



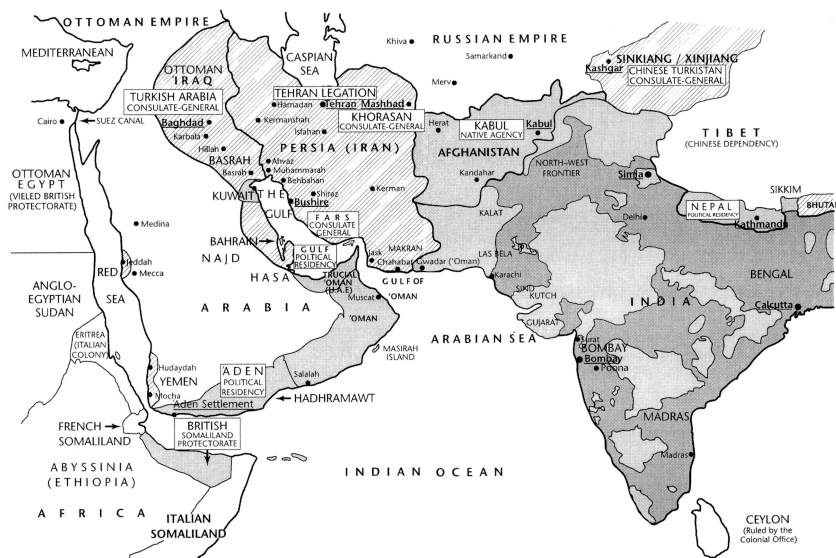
THE RAJ RECONSIDERED: BRITISH INDIA'S INFORMAL EMPIRE AND SPHERES OF INFLUENCE IN ASIA AND AFRICA

JAMES ONLEY

Dr James Onley is Director of Gulf Studies and Senior Lecturer in Middle Eastern History at the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, University of Exeter. He holds a DPhil from Oxford, where he studied at St Antony's College, and is the author of *The Arabian Frontier of the British Raj: Merchants, Rulers, and the British in the Nineteenth-Century Gulf* (Oxford University Press, 2007) and numerous articles and chapters on the history of the Gulf Arab States.

A great deal has been written on Britain's Indian Empire, but few historians of the Raj have an accurate idea of where its borders and frontiers really lay or how far its political reach actually extended. The Indian Empire is generally regarded as comprising British India and Princely India together.¹ British India was 'formal empire' (colonies under direct imperial rule), comprised of seven to seventeen colonial provinces during 1858–1947, each headed by a British governor, lieutenant-governor, or chief commissioner. Princely India was 'informal empire' (protectorates and protected states or territories under indirect imperial rule), comprised of over 600 'native states' and tribal territories, each with its own ruler or chief overseen by a British resident or agent.² But the Indian Empire was much larger than most historians realise, for it also included Bhutan, Nepal, Afghanistan, Arabia, and Somalia. If the Indian Empire's spheres of influence are included, then the political reach of the Raj extended even further, as the map overleaf shows.

British India's primary motive for entering into these relationships was strategic: to establish a *cordon sanitaire* around India. To protect its northern and eastern borders from invasion, British India established spheres of influence in Siam, Tibet, and Chinese Turkistan, and convinced the Amir of Afghanistan to enter into exclusive treaty relations with the British Crown, turning his country into a British-protected state. To protect its trade and communication route through the Persian Gulf and prevent the establishment of a foreign naval base there, British India established spheres of influence in Persia and Ottoman Iraq, and offered a series of treaties through which it became increasingly responsible for the protection of coastal Eastern Arabia and the island of Bahrain. Through these treaties, the British were able to get local rulers to collaborate in the pacification of the Persian Gulf and in the later exclusion of foreign influence threatening British Indian interests.³ To protect its shipping routes through the Red Sea and Indian Ocean, British India annexed the port of Aden and established consulates and agencies in Western Arabia, Ottoman



Map: British India, the Indian Empire, and the residency system in the 1890s

- A** British India (formal empire; colonies governed by ICS governors and district officers)
- B** British India's informal empire (protectorates and protected states controlled by IPS residents and agents)
- C** British India's sphere of influence (independent states under the influence of IPS consul-generals and consuls)

A + B = Britain's Indian Empire

B + C = British India's residency system

Note: While officially an independent state, the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman was arguably a part of the Indian Empire.

Egypt, and Zanzibar. After Aden became a vital port, British India signed protective treaties with the rulers of the Aden Protectorate and the tribes of the British Somaliland Protectorate to safeguard the port.

1. The Outer Limits of the Raj

Maps showing India, Arabia, and East Africa together are rare. When we see a map like the one above we are struck by the closeness of the regions to each other – far closer than we realised. This proximity had a profound influence on Arabia and East Africa. For thousands of years, until the mid-20th century, Arabia fell within the economic and cultural orbit of India; and, for hundreds of years, so did East Africa. In the 19th and 20th centuries, nearly 50 states and territories in these and neighbouring regions also fell within the political orbit of British India: their political affairs were dominated for varying lengths of time by the East India Company (EIC) and its successor, the India Office and the British Government of India. Africa, Arabia, Persia, Afghanistan, Chinese Turkistan, Tibet, and Siam were frontiers of the British Indian Empire: a buffer zone protecting the Raj and its communication links with Britain from the

advances of the French, Italians, Germans, Ottomans, and Russians during the height of the Eastern Question and the Great Game. The British controlled these frontiers through a policy of protectorates and buffer states.

One of the strongest advocates of this policy was Lord Curzon of Kedleston, the last 19th century Viceroy of India (1899–1905). In 1907, he delivered a famous lecture on the topic at the University of Oxford. He had left Calcutta only two years before and the subject was still fresh in his mind. To a packed Sheldonian Theatre, he proclaimed:

It has been by a policy of Protectorates that the Indian Empire has for more than a century pursued, and is still pursuing, its as yet unexhausted advance. First it surrounded its acquisitions with a belt of native states with which alliances were concluded and treaties made. The enemy to be feared a century ago was the Maratha host, and against this danger the Rajput States and Oude were maintained as a buffer. On the North-West Frontier, Sind and the Punjab, then under independent rulers, warded off contact or collision with Beluchistan and Afghanistan, while the Sutlej States warded off contact with the Punjab. Gradually, one after another, these barriers disappeared as the forward movement began: some were annexed, others were engulfed in the advancing tide, remaining embedded like stumps of trees in an avalanche, or left with their heads above water like islands in a flood. . . .

Further to the east and north the chain of Protectorates is continued in Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan: on the extreme north-east the annexation of Upper Burma has brought to us the heritage of a fringe of protected States known as the Upper Shan States. At both extremities of the line the Indian Empire, now vaster and more populous than has ever before acknowledged the sway of an Asiatic sovereign, is only separated from the spheres of two other great European Powers, Russia and France – the former by the buffer States of Persia and Afghanistan and the buffer strip of Wakhan; the latter by the buffer State of Siam, and the buffer Protectorates of the Shan States. The anxiety of the three Powers still to keep their Frontiers apart, in spite of national rapprochements or diplomatic ententes, is testified by the scrupulous care with which the integrity of the still intervening States is assured, and, in the case of this country, by the enormous sums that have been spent by us in fortifying the independence of Afghanistan. The result in the case of the Indian Empire is probably without precedent, for it gives to Great Britain not a single or double but a threefold Frontier, (1) the administrative border of British India, (2) the Durand Line, or Frontier of active protection, (3) the Afghan border, which is the outer or advanced strategical Frontier.⁴

“Frontiers”, Curzon told his audience, are “the razor’s edge on which hang suspended the modern issues of war or peace, of life or death to nations.” “I wonder, indeed”, he said, “if my hearers at all appreciate the part that Frontiers are playing in the everyday history and policy of the British Empire. Time

was when England had no Frontier but the ocean. We have now by far the greatest extent of territorial Frontier of any dominion on the globe.” Curzon believed the most important, delicate, and diverse frontier in the world to be that of Britain’s Indian Empire.⁵ It stretched for thousands of miles, bordering the French Empire (in Indo-China and East Africa), Siam, Tibet, the Chinese Empire, the Russian Empire (in Central Asia), Persia, the Ottoman Empire (in Iraq, Arabia, and Egypt), and the Italian Empire (in East Africa).

2. British India’s residency system in Asia and Africa

All of the states and territories surrounding British India, whether independent or under British protection, were eventually incorporated into a vast diplomatic network controlled from British India, represented by Zones B and C on the map. The British placed each state or territory into a district known by the mid-18th century as a ‘residency’. The number and size of these residencies fluctuated from year to year. By the 1880s, there were 56 residencies and independent agencies in all. The bulk of them, 47, were in South Asia, as Appendix I shows.

These residencies and agencies were run by what came to be known as the Indian Political Service (IPS), the diplomatic corps of British India.⁶ The head of a residency was usually known as a ‘resident’. Originally, residents took their orders from the headquarters of one of the Company’s three Presidencies in India: Surat (1616–87⁷), later Bombay Castle in Bombay; Fort St George in Madras (established 1653); and Fort William in Calcutta, Bengal (established 1698).⁸ Fort William was the seat of the Governor-General, later Viceroy, who exercised ultimate authority over British India’s military affairs from 1773, foreign affairs from 1784, and domestic affairs from 1833. After the Governor-General became responsible for foreign affairs, residents reported either to the Indian Foreign Department in Calcutta (1784–1912), then New Delhi (1912–47), or to the Political Department of one of the subordinate provincial governments of British India, as Table 1 (overleaf) shows.⁹

3. The origins of the residency system, 1613–1763

The residency system derives its name from the British representatives – residents – who resided in foreign countries. The original duties of the EIC’s residents were primarily commercial. In Europe, a resident was a diplomatic agent of the third class (known later as a consul-general or *chargé d’affaires*), ranking after an ambassador and minister (or envoy) respectively.¹⁰ In the 17th century, the EIC had four levels of independent office: president, agent, chief factor, and broker. These offices, known as ‘stations’, were normally held by a senior merchant, junior merchant, factor, and broker respectively (the last being a locally-recruited merchant, commonly known as a ‘native agent’¹¹). The station titles corresponded to the names of the commercial districts within the Company: presidency, agency, factory, and brokerage, which were also the names of the district headquarters where the officers worked, as Table 2 shows.

Table 1 Headquarters of Foreign and Political Departments in British India, 1880s

Government departments	Winter HQ	Summer HQ
1. Foreign Dept., Govt. of India	Calcutta	Simla
2. Political Dept., Govt. of Assam	Shillong	Shillong
3. Political Dept., Govt. of Bengal	Calcutta	Darjeeling
4. Political Dept., Govt. of Bombay	Bombay	Poona & Mahabaleshwar
5. Political Dept., Govt. of Burma	Rangoon	Maymyo
6. Political Dept., Govt. of Central Provinces	Nagpur	Pachmarchi
7. Political Dept., Govt. of Madras	Madras	Ootacamund (Ooty)
8. Political Dept., Govt. of N. W. Provinces	Allahabad	Naini Tal
9. Political Dept., Govt. of Punjab	Lahore	Dalhousie

Table 2 Names of stations (independent offices) and their corresponding districts in the EIC

c.1610s–c.1690s	c.1700s–c.1800s	c.1810s–
President of a presidency	Governor of a presidency	Governor of a presidency or province, Lieutenant-Governor of a province, or Chief Commissioner of a province
Agent of an agency	Agent of an agency	Political Resident of a residency
Chief Factor of a factory	Resident of a factory or residency	Political Agent of an agency
Broker of a brokerage	Broker of a brokerage	Native Agent of an agency

By the early 18th century, the title of factor had fallen out of favour and the Company adopted the new title of resident. A resident’s headquarters and district continued to be known as a factory for a few decades but eventually came to be known as a residency. In the early 19th century, when the title of agent also fell out of favour, the Company switched the titles of resident and agent. For historical reasons, some of the residencies still retained ‘agency’ in their titles even though the chief officer carried the title of resident. In a few residencies, the chief officer held the title of agent to the governor-general (AGG) or agent to the lieutenant-governor (ALG), rather than resident. As Table 2 suggests, residency districts in the 19th and 20th centuries were organised into subdivisions called ‘agencies’ supervised by British political agents or native political agents.

4. The politicisation and expansion of the residency system, 1764–1947

As the Company became more involved in the political affairs of Asia, the role of its commercial residents became increasingly political. Residents became colonial administrators in those regions where the Company assumed direct control: the presidencies of Bombay, Madras, and Bengal (including Burma

and the Straits Settlements¹²), which eventually became British India (Zone A on the map). In the regions outside the Company's orbit of direct rule, however, residents evolved into diplomats – a change reflected in the eventual use of the title 'political resident'. After the mid-18th century, the Company's political interests began to expand beyond the regions in which it maintained commercial residents. In 1764, it started to appoint political residents to the governments of important neighbouring states. The first appointments were made to the courts of the Nawab of Bengal, the Nawab of Awadh (Oudh), and the Nizam of Hyderabad.

From 1764 onward, British India's political residency system grew until, by the 1880s, it came to encompass nearly 45 percent of South Asia and Burma, part of Siam, roughly 35 percent of Southwest Asia,¹³ and even part of East Africa. By the 1890s, it had expanded into Central Asia. Zones B and C show the extent of the residency system in the 1890s, while Appendix II shows the evolution of the residency system outside India between 1616 and 1947.

In the 19th and 20th centuries, IPS officers in districts not under British protection were given Foreign Office ranks to reflect their different status (purely diplomatic, not imperial). This was the case for 11 of British India's residents and agents, whose districts are represented by Zone C (see Appendix III). These officers reported to both the Indian Foreign Department and the Foreign Office in London, with the Consul-Generals for Fars, Khorasan, Turkish Arabia, and Egypt reporting to London indirectly through their Foreign Office superiors (a minister and an ambassador respectively) in Tehran or Istanbul. The highest diplomatic posts within the IPS were the British Legations in Tehran, Kabul, and Kathmandu, whose chief officers held the higher titles of minister or envoy, one rank below ambassador.

5. The residency system and Britain's Indian Empire

The powers British India exercised through its residency system varied considerably. In Egypt, Ottoman Iraq, Persia, Zanzibar, Chinese Turkistan, and Siam (Zone C), British political officers held Queen's or King's commissions as vice-consuls, consuls, and consuls-general. These officers were supposed to be nothing more than political representatives, albeit of a world power. In reality, Zone C was a British Indian sphere of influence due to the strong political sway these officers exercised there. In the remaining residencies in Asia and Africa (Zone B), British political officers were both political representatives and imperial officials, for they had the additional duty of enforcing the terms of the treaties that the rulers of the states and chiefdoms within these residencies had signed with the East India Company or the Government of India, thus placing their domains under British protection and suzerainty. Although these states were still foreign territory and their rulers remained heads of state, their status vis-à-vis the British Crown placed them informally within the British Empire. Their status vis-à-vis the Governor-General of India (and

Viceroy after 1858) also placed them within Britain's Indian Empire – an empire within the British Empire, with its own military, civil service, and foreign department. The British Government of India defined the Indian Empire as “British India together with any territories of any Native Prince or Chief under the suzerainty of Her Majesty exercised through the Governor-General of India.”¹⁴ While this definition does not differentiate between the formal and informal parts of the Indian Empire (i.e., between colonies and protectorates), the areas of British suzerainty around British India were informal empire all the same.

Starting in the late 18th century, the rulers of the states and chieftaincies surrounding British India gradually ceded control of their external affairs and defence to the EIC and British Government of India in return for protection.¹⁵ Reflecting their protected status, they were known variously as British protectorates, protected states, dependencies, dependent states, states under British protection, and states in exclusive (or special) treaty relations with the British Government. Their sovereignty was divided between the British Crown and the local ruler, but in proportions that varied greatly according to the history and importance of each state. Their relationship with the British Crown was regulated partly by the treaties or less formal agreements, partly by usage, and ultimately by British policy. Unlike British India and Aden Settlement¹⁶ (Zone A), these states and chieftaincies were not British Overseas Territories, nor were their inhabitants British subjects. Their subjects enjoyed the status of ‘British-protected persons’ or ‘British dependants’ outside their own states, giving them the same rights as British subjects – in effect, placing them in the same position as British subjects for international purposes, except that they were not permitted to fly the British flag on their ships before 1892. In the same way, foreign relations between their rulers and foreign governments were conducted through and by the IPS – in effect, treating these states for international purposes as if they were provinces of British India.¹⁷

For diplomatic and pragmatic reasons, the British Government downplayed and occasionally overplayed the protected status of these states and chieftaincies. It thus referred to the native states of India sometimes as protected states and sometimes as protectorates. Nepal during 1816–1923, Afghanistan during 1880–1919, and Bhutan during 1910–47 were British-protected states in all but name, but the British Government never publicly clarified or proclaimed their status as such, preferring to describe them as independent states in special treaty relations with Britain.¹⁸ Although Bahrain and the Trucial States (as the United Arab Emirates were then known) became British-protected states in the 1880s–90s, followed by Qatar in 1916, the British Government did not publicly proclaim their status as such until 1949. Kuwait became a British-protected state in 1899. As the shaikhdом was then a nominal part of the Ottoman Empire, similar to Egypt at the time, the British Government kept Kuwait's protected status secret until the First World War, at which point it over-stated Kuwait's status as a British ‘protectorate’.¹⁹ The British Government never declared Muscat and Oman to be anything more than an independent state in special treaty relations with Great Britain, even though the sultanate had been

under informal, conditional British protection since 1809, its Sultan had become dependent on British support by the 1900s, and its foreign affairs had been managed by British India at the Sultan's request since that time (except for relations with France and America).²⁰ Many of the states, chiefdoms, and tribal territories of South Arabia (present-day Yemen) had been protected states since 1873 and protectorates since the 1880s–90s. In the early 1900s, the British Government of India began to refer to the nine protectorates neighbouring Aden Settlement as the “Aden Protectorate”. However, the remaining protectorates to the East of Aden (in and around the Hadhramawt) were excluded from the Aden Protectorate until 1937, even though the treaties Britain had signed with these states and chieftaincies were identical to those it had signed with the nine around Aden.²¹ British India's only dependency in Southwest Asia or East Africa whose protected status it proclaimed publicly at the very outset was the British Somaliland Protectorate, established by treaty during 1884–86 and recognised by France the following year.²²

6. Mapping the Indian Empire

The official map of the Indian Empire enclosed in *The Imperial Gazetteer of India* and the annual *India Office List* shows British India in pink and British protectorates and protected states in yellow. For diplomatic and pragmatic reasons, this map never conformed to political reality. Ignoring its own definition of the Indian Empire, the British Government maintained the fiction that some of its protected states bordering the territories of other empires did not form part of the Indian Empire and were only loosely connected to the British Empire. Thus, British-protected states like Afghanistan, which bordered the Russian Empire, were never coloured yellow on official maps of the Indian Empire, while Nepal and Bhutan, which bordered the Chinese dependency of Tibet, were coloured yellow for only ten years (1897–1906). Arabia, which bordered the Ottoman Empire, and British Somaliland, which bordered the Italian and French Empires, were not shown as a part of the Indian Empire and were usually left off the map altogether. Only the native states of India were consistently coloured yellow. This means that the Indian Empire was, in reality, much larger than most people realise. By the end of the 19th century, it was over a quarter larger than the British maintained, as Table 3 (overleaf) and Zones A and B show.

7. Protected states v. protectorates

The differences between protected states and protectorates, which comprised the informal part of the Indian Empire, are generally misunderstood. In theory, the main legal difference between a protected state and a protectorate was that, while both had signed over their defence and external affairs to the British Crown (represented in the Indian Empire by the Viceroy), only

Table 3 The British Indian Empire in the 1890s

Area	Square miles (approximates)
1. Listed on official maps of the Indian Empire:²³	
British India (inc. Burma & Aden Settlement)	1,015,000
Princely India (excluding Nepal)	805,000
	1,820,000
2. Not listed on official maps of the Indian Empire:²⁴	
Nepal	54,000
Afghanistan	250,000
Kuwait (Arabia) ²⁵	6,900
Bahrain (Arabia)	200
Trucial States (Arabia)	32,000
Aden Residency, later Protectorate (Arabia)	90,000
British Somaliland Protectorate (Africa) ²⁶	68,000
	501,100
3. Actual size of the Indian Empire:	2,321,100 (27.5% larger)

the latter had signed over some of its internal affairs. This distinction is not as clear-cut as it looks. First of all, 'external affairs' was an elastic term that could easily be used to encompass aspects of a protected state's internal affairs, such as the activities of foreign residents and businesses. Secondly, the designations of 'protected state' and 'protectorate' are not reliable indicators of the degree of control the Crown exercised. Before 1937, for instance, the Crown generally had fewer treaty rights to intervene in, or control, the internal affairs of its protectorates in South Arabia than it had for its protected states in Eastern Arabia, not more as one would expect. There are also countless instances of IPS officers intervening in a protected state or independent state's internal affairs when they had *no* legal right to do so, and of *not* intervening in or controlling a protectorate's internal affairs when they were legally entitled to do so. However the rulers of both protected states and protectorates remained sovereign: their flags still flew over their government buildings, government was still carried out by them or in their names, and their states maintained a distinct 'international personality' in the eyes of international law (in contrast to states forming part of the British Empire, where the British monarch was the head of every state). Even when the Crown assumed temporary full control of a state during a 'minority period', it did so in trusteeship.²⁷ In cases like this, the distinction was only a legal and psychological one, for in regard to the degree of control over internal affairs, there was often no real difference between a state under temporary British trusteeship and a British colony. The same can be said for 'colonial protectorates': protectorates over tribal territories where no recognised head of state existed.

Glen Balfour-Paul proposed another, closely related, difference between a protectorate and a protected state. He argued that the British Crown was empowered to make and enforce laws for the "peace, order, and good government" of its own subjects and dependants in the former, but not in the latter.²⁸ However, even this distinction does not hold, for the Crown held this and

other extra-territorial rights by treaty in both protectorates and protected states, and even in some independent states such as Persia and the Ottoman Empire, and in the ‘treaty ports’ of China.²⁹

8. The exercise of paramountcy in India, Arabia, and Somalia

In Princely India, the British Crown was referred to as the Paramount Power. This position rested upon the Crown’s supreme military position in India, the protective role it had assumed over the native states and territories, and its inheritance of the Indian Empire from the last Mughal Emperor in 1858 (formalised by the proclamation of Queen Victoria as the Empress of India in 1877). As Paramount Power, the Crown claimed a moral responsibility for the behaviour of the Indian rulers it was protecting and representing. When the laws and interests of the Indian rulers conflicted with those of the Paramount Power, the latter took priority – a doctrine known as paramountcy. Though granted by no treaty, the Crown invoked paramountcy to justify occasional interventions in, or selective control of, a ruler’s domestic affairs whenever IPS officers deemed it desirable to do so. It also meant that an Indian ruler was obligated to heed whatever ‘advice’ the Paramount Power considered necessary to give on his domestic affairs. Sir Courtney Ilbert, who served as Law Member on the Council of the Governor-General of India during 1881–86, defined the concept of paramountcy as follows:

A Paramount Power

- (1) exercises exclusive control over the foreign relations of the State;
- (2) assumes a general but a limited responsibility for the internal peace of the State;
- (3) assumes a special responsibility for the safety and welfare of British subjects resident in the State; and
- (4) requires subordinate co-operation in the task of resisting foreign aggression and maintaining internal order.³⁰

In Arabia and Somalia, the British Crown was referred to as the Protecting Power. Michael Fisher is the only historian of the Raj to have examined the parallels between Britain’s role as Paramount Power in India and its role as Protecting Power elsewhere.³¹ In his opinion, Britain exercised only “a limited form of Residency control” in the Gulf Residency.³² Presumably this was also the case in the Aden Protectorate and British Somaliland Protectorate, which were run by the IPS in the same way, but Fisher is silent on the matter. This is currently the standard view on the subject, a view first put forward by D. A. Low in 1964.³³ While this was the case after the IPS relinquished control of its Somaliland Protectorate in 1898, Aden Protectorate in 1917, and Gulf Residency in 1947 to the Foreign Office, it was not the case before that time. When the Somaliland Protectorate, Aden Protectorate, and Gulf Residency were under Indian jurisdiction, Britain’s powers as Protecting Power were no

different from those it held as Paramount Power in Princely India. The extent to which it exercised these powers in Arabia and British Somaliland is a different matter, for Britain clearly involved itself far more in the affairs of some states and territories than it did in others. Take, for example, these introductory remarks by Jerome Saldanha in his *Précis of Bahrein Affairs, 1854–1904*, an Indian Foreign Department publication commissioned by Lord Curzon while Viceroy of India (1899–1905): “The questions will occur frequently when reading this *Précis*: What is the exact status of Bahrein? What is its international position? What is its relationship with the British Indian Government? What is its position compared with the Native States in India?”³⁴ Saldanha then quotes Sir Courtenay Ilbert’s definition of the four rights exercised by the Paramount Power before continuing:

A perusal of the *Précis* will show perhaps that all these conditions are satisfied in the case of Bahrein. If then Bahrein is under the suzerainty of His Majesty exercised through the Governor-General of India, does it not come in the same category as any Native State in India and may not its relations to the British Government and other foreign Governments be regulated on the same principles as are applicable to our Native States? If not, what is the exact international status of Bahrein? These important points will have to be borne in view in studying the modern history of Bahrein.

But what did British officials on the spot think? Lieutenant-Colonel Malcolm Meade (Gulf Resident 1897–1900), for one, told the Indian Foreign Department Secretary in 1898 that,

the treaty engagements entered into between the British Government and the Sheikhs of Bahrein, followed by the more recent closer relations, appear to justify an intimation by the British Government that the status of Bahrein towards the British Government of India is identical with that of protected Native States of India.³⁵

When Viceroy Curzon toured the Gulf in 1903, he also made the comparison with the native states of India: “To all intents and appearances the State [of Muscat and Oman] is as much a Native State of the Indian Empire as Lus Beyla or Kelat [in Princely India], and far more so than Nepal or Afghanistan.”³⁶ Although the political status of Arabian states like Bahrain appeared identical to that of the British-protected states of Princely India, the British Government did not publicly acknowledge this until 1949.

When we compare the general range of control the British Crown exercised in Arabia and British Somaliland with Princely India, the picture becomes clearer. Appendix IV shows the differences between Bahrain and the native states of India. The technical difference between the treaty-based and non-treaty-based types of control was marginal and often had little or no effect upon the degree of control exercised by British political officers. The difference is marked in bold.

9. Conclusion

This article has argued that the Indian Empire was much larger than historians of the Raj realise. If we define the Indian Empire as “British India together with any territories of any Native Prince or Chief under the suzerainty of Her Majesty exercised through the Governor-General of India”,³⁷ as the Government of India itself defined it, we are presented with a very different picture of the Indian Empire from that portrayed by historians of the Raj and even the Government of India. In the late 19th century, for instance, the British claimed their Indian Empire was comprised of British India (including Aden Settlement) and Princely India. But if one adds those semi-independent states under British Indian suzerainty excluded from the official maps of the Indian Empire – namely Bhutan, Nepal, Afghanistan, the Gulf Arab states, the Aden Protectorate, and the British Somaliland Protectorate – one finds the Indian Empire was over a quarter larger than the British wished to claim, as is shown by the map and Table 3.

The result has been that most historians of the Indian Empire consider Asia, Arabia, and Africa in isolation from each other, and those who do compare the three regions place too much emphasis on the differences between them. In reality, the similarities between British India’s protectorates and protected states and territories in Asia, Arabia, and Africa are striking. This should not be surprising, for they functioned and were treated as part of the same Indian Empire, even if their membership in that empire was never publicly clarified or proclaimed. Historians of East Africa, Arabia, Afghanistan, Nepal, and Bhutan, therefore, should familiarise themselves with the rich literature on India’s native states and territories, while historians of the Raj should look beyond South Asia.³⁸ Much is to be gained. Consider, for instance, how much better and more interesting a study of British Indian tribal policy would be were it to include Arabia and British Somaliland as well as Baluchistan and the Northwest Frontier.

APPENDIX I: British India’s Residency System in the 1880s

A. British diplomatic districts outside South Asia

	Name of district (area covered)	Type of district
1.	Kabul (Afghanistan)	Independent Native Agency
2.	Turkish Arabia (Ottoman Iraq)	Consulate-General
3.	Tehran (Northern and Central Persia)	Legation (oversaw 4 and 5)
4.	Khorasan (Eastern Persia)	Consulate-General
5.	Fars (Southern Persia)	Consulate-General (run by same officer as 6)
6.	Persian Gulf (Eastern Arabia)	Political Residency (run by same officer as 5)
7.	Aden (South Arabia ¹ & British Somaliland)	Political Residency
8.	Zanzibar (Sultanate of Zanzibar, East Africa)	Consulate-General
9.	Chiang Mai (Northwest Siam)	Consulate

(Continued)

Appendix I. Continued

B. British diplomatic districts in South Asia

Name of district (area covered)	Type of district
1. Ajmer	Political Residency
2. Akalkot	Political Agency (independent office)
3. Assam States (later Northeast Frontier)	Political Residency
4. Baluchistan	Political Residency
5. Baroda	Political Residency
6. Benares	Political Residency
7. Central Indian States	Political Residency
8. Chamba	Political Residency
9. Cutch	Political Agency (independent office)
10. Dujana and Laharu	Political Residency
11. Eastern Rajputana States	Political Residency
12. Faridkot	Political Residency
13. Frontier Tribes (later Northwest Frontier)	Political Residency
14. Gwalior	Political Residency
15. Hill States	Political Residency
16. Hill Tipperah	Political Agency (independent office)
17. Hyderabad	Political Residency
18. Kaira (Combay)	Political Agency (independent office)
19. Kapurthalla, Mandi, and Suket	Political Residency
20. Kashmir, including Jammu and Hunza	Political Residency
21. Kathiawar	Political Agency (independent office)
22. Khyber	Political Office (independent office)
23. Kolaba	Political Agency (independent office)
24. Kolhapur	Political Agency (independent office)
25. Kumaun	Political Agency (independent office)
26. Ladakh	Political Residency
27. Mahikantha	Political Agency (independent office)
28. Malair Kotla and Kalsia	Political Residency
29. Meywar	Political Residency
30. Mysore and Coorg	Political Residency
31. Nepal	Political Residency
32. Orissa Tributary States	Political Agency (independent office)
33. Palanpur	Political Agency (independent office)
34. Pataudi	Political Agency (independent office)
35. Patiala	Political Residency
36. Poona	Political Agency (independent office)
37. Rajputana	Political Residency
38. Rewa Kantha, Panch Mapals, and Narukot	Political Agency (independent office)
39. Rohilkand	Political Agency (independent office)
40. Satara	Political Agency (independent office)
41. Savantvadi	Political Residency
42. Shahpur	Native Agency (independent office)
43. Sikkim ²	Political Office (independent office)
44. Southern Mahratta Country	Political Agency (independent office)
45. Surat	Political Agency (independent office)
46. Travancore and Cochin	Political Residency
47. Western Rajputana States	Political Residency

Notes:

1. South Arabia and the Aden Residency were known as the Aden Protectorate after 1890s.

2. The Sikkim Office (1889–1947) was responsible for Britain's relations with Bhutan and later with Tibet (1904–47).

APPENDIX II: British India's commercial and diplomatic districts outside India (Zones B and C), 1616–1947

Area	Zone	Dates	District responsible for this area (HQ)
1. PERSIA			
Whole country	C	1616–1623	Persia Agency (HQ: Jask)
	C	1623–1763	Persia Agency (HQ: Bandar Abbas)
	C	1763–1778	Basrah Agency
	C	1778–1811	Bushire Residency
	C	1811–1860	Tehran Legation/Mission
Southern	C	1778–1822	Bushire Residency ¹
	C	1820–1822	Lower Gulf Agency (HQ: Qishm Island)
	C	1822–1878	Gulf Residency (HQ: Bushire)
	C	1878–1946	Fars Consulate-General (HQ: Bushire)
Northern & Central	C	1811–1853	Tehran Legation/Mission ²
	C	1859–1860	Tehran Legation
Eastern	C	1811–1889	Tehran Legation/Mission
	C	1889–1947	Khorasan Consulate-General (HQ: Mashhad)
2. ARABIA			
Eastern	C	c.1758–1810	Muscat Agency
	C	1810–1820	Bushire Residency
	B	1820–1822	Lower Gulf Agency (HQ: Qishm Island)
	B	1822–1946	Gulf Residency (HQ: Bushire)
	B	1946–1971	Gulf Residency (HQ: Bahrain)
Southern	C	1618–1752	Mocha Agency
		1802–1829	
	A	1839–1932	Aden Settlement [the port of Aden]
	A	1932–1937	Aden Province [the port of Aden]
	C	1839–1859	Aden Agency
Western	C	1859–1873	Aden Residency
	B	1873–1917 ³	Aden Residency [Aden Protectorate after 1890s]
	C	c.1802–1870	Jeddah Agency (under Egypt Consul-General)
	C	1870–c.1918	Jeddah Agency
3. IRAQ			
	C	1635–1657	Persia Agency (HQ: Bandar Abbas)
	C	1723–1763	Persia Agency (HQ: Bandar Abbas)
	C	1763–1778	Basrah Agency
	C	1778–1798	Basrah Residency
	C	1798–1809	Basrah Residency & Baghdad Residency [separate districts]
	C	1810–1812	Turkish Arabia Residency (HQ: Baghdad)
	C	1812–1824	Turkish Arabia Agency (HQ: Baghdad)
	C	1824–1832	Turkish Arabia Agency (HQ: Baghdad, sometimes Basrah)
	C	1832–1844	Turkish Arabia Agency (HQ: Baghdad)
	C	1844–1851	Turkish Arabia Agency & Consulate (HQ: Baghdad)
	C	1851–1914	Turkish Arabia Residency & Consulate-General (HQ: Baghdad)
	B	1914–1920	British-Occupied Mesopotamia (HQ: Basra, <i>later</i> Baghdad)
	B	1920–1932	British Mandate, Iraq (HQ: Baghdad) ⁴
4. EGYPT			
	C	1833–1870	Egypt Consulate-General (HQ: Alexandria)

(Continued)

Appendix II. Continued

Area	Zone	Dates	District responsible for this area (HQ)
5. EAST AFRICA			
British Somaliland	B	1884–1898 ⁵	Aden Residency
Zanzibar	C	1843–1873	Zanzibar Agency & Consulate
	C	1873–1883 ⁶	Zanzibar Consulate-General
6. AFGHANISTAN			
	C	1793–1795	Kabul Agency
	C	1837–1842	Kabul Mission
	C	1856–1880	Kabul Agency
	B	1882–1919	Kabul Agency
	C	1922–1947	Kabul Legation
7. CENTRAL ASIA			
Sinkiang/Xinjiang	C	1891–1947	Chinese Turkistan Consulate-General (HQ: Kashgar)
Tibet	C	1904–1947	Sikkim Office (HQ: Gangtok)
8. NEPAL			
	B	1816–1923	Nepal Residency (HQ: Kathmandu)
	C	1923–1947 ⁷	Nepal Legation (HQ: Kathmandu)
9. BHUTAN			
	C	1889–1910	Sikkim Office (HQ: Gangtok)
	B	1910–1947	Sikkim Office (HQ: Gangtok)
10. SIAM			
Northwest	C	1884–1947	Chiang Mai Consulate ⁸

Notes:

1. The Bushire Residency was established in 1763, but was subordinate to the Basrah Agency until 1778.
2. Established in 1809 by the Foreign Office. Outside of the years listed, Ministers came from the Foreign Office.
3. The Aden Protectorate was transferred to the Foreign Office in 1917.
4. Transferred to the Colonial Office in 1921, but still headed by an IPS officer (except in 1929).
5. The British Somaliland Protectorate was transferred to the Foreign Office in 1898.
6. The Zanzibar Consulate-General was transferred to the Foreign Office in 1883.
7. The Nepal Residency (now Legation) was transferred to the Foreign Office in 1934, but still run by the IPS until 1947.
8. The Chiang Mai Consulate was paid for by the India Office, but staffed by the Foreign Office.

APPENDIX III: British India's Representatives outside India with Foreign Office rank (Zone C)

1. The Minister of the Tehran Legation (Northern and Central Persia), 1811–60, 1894–1900, 1918–20¹
2. The Consul-General for Egypt in Alexandria, 1833–70
3. The Consul, later Consul-General, for Zanzibar (East African coast), 1843–83
4. The Consul, later Consul-General, for Turkish Arabia (Ottoman Iraq) in Baghdad, 1844–1914
5. The Consul for Chiang Mai (Northwest Siam), 1884–1947
6. The Consul-General for Chinese Turkistan (Sinkiang/Xinjiang) in Kashgar, 1891–1947
7. The Consul-General for Fars (Southern Persia) in Bushire, 1878–1946
8. The Consul-General for Khorasan (Eastern Persia) in Mashhad, 1889–1947
9. The *de facto* Consul-General for Tibet in Gangtok (Sikkim), 1904–47
10. The Minister of the Kabul Legation (Afghanistan), 1922–47
11. The Envoy/Minister of the Nepal Legation in Kathmandu, 1923–34/1934–47²

Notes:

1. The British Minister in Tehran was directly responsible for Northern and Central Persia and oversaw the Consul-Generals in Southern and Eastern Persia. Tehran was transferred to the Foreign Office in 1860, but IPS officers served as Minister on two more occasions.
2. The Nepal Legation was transferred to the Foreign Office in 1934, but it continued to be run by the IPS until 1947.

APPENDIX IV: British control: Bahrain v. the native states of India

Areas of control	State	Method of control	Was there a treatybasis for control?
1. Defence	Bahrain	direct	yes
	Indian states	direct	yes
2. External political affairs	Bahrain	direct	yes
	Indian states	direct	yes
3. External communications	Bahrain	direct	yes
	Indian states	direct	yes
4. External transportation	Bahrain	direct	yes
	Indian states	direct	yes
5. External contraband trade	Bahrain	direct	yes
	Indian states	direct	yes
6. British subjects & dependants	Bahrain	direct	yes
	Indian states	direct	yes
7. Foreign subjects	Bahrain	direct	yes
	Indian states	direct	yes
8. A Ruler's own subjects (in certain circumstances)	Bahrain	direct	yes
	Indian states	direct	yes
9. A Ruler's subjects outside his state (in certain circumstances)	Bahrain	direct	yes
	Indian states	direct	yes
10. Key posts held by Britons in the native government	Bahrain	direct	yes and no
	Indian states	direct	yes and no
12. Internal affairs of special concern (through 'advice')	Bahrain	indirect	yes
	Indian states	indirect	yes
13. Internal political affairs given (through 'advice')	Bahrain	indirect	no , but 'advice' still given
	Indian states	indirect	yes

NOTES

Portions of this article appeared earlier in my book, *The Arabian Frontier of the British Raj: Merchants, Rulers, and the British in the Nineteenth-Century Gulf*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. They have appeared here with the kind permission of Oxford University Press.

1. W. W. Hunter *et al.* (eds), *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, new edn. Volume 4: *The Indian Empire, Administrative*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909, pp. 58–60; Hunter, *The Indian Empire: Its Peoples, History, and Products*, 3rd edn., London: W. H. Allen, 1893, pp. 76–79; 'India' chapter of the annual *India Office List*.
2. For a discussion of 'formal' and 'informal' empire as defined here, see J. Onley, 'Britain's Informal Empire in the Gulf, 1820–1971', *Journal of Social Affairs*, 22, 87 (2005): 29–45; J. Onley, *The Arabian Frontier of the British Raj: Merchants, Rulers, and the British in the Nineteenth Century Gulf*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, chap. 2.
3. See J. Onley, 'The Politics of Protection in the Gulf: The Arab Rulers and the British Resident in the Nineteenth Century', *New Arabian Studies*, 6 (2004): 30–92.

4. Lord Curzon, *Frontiers*, the 1907 Romanes Lecture, delivered at the University of Oxford on 2 November 1907, part 4.
5. *Ibid.*, part 1.
6. For more about the IPS, see I. Copland, 'The Other Guardians: Ideology and Performance in the Indian Political Service', in J. Jeffrey (ed.), *People, Princes and Paramount Power*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1978, pp. 275–305; T. Creagh-Coen, *The Indian Political Service*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1971; M. Ruthnaswamy, 'The Indian Political Service', part 1, *Indo-British Review*, 6, 3–4 (1976): 53–64 and part 2, *Indo-British Review*, 7, 1–2 (1977): 47–58; C. C. Trench, *Viceroy's Agent*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1987; P. J. Rich, *The Invasions of the Gulf: Radicalism, Ritualism and the Shaikhs*. Cambridge: Allborough, 1991.
7. Surat was an Agency during 1613–15.
8. The Company also briefly maintained presidency headquarters at Bantam in Java (1617–21, 1634–52); Fort Marlborough in Bengkulu [Benkulen], Sumatra (1760–85); and Penang (1805–30), which oversaw the Company's factories in East and Southeast Asia.
9. The Indian Foreign Dept had various names over the years: Secret and Political Dept (1784–1843), Foreign Dept (1843–1914), Foreign and Political Dept (1914–37), and Indian Political Service/IPS (1937–47).
10. E. Satow, *Satow's Guide to Diplomatic Practice*, 5th edn., ed. by Lord Gore-Booth. London: Longman, 1977, pp. 83–84, 87.
11. The British used 'native' to indicate that such agents were indigenous to the general region and were, therefore, non-European. Native agents represented the EIC and the British Govt. of India at the courts of hundreds of foreign states in South Asia and Southwest Asia from the seventeenth to the twentieth century. For more about native agents, see J. Onley, 'Britain's Native Agents in Arabia and Persia in the Nineteenth Century', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 24, 1 (2004): 129–137; Onley, *The Arabian Frontier of the British Raj*.
12. The Straits Settlements (Penang, Malacca, and Singapore) on the Malay Peninsula were transferred to the Colonial Office in 1867. Burma was separated from British India in 1937.
13. Southwest Asia includes Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, and Arabia.
14. Interpretation Act of 1889 and Indian General Clauses Act of 1897, cited in C. Ilbert, *The Government of India: Being a Digest of the Statute Law Relating Thereto*, 3rd edn. Oxford: Clarendon, 1915, pp. 291–292.
15. For details, see C. Aitchison's multi-volume *Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries* (published numerous times between 1862 and 1933).
16. Aden Settlement (the port of Aden and its environs plus Perim Island – about 80 sq. miles in total) in Southwest Arabia was annexed in 1839 to the Presidency of Bombay in British India. It was made a province of British India in its own right in 1932 and was transferred to the Colonial Office as a crown colony in 1937.
17. For details, see Ilbert, *The Government of India*, pp. 165–169; C. U. Aitchison (ed.), *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries*. Calcutta and Delhi: Superintendent Govt. Printing, 1862–1933; C. U. Aitchison, *The Native States of India: An Attempt to Elucidate a Few of the Principles which Underlie Their Relations with the British Government*. Calcutta: Superintendent Govt. Printing, 1881; W. Lee-Warner, *The Protected Princes of India*. London: Macmillan, 1894; W. Lee-Warner, *The Native States of India*. London: Macmillan, 1910; C. L. Tupper, *Our Indian Protectorate: An Introduction to the Study of the Relations between the British Government and Its Indian Feudatories*. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1893.
18. For Nepal, see F. O'Connor, *On the Frontier and Beyond*. London: John Murray, 1931; Asad Husain, *British India's Relations with the Kingdom of Nepal, 1857–1947*. London: George

- Allen & Unwin, 1970; K. Mojmudar, *Political Relations between India and Nepal, 1877–1923*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1973; B. D. Sanyal, *Nepal and the East India Company*, Bombay: Asian Publishing House, 1965. For Afghanistan, see L. Adamec, *Afghanistan, 1900–1923*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967; A. Bilgrami, *Afghanistan and British India, 1793–1907*. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1972; S. Chakravarty, *Afghanistan and the Great Game*. Delhi: New Century, 2002; R. S. Rastogi, *Indo–Afghan Relations, 1880–1900*. Lucknow: Nav-Jyoti Press, 1965; D. P. Singhal, *India and Afghanistan, 1876–1907*. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1963; G. P. Tripathi, *Indo–Afghan Relations, 1882–1907*. New Delhi: Kumar Bros, 1973. For Bhutan, see M. Williamson, *Memoirs of a Political Officer's Wife in Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan*, ed. J. Snelling. London: Wisdom, 1987; P. Collister, *Bhutan and the British*. London: Serindia with Belitha, 1987; S. Gupta, *British Relations with Bhutan*. Jaipur: Panchsheel Prakashan, 1974; A. B. Majumdar, *Britain and the Himalayan Kingdom of Bhotan*. Patna: Bharati Bhawan, 1984; A. K. J. Singh, *Himalayan Triangle: A Historical Survey of British India's Relations with Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan 1765–1950*. London: British Library, 1988.
19. For the status of the Gulf Arab States, see C. U. Aitchison (ed.), *A Collection of Treaties 11: Persian Gulf*. Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1933; H. al-Baharna, *The Legal Status of the Arabian Gulf States: A Study of Their Treaty Relations and Their International Problems*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1968; al-Baharna, 'The Consequences of Britain's Exclusive Treaties: A Gulf View', in B. Pridham (ed.), *The Arab Gulf and the West*. London: Croom Helm, 1985; H. al-Baharna, *British Extra-Territorial Jurisdiction in the Gulf, 1913–1971*. Slough: Archive Editions, 1998; G. Balfour-Paul, *The End of Empire in the Middle East: Britain's Relinquishment of Power in Her Last Three Arab Dependencies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991; J. B. Kelly, 'Sovereignty and Jurisdiction in Eastern Arabia', *International Affairs*, 34, 1 (January 1958): 16–24; J. B. Kelly, 'The Legal and Historical Basis of the British Position in the Persian Gulf', *St Antony's Papers*, 4: *Middle Eastern Affairs*, 1. London: Chatto & Windus, 1958, pp. 119–140; J. B. Kelly, 'The British Position in the Persian Gulf', *The World Today*, 20, 6 (June 1964): 238–249; H. Liebesney, 'International Relations of Arabia: The Dependent Areas', *Middle East Journal*, 1 (1947): 148–168; H. Liebesney, 'British Jurisdiction in the States of the Persian Gulf', *Middle East Journal*, 3 (1949): 330–332; H. Liebesney, 'Administration and Legal Development in Arabia: The Persian Gulf Principalities', *Middle East Journal*, 10, 1 (1956): 33–42; R. V. Pillai and M. Kumar, 'The Political and Legal Status of Kuwait', *International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, 11, 1 (January 1962): 108–130; D. Roberts, 'The Consequences of the Exclusive Treaties: A British View', in Pridham (ed.), *The Arab Gulf and the West*, pp. 1–14; F. Ahmad, 'A Note on the International Status of Kuwait before November 1914', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 24, 1 (February 1992): 181–185; R. Blyth, *Empire of the Raj: India, Eastern Africa, and the Middle East, 1858–1947*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003, chaps. 2, 8; Onley, *The Arabian Frontier of the British Raj*, chap. 2.
 20. For a contemporary discussion of Britain's *de jure* and *de facto* position in the Gulf, see J. A. Saldanha (ed.), *Précis of ... International Rivalry and British Policy in the Persian Gulf, 1872–1905*. Calcutta: Superintendent of Govt. Printing, 1906, pp. 34–5.
 21. In 1937, the protectorates East of Aden were named the 'Eastern Aden Protectorate', while those neighbouring Aden were renamed the 'Western Aden Protectorate'. For details, see C. U. Aitchison (ed.), *A Collection of Treaties 11: Aden and the South-Western Coast of Arabia*. Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1933; R. Robbins, 'The Legal Status of Aden Colony and the Aden Protectorate', *The American Journal of International Law*, 33, 4 (October 1939): 700–715; B. Reilly, 'The Aden Protectorate', *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, 28 (1941): 132–145.

22. C. U. Aitchison, *A Collection of Treaties 13: The Treaties, Etc., Relating to Turkish Arabia, Aden, and South Coast of Arabia, Somaliland, R. Shoa, and Zanzibar*. Calcutta: Superintendent of Govt. Printing, 1909, pp. 189–224. For more about India's rule of Somaliland, see A. M. Brockett, 'The British Somaliland Protectorate to 1905', D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1970; Blyth, *Empire of the Raj*, chap. 4.
23. Estimated sizes of the Indian Empire vary from publication to publication. These sizes are from G. Chesney, *Indian Polity: A View of the System of Administration in India*, 3rd edn., London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1894, main map. Ceylon was governed by the Colonial Office and did not belong to the Indian Empire.
24. Bhutan (18, 200 sq. miles) became a British-protected state in 1910.
25. Kuwait became a British-protected state in 1899.
26. The British Somaliland Protectorate was transferred to the Foreign Office in 1898.
27. A minority period is a period during which a ruler of a state is a minor, unable to govern on his own.
28. Balfour-Paul, *The End of Empire in the Middle East*, p. 101.
29. The British Government issued an order-in-council for each country to regulate the laws and procedures British agents and consuls were to apply to legal cases under their jurisdiction.
30. Ilbert, *Government of India*, p. 166.
31. M. Fisher, *Indirect Rule in India: Residents and the Residency System, 1764–1858*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1991.
32. Ibid., p. 463.
33. D. A. Low, 'Lion Rampant', *Journal of Commonwealth Political Studies*, 2, 3 (November 1964): 237–239. Also see D. A. Low, *Lion Rampant: Essays in the Study of British Imperialism*. London: Frank Cass, 1973; D. A. Low, 'Laissez-Faire and Traditional Rulership in Princely India', in Jeffrey (ed.), *People, Princes and Paramount Power*, pp. 372–387.
34. J. A. Saldanha (ed.), *Précis of Bahrein Affairs, 1854–1904*. Calcutta, Superintendent of Govt. Printing, 1904, preface, pp. 1–2.
35. Meade (Gulf Resident) to Sec. of Indian For. Dept, 13 June 1898, reg. no. 1044/1898, L/P&S/7/108, London: India Office Records, British Library.
36. Curzon to Sec. of Indian For. Dept, 21 Nov. 1903, Mss. Eur. F111/162, London: India Office Records, British Library, p. 411.
37. Ilbert, *Government of India*, p. 292.
38. Key works on India's native states include I. Copland, *The British Raj and the Indian Princes: Paramountcy in Western India, 1857–1930*. London: Orient Longman, 1982; I. Copland, *The Princes of India in the Endgame of Empire, 1917–1947*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997; Fisher, *Indirect Rule in India*; Robin Jeffrey, 'The Politics of "Indirect Rule": Types of Relationships among Rulers, Ministers and Residents in a "Native State"', *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 13, 3 (November 1975): 261–281; Jeffrey (ed.), *People, Princes and Paramount Power*; Low, 'Laissez-Faire and Traditional Rulership in Princely India'; B. Ramusack, *The Princes of India: In the Twilight of Empire: Dissolution of a Patron-Client System, 1914–1939*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1978; Ramusack, *The Indian Princes and their States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. Studies of India's tribal territories include H. Beattie, *Imperial Frontier: Tribe and State in Waziristan*. Richmond: Curzon, 2001; M. Bose, *British Policy in the North-East Frontier Agency*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1979; F. Scholz, *Nomadism & Colonialism: A Hundred Years of Baluchistan, 1872–1972*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. Also see note 18 above.