fair and just consideration given to their representation and to the subject matter of it by him. His Excellency was pleased in reply to say that "he was very much pleased by the meetings, that their abilities, knowledge, experience, and statesmanship were praiseworthy and that he must add that he had seen very few debaters so competent in discussion as their spokesman Gokalji Sahib."*

The Karbharis now returned to Kathiawad in triumph after effecting an honourable settlement of this important question. Of course the Political Agent took their triumph as his defeat and failure. Never before in the history of the Province had any question, affecting the authority and jurisdiction of all the States in the Province, been discussed and settled directly with the States by the Government.

The States, moreover, had another cause for satisfaction in the fact that the Sabha was an institution of their own, which exercised jurisdiction delegated to it by them, thereby excluding from interference every extraneous authority in their respective States.

The States formally submitted the Rules of procedure of the Rajasthanik Sabha to the Political Agent for transmission to Government. This being done, the Government of Bombay moved the Government of India to sanction them.

The Government of Bombay were pleased to observe in their letter to the Government of India: "(9) But besides the general benefits arising from a friendly understanding and co-operation with the Native States in questions of general policy, there appear to be specific advantages from the plan now proposed by the Chiefs. For all objections mentioned in their letter will be completely removed, (1) the co-operation of the Chiefs being secured, (2) their authority being preserved, (3) the survey rendering practicable the due execution of

* Life and letters of Gokalji, p. 20.

"decrees for land, litigation being discouraged by a general survey and registration of rights and (4) the whole cost of the scheme being provided for by the Chiefs."

The sanction of the Government of India having been received the Government of Bombay directed the Political Agent to move the Chiefs (1) to settle the pay of the Superintendent of Surveys and the cost of the new institution and (2) to obtain from them a list of officers whom they proposed as President of the Sabha.

In compliance with the instruction of the Political Agent the Karbharis once more met in Rajkot to settle the matters mentioned above. The Joint Administrators deputed Samaldas to represent the State of Bhavnagar at this meeting. The Karbharis were fully prepared to meet with objections and opposition from the Political Agent to whatever they proposed. But this was not all. It appeared sometimes that some of the smaller States might withdraw from the general arrangement. They had again to complain of want of sympathy and support from the Political Agent. They proposed the names of Col. Law and Mr. H. M. Birdwood, late of the Bombay Civil Service, and a Judge of the Bombay High Court, as President, and they proposed the name of Captain (afterwards Colonel) Hancock for the post of the Superintendent of Surveys. Government selected

Col. Law selected as President of the Rajasthanik Sabha.

Col. Law for the post of the President of the Sabha and approved the nomination of Capt. Hancock.

Fortunately at this time Col. Anderson went on leave and was succeeded by Sir James B. Piele who removed all difficulties, and cordially assisted the States in the arrangement of the details for the working of the Sabha.

Col. Law arrived and assumed charge of the office of the President, and summoned the six members whom Government had selected from amongst the list of the twelve submitted by the States.

The Government of Bombay at paragraph 12 of their letter No. 1970, dated 3rd April 1872, had stated that "the present time

" seems to be very favourable for bringing this difficult question to a satisfactory settlement, because on account of minorities, several of the most important States (such as Bhavnagar, Morvi, Gondal) are now under administration appointed by Government. In these States the settlement will be comparatively easy, and it will probably be advisable for the Sabha to deal with these first, as the experience thus gained will be of great use in carrying on the work in the States where a more active state of antagonism exists." Accordingly, the work of the survey of the lands and settlement of the rights of Bhayats and Mul-Grasias in the Bhavnagar State was commenced soon and pushed on with vigour.

In dealing with Gras cases the successive British Joint Administrators of Bhavnagar had to depend entirely on the advice of Gaurishanker who was loyally assisted by Samaldas, and they treated the Bhayats and Grasias most fairly and considerately. A very large number, over 60%, of the Gras cases were amicably settled with the Grasias. Several of the Grasias reposed implicit confidence in Samaldas and of their own free will agreed to abide by his decision. The cases of Ebhal Khuman of Ambaldi, and Amara Khachar of Gadhadra may be cited as examples. Both these persons, the most litigious and obstinate of their class, had besieged the Agency and the Government of Bombay for a number of years. The former, a grandson of the notorious outlaw Jogidas Khuman, had claim to a whole village, and the latter, a pretender of the status of a separate tribute paying Talukdar, with a long list of grievances against the Durbar, were seen no more at the Agency after Samaldas had settled (1882-1883) their claims in a fair and

The notorious litigants Ebhal Khuman of Ambaldi, and Amara Khachar of Gadhadra abide by the award of Samaldas. Political Agent thanks Maharaja Takhtsinhji for satisfactorily settling these long standing disputes.

disputes.

equitable manner. It is needless to say that they were perfectly satisfied with Samaldas' award, which was confirmed by Maharaja Takhtsinhji. The President of the Rajsthanik Court and the Political Agent officially thanked His Highness for the satisfactory settlement of these long standing

The Rajsthanik Sabha had obtained for itself a long lease of existence. Though originally intended for three years it did not cease to exist for over a quarter of a century. It took on much work for which it was never intended. Six States, including Junaghad, Morvi, Limbdi and Wadhwan withdrew from it. When its last lease of existence was about to expire all the other States proposed to close it. There were very few, if any, cases pending in the Sabha in which some of them were concerned. Bhavnagar for some years past had not a single case before it. Complications were about to arise when Col. Hunter succeeded to the office of the Political Agent. With characteristic fair-mindedness he was thoroughly convinced of the justice of the proposal of the States for closing the Sabha and deprecated its needless prolongation any longer. The Government of Bombay concurred with his opinion and the Sabha was finally closed on 31st March 1899.

Colonel Hunter the Political Agent, as an act of justice to the States abolishes the Rajsthanik Sabha.

Before we close this subject it must be stated here that, before the Rajsthanik Sabha was abolished, Col. (now General) Hunter, the Political Agent, called for returns of complaints submitted to the Sabha against different States by their Bhayats and Grasias in the course of several years preceding its abolition. As a result of this inquiry it was found that *not a single* well founded complaint was made against the Bhavnagar Darbar by their Bhayats and Mul-Grasias. At the meeting of the Karbharis of all the States whereat the result was announced Col. Hunter congratulated the Bhavnagar Darbar on this very satisfactory result and observed that it was one which was well worthy of emulation by the other States. A Diwan of a leading First Class State said that they (all the States) were proud of Bhavnagar.

The Political Agent eulogises the Bhavnagar Darbar for the absence of a single well-founded complaint against them for several past years.

At a Darbar held at Bhavnagar on the 19th March 1891 by the Political Agent, Colonel Hancock, to present the Sanad and Kharita of the title of Maharaja bestowed by Government on His Highness Sir Takhtsinhji, that officer expressed himself among other things as follows:—

“ In another way too, I do not speak without book, for in my position as President of the Rajasthanik Court, I hold one of the pulses of the people, and I knew that if they had not the most perfect confidence in the good faith of the

Eulogy bestowed on the administration of Maharaja Takhtasinhji by Col. Hancock, the Political Agent.

“ Darbar the Grasiyas would soon let me hear of it. As it is I “scarcely ever received a complaint from Bhavnagar, and what-“ ever grievances the Grasiyas may have (and there never yet was “ a Grasia without a grievance) I know the Darbar gives them “ prompt redress.”

It is the traditional policy of the State which has descended as a valuable heirloom to successive Rulers, and to the successive ministers in office for the time being, to treat the Grasiyas and other subjects kindly, considerately and justly, and nothing has been further from their thoughts than the barest idea of encroachment on the rights and titles of others. It is this praiseworthy policy among other things, which has contributed to make, as appropriately observed by Col. Hancock, the State of Bhavnagar “ the best governed Native State in India.”

CHAPTER X.

The fourth important subject which arose in the time of the Joint Administrators, now remains to be noticed.

An account of the Bhavnagar Railway is, really speaking, a history of Railway construction in Kathiawad. And it may at first sight appear foreign to the biography of Samaldas.

The Bhavnagar Railway.

But we consider the subject of more than ordinary importance in the biography of Samaldas because it was by and with his advice that the noble-minded Prince, Maharaja Takhtasinhji offered and agreed, as the first act of State to construct the railway from Bhavnagar to Wadhwan in the north and towards Dhoraji in the west at his own cost and on his own financial responsibility, and thereby rescued the project from the dead lock which it had reached, and also it was during the ministership of Samaldas, that the work of construction of these lines

was commenced and completed. And it was in his ministership also that, in spite of successive bad seasons and other difficulties, the large amount of capital expenditure was met, and with rare financial ability and foresight the ways and means for the management of the lines were provided. We will be guilty of unpardonable remissness if we did not notice this subject to the extent which its importance demands.

In the Kathiawad portion of the Bombay Gazetteer (Vol. VIII, p. 221) a brief account of the railway projects in Kathiawad is given, and in the Statistical Account of Bhavnagar (pp. 50-51) a passing notice of the proposal for the construction of the Bhavnagar Railway finds place. But in these accounts, as well as in the accounts appearing elsewhere, a great deal of confusion of facts is manifest. And, although in the revised edition of the Statistical Account, Bhavnagar, page 83, Col. Watson records that “ the proposal to construct a railway was being yet “ discussed, when on the 9th April 1878, the Thakore Sahib Sir “ Takhtasinhji, as first act of his administration since the assumption of full powers by him of his State, gave a finishing stroke “ to the matter, and agreed to construct a railway on certain “ conditions,” that account does not state the great difficulties in the midst of which the “finishing stroke” was given. In fact none of these accounts give that amount of credit which is undeniably and unquestionably due to the late Maharaja Takhtasinhji and his Minister Samaldas. We therefore deem it our duty to give here the facts,—and facts only,—which can be supported by records, and which will make the matter perfectly clear.

In treating this subject we must observe at the outset that nothing is further from our intention than to attempt to rob any one of the credit which may be due to him or which may be claimed for him in regard to the railway project. Our only object is to show here that the real credit is solely and entirely due to that late lamented Prince Maharaja Takhtasinhji, and that he was the first Prince in India who undertook to construct and manage a railway on his own account, and was, moreover, instrumental in saving thousands of people from starvation and death

by unhesitatingly sanctioning the railway at a time when the dire famine of 1877-78 was raging in Gujarat and Kathiawad. And it was with Maharaja Takhtasinhji's cordial support that Samaldas overcame all the difficulties which arose at almost every step during the construction of the lines, and discussed and settled various complicated problems in regard to the management, in a broad-minded statesmanlike manner, in the newly constituted Board of Management of the Railway.

To Colonel Keatinge is, in truth, due the credit of being the

Colonel Keatinge's endeavours for railway development in Kathiawad, 1863.

first to endeavour to give the benefit of a railway to the important but the then backward Province of Kathiawad. The talk that the iron horse had climbed and pushed its way right up to the Bhore and Thull Ghauts, was then regarded as incredible at many a Native Court in Kathiawad, and it is well known that at a *Kasumba* or red-cup gathering of a petty land-holder, a gentleman who had just returned from Bombay after a trip to Thana by the G. I. P. Railway was talking about the Railway, a courtier soon stopped him and said, "Don't take us to be fools by such idle talks. I will give you as much fuel and water as you want and will also give you a good cart, make it run with fire and water." In such a condition of society & policy of railway development was not likely to be regarded favourably.

Colonel Keatinge was well aware that the State of Bhavnagar was making better progress than any

Col. Keatinge's suggestion for a light railway not approved by Bhavnagar, 1863.

other State in the Province. Therefore, very soon after assuming charge of the Political Agency, he addressed privately His Highness the late Maharaja Jaswatsinhji, enclosing a letter to his own address from the contractor (Mr. Forde) of the Gaekwar Railway of 2'-0" guage, and photographs of the rolling stock employed thereon. He called it a toy railway, and asked the Maharaja if he wished the construction of such a railway in his State. Apparently, Bhavnagar was not then inclined to enter upon railway enterprise, and therefore did not favour the suggestion. For, Maharaja Jaswatsinhji replied that he had heard that a Tramway Company, formed in England, intended to construct a Tramway

between Gogha and Ahmedabad, which, if it did not pass through Bhavnagar, will have to pass by Wartej, and that when that was done he intended to join his capital from Wartej. Nothing further seems to have been heard about Railway projects in Bhavnagar from 1863 to 1870.

Having reached Ahmedabad the B. B. & C. I. Railway showed no disposition to move towards the Viramgam and Wadhwan side. But by constantly hammering, Col. Keatinge at last induced the Government of Bombay to sanction the extension of the line to Wadhwan.

It may be mentioned here in passing that Colonel Keatinge's plan for the improvement of the post of Veraval and a line of railway from Veraval to Junagadh fell through after all the preliminaries had been settled (1865-1872) and that in 1872, the Political Agent, Colonel Anderson expressed his regret at Junaghad allowing the opportunity to slip by, as, he said, a very large portion of the rich trade of the Bhadar Valley, which found its way to the port of Bhavnagar, would have all been arrested and diverted to Veraval by the proposed line of railway from Veraval to Junaghad and Dhoraji.

His Highness Maharaja Jaswatsinhji died in April 1870, and in the July following the Joint Administration was formed for the administration of the State.

The formation of a Company in Bombay (1870), called the Gogha Kathiawad Light Railway Company and the movement made by its Secretary, Mr. J. M. Drennan, gave an opportunity—

the first of its kind—to the Joint Administrators of Bhavnagar to put forward a proposal for connecting Bhavnagar with Railway. The merit of the scheme of the Company lay in the fact of constructing the railway lines with the money to be provided by the Kathiawad States. It proposed to construct a Light Railway in different directions in the Province, namely a line from Gogha to Bhavnagar, Limbada, Lathi, Amreli and Gondal, a second line, a branch of the first, from Ghanghali to Barwala and Ranpur, and a third, also a branch, from Ghanghali to Palitana. The Joint administrators refused to finance these lines,

and pointed out that the best way would be to join a line from Bhavnagar with the B. B. & C. I. Railway at Wadhwan. And in reply to a reference from the Political Agent regarding Mr. Drennan's scheme, the Joint Administrators made a specific counter-proposal of a line from Bhavnagar to be joined with the

Proposal of the Joint Administrators, 1870.

B. B. & C. I. Railway terminus at Wadhwan, and proffered a loan of thirty Lakhs of Rupees to Government at 4 per cent. interest, the line to be constructed on the same guage, *i. e.*, broad guage. But Government threw cold water on the Joint Administrator's proposal as well as on that of Mr. Drennan's, and remarked that they preferred for political reasons that lines in the territories of Native Princes should be carried out by Imperial not by private Agency.

Government of Bombay against the Joint Administrator's proposal.

In November 1871 an extension of the B. B. & C. I. Railway was carried from Ahmedabad to Viramgam and in May 1872, the Wadhwan branch was opened.

Opening of the Wadhwan branch of the B. B. & C. I. Railway, 1872.

Between 1870 and May 1877 the Joint Administrators made several attempts to induce the Government of Bombay to agree to their terms and sanction the proposed line from Bhavnagar to Wadhwan. But Government were dead against the proposal. They were warned by their political officers that any extension of the Wadhwan line towards the sea will deflect cotton from Jhalawad, which would otherwise be carried by the railway to Bombay as the water carriage would be comparatively cheaper. And they were warned by the Agent of the B. B. & C. I. Railway Company that, as Government guaranteed the Wadhwan line any loss which may occur to it will have to be made good by Government. Meanwhile several counter-proposals were put forward by the Agent of the B. B. & C. I. Railway Company, and by the Consulting Engineer and Secretary to Government Railway Department, but none of them would join Bhavnagar with the Wadhwan terminus. As a last word Government were pleased to say in 1875, that they did not anticipate any good results

Government refuses to sanction the Joint Administrator's proposal.

from attempts at this time to draw the Chiefs of Kathiawad into railway undertakings, and that "the subject will, therefore, rest "for some time as it is, the terminus remaining at Wadhwan, "about 21 miles within the North-East boundary of the Province."*

In 1877 a severe famine occurred in Madras, and Sir Richard Temple was deputed by the Government of India as Famine Delegate. It was while he was in Madras that he minutely considered the necessity of railway extension and development in the Bombay Presidency, and added that, Kathiawad, so far as railway was concerned was "a blank on the map of India." It is impossible to say whether Sir Richard Temple followed on the heels of famine or whether famine followed on his heels. For soon after he became Governor of the Bombay Presidency, a very severe famine occurred in the Dakhan (Deccan) and Karnatic, and the province of Gujarat, Kachha and Kathiawad were also affected.

On the 1st May 1877 Sir Richard Temple succeeded Sir Philip Wodehouse as Governor of Bombay and at the end of that month he, in his usual meteoric fashion, paid a flying visit to Wadhwan.

Sir Richard Temple becomes Governor of Bombay and proceeds to Wadhwan in May 1877.

The Joint Administrators, Colonel Watson and Maharaja Takhsinhji resolved on constructing the railway from Bhavnagar to Wadhwan with a branch towards Dhoraji with the money and on the responsibility of the State.

The Joint Administrators offer to construct railway with the money and on the responsibility of the State, May 1877.

This was a decided change of the policy to which the former Joint Administrators had fondly and tenaciously adhered, ever since 1870. Sir Richard Temple's anxiety for railway development in Kathiawad was well-known, and it is very likely that Col. Watson thought of taking advantage of Sir Richard Temple's regime to revive the question of connecting Bhavnagar by railway with the Wadhwan terminus.

* Bombay General Administration Report for 1874-75, p. 11.

Having ascertained the wishes of His Excellency through Mr. (afterwards Sir) Mancherji M. Bhownagree, then State Agent at Bombay, Col. Watson, with the approval of Maharaja Takhat-sinhji, went to Wadhwan to meet the Governor, and conveyed to him the offer of the Joint Administrators to construct the railway at the expense of the State. The offer seems to have been discussed with the result that the projected line from Bhavnagar was to proceed as far as Botad in the north, and not further towards Wadhwan, and it was to be continued in the direction of Gondal from such point and by such route as, after consultation with the Political Agent and the Administrator of Gondal, may be found most convenient to the interests of the States of Bhavnagar and Gondal and of the Province generally. New to the Bombay Presidency, and probably surrounded by those whose interest it was to keep the terminus at Wadhwan, Sir Richard Temple was apparently unwilling, at that time, to allow the Bhavnagar railway to proceed any further, in the north from Botad towards Wadhwan. Col. Watson and Maharaja Takhat-sinhji conveyed their assent to this modified scheme, trusting that at no distant date in future the line would be extended from Botad to Wadhwan.

As directed by Sir Richard Temple, a survey of the line, which was at first proposed to be confined within Bhavnagar limits, was undertaken under the supervision of the State Engineer,

A survey from Bhavnagar to Botad undertaken by Bhavnagar.

Mr. R. Proctor Simms and proceeded with vigour. But the Joint Administrators were soon alarmed to learn that the sanction of Government was subject to the condition that Government reserved to themselves the right of connecting Gogha with the line. The bare idea that Gogha, which in its former rivalry had ruined the trade of Bhavnagar, was to be connected with the line to be constructed entirely with the money of the Bhavnagar State, was sufficient to alarm every loyal servant of Bhavnagar and also to put a stop to the proposal for the Railway. But what alarmed them the more was the fact that in sanctioning the proposal only a line from Bhavnagar to Gondal was mentioned, and that also coupled with the condition of connecting Gogha with the line, and

Great difficulty raised by Government.

even a bare mention of a line to Botad was studiously avoided.

The Joint Administrators who seriously and strongly objected to the condition stipulated by Government, invited the opinion of the old and faithful Chief Minister, Gaurishanker, who, after discussing at length the different points, advised that the proper course for them to follow was to lend Government 40 Lakhs of rupees at 4 per cent interest for the construction of the line, and to let the gain and loss accrue to Government with whom the management and control should rest. And with regard to the question of connecting Gogha with the Bhavnagar Railway, he said that, unless Government made some liberal arrangement regarding it, no line would be at all advisable. The Joint Administrators concurred with the suggestion of lending money to Government and leaving all responsibility with them, if Government would agree to that arrangement, and they were of the same opinion as Gaurishanker with regard to Gogha.

The Joint Administrators respectfully but boldly submitted their protest once more against the condition stipulated by Government but nothing was done until Colonel Watson left Bhavnagar at the end of July 1877 to take up the appointment of the President of the Rajasthanik Court. Colonel W.C. Parr was appointed Joint Administrator, and took over charge on 29th July 1877.

Colonel Parr succeeds Colonel Watson as Joint Administrator, July 1877.

By the middle of August 1877, it was apprehended that a serious scarcity, if not famine, might visit Kathiawad. The rains having persistently held off in June, July and in the first two weeks of August, it was feared that distress might make itself felt in the course of the next two or three months in the Province as well as in Kachh. It seemed desirable to Sir Richard Temple to consider and decide beforehand projects of permanent utility, on which relief labour could be employed, instead of unprofitable petty works here and there. At the meeting (August 1877) at which he presided and which was attended by the members of his Council, the Secretary to Government, Public Works Depart-

Scarcity and distress apprehended, Aug. 1877.

ment, the Consulting Engineer to Government, Railway Department, the Political Agent of Kathiawad, (Sir James B. Piele) and the Agent of the B. B. & C. I. Railway Company, it was decided that the projects for relief works must mainly consist of

Railways in Kathiawad and Kachh to be constructed as famine relief works.

railway works, and that a line from Bhavnagar to Botad, with a branch from Khopala to Gondal and thence to Dhoraji, and that another line to Kachh from Patri on the B. B. & C. I. Ry., should be started when the pinch was felt.

At the same time the Political Agent was directed to arrange with Bhavnagar and Gondal for starting the earthworks on the first two lines after the necessary surveys were completed, and also for the employment of relief workers not only from the two States, but also from the neighbouring States. Sir Richard Temple hinted that both Bhavnagar and Gondal possessed available funds which could well be invested in railways, and that both of them had a good credit on which they could readily raise loans for so beneficent a purpose.

The survey from Bhavnagar to Botad confined within Bhavnagar territory, started by Colonel Watson was in progress, and a survey of the line towards Gondal and Dhoraji was entrusted to Mr. A. W. Forde, under a contract entered into with him by Government.

On sounding Bhavnagar and Gondal, the Political Agent, found the former less anxious than before for a railway, and the Administrator of the latter not at all in favour of a railway. Now, so far as the Joint Administrators of Bhavnagar (Colonel Parr and Maharaja Takhtasinhji) were concerned, anxious as they were to connect Bhavnagar with Wadhwan, they were naturally unwilling to proceed further before some assurance was given by Government in regard to the question of connecting Gogha with their railway. And the Administrator of Gondal had his own irrigation and other projects in view.

In the end of September and again October a copious rainfall allayed the apprehension of a scarcity, and the earthwork commenced in the

Fears of scarcity allayed.

immediate neighbourhood of Bhavnagar in the beginning of September was consequently stopped.

The Joint Administrators, in deference to the opinion of the responsible officers of the State, who, since 1870, were wedded to the policy of taking no responsibility whatsoever on the State for the railway, and of only lending money for the construction of the railway and of leaving the gain and loss to Government—and whom it was difficult to divert from their course, now reverted to that old policy.

The Joint Administrators discard the policy of constructing and managing Railway at the expense and on the responsibility of the State. September 1877.

It would appear from what has gone before that the proposal made by Colonel Watson and Maharaja Takhtasinhji was a short-lived one. In less than two months after Colonel Watson left the State, it was discarded and abandoned. It may be stated here that Colonel Watson never claimed the credit of that proposal to himself but always gave a due share of it to Maharaja Takhtasinhji.

As Sir Richard Temple was anxious for a development of railways in Kathiawad, he visited Bhavnagar in November 1877. Perhaps the object of his visit was to use his personal influence with the Joint Administrators to further the project of the railways. While in Bhavnagar he discussed the subject with the Joint Administrators and Mr. Gaurishanker, but in spite of all his persuasions, they remained unmoved to the very last day of the existence of the Joint Administration. It was after this interview that Government repeated the warning to the States that the Government of India will certainly decline to guarantee the interest on the outlay either directly or indirectly as they were local or provincial, and not imperial undertakings, and that this fact they must bear in mind.

Government refuses to guarantee the interest on the outlay.

As so aptly said by the Bombay Gazette, dated 19th December 1880, the question of the railway was apparently dropped. 'Indeed to tell the truth,' says the Bombay Gazette, "Bhav-

The question of the proposed railway apparently shelved.

nagar's opinion was, "now just a little dubious—
raised in other quarters "as to the line paying...
balance of opinion seemed "to be, on the whole,
work. Nothing could well be "done, just yet, at
Such was the general impression, "and it seemed to
by Sir Richard Temple himself as "he lapsed into silen

The monsoon crops having failed in consequence of the
of rain in June, July, and partly in August.

Fears of a famine in
Kathiawad. February
1878.

as stated before, it was early in February 1878,
again apprehended that distress will prevail in
Kathiawad, and measures for relief until the next rains will have to
be taken, and that it will be necessary to start earth-works on the
lines surveyed from Bhavnagar to Botad and Gondal.

It must be mentioned here that a decided change, would ap-
pear to have come by this time over the attitude of the Government
of Bombay as regards the question of the junction of the Bhav-
nagar railway with the terminus of the B. B. & C. I. Railway at
Wadhwan. We have already mentioned. The strong objection
raised by the Company against this junction, they appealed
to a clause in their concession which guaranteed them against
any competing line being made within fifty miles of their own,

Bombay Gazette. De-
cember 19th 1880.

and they warned Government that they
would equally be subjected to loss with
them if the extension of the Bhavnagar line was sanctioned to
Wadhwan as Government guaranteed the Company against loss.

Objection of the B. B.
& C. I. Ry. against allow-
ing the Bhavnagar
Ry. to be joined with its
terminus at Wadhwan
set aside.

When obstacles like these, have to be
brushed aside, it is well to have a man at
hand like Sir Richard Temple, who knows
how to sweep them from the path of pro-
gress, and have done with them. He
pointed out to the Agent of the B. B. & C. I. Railway that his
railway was only guaranteed against competition of other rail-
ways in British territory, that the clause in the concession had
reference to British territory only, and that Wadhwan (Kathia-
wad) was not British territory. The inference was clear
enough: The Bhavnagar railway might legally be taken to
Wadhwan whether the B. B. & C. I. Railway liked it or not.
This removed one of the greatest obstacles from the path of the

immediate neway, and from that time forward the attitude of the
September was Railway became one of passive acquiescence.

The Joint firm and unalterable determination of the Bhavna-
responsible stration was not a small obstacle to count with.
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The Joint
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apprehended scarcity in Kathiawad made Sir Richard
Temple uneasy. With a view to ascertain
what assistance the Bhavnagar State would
be willing to render towards the construc-
tion of railway from Bhavnagar to Wadhwan
and Gondal, His Excellency convened a meeting on the 23rd
February 1878 at which, besides himself, the Consulting Engi-
neer to Government, the Political Agent, Kathiawad, and Mr.
Gaurishanker (who was deputed by the Joint Administrators to
express the views of the State) were present. Mr. Gaurishanker
on behalf of Bhavnagar stated that the State were not pre-
pared themselves to undertake the construction and management
of a system of railways, but that, provided the Government
would undertake them, the State would advance capital, as re-
quired, to the extent of 55 Lakhs of Rupees to bear interest at
the rate of 4% per annum. This offer was
of course accompanied by certain stated
conditions for safeguarding the interest of
the State. The impression left on the
mind of the Political Agent was that the
State were averse to undertaking the construction and mainte-
nance of a railway. The Political Agent himself was more in
favour of the construction and management of the railways either
by Government or by a Company than by the State.

Bhavnagar not pre-
pared itself to underttake
the construction and ma-
agement of railways,
but would advance capi-
tal to Government-

This was the last and final word of the Joint Administrators
and that of the Chief Minister of the State, and likewise, this
was the last and final expression of opinion of the Political
Agent (Sir James B. Piele) on the question of the construction
and management of the proposed lines of railway. And they
had been expressed in no unequivocal terms.

On the other hand the Government of Sir Richard Temple
did not waste time in making themselves once more perfectly
clear on the proffer made on behalf of Bhavnagar. For, Sir

Richard Temple, in a demi-official note from Ahmedabad, dated 29th March 1878, addressed the Political Agent as follows:—

“After discussing with you the several terms which the
 “Kathiawad Chiefs are disposed to ask
 “regarding the railway, I think it is better
 “to tell them at once that I regret I cannot
 “recommend that the interest on the out-
 “lay be guaranteed by the British Government, or that these
 “lines should be undertaken by the Government itself.

“I think that these lines should be undertaken by the Chiefs themselves.

“The Government would help, of course, in “regard to providing officers to design, etc., and the B. B. & C. I. Railway Company would help in working.”

“*But the financial responsibility would be with the Chiefs,* whose country is to benefit by the works.

“During the present distress the point is to get the earth-work done from Dhoraji towards Bhavnagar and from Bhavnagar towards Botad and Wadhwan.”

Pithy and concise to the point as this note was, it conveyed the last and final word expressive of the decision to which Government had come in regard to the proposal of Bhavnagar.

The question of the construction of the proposed railway had thus become a sort of tug-of-war, so to speak, between the State authorities on the one side and the Government on the other. It was just like a contested game in which neither side yielded. Both sides, with apparent apprehension of a dead-loss, shirked the responsibility of the undertaking. The question was lying in this situation a week before His Highness Maharaja Takhtasinghji assumed the full powers of his State on the 5th April 1878, and we will leave it here in that position for the present.

The Joint Administration ceased to exist on and from the 5th April 1878. The closing years of the Joint Administration were marked by a succession of bad seasons. The cotton-crops of the rich districts of Kundla and Lilia had failed for three

Firm attitude of the Government of Bombay. March 29th, 1878. The Bombay Gazette, December 19th, 1880.

The arrangement of Joint Administration comes to an end. 5th April 1878.

years in succession and the other districts had also more or less suffered from scanty or excessive rainfall. In 1877 there was an entire failure of the proper monsoon rain, causing apprehension of a serious famine, but a copious fall in October partially saved the State from the impending famine—properly speaking water famine. But the failure of the monsoon crops spread distress, and of the total area of 2,860 sq miles of the State about 1,800 sq. miles were affected. The distress was the more felt as a very large quantity of grain was exported to the Dakhan (Decan) where a severe famine prevailed. As if these were not sufficient, to accentuate the distress the heavy rain fall in October brought malarial fever of a severe type and cholera, carrying away the people by hundreds and adding greatly to the distress. The Joint Administrators, Col. Parr and Maharaja Takhtasinghji took all possible measures to alleviate the sufferings of the people. Grain, and fodder were largely imported on account of the State, and, as there was no railway at that time, every available means was taken to facilitate the transport of food-stuff and fodder into all the affected parts of the State. As stated before, the Joint Administration came to an end on the 5th April 1878, when Col. Parr reverted to the British service leaving His Highness Maharaja Takhtasinghji to fight the battle against the famine and pestilence in the State. And with the loyal assistance and co-operation of his trusted Minister, Samaldas, he did fight the battle manfully, patiently, and with a liberal-minded policy, which evoked the admiration, of all. Moreover, the battle had to be fought in a condition which had grown worse than what it was in the time of the Joint Administration.

In relinquishing charge, Col. Parr placed on record his high appreciation of the valuable help which Samaldas had rendered to the Joint Administrators. We are indebted to the Diwan Sahib of Bhavnagar for the following extract forming paragraph 48, of Col. Parr's (The Joint Administrator's) annual report on the administration of the State for the years 1877-78. He says:—“(48) It should, we think, be remembered that in “carrying out the many reforms and improvement which have

A succession of bad seasons and the famine of 1877-78.

Col. Parr pays a well-merited tribute of praise to Samaldas for the valuable services he had rendered to the Joint Administration.

"been effected during the past administration, the European Administrators were fortunate in being associated with so conspicuously able and well disposed a native colleague as Mr. Gaurishanker Udayshanker, and their task would have been a much more difficult one had they not been loyally assisted by so capable a band of State officials as Messrs. Samaldas, Wajeshanker, Jayantilal, and others. To the former, Mr. Samaldas, the Assistant Chief Karbhari, who is a singularly able and liberal-minded man, the Joint Administrators have been especially indebted for much valuable help, and the Joint Administrators desire to express their thanks to Messrs. Gaurishanker Udayshanker and Samaldas Parmananddas, and to all heads of departments more especially to Mr. Proctor Sims, for excellent services performed."

These words of high praise, coming as they do from such a conscientious officer as Col. Parr, who was never given to flattery, which is sometimes considered as a political virtue, have a special value of their own. Throughout the tenure of the Joint Administration, Samaldas's ripe experience of the details of the State administration in all branches and of matters and men, his profound knowledge of the intricacies of law, the patience and thoroughness with which he approached and mastered every problem of reform and improvements, and his natural tendency towards a liberal policy, were of invaluable help to the Joint Administrators. And we venture to say that no words of praise could adequately express the value of the services which he rendered to the State and its responsible administrators.

It must be recorded that His Highness Maharaja Takhtasinhji, accompanied by Gaurishanker and Samaldas, attended the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi where he received a banner from His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General and his salute was increased from eleven to fifteen guns. His old and faithful Minister Gaurishanker was at the same time made a Companion of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, and his Assistant Minister Samaldas received a silver commemoration Medal. Each ruling Chief was presented with a similar medal of gold, and his Minister with one of silver.

The Imperial Assemblage at Delhi, 1877.

To commemorate this historic event, and as a mark of his loyalty towards Her Majesty the late Queen-Empress, and the British Crown, His Highness the Maharaja, while at Delhi, offered a lakh of rupees to bridge the Aji river at Rajkot, the bridge to be called the Kaiser-i-Hind Bridge.

The 5th April 1878 will long be remembered as a red letter day in the annals of the Bhavnagar State as on that day the management of the affairs of the State, which was assumed by Government, during the minority of Maharaja Takhtasinhji came to an end, and His Highness assumed the full sovereign powers of his State. The city of Bhavnagar was full of rejoicings on that day. The ceremony of installation was performed by Sir James B. Piele, the then Political Agent, with great splendour as befitting the auspicious occasion, when he made a most eloquent speech full of advice to young Princes. Maharaja Takhtasinhji made a suitable reply, which was rendered extempore into Gujarati by Samaldas.

Very soon after assuming the full sovereign powers of the State, Maharaja Takhtasinhji accorded his sanction to the three most important works of public utility and usefulness,—each of which at once showed the generous and patriotic spirit with which His Highness was endowed by nature. These were (1) Construction of the Railway from Bhavnagar to Wadhwan in the north and Dhoraji in the west (Gondal to continue line from Dhasa to Dhoraji), (2) The Takhtasinhji wing of the Raj-Kumar College at Rajkot, and (3) The Takhtasinhji Hospital at Bhavnagar. These will be noticed in their proper places.

We must observe here that from the time Maharaja Takhtasinhji joined as Joint Administrator of the State, Samaldas became his trusted friend and adviser, and in every question, large or small, which His Highness had to deal with he was entirely guided by his advice. And it is needless to add here that before the Maharaja publicly announced the three acts of the State, mentioned before, he had taken Samaldas's advice on each of them. In fact, Samaldas as *De Facto* Chief Minister

Samaldas a trusted friend and adviser to Maharaja Takhtasinhji.

from the time His Highness, was admitted into the Joint Administration.

We will now resume the thread of our narrative of the question of the construction and management of the proposed lines of railways from Bhavnagar to Wadhwan and Dhoraji from the end at which we left it.

The question of construction and management of the Railway resumed.

We have seen the condition—a difficult condition—in which the question of the railway was left by the Joint Administrators within a week of the assumption of the full sovereign powers of his State, by Maharaja Takhtasinhji. His position was now completely changed. The responsibility of the State which was largely shared by his European colleague in the Joint Administration now devolved entirely on him. He used to be dependent on and guided by the initiative and advice of the responsible British officer; the entire responsibility of taking the initiative now rested with him.

But the railway question had become much more difficult by this time than it had been before. There was the firm conviction of many an able and experienced man, not confined to the State alone, that the lines would result in a dead-loss to the State; there were men in high position in the State who openly declared that the State will have to set apart the revenues of at least one of its rich districts to meet the expenses of the management of the railway; there was the repeated refusal of Government either to guarantee interest on the outlay or to undertake the construction and management of and gain or loss on the railway,—which in a way went to support these different misgivings; there was the immediate prospects of losing the large amount of interest, which the investment of the surplus revenues of the State in Government paper annually brought to its treasury, there was the question of connecting Gogha with the Bhavnagar railway remaining with Government still to be disposed of; and there was the distinct and undisguised unwillingness of the Administrator of the Gondal State to join and co-operate with Bhavnagar in the construction of the railways.

Difficulties of the railway question.

The position had thus become a very difficult and awkward one, and a less courageous mind than that of Maharaja Takhtasinhji, would under all these and other untoward circumstances, have lost heart, and would undoubtedly have shrunk from undertaking so gigantic a work as the construction and management of a system of railways extending over 120 miles, which, according to some of the prophets of evil, would not only absorb all the accumulated savings of the past years, but leave a heavy burden of debt on the State. And debt was openly hinted by Sir Richard Temple when he said that the State had a good credit on which it could readily borrow money for so useful a purpose as railway. The successive bad seasons and the severe famine conditions then prevailing in the State had largely depleted the balance in the State Treasury and added greatly to these difficulties. But the Maharaja undauntedly took the firm resolution of facing all these. Gifted with a courageous and liberal mind, and endowed with a patriotic spirit, His Highness, who had now to act on his own and sole responsibility, now made up his firm determination. He was thoroughly convinced that the interests of his State and people would best be served by connecting his capital and some of his important districts with the great railway system at Wadhwan. And it is needless to say that his trusted Minister, Samaldas, heartily and loyally supported His Highness in the resolve he had taken.

Fortunately there were at this moment present on the spot, two of the best well-wishers of His Highness and his State, and also his personal friends, on whose advice he could implicitly and unhesitatingly rely, and who throughout his life remained his staunch personal friends—we mean Sir James B. Piele and Colonel J. W. Watson.

The next day after the installation, His Highness the Maharaja, accompanied by his Chief Minister Gaurishanker, and his Assistant Chief Minister Samaldas, paid a formal visit to the Political Agent, Sir James B. Piele, when he sought his advice regarding the question of railways. Sir James B. Piele repeated the advice, in almost the same words, which he had given in his speech at the Durbar which was, as to the best object towards

Maharaja Takhtasinhji seeks advice of Sir James B. Piele and Col. J. W. Watson.

which His Highness should spend the accumulated surplus of the State revenues, and of the general policy, which he should adopt in regard to the destiny, which had been marked out for the capital by his illustrious predecessor Raol Shri Bhavsinghji, the founder of the city of Bhavnagar. That destiny chiefly was to place that city in the foremost front rank of commercial cities of the Western Presidency of the Indian Empire by adopting all such measures and means as to ensure protection to and fostering of trade and commerce, and the prosperity of the capital and the State. And the general policy to be adopted by His Highness was plainly indicated in these words "Spend freely in connecting it" the capital "with the great system of communications over which the commerce of the Empire travels. Bring it out of isolation on to the high road of trade, enable your subjects to procure the commodities of other countries easily and cheaply, and to command the most favourable markets for their own." No words of advice could be more explicit.

At the same time His Highness paid a visit to Col. Watson, who was accommodated in the same house (the Motibag Palace). That officer, as Joint Administrator, with the Maharaja as his colleague had, as stated before, offered to construct and manage the railway on the financial responsibility of the State, and ardently wished for it, and, but for the great obstacles which were thrown in the way by Government, would have pushed the work through. Col. Watson now said to His Highness that the present was not the time for adding territories to the State by the sword. The time of his illustrious predecessor Wakhtasinhji, who enlarged and consolidated the State, had passed away since long. But the present was the time of victories of peace, and that, if His Highness would offer and undertake the construction and management of the railway on his own account, he would be in a way adding a large tract of territory to his State, which would bring to it all possible advantages—direct and indirect—ensure its prosperity and bring to its treasury much more revenues than any of its rich districts could do. He strongly advised His Highness to accord his assent to the construction and management of the proposed railway on the financial responsibility of the State.

His Highness, who was much pleased to find that his own determination was so strongly supported by the advice of two of his best friends now finally resolved to convey formally his offer to Government through the Political Agent. After consulting his ministers and the Executive Engineer (the late Mr. R. Proctor Sims) the Maharaja communicated his desire officially to the Political Agent on the 9th April 1878, *i. e.*, within four days of his assuming the full sovereign powers of his State, and this communication was, in due course, transmitted to the Government of Bombay.

This was His Highness Maharaja Takhtasinhji's first act of State, and it was made in such an auspicious occasion that it has proved profitable beyond the sanguine expectations of himself and his friends and advisers.

To draft and prepare His Highness the Maharaja's official communication, conveying his offer and embodying certain conditions for safeguarding the interests of the State, was the work of a most able and experienced statesman, and His Highness had in Samaldas a master-hand combining in himself the experience and knowledge required for such an important work. The foresight and circumspection with which he drafted the communication can best be seen by a reference to it. The condition on which Government might connect Gogha with the Bhavnagar railway by a line was clearly specified, and it was distinctly made clear that the railway would be constructed according to convenience, from the revenues of the State, and *not from a loan*.

When the Maharaja's proposal reached the Government of Bombay, Sir Richard Temple, the Governor, recorded the following minute on it on the 13th May 1878.

His Excellency Sir Richard Temple thanks Maharaja Takhtasinhji.

The Bombay Gazetteer.
17th December 1880.

"I. Since my minute, of 18th August last, was written I have had the advantage of visiting the localities concerned, and of conferring with the Native States and with the Political Officers. The importance of the railway extension in the rich, fertile, populous, and fast advancing province of Kathiawad is

" too manifest to require any description from me in the present
" mature state of the discussion.

" 2. The sum and conclusion of the papers now before us
" amount to this, that the Political Agent, Mr. Piele, submits pro-
" posal from the Bhavnagar State for the construction of a railway
" from Bhavnagar northwards to Wadhwan. From this line, at or
" near Umaralla, there is to run a line westwards to Dhoraji, the
" principle cotton mart of the Gondal State, a distance of about
" 90 miles. The greater part of the funds are to be provided by the
" Bhavnagar State, and the remainder by the Gondal State.
" The Bhavnagar State which is managed by the Raja himself,
" is anxious that the line should be constructed and managed
" by the State, with the aid and under the supervision of the
" officers of the British Government. Upon these points the
" disposition of the Raja is positive. *The disposition of the*
" *Gondal State, which is under a Council of Regency, is, perhaps,*
" *less positive, but is similarly inclined.* The Bhavnagar State
" especially stipulates for the gauge being narrow (metre) by
" reason of economy of outlay, which is to him of so much con-
" sequence. And the view of the Gondal State, is similar.

" 3. The lines in question have been examined by the staff
" of our Consulting Engineer, and approved generally. We have
" also had the benefit of the advice of some of the officers of the
" Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway.

" 4. The Raja seems to feel anxiety respecting a possible
" extension of the railway from Bhavnagar to the neighbouring
" British town of Gogha. This, if ever undertaken at all, will
" have to be done by the British Government. If that were to
" be undertaken, the Raja desires that he should have the option
" of transferring to the British Government at capital cost price
" the lines from Bhavnagar to Wadhwan, and from Wadhwan
" (Umarala) to the Gondal frontier.

" 5. Sanction of the Government of India required.

" 6. Thanks to the Raja of Bhavnagar.

" 7. Thanks to Mr. James B. Piele."

The Government of Bombay in their Public Works Department passed Resolution No. 1192, dated 8th June 1878, in the course of which they observed at paragraphs 4 & 5, as follows:—

" 4. Whatever the ultimate decision may be, Government
" need not hesitate to convey to His Highness the Thakore Sahib
" of Bhavnagar an expression of their cordial appreciation of the
" public-spirited and enlightened manner in which he has further-
" ed this important undertaking.

" 5. Government also fully recognise the valuable
" service rendered by Mr. James B. Piele the Political Agent,
" in conducting the discussion with the Native States concerned,
" and bringing the matter to a satisfactory conclusion."

It would be seen that so important was the question of rail-
way, then hanging fire, considered by Government, and to so
satisfactory a conclusion was it brought by the offer of Maharaja
Takhtasinhji, that the services of the Political Agent, who con-
ducted the discussion and negotiation with His Highness, were
deemed valuable.

Two incidents which occurred at about this time may be
recorded here before we proceed further.

When the offer of Maharaja Takhtasinhji was communicated
to Government, Sir Richard Temple, with
his usual promptitude held a conference
of the officers of Government in the Railway Department,
and those of the B. B. & C. I. Railway. He asked
them how soon the surveys could be completed. Some one
ventured to say that they might be made in two years. Sir
Richard held that "two months would be sufficient." And he
was true to his word. The survey, plans and estimates of the
first section from Bhavnagar to Botad was already in progress
under the State Engineer, the late Mr. R. Proctor Sims, and the
survey, etc., of the second section from Botad to Wadhwan—47
miles—were at the request of Government carried out by the
officers of the B. B. & C. I. Railway. All obstacles disappeared.
To a timid suggestion made while Sir Richard Temple was dis-
cussing the matter at the conference, that the line might not after
all pay, he made a remark, which, coming from the ex-famine De-
legate of the Government of India, had a peculiar significance.
"Think how it will pay in saving life during famine." This

observation has been abundantly justified. For, while the relief works upon the railway, saved thousands of people from death from starvation, the line itself mitigated the later calamity of 1899-1900 by distributing thousands of tons of foodstuff for men and beasts through all parts of the peninsula.

It has already been mentioned, that the administrator of Gondal had openly expressed his unwillingness to embark on so problematic an undertaking as a railway. It is probable that he was not at first consulted, and if consulted his objection was set aside, when the condition stipulated by Bhavnagar that Gondal should continue the line from the Bhavnagar frontier to Dhoraji, was agreed to by Government. In fact the agreement of Bhavnagar was conditional upon the extension of the line to Dhoraji. It is possible that in view of the attitude of the Administrator, the Government of Sir Richard Temple, as the custodian of the finances of the State, had given their assent in the interest of Gondal, and in the interest of the Province generally, as the line would be a means of opening out central Kathiawad. And Government had already repeatedly suggested and decided upon this line, as stated before, and directed on the 18th May 1878, that, in the event of any work being found necessary for famine relief, the earth-work on the proposed lines from Bhavnagar to Wadhwan and Dhoraji should be at once put in hand. The Administrator of Gondal still maintained the same attitude, and perhaps it was this which caused the laconic remark in Sir Richard Temple's minute that the disposition of the Gondal State "was perhaps less positive."

Unfortunately at this time Sir James B. Piele left the Province in July 1878 to take up the appointment of Commissioner of Sindh, and his successor not being aware of what had passed before, supported the Administrator of Gondal. But Sir Richard Temple was firm. In his usual meretricious fashion he once more descended on Kathiawad and paid a visit to Gondal in the third week of February 1879, when he personally discussed the subject with the Administrator. The result of the discussion had been stated in the issue of the *Bombay Gazette*, dated 19th December 1880, in these words: "The Joint Administrator of Gondal made bold to say that there was a mistake as to the anxiety of that State to share in the construction of the Railway. Gondal, he declared,

"had a scheme of public works of a totally different kind on which it had set its heart. His Excellency expressed great astonishment that the want of administrative insight displayed by the Joint Administrator of Gondal, and said frankly that, if he did not show greater aptitude for the duties of his position, it would be necessary to transfer him to some place where commonsense was not indispensable. This finally convinced Gondal, which immediately became eager for the railway." Here, again, it was Sir Richard Temple who swept and brushed aside all objections from the path of progress.

We will here take leave of the subject of railway to be resumed again, and briefly mention the other two acts of State which properly belong as much to the biography of Samaldas as to that of His Highness the Maharaja Takhtasinhji.

CHAPTER XI.

After according his sanction to the construction of the railway, His Highness next turned his attention to the Keatinge Rajkumar College at Rajkot, his own *Alma Mater* of which he was the first student, and a devoted friend and a life-long supporter and benefactor. During his residence at the College he was much impressed with the scanty accommodation in the College Buildings for the Rajkumars whose number was increasing every year. Being heartily desirous of commemorating in a befitting manner the kindly remembrance of his early days spent in the College, His Highness determined upon supplying the want which was so keenly felt. He was supported by Samaldas in so laudable a work. He offered the munificent sum of a lakh of rupees towards the completion of the College Buildings. This sum enabled the authorities to complete the quadrangle by the erection of a southwing, exactly in keeping with the wings on the opposite side, and capable of accommodating 24 students, and also to effect some necessary additional improvements to the College. This wing is called the Sir Takhtasinhji Wing. The Government of Bombay were much gratified by this princely gift by which His Highness substantially marked his gratitude to the College. And the Secretary of State for India was also much pleased to learn of this gift, and shared in the hopes

expressed by the Government of Bombay that His Highness's administration will be a blessing to his own people and an example to the other Chiefs of the Province.

And here we may note with sincere pleasure that following the example of his illustrious father, His Highness the Maharaja Bhavsinhji has placed the Rajkumar College under a further debt of gratitude by the gift of a spacious hall and addition to the Takhtasinhji Wing. The whole work has cost about sixty thousand rupees. The proposal of the Political Agent that the hall should be called *The Bhavsinhji Hall*, was agreed to by all the States of the Province.

The third act of State was the magnificent and noble building—*The Takhtasinhji Hospital* at Bhavnagar.

At the time, when Maharaja Takhtasinhji assumed the full sovereign power of his State he was living in the city palace, situated in the heart and most busy and noisy part of the town, and, although a large pile of buildings, the palace was wanting in convenience and was altogether unsuitable. His Highness was strongly advised to build a new palace for himself in a healthy and airy locality outside the city in the modern style of comfort and convenience. The site for the palace was duly selected, and plans and estimates were prepared for the building and submitted to His Highness for sanction. But the wants of his subjects were more important to the Maharaja than his own. He had thus the choice, as it were, of erecting a palace for himself or of building a place which would be such a comfort to his subjects as the Sir Takhtasinhji Hospital has undoubtedly been. His Highness preferred the latter to the former. The building was designed by that eminent architect, Sir William Emerson, in the Hindu style of architecture as required by His Highness, and the foundation stone was laid by him on the 6th January 1879. It was the Maharaja's earnest wish that the Hospital should not only eclipse every other public building in the capital, but should be fitted with every appliance for the comfort and convenience of patients. It took

several years to complete this fine building—a most admirable building in architectural beauty. In addition to all the necessary accommodation and arrangements for the convenience of patients, its position on a rising ground, open on all sides, admits fine breeze, to add greatly to the comfort of the sick living in it.

The Sir Takhtasinhji Hospital was declared open on the morning of the 14th April 1892 by His Excellency Lord Harris who performed the ceremony of making the first *pill mass*. The Maharaja in the course of his speech observed, "I view this as one of the profoundest moments of my life. Anxious as most human beings are to continue the remembrance of themselves in this existence, it occurred to me that I would prefer the memorial of myself should take the form which this building has assumed. To my mind it is a noble building, and I am proud of it." With regard to this observation His Excellency in the course of his lengthy speech, said that "I have the very greatest pleasure in declaring the "Takhtasinhji Hospital open, but whilst able to comply with "your request to perform that ceremony, I am hardly able to "agree in one remark, which fell from Your Highness during "your speech, namely, as to the reasons for your pride in the "building. I do not think that the monument which the building "itself presents will be as worthy of you or to your subjects "as grateful a monument of yourself, as will be the thought "of your generosity, your kindness of heart, and all your consideration in thinking of their wants rather than your own needs "and comforts. As Dr. Burjorji* has pointed out, fifteen years "ago, when you had, as it were, the choice of erecting a palace "for yourself or of building a place which would be such a "comfort to your subjects as the present hospital will undoubtedly "ly prove, you preferred the latter to the former, and that fact, "I am sure, will during your life-time, and for centuries after it, "bring to the minds of generations to come, feelings of the "utmost gratitude for your Highness's extreme consideration."

It must be observed here that the benefits of this hospital are not confined to the subjects of the Bhavnagar State alone. All people from India are admitted to it.

* Then Chief Medical Officer.

With these three acts of State, the commencement of wise, liberal, and patriotic rule made by His Highness was bound to be attended with complete success, and the frequent and repeated appreciation by Government of the policy so adopted by Maharaja Takhtasinhji from the very first start of his reign, afforded him no small encouragement in the pursuit of the steady path of progressive and enlightened Government, and in rendering his administration a model one, which was his first object to attain. And His Highness had the great satisfaction of finding that in establishing an ideal standard for his administration he was heartily and loyally counselled and supported by his Diwan and trusted friend Samaldas, and equally after him by Vithaldas, his son and successor in office.

The first year of the administration of His Highness was a very trying one. To the legacy of famine left by the Joint Administration, was added the havoc amongst the monsoon crops, owing to the heavy rain and subsequent eruption of the locust. Consequently the State revenues greatly suffered. This will be narrated in its proper place.

After faithfully and loyally serving the Bhavnagar State for a long period extending over fifty years, and having reached the seventy-fifth year of his age, Gaurishanker resigned the office of Diwan, and finally retired from political life. An account of his service and work forms, like that of Parmananddas, an important part of the history of Bhavnagar, and marks an epoch at once instructing and instructive. He gradually rose from the ranks to the highest position of trust and responsibility in the State, and was a self-made man. At the early age of 17 he entered the service of the Bhavnagar Durbar as a Karkun to his brother-in-law Desai Shevakram, of whom mention has been made before, on a salary of Rs. 6 and 4 annas per month. Trained in the school of such conspicuously able statesmen of that time as (1) the Military Statesman Desai Shevakram, and (2) the cautious Civilian Statesman Parmananddas, the wide and varied experience then gained by Gaurishanker stood him in good stead when, on the retirement of Parmananddas (1847) from the office of the Chief

Liberal and progressive Administration, 1878.

Retirement of Gaurishanker.

Minister, the responsibility of administering such an important State like Bhavnagar fell on him. He began his political life in the old school when the State was beset with troubles of various sorts, and ended it gloriously and full of honours in the new and advanced school, tiding over the difficulties and completing successfully the regeneration of the State began by Parmananddas, his predecessor in office. It falls to the lot of a very few to have the privilege of serving such liberal-minded masters as Gaurishanker had the good fortune of serving under, four successive rulers of the State, viz., Their Highnesses Wajesinhji, Akherajaji, Jaswantsinhji, and Takhtasinhji by one and all of whom he was equally trusted.

By way of repaying the deep debt of gratitude which he owed to Parmananddas, Gaurishanker prepared Samaldas, his second sister's son with care to fill the post of the Prime Minister when he vacated it. And he often used to say that it would be the day of supreme happiness to him when he handed over the charge of that office to Samaldas, which he held from his father in trust for him. And the day he so ardently wished for came at last. He was very happy to find the choice of Maharaja Takhtasinhji had fallen on Samaldas as his successor as Diwan.

Samaldas who, as stated before, had been performing all the work of the Diwan's office since some years past, was appointed to succeed Gaurishanker as Diwan or Prime Minister of Bhavnagar by His Highness the Maharaja Takhtasinhji.

On the morning of the 13th January 1879 a Durbar was held at the Motibag Palace by Maharaja Takhtasinhji to formally announce the retirement of Gaurishanker from and the succession of Samaldas to the post of Chief Minister or Diwan of his State. After all the officers in the Civil and Military service of the State, the Bhayats, Mul Gracias, the leading merchants and the other elite of Bhavnagar had assembled in the spacious Durbar Hall, Gaurishanker and Samaldas arrived, and they were soon followed by the Maharaja himself. After taking his seat on the Throne and receiving felicitations from these assembled, the Maharaja addressed the assemblage in a well-conceived speech, now full of

Appointment of Samaldas as Diwan or Prime Minister of Bhavnagar.

Durbar held by Maharaja Takhtasinhji, 13th January 1879.

pathos and tender feelings, bordering on reverence, towards the retiring Diwan, and then full of thankfulness that in Samaldas he had selected a Diwan who would most worthily fill the post, and serve him and his State with that steadfast loyalty, unflinching devotion, and unabated faithfulness, which characterised the Ministership of his revered father Parmananddas and also that of his uncle Gaurishanker.

The Maharaja eulogised the many services rendered by Gaurishanker to the State during the more than half a century in the reign of four successive rulers of the State, and expressed regret at parting with so able and faithful a Minister, and said that though, "having regard to his advanced age and his ardent wish for a well-earned rest, he had accepted his resignation, he fully trusted that he would continue to give the benefit of his long experience by advising him whenever called upon to do so. His Highness thanked Gaurishanker for having selected, trained up under his personal care, and given the benefit of his long experience to such an able and highly educated man as Samaldas. His Highness then said that the fame of Parmananddas, the father of Samaldas, as an able and conscientious Minister of Bhavnagar, was well known, and that he felt no doubt that, like the worthy son of a worthy father, Samaldas will give him the same great satisfaction which his father did to his illustrious ancestor Maharaja Wajesinhji, by faithfully and loyally discharging the duties of the responsible post of the Diwan or the Prime Minister of the State. The intelligence, probity, and ability of Samaldas, said His Highness, were fully appreciated by the British Officers on the Joint Administration by associating him, with the sanction of the Bombay Government, as Judicial Joint Administrator with them. In conclusion His Highness graciously announced that, taking into consideration the long and faithful services of Gaurishanker, he had ordered that he shall continue to receive the full amount of his salary as his life-pension.

Gaurishanker made a suitable reply in the course of which he said that he thanked God for having given him an opportunity—though a short one—of serving such a generous and noble-hearted Prince as Maharaja Takhtasinhji at whose hands he had

received nothing but kindness. He thanked His Highness for selecting Samaldas to succeed him who would, he said, worthily fill the post to the great advantage of the State and its subjects. And in conclusion he said that he would supervise the remaining Gras settlement, and that he would always deem it his duty to give advice whenever he might be called upon to do so.

In an able and scholarly speech Samaldas thanked the Maharaja for selecting him to fill the important and responsible post of Diwan of his State. He also thanked Gaurishanker for the parental care with which he treated him from his boyhood and carefully prepared him as his successor. He quoted from the homilies of a Hindu Sage who said that the post of a Minister was beset with many difficulties, that sometimes it became a difficult task to safeguard the interests of the State, and at the same time to please the people, that he who strove to safeguard the interests of the State alone, became an object of abhorrence and hatred to the people, and that he was discarded by the ruler if he strove to become *popular by sacrificing the interests of the State*, but that he was adorable who, while faithfully serving the interests of the State, pleased the people also. He said that this might be true in the case of a ruler who considered the interests of his State as separate and distinct from those of his subjects, but that with such a large-hearted and noble-minded ruler as Maharaja Takhtasinhji, who considered the interests of his State as indissolubly bound up with those of his people, the task of administering his State became pleasant and light. His Highness, added Samaldas, who emulated the praiseworthy precepts of famous former Hindu Sovereigns like Yudhishtira and Rama, and preferred the interests of his people to those of his State and of himself, removed one of his greatest difficulties from the path of his Diwan, and rendered his task perfectly easy. In conclusion Samaldas said that he felt no doubt that, with the cordial support of His Highness, he would be able to discharge the duties of Diwan of his State, which, owing to the enlightened and liberal policy of its rulers, was daily growing in prosperity and importance.

It may be mentioned here that so popular was the appointment of Samaldas, as Diwan, with all classes that His Highness

the Maharaja received congratulations from his numerous friends—Europeans and Natives—and from his own subjects.

The Master and the Minister entered upon the duties of administering the affairs of the State almost simultaneously, both with the ardent desire of doing good to the State and its people. And where there is mutual confidence between the ruler and his Minister, they are bound to succeed in spite of the greatest difficulties in their path. From the time Samaldas came in contact with Maharaja Takhtasinhji, he began to like him and to repose confidence in him, and as time passed the confidence increased and the acquaintance ripened into friendship. It was more as a personal friend and mentor than as a Minister that Maharaja Takhtasinhji regarded Samaldas. On the other hand, having been drawn closer to His Highness by the great qualities and conduct which adorned the Maharaja, Samaldas had a sincere veneration for His Highness. Thus the relations of Maharaja Takhtasinhji and Samaldas were closely knit together.

On the appointment of Samaldas as Chief Minister, or Diwan, Wajeshanker, the eldest son of Gaurishanker was promoted to the post of Assistant Minister, Vithaldas, the eldest son of Samaldas, was promoted to the post of Revenue Commissioner, and Prabhashanker, the second son of Gaurishanker was appointed to the post of Superintendent of household expenses.

CHAPTER XII.

When Samaldas entered on the duties of Diwan, the State was beset with several difficulties—great and small—which required no small amount of tact, patience and forbearance to overcome. Samaldas possessed all these qualities, and received the cordial support and co-operation of Maharaja Takhtasinhji.

One of the first great tasks was to run the famine which had visited the State just when the Joint Administration ceased to exist. In fact in the time of the Joint Administration it was more a scarcity than a famine which had to be faced.

We have already mentioned the steps taken by the Joint Administrators to relieve the people of the sufferings caused by the scarcity and high prices which began to make themselves felt as early as July 1877. Colonel Parr estimated the loss to

the State in revenue at no less than thirteen lakhs, and to this he added another two lakhs expended in the importing of grain and grass. So then the loss to the State up to the end of March 1878 amounted to fifteen lakhs.

As the hot weather of 1878 advanced, it was found necessary to open relief-works on an extensive scale. Maharaja Takhtasinhji ordered relief-works to be carried out both under engineering and revenue agencies. Under engineering agency, extensive harbour works were opened at Bhavnagar, Mahuva and the new port of Kathivadar, now called Port Albert Victor. These were in addition to the (1) Bhavnagar port and scour Basin, (2) Kundla and Noghanvador Road, (3) Dungen and Pipavav Road and (4) Bhavnagar and Mahuva Road, besides the repairs to the existing roads and works. Under the civil agency, works costing nearly a lakh of rupees were carried under the immediate supervision of Vithaldas, the then Revenue Commissioner. These consisted chiefly of the digging of new wells, the deepening of existing or disused ones, the digging and deepening of new and old tanks, the construction of embankments or *pálás*, the repairing of village roads and similar works, which provided labour in the vicinity of their villages for people who, for various reasons could not be drafted on the larger or engineering relief works. Under the civil agency too, poor houses were opened, and gratuitous relief was given to the aged and infirm and to infants. *Tagavi* and grass, and *Kos Varat* were also supplied to the cultivators who were encouraged to grow fodder.

The rainy season of 1878 opened most favourably. By the middle of July people began to leave the relief works and to go home rejoicing at the good rains. But, alas, their rejoicings were short-lived. Until the end of August, crops were most promising. But they were beaten down and damaged by the abnormal and overwhelming downpour in the beginning of September. Swarms of locusts spread themselves over the land and caused great damage. By this time also, excessive humidity had engendered a very fatal type of malarious fever which hung over the country for some months and carried off victims by hundreds. The Political Agent says that, "the State

"revenues have suffered severely, but His Highness has not hesitated for a moment in making the sacrifices necessary to avert distress from his subjects, and to keep up the reputation for a liberal prosecution of public works bequeathed to him by the late Joint Administration.*" Rs. 6,12,208, were spent on public works alone.

It may be noted here with satisfaction that on the relief works in the State all that applied, including some who were subjects of other States, were allowed to work.

The relief works were maintained until May 1879 when the earth-work on the railway was commenced and the workers were drafted on to it. But gratuitous relief and other similar measures had to be continued until the close of the monsoon.

Suspensions and large amounts of remissions of revenue collections had to be made. The loss to the State in revenue alone amounted to several lakhs of rupees, to which may be added the large amount spent on relief-works and in importing grain and grass. All this expense had to be met from the savings of past years.

CHAPTER XIII.

It was hoped that, with the offer made by Maharaja Takhtasinhji, all difficulties had been removed and that the work of the construction of the railway would be proceeded with smoothly. But it was not so. Before according their sanction, the Government of India created a number of difficulties. They took exception to some of the conditions on which the offer of Maharaja Takhtasinhji was based, and took over the whole management of construction work from the hands of the Government of Bombay.

Strong and unbending as Sir Richard Temple was over his subordinates, he was pliant, limpy and submissive to superior authority.† For, as soon as the two States, Bhavnagar and Gondal, had committed themselves to the enterprise, and

* The Kathiawad Political Agency Administration Report for 1873-79, para 169.

† The Bombay Gazette, 19th December, 1880.

had proceeded far enough and could not draw back, the Government of Lord Lytton, through General Trevor, then Secretary to the Government of India, Public Works Department, stepped in, imported an officer of their own selection, and left the States to find the money only. For a time the situation had become extremely difficult. Sir Richard Temple refrained from supporting the States which, on his advice and persuasion, had launched into this work of gigantic magnitude and problematic gain. The only thing Sir Richard Temple did was to tell the States that he would regard it as a favour if the views of the Government of India were acted upon by them.

A Committee of Management was appointed in March 1879, on which Samaldas represented the State of Bhavnagar, and Gondal was represented by its administrator, with the Political Agent as its President.

Samaldas strongly protested against the interference of the Government of India, and plainly said that, if the condition relating to the possible connection of Gogha with the Bhavnagar line was not settled to the satisfaction of the Darbar, the Maharaja would certainly withdraw his offer to construct the railway, and that it must be clearly understood that the railway was to be made from revenue and not from a loan. These two conditions were eventually agreed upon by the Government of India, and an agreement, approved by the Government of India in their No. 3172, R., dated 29th July 1879,* was passed by the Maharaja from which the following two clauses are extracted.

"3rd. In the event of a branch railway from Gogha to any point on the Bhavnagar line being hereafter undertaken by Government or by private Company under a Government concession, the loss to the Bhavnagar State from consequent reduction in the revenue derivable from Customs duties shall be one of the items to be taken into account in prescribing the conditions on which traffic should be exchanged between

* Aitchison's Treaties, etc., Vol. VI, Edition of 1893. pp. 238-39.

“ the two lines and the rates to be charged for conveyance
“ within Bhavnagar territory.”

4th. The railway to be made from revenue and not from
a loan.”

In March 1879, after the appointment of Mr. Izat as
Engineer-in-Chief, and after the final location by him of the
lines, the earth-work was commenced as a famine work with all
possible haste, and finished within an
astonishingly short time.

Construction of the rail-
way.

The main line of the railway was fast approaching comple-
tion by December 1880, when His High-
ness Takhtasinhji requested Sir James
Fergusson, who had succeeded Sir Richard Temple in the
Government of Bombay in March 1879, and who removed some
of the difficulties created by the Government of India, to visit
Bhavnagar to declare it open for traffic. His Excellency was
pleased to accept the invitation, and, accompanied by the
Senior Member of his Executive Council, Political Secretary,
and his personal staff arrived on the 17th December 1880 at
Bhavnagar in the May Frere. A large number of guests,
European and Natives, were invited and accommodated in large
camps. Representatives of several large States had also accepted
the invitation and come to Bhavnagar.

On the approach of the May Frere, all had assembled on the
Bunder to give a hearty welcome to His Excellency. When
the May Frere anchored opposite the Bundar, Colonel Barton,
the Political Agent, Major Woodhouse, the Assistant Political
Agent, and Diwan Sahib Samaldas put off in a steam launch and
brought the Governor and party ashore. At the foot of the
landing steps, the Maharaja received the Governor and heartily
welcomed him to his capital. His Highness conducted his
Excellency, the Member of Council, the Political Secretary and
others to the large *Shamiana*, pitched near the landing-steps,
where a large number of ladies and gentlemen had assembled.
All being seated, Mr. Vithaldas stepped forward and read the
following address to His Excellency the Governor in the name
of His Highness.

“ May it please Your Excellency.”

“ I greet Your Excellency heartily on your first setting foot
“ on the borders of Saurashtra. The privilege of being the
“ first to receive in Kathiawad the present representative of
“ Her Imperial Majesty the Queen-Empress, enhances the
“ pleasure which I sincerely feel in seeing Your Excellency in
“ my territory, and I rejoice that during your brief stay here I
“ have to ask Your Excellency to open an undertaking of some
“ magnitude—I mean the Bhavnagar-Gondal Railway. It is, as
“ Your Excellency is no doubt aware, the first project of its kind
“ in Kathiawad. In my opinion the vast resources of this
“ Province have hitherto remained undeveloped to a great
“ extent for want of public highways, and I regard the fact with
“ sincere feelings of delight that the very first act of my adminis-
“ tration was to sanction this railway. Your Excellency's comp-
“ liance with my request to open it, at much sacrifice of public
“ time and personal convenience, is a proof of the deep interest you
“ take in the scheme. I venture to believe that its successful
“ completion and its inauguration by Your Excellency
“ marks the auspicious beginning of a new epoch for this ancient
“ Province. I trust that by the blessing of Providence and the
“ encouragement which a novel undertaking like this may
“ claim from a liberal Government like Your Excellency's, it
“ will prove a source of prosperity and convenience to my terri-
“ tory as well as to the rest of Kathiawad, so that the neighbour-
“ ing States may be induced to undertake similar projects. I
“ once again bid you, Sir James Fergusson, a right hearty
“ welcome to the capital of my dominion.”

In reply, His Excellency said, “ Your Highness the Thakor
The Governor's reply. “ Saheb.—It is with great pleasure, indeed,
“ that I visit you in your capital, and assist
“ in the inauguration of an undertaking that does so much
“ honour to your foresight and your public spirit. You have
“ placed yourself already in the same rank as the most enter-
“ prising of the Princes of India by your contributions to the
“ public good. I shall have, no doubt, a further opportunity
“ of remarking on the great work to inaugurate which we are
“ met together, but I cannot omit, even on this first occasion, to

"congratulate you on the success which has attended your exertions. I look forward with the greatest satisfaction to my stay, short as it must be, with you, and am highly pleased at having now made the acquaintance of one of whom I have heard nothing but good. I need not at present say more upon these subjects which will engage my attention. I have only to thank you for the most handsome welcome you have given me."

Subsequently a number of gentlemen were presented by the Political Agent to His Excellency. The Maharaja then conducted the Governor in State through the town to his appointed residence. The evening was spent in sight seeing and visiting the Gaurishanker lake. Early in the following morning, His Excellency drove the last spike of the Ceremony of opening the railway. permanent way at the city station in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering, and, then declared the railway open, an announcement which was received enthusiastically. The party then proceeded by two special trains to Limbadi, ninety miles from the Bhavnagar Terminus, and returned to Bhavnagar in the evening in time for a State Banquet at the city palace.

At the banquet the Maharaja first proposed "The Queen Empress of India, "and later" His Excellency the Governor of Bombay," whom His Highness sincerely thanked for opening the railway. He shared in the hopes entertained by His Excellency that the railway will prove a source of prosperity and convenience to his State and to the Province at large.

In replying to the toast of his health, His Excellency the The Banquet. Governor, in highly eulogising the Maharaja observed that, "he had placed himself already in the front rank of the Princes of India who had distinguished themselves in public usefulness", that "few of his years have done so much in measures really calculated to promote the welfare of those over whom he is placed." His Excellency added: "It is most gratifying to find that he has so thoroughly realised the duties and the responsibility of his position, and I am sure that in after years he will have no

"more pleasant recollection than in having done so much good for the welfare of others, far better than if he had spent his ample fortune on his own enjoyment,—though I should do wrong to speak as if I supposed he had made a sacrifice of his own enjoyment in thus spending his revenue, for I am sure that in promoting the welfare of those around him, and in seeing all happy and contented people, he finds his truest and best enjoyment," and that "I wish most heartily, and I expect confidently that his liberality, his enterprise, will not only promote the benefit of his people, but yield an ample return to himself." His Excellency then proposed the health of his "illustrious host," which he felt sure that all "will drink with all the honours."

The Maharaja suitably replied.

The Governor next proposed success to the Bhavnagar-Gondal Railway, coupling the toast with the Committee of Management.

In replying for the Committee of management, Col. Barton, the Political Agent, and President of the Committee, observed that, "a few years ago the idea of a railway passing through the heart of Kathiawad, and built entirely by native capital would have been scouted, and the venerable politicians who followed in the wake of Col. Lang, and used to attend his camp, if they could have seen what we have seen to-day, and could have travelled to Limbadi and back in one day, would have been struck dumb with astonishment. My colleagues Mr. Samaldas and Mr. Gaurishanker, were brought up in the school of my predecessors, such distinguished men as Col. Walker and Col. Lang, Mr. Willoughby and General LeGrand Jacob. The traditions which governed the administration of that time are out of date now and Mr. Samaldas and Mr. Gaurishanker are wise enough to throw aside those traditions and march with the times. This is

High eulogium bestowed on Samaldas. "all the more creditable to Mr. Samaldas as he does not understand English, and he has had to deal with a number of difficult problems connected with the railway. But, as every one who had had any dealing

“with him must admit, he has shown a remarkable talent for disposing of difficult questions, and whilst serving the interests of his master faithfully, he has been able to yield to the wishes of Government.”

During the course of the next day His Excellency inspected the Public Works and establishments of Bhavnagar, including the Steam chain ferry, port, High School, law courts and horse-breeding establishment, and departed the following morning by special train to Songhad *en route* to Palitana. It may be mentioned here that, Bhavnagar, Gondal and the other States through whose territories the railway passes, having ceded* to the Government of India, in the Political Department, all the criminal jurisdiction they possessed on the lands occupied by the railway, a European Magistrate was appointed, and Captain (now General) J. M. Hunter was selected for the post, and with the sanction of Government he was also appointed ex-officio Secretary to the Committee of Management. In acknowledging his services General Barton in his speech at the banquet observed that “But I don’t think that we should have been able to carry on the duties at all if it had not been for our Secretary, who has worked gratuitously and with great ability.” And we should be wanting in our duty if we did not gratefully acknowledge here the invaluable assistance and advice which General Hunter gave to the late Maharaja Takhtasinhji and Samaldas as their personal friend not only on questions connected with the railway but also in all other matters relating to the welfare of the State.

Before finally taking leave of the subject of the railway, we must note here with especial pleasure that, at the end of the official year 1911-1912 the Bhavnagar share of the total capital outlay, including suspense, was Rs. 90,22,899, while the total not earning amounted to Rs. 1,37,38,660, the excess of the earnings over the capital being 47,15,766†. With what great and genuine satisfaction would Samaldas have viewed this most satisfactory result—a result beyond the sanguine expectations of

Capital outlay and net earnings of the Bhavnagar railway.

* Aitchison’s Treaties, ect. Vol. VI, Edition of 1892. pp. 237-39.

† Bhavnagar Administration Report for 1911-1912, p. 56.

all—which the railway undertaking had achieved, had the Almighty Father spared him to see the successful result of his unceasing efforts in the interests of the State.

Of the total amount of Rs. 90,22,899, on the capital outlay including suspense, Rs. 65,45,150, were supplied when Samaldas was the Diwan of the State. Besides, and in addition to this amount over thirty lacs of rupees were spent on different works of public utility and usefulness in the State during his stewardship. These two sums amounted to, in round number, over Rs. 95, 00, 000, to which may be added the expense which he had to meet on account of the Takhtasinhji Wing to the Raj Kumar College and that of the Kaisar-i-Hind Bridge at Rajkot which would bring the total to a Crore of Rs. (1,00,00,000). This fact reflects the highest credit on Samaldas’ administration as much as it does on his able and wise management of the finances of the State.

Capital outlay including suspense in Samaldas’ time.

Total expenditure on public works in Samaldas’ time.

In the history of the Bhavnagar railway given, with some authority, in the *Bombay Gazette* of the 19th December 1880, it appears that the balance of the past years’ savings had, by the time of the termination of the Joint Administration been reduced to less than thirty-five lacs of rupees. And we have seen, on the authority of Col. Parr, that the unfavourable season and scarcity of 1877 had resulted in a loss of thirteen lakhs to the revenues to the State. This was followed by the great famine of 1878-79, which must have resulted in a loss of a still larger amount to the revenues to the State. Considering these and other untoward circumstances which followed in the train of a succession of bad seasons and famine, we cannot but admire the master-mind which handled the finances of the State, readily met the demands of large amounts (in one year alone Rs. 22,52,843,) for the construction of the railway, continuing at the same time the liberal expenditure towards public works in the State, and leaving a respectable balance when death snatched him away.

Samaldas’ admirable management of the finances of the State.

Roads, feeder to the railway, were commenced and finished by the time the railway was opened and these

Feeder roads.

connected the important Mahals of Botad, Godhala, and Sihor and their more important subdivisions.

We have already stated the effects of the scarcity followed by the famine from which the State suffered in the past years. The effects were more or less felt also in 1879-80 though the year was not so bad as the previous ones.

The Political Agent had the satisfaction to report that the State of Bhavnagar, "under the guidance of its enlightened ruler, His Highness Takhtasinhji, and the Diwan Azam Samaldas Parmananddas, "has maintained the high reputation it has borne for some years "past amongst the States of Kathiawad."

On the 19th August 1879, the Political Agent held a Darbar in the Central Hall of the Raj Kumar College to declare open the Sir Takhtasinhji Wing of the Raj Kumar College and the Kaisar-i-Hind Bridge over the Aji at Rajkot. In response to the invitation of the Political Agent all the leading Chiefs of the Province attended it, and His Highness Maharaja Takhtasinhji accompanied by his Diwan Samaldas went to Rajkot to take part in it. In the presence of the Chiefs, the European and Native officers of Government, and a large number of ladies and gentlemen, the Political Agent bestowed a well merited eulogium on His Highness' princely gifts. He said that these gifts were spontaneous and from His Highness' heart. With regard to the Sir Takhtasinhji Wing he said that it was a gift which His Highness made from a desire to mark the kindly remembrance of the early days he had spent in the College, and that future generations would point with pride to the Wing and would say that the Thakor Sahib of Bhavnagar had erected a monument worthy of his rank and station, and one which would keep his name ever green and never fading. The Political Agent's speech was followed by that of the Principal Mr. Macnaughten, who took that opportunity of expressing his grateful thanks not only for the munificent gift and donation to the College Fund, but also for the general influence of his exemplary life in the College. His Highness suitably replied.

The enlightened administration of the State.

Ceremony of the opening of Sir Takhtasinhji Wing of the Raj-Kumar College and the Kaisar-i-Hind Bridge at Rajkot.

At the request of the Political Agent, the proceedings of the Darbar, which was printed in the Kathiawad Political Agency Gazette, was forwarded to the Government of India, and also to the Secretary of State for India, who, as also the Government of Bombay, conveyed through the Political Agent, the sense of high appreciation entertained by them for the generous liberality and patriotic policy which had characterised Maharaja Takhtasinhji's administration ever since he assumed the control of his State. They also took that opportunity of fully appreciating His Highness' judicious munificence and good sense in manifesting the liberality of his disposition on works of a permanent character that was bound to benefit the cause of education and freedom of communication in the Province, on which its commerce and comfort so largely depended.

It is hardly necessary to say that it gave great satisfaction to Maharaja Takhtasinhji and to his Diwan and adviser Samaldas that the wise, thoughtful and generous policy adopted by the Maharaja was fully appreciated by such high authorities as the Governments of Bombay and India and Her Imperial Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

CHAPTER XIV.

During 1878, 1879, and 1880, three important questions of a general character affecting the interests of all the States of the Province arose, which greatly taxed the ability and statesmanship of the Diwans of the leading and larger States. The combination which had succeeded in obtaining the satisfactory settlement of questions like the institution of the Rajasthanik Court and the general police, had been greatly weakened by the death of Gokalji and other causes which it is unnecessary to mention here. In Samaldas, however, the States collectively had a Diwan who could safeguard the interests and advise them to pursue the best course. The three questions related to (1) opium, (2) salt, (3) and the formation of a general fund for improvements in the Province at large. We will take these questions in their respective chronological order.

Samaldas deals with three important questions.

In Kathiawad, on the assumption by Government of supreme authority in 1820, the transit of opium not covered by a pass from the British Government was prohibited, and the Chiefs engaged* to procure all opium required for consumption in their respective Talukas from a store maintained by the British Government, to regulate the retail sale, and to treat as contraband all opium not so procured which might be found in their territories.

The Chiefs entered into the engagements on the faith of the assurance contained in Captain Ballantyne's Notification, dated Samvat 1876, Aso, Sud, 5th, that, (1) the arrangement was made for the purpose of prohibiting the export of opium, not for increasing the duty carried thereon, and (2) that the licensed purchaser of opium can obtain it at a price which would be the aggregate of the original cost of opium purchased by Government and the expense of carrying the same (*Kharajat*).

Nothing occurred of very great importance and the States were supplied opium free of duty from the Agency Warehouse till 1878 A. D.

The States and the Talukas were informed in May 1878 that the sale of opium to licensed traders in opium from the stores had been stopped, and that it would be supplied to those States that agreed to pay the Government, a pass fee of Rs. 650 per chest when Government so desired it. This was supplemented by the intimation that the States would be at liberty to recover the amount of the duty on opium from those of their subjects to whom the drug would be sold retail, and that if they consented to certain conditions which were under contemplation they would be enabled to derive some profit also.

In December 1878, "the certain" conditions were promulgated by the Agency authorities coupled with the intimation that the States which consented to those conditions would be given a rebate of 1/5 of Rs. 650 of pass duty on a chest of 140 lbs. and those which did not consent would be charged the full rate of duty.

* Aitchison's Treaties, Etc., Vol. VI, Edition of 1892, pp. 232-237.

The conditions then proposed were such as to preclude the States from giving their consent to them, and, moreover, the levy of the pass duty was a distinct departure from the arrangement they had entered into in 1820/22.

It was now for the States to consider the course they should take. They unanimously came to the conclusion that they would rather pay the heavy duty than agree to the conditions, and thereby obtain some profit which was now publicly announced, *i. e.*, one fifth rebate of the amount of pass fee. It was also decided to approach the Government with a representation setting forth their claim to receive opium free of pass duty. To Samaldas was entrusted the preparation of the representation which he did with his usual wisdom and ability, first collecting all available materials. The representations, first, to the Government of Bombay and then to the Government of India were prepared by Mr. (now Sir) M. M. Bhowngree, then standing counsel for all the States of Kathiawad. But, as was to be expected the reply of the Governments was unfavourable to the States. It may be mentioned here that with reference to an assertion made by the Government of India that Government had affirmed and exercised its right to impose a duty upon opium, it was respectfully pointed out by the States that this assertion was directly negated by the published official reports of the Government of Bombay, one and all of which supported the contention of the States that opium was supplied to them free of duty, and the last of these reports for the year 1878-79 clearly said that "In 1877-78 the sale price was regulated *on the actual cost* exclusive of pass-fee, plus conveyance charges, etc., whereas in 1878-79 the selling price is the one fixed by Government and *includes pass-fee.*" The Italics are ours.

Further remonstrance was of no avail. The Political Agent now, probably under orders from Government, declined to receive any further representation from the States. For some years since the pass-fee or duty was imposed, the States were paying the full duty under protest. Great as the existing difficulties were, it was apprehended that they would be aggravated by some of the larger States seceding from joint action. Under all these peculiar circumstances and difficulties the course which

seemed best was to agree to certain modified arrangements which were partially in consonance with their first engagement (1820-22) with Government, leaving the draft rules proposed by Mr. (afterwards Sir) C. B. Pritchard, to regulate the sale of opium in the several States for future discussion. The arrangements which the Kathiawad States accepted at the Karbharis Meeting in August 1883, were published simultaneously in the Kathiawad Political Agency Gazette and the States Gazettes.* In promulgating the arrangements the Political Agent congratulated the States on their acceptance of the same and trusted that they would all loyally co-operate with him and his subordinate officers in the prevention and extinction of any illicit trade in opium. And he furthermore said that having regard to the fact that the pass duty on opium had been suspended for a considerable interval, and the reimposition of the duty might have been at first unusually felt by the customers in the Province, the pass duty on reimported opium would be lowered from four-fifths of the full duty to two-thirds. At the same time the Political Agent under orders from Government announced that one-third instead of one-fifth of the full-pass fee on opium which might have been paid by any State since the introduction of the new system into Kathiawad, would be refunded to it. Thus, the controversy resulted to some extent in favour of the States.

The draft rules to regulate the sale of opium in the Kathiawad States were still under discussion when Samaldas died.

The second important question, which Samaldas had to deal with, and he dealt with it satisfactorily, related to the salt works in the salt producing States of the Province.

We have already mentioned in the biography of Parmanandas that the excise on salt in the Bombay Presidency only, dated from 1838† in which year transit, town-duties and other vexatious imports were abolished, and in order to make up to Government for this loss of revenue, an excise of eight annas a

* Kathiawad Directory, Vol. VII. of 1886.

† Nairne's Revenue Hand Book, 3rd Edition, Chapter III.

maund was imposed on salt delivered from any place of manufacture in the British territories. This excise was from time to time increased up to Rs. 1-13-0 a maund at which point it stood from 1869 to 1878.

Soon after 1864, when the B. B. & C. I. Railway had reached Ahmadabad, different proposals were made for a better control of salt works in the northern part of the Bombay Presidency.* In about 1869, Mr. W. G. Pedder was appointed on special duty to inquire into the general question of salt management in the Bombay Presidency. He visited some of the salt producing States of Kathiawad and collected information. The duty of carrying out the measures suggested by Mr. Pedder was entrusted to Mr. (afterwards Sir) C. B. Pritchard, the then Commissioner of Customs, Salt and Abkari. Probably it was at his suggestion that the railway was extended to Viramgam and thence to Kharaghoda.

The Kharaghoda and Odu (Oru) salt-works are the successful result of the active and vigorous measures adopted by Government as proposed by Mr. Pritchard.

The negotiations, which were opened with the salt producing states of Rajputana, and Central India having been successfully completed, the British Government were desirous of "abolishing artificial restrictions on, and impediments to, internal trade, and with this object proposes to abolish the Inland "Customs Line, etc." All the States large and small of Rajputana and Central India, agreed either to hand over to the British Government their respective salt works, or suppress them, on the British Government agreeing to pay annually compensation, varying from several lakhs to a few hundred rupees.†

Government now turned their attention towards the salt produced in Kathiawad. Salt is produced by the maritime and a very few non-maritime States, and it is sea-salt or Ghashia salt they produce, excepting the State of Dhrangadhra, which

Demand made by Government for handing over Kathiawad salt works to them.

* Gazetter of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. IV, pp. 116-124.

† Aitchison's Treaties, Etc., Vol. IV, Edition of 1892, pp. 9-10.

produced Wadagra salt at its village of Kuda, but which under a recent agreement with the Government closed these works. Towards the end of 1879 Government deputed Mr. A. D. Carey then Assistant Collector, Salt Department, and made a proposal to the salt producing States of the Province to hand over their salt works to the British Government.

On the 5th September 1879 a meeting of the representatives of the salt producing States was convened at Rajkot, at which both Col. Barton, the Political Agent, and Mr. Carey were present. Meeting of the representatives of States held by the Political Agent. Samaldas represented his State and acted as spokesman for the rest.

At this meeting the fact of the withdrawal of the Customs Frontier Line contemplated by Government in November following was explained to the States, and they were required to agree to either of the following proposals :—

(1) To make over to the Salt Department of Government the entire management of their salt works and all other lands within their respective territory where salt is spontaneously produced. Conditions proposed by Government. Government would then appoint officers and men of the Salt Department to manage works and lands, and would agree to hand over to their representative owners the excess, if there be any, of revenue derived from them over the expenditure incurred by it for such management.

(2) That, in case the said salt producing States did not agree to the above demand, they were required to raise the price of salt so as to make it equal to the price of salt ruling for the time being in British territory, that, they should agree to the Government Salt Department, stationing their officers and guards over all their salt works, and all other sources where salt was spontaneously produced in order to satisfy the Salt Department that the salt was really sold by the States at the enhanced rates and that it was not smuggled into British territory, and

(3) That, in either case the entire control of the salt works, and the salt producing sources would be vested, not in the

officers of the Political Department, but in the officers of the Salt Department of Government with whom would also rest the power of exercising control according to the rules and regulations obtaining in British territory.

Just, sympathetic, and fair-minded as Col. Barton was, he was after all an officer of Government, backed these demands with all the weight of his authority, and insisted upon the States giving their agreement to either of the two proposals.

Now was the time for dealing with the proposals with firmness, sagacity and tact as the acceptance of either of these proposals would be tantamount to surrendering, not only their cherished right and privilege of managing their own salt works, but also their highly valued right and privilege of jurisdiction over a portion of their territorial possessions, and would be, moreover, opening a wide door for endless troubles and vexatious interference by the officers and men of Government, Salt Department, who, in case of some of the salt producing Talukas lying on the northern side of the Province, had already gained notoriety for their over zealousness. In the case of some of the more important First Class States such as Navanagar, Bhavnagar, Porbundar and Morvi, the salt works are situated within the limits of their respective capital cities and also in the heart of their territories. For them to agree to either of the proposals placed for their acceptance by Mr. Carey would be to import British jurisdiction in their own capital cities and territories. And no Diwans and Karbharies assembled at Rajkot, had a more bitter experience than Samaldas of such a state of things. Unity of action in a small number of States is not so difficult as would otherwise be the case where large and small States have a common interest to serve. The Diwans and the Karbharies of the salt producing States resolved to refuse respectfully to accept both the proposals and to adopt efficient measures by themselves for their salt works.

The proposals were discussed for several days, during the course of which, Samaldas, as the spokesman of the States, urged with great ability, the unassailable fact of the independence of the States, which had been guaranteed to them by the British

Government, and repeatedly assured by the highest authorities.

Samaldas as spokesman for the States, replies with firmness.

He submitted that the geographical position of the salt producing States precluded even the bare possibility of their salt finding its way into British territory, that they produced sea-salt or Ghashia salt only which was so entirely different from the Wadagara salt, that it could be distinguished at once, that looking to the case of the British District of Dhandhuka, where a luxuriant or an overabundant crop of sea-salt was spontaneously produced, after the monsoon, and which, therefore, had to be exempted from the salt excise, it would be impossible to check the growth of salt spontaneously produced in the Native States and over a greater part of the Province, that salt was an article of daily necessity and not of luxury, and in proportion to other articles its consumption in this country was greater than in other parts of the world, that besides human beings, horses, cows, bullocks, sheep and other animals had all a regular allowance of salt, and that any inordinate enhancement in the price of salt would, though they might bring a large revenue to the Exchequer of the States, fall heavily on the poor and dumb who were passing through a critical time. And with regard to the observation made by Mr. Carey that, as successors of the Peshwa, the British Government had as much right of control over the salt works of the Kathiawad States as it had of controlling those in the territories of Baroda, Mr. Samaldas replied that the two cases were entirely different *and in no way parallel. For, whereas in the case of Baroda the Peshawa treated its ruler more as his Lieutenant and vassal than as an independent ruler, the States of Kathiawad, except for the payment of tribute were perfectly independent of both the Peshwa and the Gaekwad, and, that, the evidence of history conclusively showed that neither the Moghals nor the Marathas, in the plenitude of their power ever interfered in the municipal economy, much less did they ever think that they had any right of controlling the salt works of the Kathiawad States, and, that any innovation would be tantamount to deprivation of the vested rights

States finally refuse to accept either condition.

two proposals.

of the States. And the Diwans and Karbhari finally refused to accept either of the

* Aitchison's Treaties, etc., Vol. VI, p. 90.

From the attitude adopted throughout the discussion by the Political Agent and Mr. Carey, the States apprehended that the report of these officers to Government would be unfavourable to them. They sent a telegram to the Government of Bombay, and supplemented it by a representation, which, as arranged between the Diwans and the Karbhari was prepared under the direction of Samaldas.

Telegram and representation from the States to Government.

Nothing was heard for nearly two months, about the matter. Meanwhile the inflexible will and indomitable zeal of Sir Richard Temple began to play their part. In November 1879 Col. Barton, the Political Agent, went on short leave, and his *locum tenens* returned from Bombay with instructions from His Excellency. He called a meeting of the Diwans and Karbhari of the salt producing States at Bhavnagar, conveyed to them the wishes of Government, and strongly advised them to accept with some

States obliged to accept modified condition.

modification the second of the two proposals of Mr. Carey. We know the meaning of the term "advice" as is understood in political ethics. Certain conditions of the modified proposal, which had for their object of allowing only a few of the larger States to work their salt works whilst those of the smaller ones were to be closed and suppressed, each such State to supply salt to the States and Talukas situated within certain defined circles at the rate prevailing in the adjoining British Districts, induced some of the larger States to accept the proposal, in the hope of realizing a large revenue. The unity was gone, which caused not a little pain to Samaldas. At last he with the permission of Maharaja Takhat-sinhji, reluctantly joined the others, and subscribed to the agreement.

But this agreement had a very short lease of life, and, forsooth, died without coming into operation.

The modified agreement set aside.

The non-maritime and salt producing petty States, and the non-salt producing States strongly protested against the agreement made with the larger maritime and salt producing States, and refused to be bound by the terms embodied therein. The Government of India now interposed, and refused

Fresh agreement ordered by Government.

to ratify the agreement and requested the Government of Bombay to direct the Political

Agent to reopen negotiations with the salt producing as well as non-salt producing States with a view to obtain a fresh agreement from them which must be fair to all. The question now

Difficulties in the way of fresh agreement. became further involved by the Gaekwad Government having commenced the importation of salt in large quantities at Kodinar, on the South Coast.

The Amreli Panch Mahals of the Baroda State are situated in the heart of the Peninsula, bordering on almost all the maritime salt producing States. And in view of the fact of the importation of cheap salt in large quantities by the Baroda administration from Bet—Dwarka, the States very properly hesitated to enter into a fresh agreement, as it could not be efficiently worked without some effectual arrangement being made by Government with Baroda. The Political Agent promised to request Government to give effect to the request of the States.

After a lengthy discussion, engagements were taken in 1883 from the Chiefs of the Province for the regulation of the manufacture of and the trade in salt. These agreements were of three kinds: *the first was executed by six Chiefs of maritime and salt producing States, the second by six Chiefs of non-maritime and salt producing States, and the third by twenty-six Chiefs of these States which are neither maritime nor salt producing. The general effect of all three was to bind the Chiefs to take such measures for the protection of the British salt revenue as was required by the local situation and circumstances of their case. The most important points gained by the States by these agreements were, (1) the control and supervision of their salt-works remained absolutely in their hands, and (2) they were left perfectly free to fix the sale price of salt at their respective salt works.

In 1887 the Government of Baroda passed an agreement † regarding the conditions for regulating the manufacture and the collection of natural salt within, and the export of salt from Baroda possessions in Kathiawad. Article 2 of this agreement

* Aitchison's Treaties, Etc. Vol. VI, Edition of 1892, p. 188.

† Aitchison's Treaties, Etc., Vol. VI, pp. 170-72.

stipulated for measures to be taken against importation by sea, and exportation by land of the Baroda salt into any of the States of Kathiawad.

The third and the remaining important subject—the General Fund—may now be noticed. After Colonel Keatinge's advent in the Province, the larger and more advanced States had applied themselves earnestly to road making and road repairing, and the smaller and less advanced States were induced to make roads in their territories through the Agency Engineer. Some progress was ostensibly made, but the successor of Col. Keatinge, who did not possess his zeal, handed over their roads to the smaller States. These were entirely neglected and only a shadow of their former self-remained.

In 1873 Mr. (afterwards Sir) J. B. Piele came to act for Col. Anderson. He induced the Chiefs from 1st to 4th class to agree to subscribe sums in proportion to their income aggregating Rs. 63,150 for a period of ten years for the construction of the Trunk Road System then inaugurated. Besides this amount the States collectively paid in aggregate Rs. 48,082 to maintain certain common institutions at the head-quarters of the Agency: both these amounts totalling to Rs. 1,11,232. This amount, however, did not include contributions levied by the officers in charge of the Prants or divisions, who levied them as and whenever they liked.

Before the expiry of the ten years' period fixed in 1875 the Political Agent at a meeting of the Karbharis held in August 1879 proposed that, instead of paying the contributions hitherto paid by the States and Talukas for public improvements in the Province, the whole amount, or a greater part of the Sudhara Cesses levied by the States and Talukas from their Bhayats and Mul-Grasias, might be paid to the Agency for the formation of a Chiefs' General Fund.

The Karbharies were naturally alarmed at this novel proposal. To Samaldas it seemed that its acceptance would lead to no end of trouble, by inquisitorial inquiry and vexatious in-

tereferece, by the officers of the Agency in this one department of the States' municipal economy and internal management. Moreover he was pained to find that certain—happily an infinitely small number—of the Karbharis were ready to accept the Political Agent's proposal. But he was glad to find that by far the larger number of the Karbharis viewed the subject from his own standpoint. Of course, as joint liabilities for certain institutions and works had already been incurred and established since several years past, there was no other course open but to come to some settlement with the Political Agent. With this object in view the Karbharis of all the States and Talukas authorised Samaldas, as their spokesman, to discuss and settle it with that officer, which Samaldas did to the entire satisfaction of all.

At the next meeting, Samaldas on behalf of the States urged strong objections against the proposal to collect Sudhara Cesses for the general improvement of the Province, and refused to accept it. At the same time however it was agreed by all unanimously that a contribution of Rs. 1,21,000 per annum should be levied for ten years in order to meet all demands for public improvements and institutions of the Province, carried on through the Agency, including public works, education, vaccination, hospitals, and dispensaries, etc.

In this arrangement two distinct points were gained namely, (1) The contributions levied by the Prant or District Officers were discontinued: District Officers, requiring any sums for public improvements in their respective Prants should apply to the Political Agent who in conjunction with the Karbharis at their annual meeting may settle the amount to be paid to them from the General Fund, and (2) A meeting of the Diwans and Karbharis under the presidency of the Political Agent was to be held every year, generally, during the monsoon, to consider and sanction the budget estimate for the ensuing year, and the amount thus sanctioned to be expended under the orders of the Political Agent. It may be mentioned here that previous to this new arrangement, the States had in fact, no real voice in the management of the funds supplied by them.

But although this arrangement was made to the satisfaction of all concerned—the Political Agent as well as the States—who thanked Samaldas for his exertions in effecting it, there still remained the question of the amount which each State and Taluka should contribute to the General Fund, the Political Agent having left it to the Diwans and Karbharis to settle it among themselves and submit it to him. Apparently it seemed to be a small, but it was not an easy matter to settle. But all the States and Talukas from Class First to Four having implicit confidence in Samaldas agreed in writing to abide by his decision as regards the sum of their respective contributions to the States. At his request the States added in the writing the names of Narchhang-prasad of Junaghad and Narayanrao of Navanagar. So fairly and judiciously were the contributions distributed amongst the States and Talukas that they accepted it without question, and once more thanked Samaldas for his exertions in their interest.

So pleased was Lord Curzon with the institution of the Karbharis' meeting, that, at the Public Darbar he held on the 6th November 1900 at Rajkot, addressing the Princes and Chiefs assembled, he said:—"The feature in Kathiawad that struck me most last year was the recognition among you—in spite of minute subdivisions of territory and jurisdiction, and of many possible causes of disunion—of a common interest and a corporate life. The Chiefs of this Province reminded me in fact of a sort of mediaeval Guild constituted for purposes of co-operation in matters where the interests of all coincide, or can best be advanced by common action. You have your annual meeting of Karbharis, a species of Local Diet or Parliament to discuss the administration of the co-operative Funds. You have the fund known as the States General Fund contributed in fixed proportion by all."

The Karbharis' annual General Meeting, or as Lord Curzon describes it as "the Local Diet or Parliament" of Kathiawad assumed more and more importance as time passed and its sphere of action was largely extended. In such high estimation was it held that by way of compliment the Political Agent, who

Lord Curzon on the institution of the annual Karbharis' meeting.

Importance and extended sphere of action of the Karbharis' annual General Meeting.

presided at it, and all his European subordinate officers, attended it in uniform, and when its work was finished the Political Agent held a reception to which, besides the Diwans, Karbhāris and other representatives of the States, ladies and gentlemen of the station were also invited. It dealt not only with the question of the States General Fund, and audited the accounts of the preceding year, but also considered and disposed of such questions as passes for carrying arms, extradition and judicial process, game laws, prevention of adulteration of cotton, prevention of cruelty to animals, services of Summons and Warrants for appearance of witness, rules for ensuring efficient co-operation between States for the suppression of dacoity and other serious crimes, grant of Gras to Bhayats, extension of the time of the Rajasthanik Sabha, marriage expenses of daughters of poor Jadeja Grasias, forest nursery, geological survey, boundary marks and similar other questions, and the question of races and horse shows also. In fact it dealt with, and still deals with, all important questions affecting generally the interests of the Province. And it may be truly said that the foundation for unity of action was laid in 1879, for which no small amount of credit is due to Samaldas.

CHAPTER XV.

Very early in his career, *i. e.*, only a few months after the Maharaja had assumed the full sovereign powers of his State, an opportunity presented itself to him of manifesting his loyalty to the British Crown. Early in November 1878, on His Highness coming to learn that a war with Amir Sher Ali of Afghanistan was imminent, he deputed his Diwan Samaldas to the Political Agent to offer to place 300 disciplined and 200 undisciplined horse and foot at the disposal of Government in the event of war broken out. It was arranged that should Government accept the offer and withdraw troops from Rajkot, the Bhavnagar horse and foot should be employed for garrison duty at that Station. On Samaldas' return the Maharaja addressed a formal letter of offer to the Political Agent, who, on receiving orders from Government thanked His Highness in the name of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India for his loyal offer.

Maharaja Takhtsinhji offers his troops for service in the Afghan campaign.

In the second Afghanistan campaign, hearing that there was a difficulty about transport, the Chiefs of Kathiawad offered one thousand baggage ponies as a joint contribution. This offer was accepted by Government and a formal letter sent to the Political Agent, who, on receiving orders from Government thanked "His Highness in the name of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India for his loyal offer." The Boat Basin, which was opened at Bhavnagar in April 1879, and about whose usefulness great misgivings were pronounced in certain high quarters, proved of great convenience and use in shipping the quota of 300 ponies, presented by the Chiefs of Gohilwad to Government for service in Afghanistan. The Maharaja was much pleased to learn that with the cordial assistance of his Diwan, the Assistant Political Agent, Gohilwad, was enabled to ship these ponies in six hours without any accident.

One of the important public works sanctioned by the Maharaja and began at once, was the steam Chain Ferry across the Bhavnagar Creek to connect the capital with the northern wheat-producing district of Bhal. This work has a history of its own, and as an important principle was settled by British authorities in connection with it, it is necessary to mention it briefly here.

Early in the regime of the Joint Administration, Mr. Percival was impressed with the necessity for a better arrangement for communication between the capital and the Bhal district. The Joint Administrators resolved to erect a permanent bridge in place of a Kacha one on the Bhavnagar Creek near the village of Madhia. The Bhal is an extensive low lying tract, and is always more or less under water in the rainy season, and impregnated with saline matter, produces a very fine wheat without irrigation, of the variety called Katha. As there are no fresh water nulls in the whole of this tract, it has to depend on ponds or reservoirs filled with rain water, and in the hot season when the supply is dried up people from the villages near the Creek resort to Bhavnagar with their cattle. But, they as well as trade, could reach the town only by circuitous roads as the Kacha bridge was submerged at all times of the tide, leaving mud on it which caused much hardship and inconvenience to those using it. When preparations for building the bridge were being made, the

neighbouring small Taluka of Vala, an offshoot of the Bhavnagar State, raised an objection to it. It contended that the bridge, if made, would become an obstruction to the trade at its port of Gheldi. Now the piece of land, which it called Gheldi, is a waste land, there was never a village and there never had been a port before. After a lengthy proceeding, Vala's contention was finally rejected, first by the Political Agent, and on appeal, by the Government of Bombay and by the Secretary of State for India. While rejecting Vala's preposterous claim an important principle, preserving the right of a parent State, was affirmed by these authorities. The important issue raised was, whether Vala had any right to open a port at Gheldi? And the decisions of these high authorities was that it has not, nor can it claim such a right. For Visoji, the ancestor of the Vala house, received as a cadet his assignment of Gras from the parent house of Bhavnagar, which did not include any right to a sea-board. Therefore it can have no right to open a port on a small armlet of the Bhavnagar Creek, both sides of which for nearly twenty miles from the sea belongs to Bhavnagar. It may be mentioned here that this decision followed the one which Mr. (afterwards Sir) James B. Peile had pronounced in the boundary dispute between the Grasia—Talukdar of Avaniá, under Gogha (originally an offshoot of the Bhavnagar State) and the Bhavnagar Darbar, and at which Samaldas represented the State.

By the time Vala's presumptuous claim was rejected by the Secretary of State for India, the construction of the railway from Bhavnagar towards Wadhwan had far advanced, and the necessity of a costly bridge had mostly disappeared as a portion of the Bhal district was tapped by this line. But, while Magistrate of Bhavnagar, Samaldas had either to cross the creek in a boat or go by the circuitous roads, to visit the out-lying villages then under British jurisdiction, and had personal experience of the hardship and inconvenience which had to be suffered in the absence of a better means of communication. Having consulted the State Engineer, the late Mr. R. Proctor Sims, the less costly project of a steam-chain Ferry to work across the creek was found best suited for the purpose. The scheme was submitted to His Highness who was pleased to accord his sanction. The Ferry Service has proved of great utility. It can bring and take away

not only passengers and beasts, but also carts loaded with food-stuff and fodder.

As an instance of the popular belief that the happening of events is sometimes foreshadowed in dreams, it may be mentioned here that when the late Mr. R. Proctor Sims, the State Engineer, was returning to Bhavnagar from leave, and when the Mail Steamer was just about a few hours journey from Suez, he first felt a heavy weight on his chest and then dreamt that something wrong had gone with the Chain Ferry, his pet work at Bhavnagar. Early next morning when the steamer reached Suez he received a telegram from his assistant informing that a mishap had happened to the chain of the Ferry owing to an unusually strong current in the creek. After Mr. Sims arrived at Bhavnagar the lost chain was replaced.

As an instance of the high estimation and regard in which Samaldas' opinion was held by the British Officers on intricate points, it may be mentioned here that the general principles laid down by the Rajasthanik Sabha in regard to the question of reversionary rights in villages jointly held by a Darbar and a Bhayat or Grasia, was that the reversionary right over land alienated by a Bhayat or Grasia before commendation of his village to the Darbar rested with the Darbar, but that if such alienation were made after the commendation, and from the land reserved as his Gharkhed or Demesne lands, the land reverts to the Grasia. But as there are exceptions generally to all rules so it happened in a case which came in appeal before the Sabha from the Navanagar Court. The reversionary right over a piece of land, which was alienated in religious endowments by a Grasia after the commendation of the village to the Darbar, was claimed by a number of the descendants of the original grantor. The Navanagar Court rejected the Grasia's claim as based on insufficient evidence. But, although there was evidence to support the Grasia's claim, the question for decision at the hearing of the appeal turned pertinently upon the right of the state to administer religious endowments. Before coming to a final decision, Col. Watson, President of the Rajasthanik Sabha referred the question to Samaldas for his opinion which exactly

Samaldas' opinion invited in important Gras question by the President of the Rajasthanik Sabha.

coincided with the opinion held by Col. Watson himself. A Full Bench of the Sabha (with the exception of the Navanagar member) decided and enunciated as a principle that the power to administer religious trusts on account of temples or religious sects has inherent in the State. This power, it was decided, vested in the State both by local custom and by the necessity of the case. For, as the heirs of the original grantor multiply, it is found that disputes arise between them as to the administration of the trust, and unless the State intervene, the objects for which the trust was created, are not attained.

The season was a prosperous one, the harvest was beyond the average, and the railway brought down a very large quantity of cotton to Bhavnagar for export. In spite of the heavy expenditure on the railway the State was as usual able to head the list of all the States in the expenditure on public works by providing upwards of three lakhs of rupees for local improvements.

The Political Agent and the Government of Bombay in their respective administration reports for the year 1880-81 observe that, "His Highness the Thakor Sahib of Bhavnagar has continued the enlightened administration, "which has made Bhavnagar the model State of Kathiawad, and has been ably seconded by the "Diwan Azam Samaldas Parmananddas, who deservedly enjoys the confidence of his master."*

And in connection with the Raj Kumar College it is observed that during the ten years of its existence, there have resided, at various times, within its walls, many Princes who are now ruling their territories worthily and well, pre-eminent amongst them, from his exalted station, and his success in administering his fine State, being His Highness the Thakor Sahib of Bhavnagar.

It was in this year that the claim of Ebhal Khuman to the village of Jira was settled by Samaldas, as arbitrator, and his award was confirmed be

Settlement of Ebhal Khuman's claim.

* Bombay General Administration Report, 1880-81, p. 17.

Maharaja Takhtasinhji. This called forth the observation of the Political Agent that the settlement reflected much credit on the Maharaja and his advisers.

In August 1880 a fund was started in Bombay at a meeting under the presidency of His Excellency the Governor, for the relief of the families of those who had fallen in the war in Afghanistan. Maharaja Takhtasinhji subscribed 10,000 rupees, and desired Samaldas to convene a public meeting at Bhavnagar. At this meeting, which was well attended, Samaldas presided, and headed the list of subscriptions opened at it.

CHAPTER XVI.

The most important event of this year was the bestowal by Her late Imperial Majesty the Queen Empress, of the high distinction of a Knight Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India on His Highness Maharaja Takhtasinhji, which happy event was announced on the 24th May 1881. The honour so conferred spread genuine pleasure not only in the State but throughout the Province in which the Maharaja was so popular, and His Highness was much gratified at having been selected for it.

But no one had more cause for satisfaction and delight than Samaldas for this event. For the bestowal of this high distinction on the Maharaja, so early in his career, was a distinct mark of the approbation and appreciation by the highest authority in the British realm, of the high and enlightened character of the administration of the State, and his several acts which were distinguished by discriminating liberality and generosity. It is hardly necessary to add here that in all these achievements the Maharaja was ably seconded by Samaldas.

Under instructions from Government all the Princes and Chiefs of Kathiawad were invited at Rajkot by the Political Agent to attend the Darbar which was to be held by His Excellency the Governor to invest His Highness Maharaja Takhtasinhji with the Insignia and Grant of the Order of a Knight Commander of

Presentation of the Insignia of the Order of K. C. S. I.

1881-82. May, 24th, 1881. The high distinction of K. C. S. I. conferred on Maharaja Takhtasinhji.

the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India. The Princes and Chiefs gladly accepted the invitation and arrived in Rajkot. Some of them had pitched magnificent Camps.

Maharaja Takhtasinhji, accompanied by Diwan Samaldas and the principal officers of the State, on arrival was met at some distance from Rajkot by the Political Agent, escorted by a party of Native Cavalry. After the usual reception His Highness was conducted to his camp in an imposing procession.

His Excellency the Governor, Sir James Fergusson, who was to arrive at Rajkot on the 10th January 1882 from Bhuj for the purpose of investing His Highness the Maharaja with the Insignia of a K. C. S. I., was summoned from Kachha to Bombay by a sad domestic bereavement and the ceremony of presenting the Insignia, therefore, under authority from His Excellency the Viceroy and Grand Master of the Order devolved on the Political Agent. The presentation took place at a Darbar held on the 17th January, and though necessarily shorn of much of its splendour owing to the unavoidable absence of the Governor, was both imposing and impressive. The First Class Chiefs of the Province, who were all Knights of the Order, and all other Chiefs attended and when the ceremony was over they as well as the European officers and others warmly congratulated Maharaja Takhtasinhji.

In his address on the occasion the Political Agent highly praised His Highness' administration, and observed that since he assumed the reigns of power he had distinguished himself for his princely liberality, and for his constant efforts to promote the welfare of his subjects, that he had fostered and encouraged useful public works, (both within and beyond the limits of his State), education, trade and commerce, that a railway passing through the most fertile parts of the Province had been constructed at the expense of His Highness and his neighbour of Gondal, that his State and capital were yearly increasing in wealth and importance, and, borrowing the words of His Excellency the Governor from his speech at the opening ceremony of the railway, the Political Agent proceeded to observe, that His Highness had placed himself in the front rank of the Princes of India, who had distinguished themselves in public

usefulness, and that few of his years had done so much in measures calculated to promote the welfare of those over whom His Highness was placed. In conclusion he observed that to himself personally it was a source of the highest gratification to present to His Highness the Insignia of the Most Exalted Order, for he esteemed His Highness not only for his public virtues, but also as an honoured personal friend.

His Highness made a suitable reply, and in returning thanks for the honour done to him he reiterated his determination to rule so as to promote the welfare of his subjects. Col. Barton, the Political Agent, observes that, " this is no figure of speech, for His Highness has shown from the commencement of his "reign, four years ago that it is the fixed rule of his life."

The Princes and the Chiefs assembled in Rajkot displayed a spirit of mutual cordiality and good will which would not have been looked for a few years previously, and during their stay in Rajkot, were profuse in their hospitality to each other.

As a fitting sequel to the ceremony at the Darbar two very

The students and masters of the Raj Kumar College present an address of congratulation and request the Maharaja to sit for his portrait for which they had subscribed.

pleasing incidents occurred which may be noted here as showing the high estimation in which Maharaja Takhtasinhji was universally held. These incidents were, (1) The masters and the students (past and then present) of the Raj Kumar College waited on the Maharaja the day after the presentation of the Insignia, with an address of congratulation and requested him to sit for his portrait to be placed in the College Hall for which they had subscribed. This was a graceful recognition on their part of the staunch support His Highness had ever accorded to the institution and of his munificence in building the Sir Takhtasinhji Wing, and

Address from the citizens of Bhavnagar who founded a Dharmashala in commemoration of the event.

(2) on his arrival at Bhavnagar, His Highness was met at the Station by the leading merchants and traders (Mahajan), Europeans and Natives, representing all castes and creeds, with an address of congratulation, and intimating their desire to erect a Dharmashala, for which they had subscribed funds, near the railway station for the accommodation of travellers, and requesting permission for naming the Dharmashala after

His Highness' name in commemoration of the happy event. A suitable reply and the requested permission was given. At the same time a deputation from His Highness' subjects from different districts or Mahals waited on the Maharaja with addresses of congratulation enclosed in rich silver caskets.

In October 1881 the Maharaja, accompanied by his Diwan Samaldas, went to Bombay to sit for the portrait which was subscribed for by the students, past and present, and the masters of the Raj Kumar College as stated above.

On His Highness' intention of visiting Bombay becoming known, a meeting of the influential leading citizens, presided over by Sir Jamsedji Jijibhai, the Parsi Baronet of the period, was convened at the Mazagaon Castle, to consider the steps to be taken to give to His Highness a fitting reception. The President, in common with other speakers, dwelt at some length on the many excellent qualities of head and heart of His Highness, and eulogized his administration as a decided success, in the attainment of which his Diwan Samaldas cordially, loyally, and ably assisted him. On his arrival in Bombay the Maharaja was accorded a public reception, a very large number of the leading citizens met him on arrival at the Grant Road Station and took him in an imposing procession to his temporary residence. Subsequently a deputation, composed of Sir Jamsedji Jijibhai, Kt., Sir Mangaldas Nathooobhai, Kt., Mr. Behramji Jijibhai and others, waited on His Highness and requested him to accept an entertainment. On October 18th, a sumptuous entertainment was given in honour of His Highness, which was largely attended, the gathering dispersing at a late hour of the evening amid deafening cheers as the Maharaja departed.

The Political Agent had the pleasant duty to report that, "under its present enlightened administration, Bhavnagar has achieved the distinction of being " the leading State in the Province... There are now " fifteen Presses at work in Bhavnagar in addition to the spinning " and weaving mill. The place is increasing in size and importance

High praise of the administration.

" daily, merchants, European and Native, being attracted by the " development of various branches of trade, and the facilities " afforded them by an enlightened administration. Three new " factories have been erected during the past year and a large " import business is being done in timber."

The State paid no less than Rs. 25,14,731, on construction account during the year, and the Political Agent says that, "Owing to this well-timed liberality, the railway is now complete, with the exception of one bridge at its Wadhwan terminus." In spite of this severe strain on its resources the State has managed to provide nearly three lakhs of rupees for "public works." In all Rs. 26,10,985, were spent in public works, including the railway which reflects the highest credit on Samaldas for his management of the finance of the State.

The opening of the year marked the ceremony on a befitting scale of the marriage of the late Kumar Shri Juwansinhji, only brother of His Highness Maharaja Takhtasinhji.

After studying at the Raj Kumar College since 1871, Kumar Shri Juwansinhji was sent to England in April 1881, with the late Principal Macnaughten, to complete his study. He joined the Trinity College at the Cambridge University. But after a stay of fifteen months, he returned to India on account of ill-health.

On his marriage, the Maharaja provided his brother with a suitable residence, and a grant of three villages in appanage.

Grant of village to Kumar Shri Juwansinhji in appanage.

It may be mentioned here that at about this time the important question, whether it would not be more to the interest of a State to grant to its cadets cash allowances instead of villages, or a village or land in appanage, was being earnestly discussed amongst the Rajput States of the Province, and the Chief of a State had openly expressed his determination of making cash allowances to the cadets of his house. But he completely renounced his determination when the case of his own younger son came in question. The question was keenly discussed at the Karbharis' General Meeting successively for three years, but it

was left open without coming to any definite conclusion. But Maharaja Takhtasinhji was firmly of opinion that the practice of money allowance could not be introduced without destroying the birthright of a cadet and socially degrading him. And Samaldas, who had occasion in the time of Maharaja Wajesinhji of studying the traditional policy of the State, warmly supported the Maharaja.

Colonel Watson observes in the statistical account of Bhavnagar (page 52) that "this fact elicited the approval of the local officials as well as of all the Chiefs of the Province."

Chapter XVII.

The memorable event of the year was the grant of the village of Jalalpur, of the Umarala Paragnah to Samaldas in Inam in recognition of his loyal, faithful and meritorious services to the State and its rulers.

A Darbar was held at the Motibag Palace by His Highness Maharaja Takhtasinhji to deliver the grant or Lakh of the village to Samaldas. In addressing the Darbaris the Maharaja in a felicitous speech recounted the eminent services performed by Samaldas during a long period covering the rule of four successive Chief of the State, and said the future of youthful Samaldas as prognosticated by his great-grand-father Maharaja Wajesinhji had been fully fulfilled, that ever since he joined the Darbar service his ability, his aptitude for work, his intelligence and above all his honesty of purpose attracted the notice of the successive rulers of the State whose confidence Samaldas had enjoyed throughout his career, that his services in the cause of the restitution of the 116 villages, in establishing and putting into order the Courts of Justice in the State were so well known as to require further mention unnecessary, that his services as Assistant Joint Administrator and Judicial Joint Administrator were equally well known and fully recognised by all the successive European Joint Administrators, that ever since his elevation to the arduous and responsible post of the Diwan of the State his services had conspicuously been marked by singleness of purpose, steadfast loyalty, and devotion to duty, that although the work of the Diwan's office had enormously increased, and that, although, he had to deal with several important and

momentous questions, he had cheerfully and loyally discharged and dealt with them always scrupulously safeguarding the interests of the State, that to him (the Maharaja) personally his constant advice and assistance had been most invaluable and that his liberal views as a statesman had greatly facilitated the several measures he had introduced for the welfare of his State and its people. His Highness then concluded by saying that in appreciating the eminent and faithful services of Samaldas by the grant of a village he was only discharging his duty as a ruler and he hoped that Samaldas will live long to enjoy it, and that his sons will tread in the foot-steps of their father as the latter had done in those of his illustrious father Parmananddas, and continue to serve the State and himself with as much loyalty, fidelity and devotion as did their father and grandfather.

Samaldas, who was much affected with the sentiments expressed in so many kind words by the Maharaja about himself and his father replied that he had done nothing more than what he was bound to do, and which every servant of the State is bound to do, that whatever amount of success he had been able to achieve, he was indebted to the Maharaja for the same, as without His Highness' confidence and support he could not have succeeded in achieving the same. He heartily thanked the Maharaja for such a conspicuous mark of the appreciation of his services as the grant of a village, and assured him that the noble heritage which had descended to him from his father would be highly prized and preserved unsullied in his family from generation to generation, and that he had no doubt that his sons and their descendents would remain as steadfast in their loyalty, and unflinching in their devotion to duty and fidelity as their ancestors. He once more gratefully thanked the Maharaja for his gracious act towards him.

And here we must repeat, what we have stated before, that it was by this graceful act that Maharaja Takhtasinhji supplemented the appreciation of Samaldas' loyal and faithful services to the State which was shown by his revered father Maharaja Jaswantsinhji.

This proved to be a lean year as the rainfall was below the average, the September showers having entirely failed, and the consequence was that

the monsoon crops only averaged at about twelve annas in the rupee while the out-turn of cotton was only about eight or nine annas in the rupee. Fortunately, however, these deficiencies were, to some extent, compensated by the good harvest of gram and wheat.

It was a source of deep satisfaction to the Maharaja as well as to his faithful and loyal Diwan, Samaldas, that appreciative observations on the administration of the State were repeated each year by the Political Agent, and by the Government of Bombay. The Political Agent observed at paras 40, 46, 47, 48, of his annual administration report that, "The development of the resources and trade of the districts is continuously progressing under the personal care and supervision of the enlightened Chief and his able Minister," "that in the case of Bhupatsing of Bhimrad also the Bhavnagar Darbar has behaved with scrupulous good faith and disinterestedness," and after detailing the heavy encumbrance of debt left on the estate by the late proprietor, he adds, that, the "estate was attached and administered by the Darbar. The debt has been cleared off, the minors have been educated at the Raj Kumar College. The eldest boy has been married, and has now been put in charge of his estate which he has received free from debt, and in a prosperous condition. There have been no complaints against the conduct of the administration of the estate, and this circumstance speaks volumes for the honest character of the management," that, "confidence in the good faith of the administration has been further demonstrated in the instance of Bava Khachar of Gadhada who recently died leaving his estate in debt to the extent of Rs. 1,30,000. His heir has requested the Darbar to take charge of the property with a view to its being freed from its encumbrances and his request has been acceded to".

And the Government of Bombay say, "In Kathiawad the enterprising Thakor of Bhavnagar has, in conjunction with the administration of Gondal constructed a railway notwithstanding the dismal prophecies of failure, with the result that the export

* Report on the Administration of the Bombay Presidency for 1882-1883, Summary, pp. VII, VIII.

"trade of the Province is rapidly becoming centered in his port, and the direct return of interest is already $4\frac{1}{2}\%$ on the capital employed in the construction.....The Chief's example has stimulated others, and several lines and extensions are now under consideration. The Thakor stands forth conspicuously as a public benefactor, and by stimulating the activities and energies of a whole population, has greatly enriched his own State, and improved the condition of the Province.....The Thakor of Bhavnagar himself visited the Presidency, and his personal popularity was shown by the public reception given to him by the leading citizens of Bombay, and, while there he manifested his well-known liberality by endowing a spectroscopic laboratory in the Elphinstone College."

The development of the resources and trade of his State, is continuously progressing under the personal care and supervision of the enlightened Chief and his able Minister. The Chief has acted up to the best Rajput traditions by making a suitable assignment of three villages yielding Rs. 15,000 a year, to his brother Juwansinghji, who, on his return from Cambridge was married at Bhavnagar with all due ceremony ".....In consequence of the confidence inspired by the conduct of the administration, private enterprise is being largely developed in Bhavnagar by European and native capitalists."

Besides providing Rs. 6,00,000 for construction of original Public Works, works in connection with the railway during the year, a sum of three lakhs and a quarter were expended on works of public utility and improvement in the State. Even during the time of the greatest strain on its resources, in consequence of the railway construction demands, the Maharaja and Samaldas did their utmost to keep up the normal expenditure of the State on other works of public utility, and directly the strain was a little removed, the normal activity was renewed.

The revenue survey of the State, commenced in the time of the Joint Administration, was completed during the year at a total cost of about four lakhs of rupees. The operations were conducted from com-

mencement to conclusion by Mr. Fernandes of the Gujarat Revenue Survey who, before his departure, received the thanks of the Maharaja in public Darbar, for the valuable services he had rendered to the State.

For the purposes of the Rajasthanik Sabha while the survey and demarcation of land held by either a Bhyat or a Mul-Grasia, in other States were carried out by the Superintendent of Gras Surveys under the Rajasthanik Sabha, those in the Bhavnagar State were carried out under Mr. Fernandez, and having regard to his position and status in the Gujrat Revenue Survey, it was settled, that the Superintendent of Gras Surveys should not interfere with Mr. Fernandez's work. Nothing happened until about April 1882 to disturb the cordial relations between the two Superintendents, but during the acting incumbency of Major Stace, as Superintendent of Gras Surveys, he intimated his intention of testing the work done under Mr. Fernandez, to which the latter, who by that time had been promoted to the position of a Superintendent in the Gujrat Revenue Surveys, strongly objected on the ground that he was senior to Major Stace in the Government Revenue Survey Department. The result was an acrimonious correspondence between the two officers, and Samaldas thought that the time had come for his interference. He discussed the matter with Col. Watson, the then President of the Rajasthanik Sabha, and with a view to put a stop to the growing unpleasantness, it was settled as a middle course that Major Stace may test only such survey works which were tested by Nimtandars under Mr. Fernandez, and not by himself. In justice to Major Stace it must be mentioned here that scrupulous as he was in his work he, having found fault with the Gras Surveys in two or three states, then under Government management, which were carried out under the supervision of the Superintendent of Gras Surveys under the Rajasthanik Sabha, must have been anxious to satisfy himself about the accuracy of the Gras Surveys in the Bhavnagar State.

Under the arrangement, mentioned above Major Stace tested the field works and boundary marks in certain villages of the Botad and Sihor districts. While he was encamped at Sihor, Samaldas went to see him and asked him the result of his

inquiry. Fair, frank and open-minded as Major Stace was, he said that he was entirely satisfied with the works which were both perfect and thorough, and that he wished that the work done in his own department was as perfect and thorough, and the boundary marks as accurate as they were in the Bhavnagar State. He reported exactly in the same words to the President of the Rajasthanik Sabha, who expressed his own satisfaction to the Maharaja.

While on this subject we may mention that the President of the Rajasthanik Sabha had, from time to time, recorded in his annual reports that Bhavnagar was decidedly the best of all the States in fair treatment of its vassals, and in the efficiency of its Court, and that the Bhavnagar Gras Court had kept up its high character, that it was firm without being grasped, and that it dispensed really satisfactory justice. This result was naturally to be expected as the Gras settlements and the working of the Gras Court were under the personal supervision of Samaldas.

A horse-breeding establishment on a small scale was started by the Joint Administrators in 1873. But no separate arrangement for housing the young stock was made. They were kept in ill-ventilated stables in the heart of one of the suburbs, the site of which was not a healthy one for the development of the young ones. When Captain (now General) J. M. Hunter took charge of the Railway Magistrate's office, he used to devote his spare hours in looking after the horse-breeding establishment. It was at his and Col. Barton's suggestion that the Maharaja sanctioned the removal of the establishment to a healthy locality. A site was selected about two miles distant from the town, and His Highness also sanctioned a large amount (Rs. 28,000 + 22,000 = Rs. 50,000) for the necessary buildings.

To mark their appreciation of the exertions the Maharaja was making towards the improvement of horse-breeding in his State, the Government of India were pleased to award a medal to him. In delivering it to the Maharaja, Captain (General) Hunter, who then happened to be in charge of the Gohilwad Prant, thanked His Highness for all that he had done and was doing towards improving the breeding of horses. He spoke at

some length on the necessity of improving horse-breeding in the Province and regretted that while Government were providing the means they were not availed of by the breeders and the Talukas generally in the Province, and that they would do well to emulate the example of His Highness. He once more thanked the Maharaja for having recognised the necessity of improving horse-breeding in his own State, and he expressed a hope that with the excellent site and the great facilities at the new paddock, the young stock would greatly benefit.

In reply Samaldas, on behalf of the Maharaja, thanked Captain (General) Hunter for his disinterested labours in looking at the establishment and for performing the ceremony of delivering the medal. He said that from very ancient times the Hindu Sovereigns, who ruled India, such as Nal, Yudhishtira, and others, had fully recognised and appreciated the usefulness of the horse, that to the student of history the talk of pure Kathi blood in a horse would seem idle. For, ever since the last invasion of Muhamad of Ghazni and the sack of Somnath (1024 A. D.), there has been a mixture of blood, Muhammad having left a number of high bred Arab sires behind in his hasty retreat, who were greatly admired and utilized by the breeders in the Province.

The stables and outhouses have been built in an extensive paddock, which include several small hills and to which is attached a large farm for the cultivation of green fodder. After the establishment was removed there the result has been very satisfactory. The young stock have developed bones and muscles in consequence of the greater freedom they enjoy. Fine horses are often purchased on account of Government for cavalry remounts, and others are drafted to the Bhavnagar State Imperial Service Lancers, and the State carriage stables.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The most memorable event of this year was the visit to
1883-1884. Bhavnagar of Kumar Shri (now Maharaja)
Bhavsinhji for the first time after his birth.
Ever since the lamentable death of his mother he was kept at

Gondal under the care of his grand-mother Bai Shri Monghiba Sahib. The pleasure with which the visit was looked forward by the Maharaja, his Diwan, and all his subjects, was enhanced by the fact that the young Prince had just then recovered from a severe illness. Preparations on a grand scale were made to accord him a splendid reception on arrival. He was escorted from Gondal by Vithaldas, and was brought to Bhavnagar by a special train. On arrival at the station, Diwan Samaldas, on behalf of the Maharaja bade him a hearty welcome. After the principal officers of the State, and the leading citizens and merchants were introduced, an imposing procession was formed and the young Prince was carried on an elephant to the city palaces. All along the route flowers were showered upon him by the people, and women were singing merry songs. After a short stay he returned to Gondal preparatory to joining the Raj Kumar College.

Lord Northbrook, a former Viceroy and Governor General of India, who took great interest in the welfare of India, had started a club in London for the advantage of the Natives of India in about 1882, under the distinguished patronage of His Imperial Majesty King Edward VII, then Prince of Wales. This useful institution met with such unqualified success that, with the hearty co-operation of several influential gentlemen, his Lordship determined to place the Club on a secure and permanent footing, and with that object in view appealed to the Princes and nobles of India for support. The appeal was generously responded to. On His Highness Maharaja Takhtsinhji coming to learn the great many advantages which the Club would confer on the Natives of India going to England for their education, with his inborn patriotic feelings and never-ending munificence, contributed the handsome amount of one lakh of rupees towards the Endowment Fund of the Club. His Highness' contribution was announced by H. R. H. the Prince of Wales (His Imperial Majesty the late King Edward VII) when he opened the Club on May 21st, 1863. Both His Highness and Samaldas were gratified to learn that the Maharaja was heartily thanked for his princely donation by the then future Emperor of India and by several noblemen and gentlemen by telegrams and letters.

The Maharaja's donation to the Northbrook Club.

Soon after the opening of the railway, Samaldas took up the subject of the extension of the Bhavnagar Railway to Mehsana so that the two systems of the metre gauge railway might be linked together. The former trade route was broken and destroyed by the extension of the B. B. & C. I. Railway line to Ahmadabad, and the trade from Marwar, Mewar, Malwa and Gujarat, which found its way to the port of Bhavnagar, and which, as so aptly stated by Col. Walker, had become the trade emporium, was diverted to Ahmadabad. The natural facilities at the port of Bhavnagar are great and many, and sea-carriage is comparatively cheaper. Samaldas, to whose heart the development of the resources of the State was dear, thought that the best measure for re-diverting at least some portion of the lost trade to its original channel, was to link the metre gauge systems of the Rajputana-Malwa Railway and the Bhavnagar Integral Railway at Mehsana. He submitted his proposal to the Maharaja who warmly approved of it. A letter addressed to Government through the Political Agent, conveyed His Highness' offer to construct the line.

Nothing was done by Government for several years. In the meanwhile sanction was accorded to the Baroda Government for a line from Mehsana to Viramgam on the condition that Government should extend the line to Wadhwan and link up the two metre gauge systems. Some years were also lost in carrying out the condition, but at last this long looked for connection was made and the first through train passed over it on the 14th December 1902. The broad-gauge between Wadhwan and Viramgam has been removed to Viramgam. This connection afforded great convenience to the Chiefs of the Province who attended the Coronation Darbar at Delhi 1902-03, and has fulfilled the expectations which were entertained by Maharaja Takhtasinhji and Diwan Samaldas. What immense pleasure it would have given to Maharaja Takhtasinhji and Diwan Samaldas to see their heart's desire amply fulfilled! In justice to them it may be said that, though the connection was made by the Baroda Government, the real credit of conceiving the project is entirely due to them.

Colonel Barton, the Political Agent, retired from service in September 1883, and was succeeded by Colonel E. W. West.

The Maharaja as well as Samaldas were gratified to find the same appreciative notice as before bestowed on the administration of the State by the new Political Agent as also by the Government of Bombay. The Political Agent says:—

“ His Highness the Thakor Sahib of Bhavnagar, Sir Takhtasinhji, K. C. S. I., has maintained his high character as a ruler.

“ His Highness the Thakor Sahib has given another proof of his enlightenment and public spirit by offering to construct a line on the metre gauge system between Wadhwan and Mehsana or such other point as may be fixed to connect the Rajputana line with the Bhavnagar-Gondal Railway. Government suitably acknowledged this offer, but nothing has, as yet, been settled about the proposed line.

“ A great deal is being done to improve the capabilities of the port at Bhavnagar—a powerful dredger, which will dredge to a depth of 32 feet, is being constructed. Two Hopper barges are also under construction to work with the dredger and carry out the dredged silt to sea. In this way it is hoped to keep the creek clear. It is also in contemplation to construct a dock. Fixed moorings, too, are being laid down, which will enable three steamers at a time to lie in safety in the creek without having to keep steam up. When all this has been done we may expect the port to go on developing trade till it is eclipsed by the new port, which there is talk of constructing at Pipavav or Kathivadar. Even then Bhavnagar will still play its part as a port, and as much time must necessarily elapse before the other port is ready for traffic, it is well worth while to develop the existing harbour.

“ As usual Bhavnagar has spent liberally on public works, the large sum of Rs. 4,38,241, having been devoted to this purpose.

“ It reflects much credit on the State authorities that two estates, which had been under management owing to the minority of their owners, were made over during the year to

“ the proprietors, freed from debts with which they had been
 “ encumbered. It is not often, so far as my experience goes,
 “ that such a thing happens in a Native State.

“ The relations between the Thakor Sahib and his brother
 “ continue to be most satisfactory, and it would be well if other
 “ States would profit by the example thus shown.

“ The Spinning and Weaving Mill, mentioned in the last
 “ administration report, is in full working. It is one of the
 “ many tokens of industrial activity which strike a visitor to
 “ Bhavnagar, and which make the place such a contrast to other
 “ towns of Kathiawad. Another thing that one remarks there is
 “ the attention that has been bestowed, and the amount expended
 “ on the arrangements for health, convenience and recreation of
 “ the inhabitants. A new public garden has lately been begun
 “ which will be an additional boon to the residents.”

In reviewing the Political Agent's report the Government
 of Bombay passed the following remarks on the administration
 of the Bhavnagar State.

5. “ The State of Bhavnagar continues to set an example
 “ of good administration, bearing witness to the high personal
 “ character of the Thakor Sahib and the skill and experience of
 “ his Minister.

“ Although the trade of Bhavnagar ports suffered in the
 “ general depression of the external commerce of Kathiawad
 “ during the year, there was no relaxation of efforts to develop
 “ and improve communication both of land and sea. Large sums
 “ were spent on roads and harbour works, and His Highness the
 “ Thakor Sahib offered to construct a railway to connect the
 “ Kathiawad line with the Imperial metre gauge Rajputana
 “ Railway at a point between Ahmadabad and Palanpur. The
 “ proposal has not yet led to a definite project. Of the sum of
 “ Rs. 4,38,241 spent upon public works, Rs. 36,640, were assign-
 “ ed to a special repair of the city water supply reservoir, and
 “ Rs. 21,047 to the new hospital, besides other sums devoted to
 “ objects connected with the health, convenience and recreation
 “ of the inhabitants.”

The President of the Rajasthanik Sabha repeated his opini-
 on about the high character of the Bhavna-
 gar Gras Court, and added that, in Bhavnagar
 “ the fact most worthy of notice is this

Kindly treatment of
 Gracias by Samaldas.

“ that, when disputes about shares broke out among the Lathia
 “ Gracias of Sanesara, Piparali, etc., the Diwan instead of refer-
 “ ring them to the ordinary Civil Courts and thus putting them
 “ to great expense, personally interested himself in the matter,
 “ and both reconciled the contending parties and effected the
 “ separation of their respective shares.” But the case of the
 Lathia Gracias was not an isolated one. In several co-shared
 villages the share under the *gras* settlement due to the Gracias
 from the village produce is usually paid to the leader or *Mukhi*
Bhagdar who then passes receipts for himself and as the repre-
 sentative of the rest of the shareholders. Complaints were
 heard in several cases that the *Mukhi Bhagdars* were practically
 cheating the shareholders and that in some cases they appropriated
 the whole amount to themselves and denied the right of the sub-
 sharers to any share at all. On the other hand, the subordinate
 shareholders were too poor to carry their case to a Civil Court.
 According to the long standing practice, the revenue authorities
 would not recognize the sub-sharers unless the proportion of
 their shares were decreed by a Civil Court of the State. Thus
 situated, the sub-sharers were gradually deprived of their patri-
 mony by the richer and powerful *Mukhi Bhagdars* or sharers.
 And the result was breaches of the peace and in some cases
 bloodshed between the contending parties. Samaldas was con-
 vinced of the fact of the great injustice which the practice in
 vogue was inflicting on the poor sub-sharers. An order was
 promulgated by the Darbar Hazur directing the Gras settlement
 Court that, when a dispute of this nature came before it, the first
 step to be taken was to advise the parties to come to an amicable
 settlement, failing which, if satisfied by *prima facie* evidence
 that the subordinate shareholder is entitled to a share in the
 produce of the co-shared village or land, *it should* pass a declaratory
 order, leaving the *Mukhi Bhagdar* or large shareholders free
 to prove in a Civil Court that the contested share pertains to
 him exclusively, and that the sub-sharer has no title to it. This

measure which has since been largely extended by His Highness Maharaja Bhavsinhji II, has proved most beneficial, and has saved many a poor sub-sharer from ruin, and avoided strife and bloodshed.

CHAPTER XIX.

During the course of the year the illness of Samaldas took a serious turn. He was suffering from indifferent health for sometime previously, which was ascribed to two causes, viz., (1) over-work, and (2) worries in consequence of the detestable conduct of base traducers, slanderers and malvolent persons.

With the method of regular work introduced by the Joint Administrators, and with the ever increasing prosperity and development of the resources of the State, its trade, commerce and industries, work was largely increasing. And, although Samaldas disliked and discouraged red-tapism as much as Gaurishankar and although decentralization had reduced some correspondence with the subordinate officers, the work of maturing and introducing measures to keep up the progress of the administration occupied much time. And the work in connection with the Railway, ever since Maharaja Takhtasinhji communicated his determination to construct and manage it on the financial responsibility of the State, was increasing almost daily, side by side with the administration of the State. And then the Diwan had to deal with a number of important and difficult problems in connection with the construction and management of the Railway such as would puzzle even a professional expert. It required rare energy, determination, and ability to cope with all these different sorts of work and at the same time to maintain the high character and efficiency of the administration of the State. In Samaldas there happily was a combination of all these qualities to which may be added those of patience and perseverance, and a remarkable talent for disposing of difficult questions.

But however strong mentally and bodily a man may be, the burden of the ever-increasing work was more than one man could fairly be expected to cope with. And if a man actuated by the sole desire of serving his master to the best of his ability, takes too great a burden of work on himself, the inevitable result

would be that his health will break down, and it would hasten the end of his life. This fact was realised in the case of Samaldas. Maharaja Takhtasinhji who was pained to find that his Diwan and friend was over-burdened with work and was injuring his health therefrom, appointed Vithaldas as Deputy Diwan and the State member on the board of management of the Bhavnagar-Gondal Railway. This measure gave some relief to Samaldas, as Vithaldas, besides doing the work of the railway member's office, transacted all the routine work of the Diwan's office, and obtained Samaldas' orders on important matters.

But disease had laid its hold on Samaldas. The other cause was not a little responsible for developing the sickness into Bright's disease, and, in spite of the most skilful medical treatment, his case became hopeless.

Ever since his elevation to the high and important post of Judicial Joint Administrator, he became an object of jealousy. And when he was raised to the highest post of trust and responsibility, the post of the Chief Karbhari or Diwan of the State, this feeling became intensified and when it was seen that Maharaja Takhtasinhji placed the most implicit confidence and trust in Samaldas, and treated him more as a trusted personal friend than as Diwan, the jealousy of certain traducers and slanderers, know no bounds. A clique of base persons now began by misreports in newspapers and by leaflets to decry the administration of and indulge in personal attacks on Samaldas.

The unchecked licence with which authors of libellous and mischievous publications, and a disreputable and discreditable portion—happily a very small portion—of the press could disseminate unfounded and malicious reports among all classes of people from their strongholds in British territory was clearly demonstrated and exposed in the case of Bhavnagar. True it is that in most cases the soul object of such base traducers was black-mailing, but there may sometimes be malevolence also.

Samaldas was perfectly indifferent to, and looked down with contempt on, all personal attacks on him. Like his father he never courted fame nor favour nor was he afraid of slanderers. He felt supremely happy in his conviction that he enjoyed the complete confidence of his master, and that his good administra-

tion was held in high esteem by such high authorities as the Political Agent and the Government of Bombay. The divine principle of forbearance and forgiveness which Samaldas maintained towards his traducers made them the more desperate and reckless. They now directed their venomous attack towards Maharaja Takhtasinhji also, which pained and worried Samaldas most. It is unnecessary to go any further in this painful subject. Suffice it to say that with Samaldas' blood on their heads some of these traducers continued in their nefarious trade of black-mailing and casting aspersions on almost all the principal officers responsible for the administration of the State until they were brought to book and punished in the High Court of Judicature of Bombay in July 1890. This fact clearly shows that in venting their venom the object which the defamers and malevolents—the pest and pestilence of respectable society—had in view was neither Samaldas nor his officient administration but something else.

As stated before, Samaldas' illness which commenced in about the middle of 1882 gradually laid the foundation of a serious disease, and it developed into Bright's disease. He was all along under the treatment of his trusted medical adviser and personal friend, Dr. Barjorji. But at his request Dr. Hojell from Bombay was called in for consultation. During his sickness many kind inquiries were made about his health by his numerous friends both Europeans and Natives, and the Maharaja daily went to inquire and comfort him in his sickness.

Death of Samaldas, 25th August 1884.

In spite of all skillful medical treatment Samaldas passed away on the 25th August 1884.

Directly the sad news of Samaldas' death spread in the town all the shops were closed and business was suspended in the town. His funeral was largely attended.

To Maharaja Takhtasinhji the news caused great pain and distress. The close tie of trusted and tried friendship was now broken, and the loss to His Highness and his State was irreparable. The Maharaja issued an obituary notice in Gujarati in an Extraordinary issue of the Official Gazette of which the following

is a verbatim translation into English. We confess our inability to adequately render into English the deep feelings of sorrow and pain which the sad occurrence caused the Maharaja as conveyed in every word in the Gujarati Notice, which with its verbatim in English is given below.

મહેર ખખર.

અમને અતી ખેદ અને ભારે દીલગીરી થાય છે કે અમારા ધણા નીમકહલાલ તથા ખરા દીલના રાન્યભક્ત અને અમોને ખુદને ખરા જીવનના ખારા મુખ્ય દીવાન આજમ સામળદાસ પરમાનંદદાસે આજરોજ સહવારના સુમારે સાડાઠસ કલાકે દેહત્યાગ કરી સ્વર્ગવાસ કર્યો છે. તેમની હમેશની ગહાપણુ ભરેલી રીતી તથા ધણી કાબેલીયત અને શક્તી વાળી આવડતને લીધે તેમની નોકરી અમારા દીલને ધણીજ પસંદ હતી. અને અમોને તેમની તરફની જે કીમતી સલાહ તથા મદદ વખતેવખત મળતી હતી તેહેની ખામી ખરેખરી અમને લાગ્યાવીના રહેશે નહીં.

એ દુખદાયક અનાવના કારણથી દરખારી સર્વે કામકાજ તમામ ઓશીસો તથા કોઠોમાં એક દીવસ અંધ રાખવું તેમજ તેમણે અનાવનો શોક દરખારી સર્વે નોકરોએ તથા મારી સઘળી પ્રજાએ આજની તારીખથી ખાર દીવસ સુધી રાખવો.

શીવાય શહેર ભાવનગરમાં અપોરવખતે તોપનો બહાર કરવામાં આવે છે. તથા ખેન્ડ-વાળુને દર આડવાડીએ એ દીવસ બંધવવામાં આવે છે તે અને આજની તારીખથી ખાર દીવસસુધી અંધ રાખવું.

અને અમારા મેહેલ મોતીયાગની અંદર ખાર દીવસસુધી ફક્ત અરધી કાડીએ વાવટો ચડાવવો.

સંવત ૧૮૪૦ ના ભાદ્રપદ શુદ્ધ ૫ સોમવાર, તા. ૨૫ આગસ્ટ સને ૧૮૮૪.

(સહી) તખ્તસિંહજી,

મહારાજા, સંસ્થાન ભાવનગર.

i. e. It gives us deep pain and sorrow that our most faithful, sincerely loyal, and our dearly beloved Chief Diwan, Azam Samaldas Parmananddas has departed from this world into Heaven at about ten o'clock and thirty minutes this morning. The services which he performed with his accustomed prudence, ability and devotion were greatly liked by us. The want of his valuable advice, and assistance which we constantly received from him will greatly be felt by us.

In consequence of this painful occurrence all business of the State in Offices and Courts should be suspended for one day, and all servants of the Darbar and all our subjects should observe mourning for twelve days from this day.

And the noon-day gun, and the playing of the band twice a week (in the public gardens) should be stopped for twelve days from this day.

And the flag at our Palace of Motibag should be lowered half-mast high for twelve days from this day.

Dated Samvat 1940, Bhadrapad Shud 5th, Monday, (corresponding with) 25th August 1884.

(Sd.) TAKHTASINHJI,

Maharaja, Bhavnagar State.

Maharaja Takhtasinhji was so much affected that he himself observed mourning for several days, an event quite unusual among the head of the Rajput reigning Houses.

Deputations from the Maharaja's subjects of Bhavnagar and of the different parts of the State came to Bhavnagar to wait on the Maharaja and Vithaldas to offer their condolences.

Several European friends of the Maharaja wrote to condole and sympathize with him in his sad bereavement among whom may be mentioned, Letters of Condolence, Sir T. C. Hope, Sir Barrow Ellis, Sir James B. Piele, Mr. E. H. Percival, Col. Barton, Col. West, Col. Watson, Col. Hunter, Col. Woodhouse, Col. Nutt, and others. Sir James B. Piele, an old friend of Samaldas' writing to the Maharaja said:

"I have been intending for some days past to write to you on the death of your Diwan, my old friend Samaldas. I am afraid he is a loss to you which it will be difficult entirely to fill, but I hope, the new Diwan will spare no pains to fill his father's place. It is strange that my venerable friend Gaurishanker should have survived his successor, and be still in possession of his faculties."

And Col. West said:

"I was very sorry indeed to hear yesterday of the death of your faithful old Minister Mr. Samaldas. I knew how your Highness valued him and what a loss he will be to your State."

Mr. Vithaldas received several letters of condolence and sympathy from European and Indian friends.

His Highness Maharaja Sir Bhagvatsinhji, G.C.I.E., L.L.B., Thakor Sahib of Gondal wrote a kind letter to Vithaldas saying,

"It is with great regret that I have learnt of the sad death of your lamented father. You will, I hope, let me offer you my sympathy and condolence in your hour of grief. You know this is an event which is beyond human control, and I trust you will be able to bear this heavy loss with patience and fortitude. I have already expressed my sense of grief to His Highness who must doubtless be very sorry on account of this sad occurrence."

And Col. Watson writing from 16, Royal Park, Clifton, said:—

"I have been much grieved to hear of your father's death. He was both a friend of mine, and an exceedingly able statesman. His loss will be great both to the Bhavnagar State, and to Kathiawad as well as to all his friends. I trust that you are all bearing up well under this calamity."

"I am very glad to hear that you have succeeded your worthy father as Diwan of the Bhavnagar State owing to the kindness of His Highness the Thakor Sahib. I have no doubt but that you will be loyal and hardworking, do justice to his selection and I wish you success in the discharge of your important duties."

We can well imagine the pleasure which it must have given to Col. Watson to learn that Vithaldas had succeeded his father as Diwan. For the prediction he had made in about 1881 became thus literally true. What he had said then was that Vithaldas would be the Diwan of Bhavnagar after Samaldas as he possessed the qualifications required for a successful Diwan of such an important State as Bhavnagar.

A week after Samaldas' death His Highness Maharaja Takhtasinhji selected and nominated Vithaldas to the post of the Diwan of Bhavnagar. In the resolution which the Maharaja passed on September 2nd, 1884, His Highness said:—

Selection and nomination of Vithaldas as Diwan of Bhavnagar.

"The post of the Chief Diwan (of our State) having fallen vacant by the demise of Azam Samaldas Parmananddas, we (hereby) nominate and appoint to the post of the Chief Diwan—Azam Vithaldas Samaldas (at present) Deputy Diwan who, since some time passed during the sickness of Azam Samaldas, has been performing all the duties in connection with the Diwan's office to our great and entire satisfaction."

The new Diwan Mr. Vithaldas was congratulated by his several friends,—both European and Indian—on his appointment to his father's post of the Diwan of Bhavnagar.

Greatly afflicted as the Maharaja was by the death of his trusted friend and Diwan Samaldas, another sad event added to his affliction and that was the sudden and unexpected death of his only brother Kumar Shri Juwansinhji, who, as remarked by the Political Agent, was on the best terms with His Highness.

Death of Kumar Shri Juwansinhji.

CHAPTER XX.

Being anxious to mark his high appreciation of the long, meritorious and devoted services of Samaldas by perpetuating his memory at his capital, His Highness the Maharaja resolved on founding an institution, which would appropriately commemorate the high scholastic attainments of his late Diwan and which Samaldas often wished to see established in Bhavnagar. Different projects were suggested but they did not meet with the Maharaja's approval. The idea of founding a College of Arts and Science emanated from the Maharaja himself, and he conveyed his proposal formally to the Government of Bombay, through the usual official channel, without any loss of time. The earnest desire of the Maharaja may well be seen by the fact that while he approached the Government of Bombay on the one hand, he moved the University of Bombay on the other to obtain their permission for the affiliation of the proposed College, and, at the same time he desired his State Engineer, who was then in England on leave, to prepare the plan, specifications, and estimates for a building, the style of which he also mentioned.

His Highness Maharaja Takhtasinhji resolves to perpetuate Samaldas' memory in a befitting manner.

A difficulty from an unexpected quarter presented itself which for a time caused some uneasiness to the Maharaja. The Gujarat College of Arts and Science had, just about this time, come into existence. But it was in want of funds without which its existence was seemingly precarious, and the success of that College, it was feared, might be imperilled by the establishment of a sister College in such close proximity, and having the powerful support of the State of Bhavnagar. An intimate friend of the Maharaja, high in office at the seat of Government, suggested a proposal that instead of founding a new College at Bhavnagar, the Maharaja may extend his support to the Gujarat College which might then be called the Gujarat-Samaldas College. The Maharaja strongly objected to this proposal and urged that the institution would not be a fitting memorial to Samaldas at any other place but Bhavnagar, where he lived and laboured in the best interests of the State. For a time the difficulty appeared to operate as a stumbling-block, and it was only removed by the Maharaja making a generous donation to the Gujarat College, which enabled it to stand on its tottering feet.

There was yet another difficulty, not so great as the one just mentioned, which had to be met. Any proposal from a Native State is in most cases viewed with suspicion by the learned. The University of Bombay having demanded some guarantee for a provision for the maintenance of the proposed College, the Maharaja promptly replied through the Political Agent that the revenues of the State would be responsible for the expenses of maintaining it.

These and other difficulties having been got over, the Maharaja next took steps towards selecting an efficient staff.

In the meanwhile the Maharaja received a letter of condolence from Sir James Fergusson, then Governor of Bombay, on the heavy afflictions which the Almighty had inflicted on him, and intimated his intention of paying a flying visit to Kathiawad. The Maharaja at once replied thanking His Excellency for his kind sympathy in his bereavement, and sent a formal invitation to Sir James Fergusson to kindly visit his capital and lay the

foundation stone of the Samaldas College buildings. His Excellency very graciously accepted this invitation, and performed the ceremony of laying the foundation stone, on the 2nd November 1884. An account of the proceedings is given further on.

The Political Agent in his annual report on the administration of the Province for 1884-1885 says:—(Summary, p. 7.)

21. "Bhavnagar is well administered, thriving and advancing.

22. "During the year the State was unfortunate in losing its old and trusted Minister Azam Samaldas Parmananddas, to perpetuate whose memory the "Samaldas College" has been established. His Highness the Thakor Sahib was also afflicted during the year by the loss of his brother Juwansinghji. To perpetuate the memory of the deceased His Highness has founded a Dispensary in the town of Bhavnagar.

24. Azam Vithaldas Samaldas has succeeded his father as Diwan.

And in the body of the report (pp. 22-23) the Political Agent says:—

117. His Highness the Thakor Sahib was much distressed during the year by the deaths, first of his old and trusted Minister, Azam Samaldas Parmananddas, and then of his brother Juwansinghji. The former was succeeded in office by his son Azam Vithaldas.

118. To commemorate the memory of his deceased Minister the Thakor Sahib resolved to found a College of Arts and Science to be affiliated with the Bombay University, and the resolution was carried out with extraordinary promptitude. The foundation stone of the Samaldas College was laid by His Excellency the Governor in November, and the requisite communications were made to the University of Bombay immediately afterwards, an application being forwarded to Government at the same time for the transfer of some gentlemen in the Educational Department to act as Professors. Mr. Jamsedji N. Unwala, Head Master of the High School, was appointed Vice-Principal and Acting Principal, pending the arrival of

"the permanent incumbent of the post from England, and in the beginning of 1885, he commenced the work of the new College which was temporarily located in the High School. Before the end of February Professor Gunnion, who had been selected by a Committee of distinguished gentlemen in England, arrived and assumed charge of the Office of Principal.

124. "The expenditure on public works was unusually large amounting altogether to Rs. 7,45,963."

It must be explained here that the amount so spent on public works was budgetted and sanctioned by the Maharaja during the life-time of Samaldas, and that it was in addition to Rs. 6,50,000, which was provided for Railway works, also budgetted during the life-time of Samaldas.

His Excellency the Governor, Sir James Fergusson, paid his second and last visit to Bhavnagar as promised to the Maharaja. After visiting Navanagar, Rajkot, Gondal and Junaghad, His Excellency took train at Dhoraji and arrived at Bhavnagar in the afternoon of the 24th November. He was received at the City Railway Station with all befitting honour by His Highness with the principal officials of the State and a large gathering of the leading merchants and citizens of Bhavnagar. And at the request of the Mahajan, or the leading citizens, opened the Sir Takhtsinhji Dharmshala.

The next morning was spent by His Excellency in sight seeing and visiting public institutions and in the afternoon ceremonial visits were exchanged by the Maharaja and the Governor.

In the evening His Excellency performed the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of the Samaldas College. The proceedings were opened by an address from the Maharaja which was read for him by the new Diwan Vithaldas, and it ran as follows:—*

"Your Excellency,
"On the memorable occasion of your first visit to this town you did me the honour of driving the last pike in the Bhav-

* The Times of India," November 25th, 1884.

“nagar-Gondal Railway. The great success of that project developed the need for a Dharmashala for passengers, which the merchants of this town, I am proud to say, were not slow to recognise and supply, and with Your Excellency's usual kindness you were pleased yesterday to declare that Dharmashala to be duly opened for use. To-day Your Excellency extends your kindness to me in consenting to lay the foundation stone of a College I desire to raise in my capital. I have looked forward with much pleasure to this your second visit. I fear it will be the last and would, therefore, seize this opportunity of briefly expressing my public thanks for your many personal kindness to me, which I trust, I shall always be able to show that I have fully valued.

“On the blessings of Education it would be wasting time to dwell. As far as I am able I endeavour to increase the means of attaining to its benefits, but it has appeared to me for some time past that the Province fell short of the full advantages which the High Schools of Kathiawad were so largely conferring. An institution seemed to be urgent, where Matriculated students could further extend their knowledge without incurring the expense of residence out of the Provinces which to hundreds was simply impossible. I trust this College would supply the need.

“In this desire for the spread of Education I was strengthened by the advice of my lamented friend, my late Diwan, Your Excellency knew him well, and therefore knows the loss I sustained by his death. His talents well fitted him for the post he occupied, and the obligations the State is under to him are more than I can possibly enumerate. To his business abilities were added the culture of an Oriental Scholar of no mean standing, and to me personally his happy illustrations of truths from his favourite Sanskrit and Persian authors always made his presence with me a comfort and pleasure. His untimely death I shall ever bemoan, but his memory, I desire, should ever be kept green, and it appears that no better way of doing so is possible than that of connecting it with this College. In this I take it, I have in the presence of Your Excellency here this evening Your Excellency's high approval.”

“Of all the arrangements for efficiently carrying on this institution I shall, through my friend Col. West, forward full particulars for Your Excellency's consideration, but I may here mention that the building, which will be of stone in Hindu style of architecture, will contain five Lecture Rooms, a Library, a Chemical and Physical Laboratory, and a large Lecture Hall, in which will be placed a marble bust of my lamented Diwan with a suitable inscription.

“Another personal loss I have sustained in the sudden death of my brother, has thrown gloom over the whole State and town, under which we are all still labouring. My brother was loved by all. He was one whom Education in its correct sense has enabled more effectively to use his natural powers. His mechanical skill was the surprise of many. I have secured his museum and collection of apparatus for this College, and at the same time endowed two scholarships bearing his name for future students in its halls.

“Bhavnagar may never again have the pleasure of welcoming Your Excellency, but I am using no idle words when I say that your kindness will ever keep Your Excellency's name in the affectionate remembrance of us all.

“In conclusion I respectfully request Your Excellency to lay the foundation stone of the Samaldas College.”

After laying the foundation stone, His Excellency delivered the following eloquent address:—

“The occasion on which we are met to-day will be always memorable to me. My former visit to Bhavnagar was, I think, made to perform my first public act in this Presidency. It was indeed my first visit to a Native State and here I pay, what probably is, my last visit during my term of government. As my last official act here, I comply with the request of my friend, the Thakor Sahib, to lay the Foundation Stone of an institution which will redound not more to the memory of one he holds so dear as his own everlasting honour.

“It seems to me that my friend loses no opportunity of doing good to his own people and to the Province in which

“ he is one of the greatest rulers. He must be ever-looking
 “ round him to see how best he can fulfil the high duties with which
 “ Providence has entrusted him, and certainly in no way can he
 “ better show his appreciation of the education which has raised
 “ him even higher than his lofty lineage, and his desire to give
 “ to others the benefits of the education he himself has received,
 “ than by founding this institution. He wishes to place this
 “ State in the forefront of the Kathiawad States, as it has been
 “ already distinguished in other respects, by founding a place of
 “ education, where the youths of the Province may resort to
 “ obtain all the benefits of higher education, teaching up to the
 “ requirements of the University. This is a very significant act,
 “ and I trust that in its results it will be of great importance.

“ Surely there is no act of His Highness to which he will
 “ always look back with greater satisfaction, and for which his
 “ name will be more kindly remembered. I think that nothing
 “ will tend more to attach to him the Ministers and Officials of
 “ the State than the proof he has given that he not only values
 “ their services, but that when unfortunately under the myste-
 “ rious decree of Providence they are removed from this world,
 “ he will mourn their loss and honour their memory. Such
 “ acts secure to the rulers fidelity and zeal, and I am sure they
 “ meet with the appreciation of his subjects.

“ He has dropped a tear also on the memory of that brother
 “ to whom he acted so generously in life, and of whom we
 “ entertained high hopes. But although, he is no longer among
 “ us, I hope that in the afflictions of those relations who are left
 “ behind the Thakor Sahib will be consoled for the loss he has
 “ sustained. It does, however, honour to his heart, I am sure,
 “ that at this moment he makes recollections the first theme of his
 “ discourse.

“ The time will soon arrive when my term of office will
 “ come to an end, and, I can assure you, my friend, and you all,
 “ that I shall inform my successor, as well as the Viceroy
 “ who is so soon to commence his career, of the progress which
 “ this Province has made, of the honourable part which many of
 “ its rulers are taking in its advancement, and especially of the
 “ example which my friend has set to them. Although the term

“ of office of a Governor is comparatively short, and, although, he
 “ must necessarily retire, when perhaps he is most fitted to
 “ perform his duties, yet the Government never ceases. In the
 “ course of my own term of office, several of my colleagues have
 “ passed away, and others have taken their places. I leave them
 “ in turn to my successors, and so it happens that the knowledge
 “ which we all gain, accumulates, and is carried on, and that
 “ which I myself have gained will certainly not be a loss either
 “ here or in another country. Nor indeed will the friendship which
 “ I have formed here, and the respect which I have gained,
 “ and which increases daily, for the people of this country, my
 “ earnest hopes for their welfare, and my desire wherever I
 “ may be, to serve them to the best of my ability, cease when
 “ I have bade them farewell.”

His Excellency the Governor, left the same night by the
 “ May Frere” for Khambat.

It may be mentioned here that the “Samaldas College”
 Usefulness of the has amply fulfilled the expectations formed
 Samaldas College. of its usefulness. It has sent up and passed,
 and still sends up and passes, every year a large number of
 students for the University Examinations. Several of its stu-
 dents have passed the highest degree in Arts, Science and Law,
 and are holding posts of trust and responsibility in different
 Native States as well as under the British Government. As a
 most pleasing instance it may be mentioned here that Mr.
 Bhaskar Rao, second son of Mr. Vithaldas, and grand-son of
 Mr. Samaldas, (a former pupil of this College) after success-
 fully passing the highest Examination in Arts at the Bombay
 University has recently been enrolled as an Advocate of the
 Bombay High Court. He is the first young gentleman from
 Kathiawad who has reached to such high academic distinction.
 The noble example set by the Maharaja in establishing the
 Samaldas College has been followed by a neighbouring State
 whose College of Arts and Science has become a useful adjunct
 to the University of Bombay.

Samaldas during his stewardship as Diwan was anxious for
 Laying of Iron pipes improvement in the water service to the
 from Gaga Talao. town. Hitherto water from the Gavari-

shanker Lake, or as is popularly called Gaga Talao, was brought to the town reservoir or the Ganga Jalia Talao, through an open aqueduct, which naturally was mixed up with a large amount of dust, and other matters in its course, and people living near the aqueduct, often polluted it. Instead of the aqueduct it was proposed to lay large iron pipes, which proposal was sanctioned and the work was commenced during the life-time of Samaldas.

CHAPTER XXI.

The most memorable event of this year was the elevation of His Highness Maharaja Takhtasinhji to the honourable and much coveted dignity of a Grand Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India by Her Gracious Majesty the late Queen-Empress of India. Although this event which was notified on the New Year's day, 1886, and which gave universal satisfaction not only in the Bhavnagar State, but throughout the Province, where His Highness was held in high esteem and regard, happened after Samaldas' death, yet, as the event most eloquently conveyed the high recognition and appreciation of His Highness' excellent administration of his State by the Sovereign of India, and, as Samaldas had ably and cordially assisted the Maharaja in the achievements of the excellence of the administration, it is but doing justice to him, that this happy event should find a place in his biography.

How happy would Samaldas have been, had God spared him even for a short period to learn the fact that from amongst the several reigning Princes and Chiefs of the different States in the Bombay Presidency of whom some were senior members of the Order of a Knight Commander of the Star of India, His Highness the Maharaja Takhtasinhji was selected and singled out by the Sovereign of the Order for the highest dignity of that Order. Deeply grateful were His Highness and his Diwan, Vithaldas for this event as in it lay the fact of the appreciation of the high state of efficiency of the administration conducted under the direct and personal supervision of the Maharaja, by the late Diwan Samaldas with conspicuous ability and singleness of purpose.

Early in December 1886 His Excellency Lord Reay, then Governor of Bombay made a tour through Kathiawad with the object of investing Maharaja Takhtasinhji with the Insignia of the Grand Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India at a Public Darbar held at Rajkot, the head-quarters of the Political Agency in the Province. On arrival His Excellency was accorded a cordial reception by the Princes and Chiefs of the Province assembled at Rajkot. An address of welcome was presented, in which the Princes and Chiefs said among other things, "Another reason still why we regard this visit of Your Excellency with more than ordinary interest, is that the main event of it is the investiture of one of our respected brother—Chiefs with the dignity of a Grand Commander of the Star of India. It is the very first occasion on which a Chief of this Province has been singled out by the Queen-Empress for this most exalted distinction, and while we are pleased and proud to think that the choice should have devolved on our brother—Chief of Bhavnagar, whose splendid acts of munificence and good government are worthy of such distinguished appreciation, we are also delighted to recognize in the event the acknowledgement on the part of the British Government, that in point of dignity and title, as in point of power and authority, the highest Chiefs of Kathiawad may rank with the best Royal Houses in India."

As the eulogium on the administration of the Maharaja bestowed by His Excellency at the Investiture Darbar has been echoed in his speech at the ceremony of the opening of the Samaldas College, we consider that the biography of Samaldas would be incomplete without a brief excerpt from His Excellency's address at the Darbar.

After the ceremony of investiture, and that of introduction to His Excellency of the Princes and Chiefs assembled at the Darbar was over, the Governor delivered a highly interesting and instructive address to those Princes and Chiefs.

"It is a matter of deep satisfaction to me that on the occasion of my first visit to this Province, I should be entrusted with the pleasant and honourable duty of presenting to His

“Highness the Thakor Sahib of Bhavnagar the Grant of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress of India conferring upon him the Dignity of a Knight Grand Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India. You will not fail to observe in this conspicuous proof of Her Majesty’s favour the deepest which the Queen-Empress takes in watching the affairs of Her Indian Empire and selecting for honour and public approval those Chiefs of India, whose public administration reflects credit upon themselves, and confirms in the most honourable and public manner the confidence reposed by the Sovereign in their loyalty and adherence to their engagements with the Paramount Power. It is the earnest desire of Her Majesty to uphold the rights and dignity of the Chiefs of India, and to see their administration strengthened by the maintenance of order, the execution of justice, and the moral and material development of the territories committed to their care. The prosperity of any ruler rests upon the prosperity of his subjects.”

His Excellency then addressed the Maharaja as follows :—

“*Thakor Sahib of Bhavnagar*, it has been a source of sincere gratification to my predecessors and myself to witness Your Highness’ steadfast adherence to the sound principles of Government, since you were placed in independent charge of Bhavnagar eight years ago. Your appreciation of the advantages of improved communication has induced you not merely to connect your capital with the railway system of India at Wadhwan on the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railways, but to contribute material aid in effecting a junction with the Rajputana-Malwa Railways by a line from Mehsana to the same terminus. Although this link does not pass through a yard of your own territory, Your Highness has thus given proof of the sound conviction that the interests of the Native States are so bound up with the interests of others, that the wisest policy of each is to co-operate liberally with its neighbours and to seek in the general prosperity of the Province an ultimate advantage to its own territories. Your expenditure of 38 Lakhs of Rupees on works of public utility, your liberal patronage of education in your State, and your contribution of

“more than a Lakh for a bridge at Rajkot, of one and a half Lakhs for the Rajakmar College, and of another Lakh to the Northbrook Club, have given to your liberality a wide range of publicity. I am looking forward to seeing for myself the hospital and the water works of your own city and the measures you are undertaking to improve your harbour. I am glad to learn also the cordial relation which subsists between Your Highness and the junior members of your family, as well as of the careful education which you are giving to your son and heir. You may rest assured that Her Majesty, who has this day given so conspicuous a proof of Her Royal favour, will not cease to follow with interest your career which I have every confidence, will reflect lustre on the honourable Order to which you have been admitted.”

In his speech at the Banquet, His Excellency after exhorting the Chiefs to continue in the noble task set before them of improving their own States and the Province at large, said that in the case of His Highness of Bhavnagar he had certainly earned the Most Exalted Order of a Knight Grand Commander of the Star of India through his varied personal and direct efforts to increase the prosperity of his subjects, and, alluding to a remark made by His Excellency the Viceroy in one of his speeches, that it was difficult to conceive a more enviable position in life than that of a great Indian Prince, Lord Reay told His Highness that “this is all the more true when the position, as in your case, Thakor Sahib, has not been made the means of gratifying your own vanity or ministering to your own pleasure, but has been made the means of improving the moral and material welfare of your subjects, and of adding to the lustre of this great Province. We all feel that in you, Kathiawad has been honoured, and that in your person to-day the Sovereign has also honoured your fellow Chiefs.....Your Highness and your fellow Chiefs should take for your motto, that which seems to have guided many of your actions hitherto, the motto *Excelsior*. I now have the honour of proposing Your Highness’ health on this auspicious occasion, congratulating you most heartily in the name of this distinguished company on the honour which has been conferred on Your Highness by the Queen-Empress.”

How justly proud would Samaldas have been and how deeply touched would he have been with the sentiments of high praise bestowed on the good and liberal Government of the Maharaja, not only by the representatives of the British Crown in the Western Presidency but by the brother Chiefs of the Maharaja! And here we may be allowed to say that nothing is further from us than to take away any of the credit which justly pertain to the new Diwan Vithaldas whose wise and excellent administration of the State after his succession to the Diwan's post met with high approval not only from Maharaja Takhtasinhji but also from the representative of the Government in the Province. But surely we must give to Samaldas that credit which is undoubtedly due to him for the period of more than six years since the Maharaja assumed independent charge of his State, for the praiseworthy progress which the administration of the State had made during the tenure of office of Samaldas as Diwan.

Arrival of His Excellency the Governor at Bhavnagar.

His Excellency the Governor arrived at Bhavnagar on the afternoon of the 15th December 1886.

After spending two days in sight-seeing, and exchange of visits and other engagements, His Excellency performed the ceremony of opening the Samaldas College.

Opening of the Samaldas College.

A large *Shamiana* was pitched in the compound of the College which, by the time of the arrival of His Excellency accompanied by His Highness, His Excellency's Staff and the Political Officers of the Province, was full of visitors, the principal officers of the State, and the Bhavnagar celebrities as well as the Principal and Professors of the College, and a number of graduates of the Bombay University who had passed the University Entrance Examinations from the Bhavnagar High School. The pleasure of the Maharaja was especially enhanced by the presence of that veteran father of the Political Officers, present at the assemblage, we mean, General R. H. Keatinge, who a generation after he left the Province, was able to see for himself with great satisfaction what rapid advancement in point of moral and material progress the State of Bhavnagar had made.

The proceedings were opened by the Diwan Vithaldas reading the following address to His Excellency on behalf of the Maharaja:—

“Your Excellency,

“When two years ago, my respected friend Sir James Ferguson, kindly laid the foundation of this building, I briefly alluded to the need there had arisen in Kathiawad of a Collegiate Institution affiliated to the University of Bombay. That need, to my mind, was so urgent that I resolved to supply it while the building was under construction. I am now happy to say that the experiment, judging both from the number of students and the results achieved at the University Examinations, has been a success. In asking Your Lordship, therefore today to declare this building open, I have the satisfaction of informing you that you are placing within its walls a College already organized and in working order, and which although now small, bears promise of a large career of usefulness and influence in future. Time will not permit me to trace the growth and describe to Your Excellency the present state of public education in my State, but I know my esteemed friend Col. Woodhouse, will be able, whenever Your Excellency may so desire, to give an account of my endeavours to stimulate education among my subjects of both sexes which, I trust, will not prove unsatisfactory. I may however mention that the College which Your Excellency is transferring to this building today, is the first and the only institution of its kind in this Province, but that while thus providing for the higher education of the rising generation, elementary female and technical instruction is being fostered too—the formation of an Agricultural Class in connection with the High School being the initial measure in the last mentioned direction. Your Excellency will have noted that this building bears the honoured name of my late Diwan Samaldas, whose death I still lament. In him I lost a warm friend, and my State a wise and enlightened administrator. Possessed as he was of high culture, I could think of no better way of perpetuating his memory than by connecting his name with an institution which was his earnest desire to see established, and I trust that

“ that name will exercise an abiding influence over those who
 “ may be instructed within these walls, in the attainment of a
 “ high moral and intellectual standard which Diwan Samaldas
 “ was so well known to have held. This structure which is
 “ built of stone in the Hindu style of architecture, contains six
 “ class rooms, a library, a chemical and physical laboratory, and
 “ a lecture hall. I have much satisfaction in publicly bearing
 “ testimony to the skill and energy with which my Executive
 “ Engineer, Mr. R. Proctor—Sims, prosecuted the construction
 “ of this edifice—qualities which show themselves prominently
 “ in the other public works to which Your Excellency’s attention
 “ has, no doubt, been drawn. I have also to express as publicly
 “ my thanks to the Principal, Mr. Gunion, Vice-Principal,
 “ Prof. Unvala, and the rest of the teaching staff of the College
 “ for the zeal and assiduity with which they successfully worked
 “ it to a stage of comparative efficiency. And now Your Ex-
 “ cellency will, I trust, pardon me if I turn from you for one
 “ moment to the rest of our friends assembled here to express
 “ with what intense and peculiar satisfaction I regard the fact of
 “ your presiding at the present ceremony. You, my friends,
 “ know, as well as I do, the great fame as a highly accomplished
 “ and veteran educationist, which preceded His Excellency’s
 “ arrival in this country, and that although we are not naturally
 “ very sanguine about our relation with a new Governor, until
 “ we have tried him and proved him, that fame led us to form
 “ expectations and rejoice in hopes, which you will agree with
 “ me, on near and personal acquaintance, have been more than
 “ realized. His Excellency’s presence here necessarily curtails
 “ the expressions of our thoughts regarding him, but the very
 “ best I can say, on an occasion like this, is that for the inaugu-
 “ ration of a Temple of Education we could nowhere find a more
 “ sincere, learned and devoted priest, than him, whom it is now
 “ my privilege to ask to pronounce his benediction upon this
 “ College and to declare it open.”

His Excellency the Governor rose amidst renewed cheering,
 and in declaring the College open addressed the assembly in a
 speech in which among other things he said :—

“ Your Highness, Col. Wodehouse, Ladies, and Gentlemen,

“ It gives me, as Chancellor of the University of Bombay,
 “ pleasure to be allowed to open this day another temple which
 “ will send, I hope, a select number of disciples to that Univer-
 “ sity of which Western India is justly proud. When such a
 “ College is inaugurated in our own regulation districts, we are
 “ proud of our own efforts, but we give a double welcome to a
 “ College which is entirely the result of independent and self-
 “ aided efforts of a Native State. To me it is a pleasing thought
 “ apart from the high patronage which this College will have
 “ from Your Highness, whom I am glad to call a patron of letters,
 “ science and arts, that it will have as its Principal a distinguish-
 “ ed countryman of my own, Dr. Gunion, and that he was select-
 “ ed not out of a list of two or three candidates, but that when
 “ the applications were invited such was the fame of the
 “ magnanimous ruler of Bhavnagar that one hundred and thirty
 “ candidates entered the lists to be appointed Principal of this
 “ College. That fact is a sufficient answer to those who assert
 “ that it is to English Government institutions only that English
 “ scholars will resort for employment. Whenever I hear such
 “ statements I shall point out to those one hundred and thirty
 “ candidates with outstretched necks in nervous expectation to
 “ this Bhavnagar appointment. Apart from the privilege of
 “ having such a Principal, you have been fortunate enough to
 “ secure a very able linguist as your Vice-Principal, able in
 “ letters and in science, and if I do not mention every member
 “ of the staff it is because I know that they do not wish their
 “ merits to be proclaimed on this occasion before this institution
 “ has proceeded further on, what I hope will be, a successful
 “ course. There is however another subject which is worthy of
 “ our attention. Whilst I was in Kathiawad I have opened
 “ institutions dedicated to the near relatives of the Chiefs, I have
 “ opened institutions dedicated to the Political Agent but to-
 “ day for the first time I open an institution dedicated to the
 “ memory of an Ex-Diwan. I think Your Highness has set a very
 “ good example in showing appreciation of the merits of your
 “ Prime Minister by founding an institution which certainly
 “ would be in harmony with his own wishes for the welfare of your
 “ subjects. He being a first rate Sanskrit and Persian scholar,
 “ would undoubtedly have been glad to see the rise of an

" institution where Sanskrit and Persian will form the foremost
 " branches of education. Now I must be allowed to dwell as
 " shortly as I can on the very remarkable series of Diwans to
 " which this State owes part of its prosperity. When we mention
 " the name of Samaldas we recollect that his family has been
 " associated with the State as far back as the year 1817 when
 " Parmananddas was made Assistant Diwan before he became
 " Diwan or Chief Minister in 1826. Of his good deeds we may
 " chronicle, the suppressed outlawry of the Kathis of Kundla and
 " the Khashias of Mahuva, and a subject in which I am very
 " much interested, and which is as important in 1886 as it was
 " in 1826.....Now Your Highness must allow me to revert to
 " the gentleman who is to-day the hero of the hour I
 " mean the late Diwan. Those who knew him personally and
 " those who knew him only by reputation, turn to him to-day.
 " His career began at the age of eighteen as a subordinate in the
 " Political and Judicial departments, and in 1864 we find him as
 " Chief Justice and Assistant Diwan. We know what he did for
 " the Civil and Criminal Procedure Codes, we know, how with
 " the previous Diwan, he succeeded in obtaining the right of
 " civil and criminal jurisdiction over the one hundred and six-
 " teen villages which had been deprived of it. We also know
 " that during Your Highness' minority he was both Assistant
 " Administrator in the Revenue Department, and Joint Admini-
 " strator in the Judicial Department, and that in the Revenue
 " Department through his energy that signal boon has been con-
 " ferred upon the State, the introduction of *Khatabandi*,
 " instead of *Bhagwatai*. But what distinguished his
 " rule above all things was that he continued the traditions
 " which he found and had early and wisely been laid down by
 " his predecessors. The relations between Chiefs and Diwans
 " are naturally of an extremely delicate character. None of us
 " can afford to see through the eyes of others, we must keep our
 " eyes and our ears open to judge for ourselves, but to those who
 " are in high positions it is certainly of the utmost importance
 " that what should reach their ears and should come under their
 " observation should be facts, so that they should know the
 " wants of their subjects and that they should not be misled as
 " to the way in which they have to exercise their great responsi-

" bilities. Let me congratulate on this occasion the son, who I
 " believe represents the third generation of Diwans in that family
 " of Samaldas, with which the fortunes of the State are so nearly
 " connected. * * All we have seen at Bhavnagar have con-
 " vinced Lady Reay and myself that Your Highness is actuated
 " by the disinterested wish of doing all in your power to increase
 " the prosperity and welfare of your subjects. You have asked
 " me to give my benediction to this College, but you must allow
 " me to say that, though knowledge is power, and though the
 " knowledge imparted here may increase human power still there
 " is a higher power without whose blessing nothing on this Earth
 " can prosper. To whatever creed we belong and I know that
 " almost all creeds are represented here today, I am sure I
 " shall offend none if I say, that the benediction which I hope
 " will rest on the great work to be performed in this noble edi-
 " fice, and the other works established under Your Highness'
 " benign rule will be the Divine Blessing."

Before quitting the hall, His Highness who had led the
three cheers at many points in Lord Reay's speech, briefly
 thanked His Excellency for having complied with his request to
 declare the College open and for the address he had just
 delivered.

Honoured and respected by all Samaldas died while yet in
 the prime of life with a high reputation rarely gained by a Prime
 Minister during a comparative short stewardship of less than
 seven years. With energy, zeal and aptitude for work, with
 long and varied experience of the administration of the State,
 and with liberal policy, and sound and mature judgment there
 was yet before him a life of usefulness which he would have
 turned to good account to the great advantage to the State and its
 people and also to his great credit but which was so mercilessly
 cut short by the cruel hand of death.

CHAPTER XXII.

Samaldas left behind him two sons, Vithaldas and Lalubhai,
 and one daughter Anop Kunvarba,—a
 number of grand children and other near re-
 lations and a large circle of friends to bemoan his loss.

About seven months before his death, Samaldas executed his last will. It is most gratifying to find this important document full of those sentiments of loyal, faithful and devoted attachment to the person of the ruler of Bhavnagar and the State itself, which had descended to Samaldas as a precious heritage from his revered father and which he so carefully preserved for himself and for his descendants and which characterized his whole career.

In his will he expressed his sense of deep gratitude for the great many kindnesses he had received at the hands of Maharaja Takhtasinhji and for the implicit confidence which His Highness had reposed in him. He next especially enjoined his two sons to always remain loyal, faithful and devoted to the Maharaja and his State, whether in or out of office. He directed his sons to establish and maintain a *Shivalaya* with a large building to accommodate from ten to fifteen *Sanyasis*, and to feed them daily. And after making certain bequests, he exhorted his two sons to live in peace and amity. Like his revered father he was liberal in his charities, and, like him, also he never wished that these should be proclaimed.

We must take up the subjects which we have reserved to notice in conclusion : these are (1) Legislation, (2) Revision Settlement of *Khatabandi* or the State demands, (3) Railway, (4) Trade, Commerce and Industry, (5) Education, (6) Relation with the sister-States of Bhavnagar, (7) Pastime, and (8) Constancy. These we now propose to notice in the order in which we have placed them here.

Nothing was more repugnant to Samaldas than to burden the Statute Book of the State with over-legislation, and nothing was more repugnant to him than to leave the Courts of the State without a law or rule for their guidance, as otherwise they would be left, as they were left before his time, absolutely free to dispense justice—if justice it could be called at all—as they pleased. With this firm conviction his motto, in giving laws to the State was *simplicity*. From Samvat 1920 (A. D. 1864), when the Civil and Criminal Codes of Procedure were prepared and passed, Samaldas had the charge of the legislative department—so to speak—of the State until his

death. All laws and rules—whether passed in the time of the late Maharaja Jaswantsinhji, or in that of the Joint Administration, or after the late Maharaja Takhtasinhji assumed independent administration of his State and until the death of Samaldas—were drafted and prepared by him. The simplicity of the phraseology of these laws and rules leaves no room for any difficulty which is so often felt in clearly understanding the more elaborate and complex British Laws and regulations. As in the case of the Civil and Criminal Codes of Procedure, so also in that of all other subsequent laws and rules, the prevailing custom and practice and the wants of the people of the State were kept in view. In fact, the laws and rules prepared by Samaldas may fairly be called a codification of the customary law of the Country.

The Revision—(the third)—settlement of the State demands is the second subject noted above. We have already stated how the old revenue system of *Bhagvatai* was replaced by the *Khatabandi* or Cash settlement, and how Samaldas assisted in its introduction soon after the formation of the Joint Administration. It was soon found out that, as the land had not been then surveyed, the amount of land under each holding was under-estimated by the district revenue officers, and that, therefore, the rate per acre was unduly high, and that as the settlement was made on the basis of the average of the yield of the former years immediately preceding the year of the settlement when prices were high, the rate fixed pressed doubly high on the cultivators. Under these circumstances the Joint Administrators had to deduct 20 per cent all round in 1873-74 from the amount of the settlement. Fortunately the great characteristic feature of the *Khatabandi* system is its elasticity, and no cultivator is rigidly bound down to it. The first settlement which was made for four years, Samvat 1928-31 (A. D. 1872-75), was renewed and a second settlement was made also for four years in Samvat 1931-32 (A. D. 1875-76) which lapsed soon after Samaldas became Diwan. If the Joint Administrators felt difficulties on account of the lean years which followed the first settlement in the realization of the State demands as fixed, Samaldas had to face greater difficulties in making a revision settlement soon after the visitation of one of the

severest famines on record. But by patience, tact and moderation, he, with the cordial assistance of Vithaldas, the Revenue Commissioner, overcame the difficulties, and with prudent measures he succeeded in effecting a satisfactory settlement with the ignorant and illiterate cultivators. As a preliminary measure, the district revenue officers were directed to hold Panchayats of cultivators and others in each village to decide on the change to be made on account of increased cultivation, new wells dug by the State, or other causes, and in case of a difficulty, a Panchayat of Patels (headmen) of different villages was ordered to be held to decide the rate at which the assessment should be fixed. The Revenue Commissioner supervised all these proceedings and submitted the settlement so made for the final approval of the Diwan. In case of any complaint, Samaldas called the cultivators and a Panchayat of Patels and Grasias before him and settled it fairly and equitably. But what pleased and satisfied all was the great principle which he directed the Revenue Commissioner to keep in view in making the revision settlement, and it was this : that the assessment should be so regulated that the cultivator should be able to pay in a bad year from the savings of a good one. By the constant care and exertions of Vithaldas much of the waste land was brought under cultivation. This, together with the revision settlement, resulted in a large advance on the average receipts of the previous settlements.

The late Mr. Percival, whose keen interest in the welfare of the State of Bhavnagar, never abated, and to whom Samaldas used to communicate particulars of the larger and important measures which he introduced in the State, writing to Samaldas on the 2nd May 1883, among other things says:—"It is very gratifying to me to know that the Bhavnagar State is so well managed under your care, and I congratulate you both on its prosperity and on the high reputation maintained."

In treating the third subject of railway we must observe that we have, we believe, already said enough for our present purposes, about the general question of the construction and management of the railway, and also about the satisfactory return it has made to the State up to the present time. What we now propose to give is the amount of the capital outlay, the net earnings on the outlay, and the per-

Railway.

centage of the net earnings over it each year from the time of the opening of the railway to that of the death of Samaldas. The following statement gives these figures:—

Year.	Total capital outlay.	Net Earnings.	Percentage on net earnings.
1880-81	50,68,156	1,75,180	3.46
1881-82	61,01,967	2,46,203	4.22
1882-83	64,01,084	2,36,271	3.69
1883-84	65,45,150	3,56,376	5.44
1884-85	67,41,024	2,87,439	4.26

This result was, doubtless most gratifying to Samaldas, and encouraged him to conceive more extensive measures for the development of the resources of trade and commerce at the ports of the State.

So confident was Samaldas of a large development of trade, commerce and industry after the railway was opened, that even at the time when the strain on the finances of the State was great on account of the heavy expenditure on the railway, then under construction, large amounts were spent through the Public Works Department of the State in order to improve the capabilities of the port of Bhavnagar. And, while the railway from Bhavnagar to Wadhwan was under construction, two alternative proposals were submitted for his consideration : these were, (1) a branch line from Dhasa or some other convenient point to the new port of Kathivadar, now called Port Albert Victor, and (2) the linking of the two metre-gauge lines—Bhavnagar and Rajputana-Malwa Railways at Wadhwan. We will not repeat here the grounds, stated before, on which Maharaja Takhtasinhji and Samaldas gave preference to the second over the first proposal.

Cautions and circumspect as Samaldas was, he would not proceed with any undertaking without first satisfying himself as

regards its ultimate success. Well aware as he was of the existence of the facilities at the new port of Kathivadar for turning it into a new port, Samaldas naturally hesitated to favour the construction of a line to that port before there was evidence to show that there would be trade enough for the three ports, viz., Bhavnagar, Mahuva and the new port, and that the new port would not be seriously injuring the trade and prosperity of Bhavnagar and Mahuva. He very properly considered that, with all the fluctuations in trade, the ports of Bhavnagar and Mahuva fully answered the requirements of the trade and commerce of the whole Province, and that it would be prudent to await the result which the opening of the extension of the Rajputana-Malwa Railway to Wadhwan would show by the expected diversion of the trade to, and from Rajputana and other countries, and the development of the trade of the Province, at the port of Bhavnagar.

Having regard to all these and similar other weighty considerations, Samaldas obtained the Maharaja's sanction for the necessary improvement at the new port, and at the same time desired the State Engineer to report on the improvements to be made for increasing the capabilities of the port of Bhavnagar. On the recommendation of the late Mr. R. Proctor Sims, certain works were commenced which have been mentioned in the several reports of the Political Agents extracted above, and some of which were finished during the lifetime of Samaldas. He was glad to learn from Mr. Proctor Sims that the capabilities of the port were not confined to what may be done in the creek, though this is unquestionably large, that on the gulf of Khambat (Cambay) just below the outer lighthouse, at the entrance to the Bhavnagar Creek, there were one or two excellent sites for docks into which vessels of any tonnage might enter and lay safe at anchorage in any weather, and to which nothing could be easier than extending the line of Railway.

In considering the trade returns given below, there are two things which must particularly be borne in mind, (1) the Natural condition of the Province of Kathiawad, and (2) the excess of exports over imports or *vice versa*.

First then with regard to the natural condition of the Province: With a sea-board of nearly five hundred miles, and no place more than seventy-five miles from the sea coast, the produce of Kathiawad finds a ready outlet. Every little creek provides a means of access and has its trade centres. Besides the small centres there are twelve or thirteen centres which draw more or less produce of the Province for export, and receive imports of goods for home consumption, and transmission to the neighbouring countries. There are large as well as small centres, where conditions are hardly equal, but they enter into competition with each other. But since the advent of the B. B. & C. I. Ry. to Wadhwan it became a powerful competitor with all the ports. However the well known axiom of railway economies, *Give and Take* has been fully demonstrated in the case of the Bhavnagar railway. If it takes away some of the produce, chiefly cotton, from the Province, it certainly brings into it the produce of the other countries which it serves.

Just as water will find its own level, so there are enterprising merchants who will always discover how fractional savings can be effected in the cost of conveying their goods to the consumers. A careful study of the course of trade and its wants, measures for promoting and fostering it, low customs, roads and convenience at the port, removal of vexatious imposts and a large and ready capital are means of drawing trade, and fortunately ever since the time of Parmananddas, the successive Diwans of the State have never relaxed their labours in these directions. And no one was more anxious and ready than Samaldas as to provide every facility for the trade and commerce, and to give every possible encouragement to traders and merchants, and he knew that the best means of drawing more trade to the port of Bhavnagar after the railway was opened was to keep these measures always in mind. He often assembled merchants before him, inquired as to their wants, and promptly took steps to give effect to all their reasonable requests. And, although the Joint Administrators had lowered and simplified the tariff, he still further lowered and simplified it. The result was most satisfactory, as will be seen from the following statement, summarised from the annual trade returns published in the State Gazette.

Year.	Export.	Import.
A. D. 1870-71	93,34,495	93,15,379
" 1871-72	67,79,025	61,06,599
" 1872-73	81,46,167	57,46,813
" 1873-74	89,59,762	52,91,652
" 1874-75	1,08,21,598	63,68,061
" 1875-76	96,14,331	65,71,820
" 1876-77	98,30,764	63,63,058
" 1877-78	90,31,637	77,88,473
" 1878-79	28,63,534	54,35,170
" 1879-80	48,83,101	77,91,037
" 1880-81	75,40,603	92,00,115
" 1881-82	1,08,71,844	75,50,606
" 1882-83	1,42,10,385	69,11,927
" 1883-84	1,30,25,581	63,19,624
" 1884-85	1,61,60,608	63,14,474

A comparison of the figures of this statement shows that the highest figure of the value of exports, Rs. 1,61,60,608, was reached in 1884-85, the year in which Samaldas died, and that the lowest figure in exports went down to Rs. 28,97,534, in 1878-79 in consequence of the effects of the famines and bad seasons which overran the province concurrently for over two years, and that something approaching to the normal level of the export trade was not reached till 1880, *i. e.* after the railway was opened. It would be on the other hand perceived that the imports—princi-

pally of food-stuffs—rose during the course of famine years, and that they went down to their normal level after the effects of the famine and bad seasons had disappeared. It is hardly necessary to say here that these fluctuations, both in the export and import trades, depend largely on the local conditions and circumstances.

Samaldas, however, did not favour the port of Bhavnagar alone at the expense of the other ports of the State. He fostered and encouraged trade and commerce at all the ports.

The following statement compares the export trade through the ports of the Bhavnagar State with that through all other ports of Kathiawad, and its fourth column gives the total of the trade value at all the ports, inclusive of those of the State of Bhavnagar during the period of ten years from 1875-76 to 1884-1885.

Year.	Through Bhavnagar ports.	Through the other ports of Kathiawad.	Total.	Remarks.
1875-76	1,40,98,710 54	1,18,47,278 46	2,58,55,988	
1876-77	1,27,40,260 49	1,30,87,729 51	2,58,23,989	
1877-78	1,19,83,905 58	84,28,497 42	2,04,12,403	
1878-79	49,39,282 59	34,15,502 41	83,54,784	Famine.
1879-80	72,95,895 67	34,98,566 33	1,07,92,461	Famine.
1880-81	1,16,49,215 52	1,04,74,667 48	2,21,23,882	
1881-82	1,55,51,102 69	67,74,241 31	2,24,05,348	
1882-83	1,97,18,382 75	65,52,838 25	2,62,71,220	
1883-84	1,72,48,516 75	55,68,999 25	2,28,17,675	
1884-85	2,18,19,130 71	78,96,842 29	3,06,15,872	

The figures in italics in the above statement, indicate the percentage of the whole trade at the ports of Bhavnagar and the other ports of the province, and they show that, with the exception of one year 1876-77, when cotton was produced much below the average in the State, the ports of Bhavnagar drew much more exports, chiefly cotton, than all the ports of the Province put together. It is gratifying to note here that this position has been maintained throughout and up to the present time.

The following statement compares the import trade through the ports of the Bhavnagar State with that through all other ports of Kathiawad, and its fourth column gives the total of the trade value at all the ports, inclusive those of the Bhavnagar State during the period of ten years from 1875-76 to 1884-85.

Year.	Through Bhavnagar Ports.	Through the other ports of Kathiawad.	Total.	Remarks.
1875-76	95,95,759 <i>52</i>	96,33,105 <i>48</i>	1,82,28,865	
1876-77	87,17,488 <i>43</i>	1,12,67,377 <i>57</i>	1,93,84,865	
1877-78	1,01,01,348 <i>49</i>	1,02,57,569 <i>51</i>	2,03,58,907	Famine.
1878-79	74,15,945 <i>41</i>	1,03,75,794 <i>59</i>	1,77,91,739	Famine.
1879-80	1,01,52,498 <i>57</i>	76,23,210 <i>43</i>	1,77,75,708	
1880-81	1,19,62,548 <i>68</i>	54,08,030 <i>32</i>	1,73,90,468	
1881-82	1,06,94,910 <i>57</i>	47,68,578 <i>43</i>	1,64,63,468	
1882-83	95,62,910 <i>68</i>	69,89,792 <i>32</i>	1,65,52,910	
1883-84	86,58,306 <i>68</i>	55,73,753 <i>32</i>	1,42,32,059	
1884-85	97,18,716 <i>58</i>	66,74,927 <i>42</i>	1,64,93,043	

In connection with the above statement it may be remarked that, in spite of the great advantages which the other ports of the Province possess over the ports of Bhavnagar, the latter ports draw imports generally largely in excess of those of the former ports. While Bhavnagar, in consequence of its agreements with the Government, is bound to levy duty on goods from foreign ports according to the tariff in use for the time being at the British Ports, the other maritime States which are not bound by any such agreements, are free to levy any lower duty they choose to impose on goods from foreign ports, and this is not a small advantage to them.

The observance of the well-recognised rule of political economy—to sell more to strangers yearly than consume of theirs in return—cannot more appropriately be applied to any other country than to an essentially agricultural Province like Kathiawad, where the prosperity and wealth of the people are rightly measured by the excess of exports over imports of its trade. There are no mines of precious metals or minerals, nor any thriving industry in the Province which might bring in hoards of silver and gold in return for its exports. Countries like America and the United Kingdom, with their thriving industries, mines of precious metals and minerals, can well afford to look approvingly upon the excess of imports over exports.

As regards the developement of industry we have already quoted the observations made by two successive Political Agents viz, Col. Barton and his successor Col. West, and will therefore note them here in passing only.

Col. Barton observes (1883) that the developement of the resources and trade of Bhavnagar is continuously progressing under the personal care and supervision of the enlightened Chief and his able Minister, and that, in consequence of the confidence inspired by the conduct of the administration, private enterprise is being largely developed in Bhavnagar by Europeans and Native capitalists.

And Col. West observes (1884) that the spinning and weaving mills is one of the many tokens of industrial activity which strikes a visitor to Bhavnagar, and which makes the place such a contrast to other towns of Kathiawad.

And here we cannot do better than quote the observations made by Col. Watson who, having twice acted as Joint Administrator of Bhavnagar, and who moreover, having held the charge of the Gohilwad Prant for several years was in a position to judge and compare the developement of trade and industry in Bhavnagar both before and during the time of Samaldas' Diwanship. He says :—

“The port of Bhavnagar is specially advantaged by the railway way. Its customs revenues have already nearly doubled. The prosperity of the city of Bhavnagar is daily increasing. Large and handsome buildings are already erected in the vicinity of the City Station. Trade is increasing to such a great extent, that Bhavnagar cannot show a single instance of former years in which its trade had reached to such a pitch to which it has now reached. About sixty four new firms of merchants have been opened, of which about 50 are opened by merchants residing in places other than Bhavnagar, such as Ahmadabad, Piran Patan, Wadhwan Limbadi, Jetpur, Dhoraji, Dholera, Gogha, Rajkot, Bombay, etc., besides the agencies of European firms from Bombay.

“The trade and traffic of the B. G. Railway which formerly did not come to Bhavnagar.” “way may be divided into parts,—(1) Inward and (2) Outward.

“As to the inward traffic: Before the introduction of the railway no cotton was brought from Jhalawad, Nagar territory and other parts. There is a prohibitive duty on cotton of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in Junaghad and Nawanagar territory. Nevertheless the merchants pay this prohibitive duty and bring cotton to Bhavnagar by railway from Junaghad and Nawanagar districts. Cotton and Kapas are also brought to Bhavnagar by railway from such distant places as Nadiad, Petlad, Anand, Borsad, Disa, Khambat, (Cotton from Khambat is now brought to Bhavnagar by railway from the Anand station on the B. B. & C. I. Railway instead of exporting it direct from that port), Limbadi, Wadhwan and Lakhtar. Sugar, Gol, Grain and Ghee are brought from Delhi, Agra, Lucknow, Kanpur, Jayapur, Benares, Hathras, Amritsar, and other places to Bhavnagar by railway. Also costly wearing

“apparel, gilded vessels, carved toys, jewels, and other things are now sent to Bhavnagar by railway from distant parts of India. The train daily brings vegetables and fruits from Ahmadabad, Surat and Bombay respectively.

“The trade in timber has, since the opening of the railway, “Outward Traffic.” “became four times greater than what it formerly was. Timber is now sent to Dhoraji, Gondal, Junaghad, and other places in the West, and to Wankaner, Morvi, Dhranghadra, Wadhwan, Ranpur, Chuda, Saela, and other place in the north, and to such distant places even as Virangam, Mehsana, Bhandup, Palanpur, Disa, and Patan. Grain in large quantities is sent on both lines to Sorath, Halar, and Jhalawad. Cocoanuts, dates and spices are sent into all parts of Kathiawad, Gujarat, as well as to Pali and other places on the Rajputana Railway, Sugar made in Bhavnagar is also sent to places named above. Cotton bales, which owing to early monsoon were kept stored in Bhavnagar are now sent to Bombay by Railway when the ships and steamers ply no longer.”

He then writes at some length about the local industries, such as the Cotton Mills and Presses, native manufactures, iron foundry, saw mills, etc.

All this was written in 1883 when Diwan Samaldas was alive. We can well imagine with what genuine satisfaction he must have seen all these direct and indirect advantages to the town, port and the State of Bhavnagar, secured by the wise, liberal and farsighted administration of Maharaja Takhtasinhji and of himself. And we can also well imagine the supreme satisfaction with which Samaldas as well as Maharaja Takhtasinhji would have seen the large increase which the connection of the Bhavnagar Railway with the Rajputana Railway which owed its initiation to them—has made to the inward and outward traffic on the railway, and the very large increase it has also made in the export and import trades at the port of Bhavnagar. In normal years the value of exports has reached now (in 1904-05) to Rs. 2,21,46,034, and that of imports (in 1909-10) to Rs. 1,16,73,410.

It must be mentioned with gratification that this happy result is largely due to the continuance by His Highness

Maharaja Bhavsinhji of the policy inaugurated by his illustrious father, and also to the encouragement which the trade and commerce receive from his wise and liberal administration.

The mixed nature of the import trade at the port of Bhavnagar must be explained here. Much of the imports by sea become exports by rail and road, and, in spite of the vexatious transit duty, called for the sake of convenience Customs duty, imposed by Government at Viramgam, goods find their way into distant parts of Gujarat, Marwar, Mewar and other countries, and in return thereof bring commodities for export therefrom.

There can be no wonder that a man of great culture and high scholarly attainments like Samaldas should consider the fostering of and encouragement to education as one of the first objects of his administration, and that Maharaja Takhtasinhji should be pleased with Samaldas' labours in this direction. The Joint administrators had received charge of 66 schools in the State. They opened new schools at several large villages and the number had reached to 100 when Samaldas became Diwan. He added 22 schools and sanctioned 12 more before he died, thus making in all 134 schools. Of the new schools two were girls' schools and the Political Agent remarks that this shows that the important branch of female education is not neglected. We have already seen how Samaldas earnestly wished to see a College of Arts and Science established in Bhavnagar. Although he did not live to see his fond hopes realised, the late Maharaja Takhtasinhji fulfilled his wishes even after his death by establishing the College and dedicating it to his name.

During his residence at the Raj Kumar College, Maharaja Takhtasinhji had endeared himself to all his brother chiefs who like him were also residing at the College and all of whom were now reigning Princes of large States. To the Maharaja's desire to remain on friendly relations with all large and small States of the Province, Samaldas heartily gave encouragement. Strained and unfriendly relations, dating from a long time with some of the State, gave place to cordial and friendly relations. There was no State in Kathiawad with whom friendly relations were not secured. And this was one of the main reasons which caused the

Education.
Relation with the other States.

display of such a remarkable spirit of mutual cordiality and good will by all the Chiefs, and the pleasing incident unparalleled in the history of the Province, of the students and ex-students of the Raj-Kumar College, themselves reigning Princes, joining with the Masters of the College in presenting the address of congratulation, and voting a protrait to Maharaja Takhtasinhji, which they did when His Highness received the insignia of K. C. S. I. And it was his cordial relations with all the States, which induced its several Chiefs to come forward and speak in such highly eulogistic terms, about Maharaja Takhtasinhji himself and his admirable administration, as they did in their address to Lord Reay when he visited Rajkot to invest the Maharaja with the Insignia of the Order of G. C. S. I. And to this policy a very fitting addition was made by Samaldas by his conciliatory manners and his great desire to render advice and assistance to all the States, large and small, at the Karbharis' meetings and on other occasions.

Samaldas had a very pleasant way of passing his time. He was an early riser. After bathing, he used to say his morning prayers, and then took his tea. This done he transacted his official work. With a clear head and quick power of perception, his despatch of work was remarkable. He was at his best when he dictated resolutions, orders and State despatches. He took his breakfast between 10 and 11 A. M. He daily went to the Motibag Palace and placed before the Maharaja papers which required his orders. His food was simple as he did not like rich food. He rested at noon for an hour or two, and then heard for one hour *Vedant Katha*. He then attended to State business, and after taking his afternoon tea, went for a drive, sometimes with Maharaja Takhtasinhji, and sometimes alone, accompanied by his Secretary or friends. On return from this, he generally heard stories related from the histories of Mewar or Marwar and the other Hindu Sovereigns of former times, such as the warfares of Prithiraj Chauhan, Jetsi Parmar, Khumbha Rana, Pratap Rana, Rajsinh Rana, and of the Rathod and Hada Princes of Marwar. The soul-stirring stories of the warfares of Maharaja Jaswantsinhji of Marwar (Jodhpur) with the biggoted Emperor Aurangzeb, the capture of Jodhpur by that Emperor, and the prolonged outlawry

Pastime.

of Ajitsinhji, son of Maharaja Jaswantsinhji, against the Emperor, and his success in regaining the possession of Jodhpur were among the stories which interested Samaldas most. He often heard selected portions of the histories of England and India translated to him. He was a good chess player and played it sometimes in the afternoon, and often at night, often with the late Kumar Shri Kesharisinhji, well known as Keshrisinhji of Koth, and sometimes with Prannarayan and others. The late Col. S. C. Law, whom we have mentioned before in connection with the Rajasthanik Sabha, never missed an opportunity whenever he met Samaldas of playing chess with him,—always anxious to beat Samaldas,—but in the result to be invariably beaten by him. He generally went to bed between 10 and 11 P. M.

Of the good qualities possessed by Samaldas one was his constancy in all matters, and more especially in his devotion, fidelity and loyalty to his master. We have said before, of his constancy to his master, how throughout his life he served Maharaja Jaswantsinhji and Takhtasinhji with exemplary devotion, faithfulness and loyalty. Here we will give only two out of several similar instances of his loyal constancy to his friends. These are :—

(1) A President of the Rajasthanik Sabha, who was about to proceed on leave, had proposed a certain officer as his *locum tenens* and secured the promise from certain States to support him. On the other hand the Political Agent had another officer in mind, to support whose candidature he was sounding the States. To the request of the Political Agent, Maharaja Takhtasinhji replied that he was sorry that he cannot promise his support to his nominee, as his Diwan, with his permission, had already promised an officer to support the candidature of another officer. Maharaja Takhtasinhji was careful not to mention that it was to the President of the Rajasthanik Sabha that his Diwan had given the promise. The Political Agent, probably under the impression, that it was an outsider who had dared to enter into what he considered to be his preserve, determined to obtain from Samaldas the name of the officer who had obtained his promise, and had intimated his intention to do so to the Bhavnagar Vakil, who had communicated the same to Samaldas. On the other hand Samaldas had determined to resign his post of

Diwan rather than give out the name of the officer without his permission, if pressed by the Political Agent, and had intimated his intention to Maharaja Takhtasinhji. It was while placed in this difficult position that Samaldas went to Rajkot to attend the Karbharis' meeting. In the meanwhile the President came to know of this difficulty of which he was unconscientiously the cause, and he thanked Samaldas for his constancy as a friend, and, not only permitted him to give out his name, but himself called on the Political Agent, and explained to him the whole thing. The Political Agent was much pleased and thanked Samaldas for his loyalty to his friend, and told him that this incident had greatly added to the respect in which he held him.

(2) We have already stated before how closely united had Gokalji and Samaldas become by the tie of friendship. Gokalji often used to tell Mansukhram Tripathi that he would die in peace after he had seen Samaldas installed as Diwan of Bhavnagar. But he did not live long to see his heart's desire realized. Samaldas never ceased to bemoan his loss. Whenever Maharaja Takhtasinhji mentioned about the excellent qualities which Gokalji possessed, Samaldas was visibly deeply affected. The Maharaja on one occasion asked Samaldas why, so many years after Gokalji's death, he still bemoaned his loss as if it had taken place recently. Samaldas replied in the following Shloka, which means, "Oh, God, let not good men meet, if they ever meet let them not cultivate friendship, and if they cultivate friendship never separate them, and if one is separated (by death) let not the other survive."

माभूत्सज्जनसंगोयदिसंगो मापुनः ज्ञेहः ॥
ज्ञेहोयदिमाविरहो यदिविरहो जीविताशक्ता ॥

We venture to say that no history of native States of India will show another example of a Diwan, who was held in high regard and estimation during his life-time, and the memory of whose life-long faithful and devoted services was cherished and perpetuated after his death in so conspicuously remarkable a manner by his master, and with such high praise bestowed on his administration by the successive representatives of the Imperial Government in the Western Presidency of India, as was done in the case of Samaldas. And we also venture to say

that his solicitude for the welfare of the subjects of the Bhavnagar State, and his noble efforts to improve their condition, will keep his memory in their hearts for ever green and never fading more than the handsome and noble building of the Samaldas College could do.

The pleasant duty of chronicling the life and works of Vithaldas and his brother Lalubhai may be left to a future biographer. But we consider that the biography of Samaldas would be incomplete without a brief notice being taken of their career.

VITHALDAS, the eldest son of Samaldas was born on Kartak Vad 2nd Samvat 1902 (A. D. 1846), at about the time when his revered father entered the service of the State. He was educated at the Bhavnagar Anglo-Vernacular School under that veteran educationist, the late Prannarayan Mayashanker, who may be truly named the father of English education in Bhavnagar. Vithaldas distinguished himself for his proficiency in Literature and Mathematics and was always at the head of his class. Like his father he displayed a remarkably retentive memory. After finishing his education in the school he entered the service of the State in Samvat 1919 (A. D. 1863), and was placed in charge of the Political (the Mulki) Department in which his father also had begun his official life. Here he soon won golden opinions, and Gauarishanker, the Diwan, under whose supervision Vithaldas had to work, was well pleased with his intelligence and aptitude for work. In his spare hours he used to read Law which became very useful to him when he was transferred to the Judicial Department.

Between 1864 and 1866 active steps were taken to establish Courts of Justice in the Bhavnagar State. We have already stated how Samaldas successfully established Courts in the Districts, which were not under British jurisdiction, and prepared Civil and Criminal Codes for their guidance, and also that, when in 1866 the 116 villages were restored to the independent Civil and Criminal jurisdiction of the Darbar, the formation of the judicial system was completed by establishing Courts at the Capital and in the remaining districts.

With the increasing prosperity, wealth and importance of the town of Bhavnagar it was considered necessary to establish a

Court of Civil jurisdiction for it, and Vithaldas was selected by Maharaja Jaswantsinhji as Judge to preside over it, and the Daskrohi District Court was amalgamated with the City Civil Court.

Now it must be remembered that the people of the town of Bhavnagar and those of the villages around it were, up to this time, subject to the British Courts of the Ahmadabad Zillah. Glad as these people were at the restoration of the Civil and Criminal jurisdiction to the ruler of Bhavnagar, they were hard to be reconciled with the change of jurisdiction, and it was not an easy task to secure their confidence in the newly established court. With Samaldas at the head of the Judicial Department, and Vithaldas as Judge of the Civil Court, people soon learnt to repose confidence in the justice as dispensed in the new Court. Vithaldas discharged his heavy work to the satisfaction of all, and by dispensing evenhanded and impartial justice he soon secured the confidence of the people.

We have already mentioned that so pleased and proud Maharaja Jaswantsinhji was with the working of the Courts that when Col. Keatinge came to Bhavnagar on a casual visit, His Highness requested him to pay a visit to the Courts which Col. Keatinge did with pleasure. His first visit was paid to Vithaldas' Court, and as was to be expected, he was much pleased with the work he was doing, and he did not fail to tell this to Maharaja Jaswantsinhji. But Col. Keatinge did not remain satisfied by expressing to Maharaja Jaswantsinhji his pleasure with what he had seen of the Judicial Department at Bhavnagar, organised and brought into order by Samaldas. He reported the same thing to the Government of Bombay also. Vithaldas, as stated by Sir Bartle Frere at the Darbar held on 20th February 1867, was one of the Judicial Officers whom Maharaja Jaswantsinhji had selected and appointed "for their probity and intelligence for the special duty of administering justice." He remained Judge of the Civil Court for seven years.

During the regime of the Joint Administration, the late Mr. Percival, in appreciation of the excellent work Vithaldas was doing, promoted him successively to the posts of Deputy and Assistant Sar-Nyayadhish. In both these Courts, besides dealing with original suits and appeals from the town and the district

Courts, he had to dispose of Criminal cases, committed to the Sessions Courts, and appeals in Criminal cases also.

Maharaja Takhtasinhji next promoted him to the post of the Rajyakharach Upri, (Superintendent of household expenses), an important and delicate post to hold, as the post carries with it direct dealings with not only the Maharaja himself but all the members of the reigning family. He performed this duty to the satisfaction of the Maharaja and his family.

When Samaldas succeeded to the post of the Diwan of the State, Vithaldas was appointed Vasulati Adhikari or Revenue Commissioner. During his incumbency as Revenue Commissioner a revision of the *Khatabandi* or Cash Settlement was made by Diwan Samaldas in which he rendered his valuable assistance.

As has been stated before with the increasing prosperity of the Bhavnagar State, and the developement of its trade and commerce, the work to be performed by the Diwan also increased *pari passu*. And to this work a large addition was made by the railway work, and all this made it a heavy burden to be coped with by a single man, however able, and this heavy work began to tell on Samaldas' health. Maharaja Takhtasinhji was pained to see the failing health of Samaldas and with the object of relieving him of a portion of this burden of work His Highness appointed Vithaldas as Deputy Diwan, and Bhavnagar Member on the Committee or Board of Management of the B. G. J. P. Railway, and also to represent the State at the Karbharis' meeting as well as on the Committee of Management of the affairs of the Raj Kumar College.

The practical experience thus gained in all the different branches of administration, political, judicial, revenue and the railway, stood him in good stead when he was called upon to fill the highest post of responsibility in the State, that of the Diwan or Prime Minister on the demise of his respected father. In fact, that wise and noble-minded Prince, Maharaja Takhtasinhji, with commendable foresight prepared Vithaldas for the post of the Diwan of the State, to which on the death of his father he was appointed on 2nd September 1884.

During his tenure of office for the long period of sixteen years as Diwan of the State, Vithaldas had to deal with several

great and important questions of a complex nature, such as the decennial revisionary settlement of the land revenue demands, the inquiry and settlement of the cases regarding alienated lands, and others. The working agreement between the proprietary States of the B. G. J. P. Railway better known as the Dhoraji agreement, which laid the foundation of the joint working and coalition of the different railways, stands as a monument of Vithaldas' prudence, foresight, and the mastery he had gained over the details of the working system of the railway. Maharaja Takhtasinhji was highly pleased with the ability, wisdom and moderation with which these and similar other questions were dealt with by Vithaldas.

We have already stated before and also in the biography of Samaldas that, with the ever increasing prosperity of the State and its capital, and with the large amount of work added by the railway to the already heavy work of administration, it was found that the burden was too much for a single man to bear, and that, by the appointment of Vithaldas, his father was relieved of a portion of the burden. For nearly four years after appointment as Diwan, Vithaldas was carrying this work alone. Profiting by the experience gained in Samaldas' case, Maharaja Takhtasinhji, who was, as stated before, personally attending to all the details of administration, was thoroughly convinced that the burden of the work on the Diwan alone was much more than one man could fairly be expected to cope with. His Highness therefore thought out a scheme by which, while the burden could be lightened, the affairs of the State could be carried on efficiently. With this object in view he established (1888) a Council of State, with Vithaldas as Diwan and Senior Councillor and three other members, and at the same time His Highness reserved certain work for himself. The institution of the Council was an experimental measure. In 1894, the Maharaja partially reverted to the former method of transacting State business, so far as the Political Agency was concerned, through the medium of the Diwan, and intimated the same to the Political Agent.

The appreciative notice bestowed by the Political Agent and the Government of Bombay on the administration of the State, during Samaldas' Premiership was repeated each year during the Premiership of Vithaldas also.

Vithaldas had the honour of being selected by the Bombay Government as a member on what is well known as the Sadiavav Commission, presided over by Mr. Heaton (now a Judge of the Bombay High Court) in a case in dispute between the State of Junaghad and its Bhayats of Ranpur, and in which two presidents of the Rajasthanik Court had completely disagreed in their judgment. So indispensable was Vithaldas' presence on the commission considered by Government that when Maharaja Takhtasinhji pointed out that his absence from Bhavnagar would be a great inconvenience to the State, Government directed that the Commission should assemble and sit at Bhavnagar to hear and report on the case.

The long-felt want of a Land Revenue Code for the State was supplied in Samvat 1940 (A. D. 1892). Vithaldas was careful not to introduce bodily the Bombay District Revenue Code, nor to make the enormous initial mistake made by Government of withdrawing from all direct interference in the land. He knew that the cultivator, if left in absolute possession of his holding with power to transfer it to whomsoever he liked, would be irretrievably lost and ruined and that his holding would ultimately pass to money-lenders. His Excellency Lord Harris, when on a visit to Bhavnagar in 1892, complimented Vithaldas on the fair progress he had made with the classification of land, the completion of the revisionary settlement of land revenue demand of the State, for the Revenue Code of the State and for the efficient administration of the State.

Vithaldas' eldest son Bhupatrai holds the post of Judge of the Gras Settlement Court, with charge also of the alienation settlement department, and the management of the Wards Estates in the State. His second son Bhaskarrao is a distinguished Graduate of the Bombay University: he having passed the B. A. and M. A. examinations from the Samaldas College. He has passed the L. L. B. examination of the Bombay University and having also successfully passed the examination of an Advocate of the Bombay High Court has been enrolled as such. It is gratifying to find that from the time he passed his University Entrance Examination he has passed each successive examinations in the highest class and with credit to himself. Vithaldas' third and

youngest son, Ajitrai is also a graduate of the Bombay University, and prepares for the M. A. and L. L. B. examinations.

Lalubhai, the youngest son of Samaldas was born on Ashwin Shud 1919. His mother died while he was yet an infant and left him to the care of Samaldas, who bestowed on him all the cares of a parent. From the very commencement of his pupilage he showed a remarkable taste for Mathematics, with proficiency in other subjects. He matriculated from the Bhavnagar High School and entered the Elphinstone College,—in both of these institutions he had a distinguished career, and his proficiency in Mathematics was greatly admired. He would have finished his collegiate education and become a distinguished *alumnus* of the Bombay University had Maharaja Takhtasinhji allowed him to remain longer at the College. His great qualities of intelligence, quick natural parts, genial disposition and ability however, soon attracted the notice of the Maharaja who desired to keep Lalubhai as his Personal Secretary. Samaldas was naturally most unwilling to withdraw Lalubhai from the College where he was making excellent progress, and where there was bright future before him, but he at last had to yield to the urgent desire of Maharaja Takhtasinhji. Lalubhai, most reluctantly obeyed the summons of the Maharaja and his father, left the College and entered the Darbar service.

After a short time he was appointed Assistant Secretary. While holding that post he made the subject of revenue his special study and gradually mastered all the details of the Revenue Department at the head of which he was placed when Vithaldas was appointed Diwan.

The extempore speech of Lalubhai at the distribution of the revisionary settlement made by Diwan Vithaldas, preparing the revenue code. By praiseworthy means he brought about the opening up of large tracts of waste lands under cultivation, and the improvement of the existing agricultural lands.

His Excellency Lord Harris, as Revenue Commissioner, had the immediate opportunity of seeing the revisionary settlement made by Diwan Vithaldas, and was highly pleased with the progress made in preparing the revenue code. By praiseworthy means he brought about the opening up of large tracts of waste lands under cultivation, and the improvement of the existing agricultural lands.

But of all his works for the benefit of the State his work of classification of land and new assessment in almost all the Mahals, which brought largely increased revenue to the State, will remain as an ever abiding mark of his thoughtful administration of the Revenue Department of the State.

After filling the post of the Revenue Commissioner of the State for sixteen years with great credit he resigned the service of the State to pay undivided attention to his business firm in Bombay. Here he soon earned a name for himself, and he has been justly recognised as one of the leading citizens of Bombay. There is scarcely any public movement with which he is not connected. His advice and assistance are sought by many. He is a Director on the Board of many industrial concerns such as the Bank of India and the Tata Hydro Electric Company. His contributions and suggestions for the establishment of Agricultural Bank and Co-operative Societies have been admired and have evoked the thanks of Government. And his proposal jointly made with Sir Vithaldas' Thakarsi, Kt., for the establishment of a Central Agricultural Credit Bank, under Government guarantee has met with the approval of the Governments of Bombay and India, and of that of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India. As a mark of high appreciation of his valuable public services, the Government of Sir George Clarke, has nominated him (January 1910) a member on the enlarged Legislative Council. On this occasion he received hearty congratulations from his numerous friends both Europeans and Indians.

Lalubhai has three sons. Of the three sons, the eldest, Vaikunthrai passed his B. A. examination from the Elphinstone College, and secured the Ellis Scholarship for obtaining the highest marks in English at the examination. Like his father he had a distinguished career in the College. The second son, Jyotindra Ray, is studying in the St. Xavier's College for the B.Sc. The third son—an intelligent and a clever boy is still young. Mr. Lalubhai's only daughter, a highly gifted girl, died last year after a prolonged illness. She wrote several graceful poems in the Gujarati language, which have been published in the form of a book. It is a very pleasant surprise to find that she had passed the City Entrance Examination.

One could safely say that the Goddess of Fortune has smiled pleasantly on Samaldas's children, and has taken up her abode in his house.

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