

who had divided between them the heritage of the 'Great Mogul.' One or two regimental episodes must suffice. The 1st Bombay Native Infantry (Grenadiers) co-operated with the 42nd Highlanders in the famous defence of Mangalore by Lieutenant-Colonel John Campbell in the third Mysore War. The siege lasted from May, 1783, to January, 1784, and when the city surrendered, Tipú Sultán allowed the remnant of the garrison to retire with the honours of war to Bombay. The 3rd, 5th, and 7th Bombay Native Infantry took a conspicuous part in the pitched battle of Seedaseer, when Tipú Sultán endeavoured to check the column from the Malabar Coast, on its march to join in the siege of Seringapatam. The 2nd and 13th Bombay Native Infantry formed part of the force under Sir David Baird, which sailed from India in 1801 across the Indian Ocean and up the Red Sea to Cosseir, whence it marched across the desert to the Nile. It descended the Nile in boats, and joined the English army sent to Egypt to expel the French. Its perilous journey has been most fully described by a French writer, the Comte de Noe. It was the 2nd Bombay Native Infantry also, under the command of Captain Staunton, which, unsupported by any British soldiers, fought the Maráthá army at Korygáon in 1818. Bombay regiments served in the first Afghan war, and in the conquest of Sind by Sir Charles Napier.

During the Mutiny, only two regiments, the 21st and 27th Bombay Native Infantry, followed the example of the Bengal Sepoys, and rose in open revolt. Unfortunately the honours of the Bombay army suf-

ferred eclipse for a moment during the second Afghan War by the disaster at Maiwand : due not to want of bravery in the troops, but to unskilful tactics. Only for a moment, however. The 28th Bombay Native Infantry served with marked distinction in the Soudan campaign of 1885; and the Bombay contingent despatched to take part in the conquest and occupation of Upper Burma in 1885-86 did its duty right well.

During the five years from 1885 to 1890 important questions arose as to the abolition of the Commander-in-Chief in Bombay, and as to bringing the Presidency army into more direct relations with the Supreme Government under the Commander-in-Chief in India. The Army Commission, whose report was laid before Parliament in 1884, had recommended the abolition of the three Presidential armies, and the substitution of four army corps. On these questions I, as a civilian, do not here offer an opinion of my own, but confine myself to indicating the main line of argument on both sides.

One of the principal issues raised was whether the change proposed would produce over-centralisation. The Army Commission gave expression to the view that there is something anomalous in the existence of three separate Presidency armies with three distinct systems of administration, in the same country, all serving the same Central Government. 'The majority of the Commission,' says the Report, 'are much impressed by the evils of the present Presidential system, the defects of a war administration worked by separate and dispersed agencies, and by the three

sets of separate Staff and Army Departments. We cannot close our eyes to the grave embarrassments to military affairs caused by the numerous and circuitous channels 'through which the smallest detail has to filter. The anomaly is not merely useless, but hurtful to the efficiency of the army.'

To remedy these evils the Commission recommended the formation of four army corps, two of which would be identical with the present Madras and Bombay armies, while the other two would be constituted from the eastern and western portions of the Bengal army. There would be one Headquarters Staff at Simla, instead of the three independent Presidential staffs. The lieutenant-generals commanding the army corps would be more distinctly subordinate to the Commander-in-Chief in India than are the Commanders-in-Chief of Bombay and Madras at present. The military secretariats of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, and the connection of these Presidency Governments with military affairs, would be curtailed or abolished.

On the other hand, it was represented that the financial saving from such reconstruction would not be very great. The Headquarters Staff at Simla would have to be strengthened to make up for the reduction of the Presidential staffs. There would be four lieutenant-generals commanding army corps and one full general commanding the army in India in chief, in place of two lieutenant-generals commanding the Madras and Bombay armies and one full general commanding in chief, as at present. An advantage would be that

the Commander-in-Chief in India would be freed from his special duties as Commander-in-Chief of the Bengal army. He would, with his Headquarters Staff, be thus enabled to devote himself to the supervision of the army in India, considered as an organic whole, in the same way as the Government of India in its civil administration controls the provincial governments. The danger was the possibility of over-centralisation, and the consequent impairing of local responsibility and local energy.

Lord Reay looked at the question without being biassed by his position as a provincial governor. He pointed out that the establishment of an independent Commander-in-Chief with a Central Staff need not lead to over-centralisation. He argued that the four army corps of Bengal, Madras, Bombay, and the Punjab might retain all their local characteristics and be treated as four units or 'four watertight compartments,' each with its own Medical Staff, Commissariat, Transport, and Accounts department. In these departments he considered too much centralisation had already been introduced, although fully recognising the need for uniformity. He recognised that the lieutenants-general commanding them might be made as immediately responsible for their efficiency and economy as are the Presidential Commanders-in-Chief at present. If this principle was strictly observed he held that the change from presidential armies to army corps might be worked so as really to lead to decentralisation, and that the Headquarters Staff might more effectively devote itself to the interests of the Indian army as a



whole ; its connection with the executive details of the Bengal army being severed. The Commander-in-Chief in India would naturally retain his seat on the Viceroy's Council, and there could be no objection to the lieutenants-general commanding the army corps in Madras and Bombay being members of the Councils of the governors of those provinces, as the Commanders-in-Chief of the Madras and Bombay armies have heretofore been.

Turning from this general question to the actual history of the Bombay army during the five years under review (1885-1890), the first important event was the transfer of the Belgaum District command from the Bombay to the Madras army in November, 1885. In return the Nágpur District was transferred from the Madras to the Bombay army, on October 1, 1888. This exchange, which the Bombay Government regretted, shows that the distribution of troops is not necessarily affected by the limits of the different Presidencies. Belgaum is a Bombay District ; Nágpur is in the Central Provinces ; while, as a further example, the Quetta District command, which is upon the Sind frontier, was transferred from the Bombay to the Bengal army.

On the same day as the transfer of the Nágpur command was effected, October 1, 1888, a general reorganisation of the commands and staff was introduced. The terms Divisions and Brigades were abolished, and the senior commands, previously styled Divisions, and First and Second Class Brigades, were divided into two classes only, and called First and

Second Class Districts. One Major-General's command, the old Northern District, was suppressed. Some of the stations within its limits were transferred to the Bombay District, and the rest were formed into Second Class Districts. The Second Class Brigade at Nasirábád was also reduced to a station, commanded by a Colonel on the staff. The Divisional and Brigade Staffs in the Adjutant-General's and Quartermaster-General's Departments were amalgamated; and the officers holding appointments in these departments were designated District Staff Officers, First Class, and District Staff Officers, Second Class, in lieu of their former cumbrous titles of Assistant and Deputy-Assistant-Adjutant-General, and Assistant and Deputy-Assistant-Quartermaster-General. Three Brigade-Majors were abolished, and Station Staff Officers were allowed at certain stations instead. The Station Staff Officers were divided into four classes instead of three, and the staff salaries of the first, second, and third classes were increased.

This important reform in the Adjutant-General's and Quartermaster-General's Departments consequent on the reorganisation of the district commands, was accompanied by not less important changes in other branches of the departmental organisation. On February 1, 1887, the Commissariat Supply and Transport Departments of the Bombay army were amalgamated. In July, 1887, their staff was reorganised; and on September 21, 1889, orders were issued that from October 1 in that year their presidential staffs should be formed into one central department for all India

under the orders of the Commissary-General-in-Chief and under the administrative control of the Government of India.

The Commissary-General in Bombay selected by Lord Reay was Colonel Wilhelm Luckhardt, C.B. and Aide-de-Camp to the Queen, an extremely able officer. He reorganised the important spending departments under his control, introduced drastic reforms and put down many abuses. The result was a saving of three lakhs of rupees. He paid special attention to the vital question of transport, and largely substituted mules for the comparatively useless elephants and camels.

Even more interesting was Colonel Luckhardt's attempt to make the transport followers of military value, instead of incumbrances to the progress of an army. He obtained leave in July, 1887, to teach these followers the work of carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, &c. in the transport workshops, and to pay them half the rates allowed to departmental workmen, while they were employed as artificers. The scheme was tried as an experiment for one year. It proved a success and resulted in a financial saving, and the Government of India in July, 1889, sanctioned its continuance. Another point of Colonel Luckhardt's administration was his advocacy of the substitution of the draught for the pack system, and his endeavours to find a style of cart suitable for rough ground and strong enough not to break down when heavily laden.

While speaking of reforms in the army departments, mention should also be made of the abolition of the

Bombay Clothing Agency on October 1, 1889, in consequence of the recommendation of the Finance Committee. The separate presidential Judge-Advocate-General's departments were amalgamated on April 1, 1888 into one, under a Judge-Advocate-General for India. A considerable saving was effected by the substitution of one Deputy-Judge-Advocate-General and one Assistant-Judge-Advocate-General for the Bombay army in the place of the former establishment of a Judge-Advocate-General and two Deputy-Judge-Advocates-General.

These important measures of reform and consolidation in the higher grades and in the staff of the Bombay army were introduced partly as a result of the recommendations of the Finance Committee, and partly as steps towards the scheme of reconstruction propounded by the Army Commission. Whether or not that scheme be ever adopted in its entirety, the measures just described have tended alike to efficiency and economy.

With reference to the British regiments stationed in Bombay during the five years from 1885 to 1890, it may be briefly noted that in 1885 the strength of each battalion of infantry was augmented by the addition of one hundred privates. Measures were also taken, under a scheme formulated by the Government of India in 1887, to replace the old canteens by regimental institutes containing both refreshment and recreation departments.

In the Bombay Native Regiments more important changes were made. A distinguishing characteristic

of the Bombay, as of the Madras, army has been the maintenance of the 'dilution' system. By this system regiments composed of members of a single caste or a single race are avoided, in contradistinction to the practice which formerly prevailed in the Bengal army. The argument in favour of 'dilution' was strengthened by the experience of the Mutiny in 1857. The only two Bombay regiments which mutinied were the 21st Native Infantry, which was composed solely of Púrbiáhs, and the 27th Native Infantry, composed solely of Maráthás<sup>1</sup>. Generally speaking, Maráthás and Rájputs, Sikhs and Patháns, may be seen serving together in the ranks of the regular Bombay regiments.

The Maráthás are alike the most numerous and the most warlike inhabitants of the Bombay Presidency proper. Of their military aptitude in the past there can be no doubt: for it was the Maráthás who broke the power of the Mughal Empire. But the development of the mill industry and the improvement in the condition of agriculture tends yearly to diminish the number of Maráthá recruits. The hardy inhabitants of the District of Ratnágiri who formerly enlisted in large numbers, now prefer to earn the livelihood which their barren soil denies, in the factories of Bombay rather than in the ranks of the army. 'At the present day,' it is said<sup>2</sup>, 'the Bombay army is greatly dependent for its supply of recruits on the Native States of Central India.' To this general statement the three Balúch regiments form a marked exception. These regiments

<sup>1</sup> *Memorandum on Army Corps versus Presidential Armies* (Bombay, 1888), p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *The Calcutta Review* for October, 1889, p. 244.

are not 'diluted,' nor is the supply of recruits for them likely to be diminished for many years to come. Indeed, in 1887 the Government of India, recognising the high military qualities of the Balúchis, proposed that three more regiments of the Bombay Native Infantry should be localised in Sind and Balúchistán, and recruited from the frontier tribes. This scheme was not carried out, owing to representations by the Bombay Government.

I now turn for a moment to the different sections of the Bombay Native Army. In the artillery, the two Bombay Mountain Batteries (Native) were increased from four to six guns each in 1885, and the field of recruitment for them was extended to the Punjab in 1889. The Bombay Native Cavalry was increased by one regiment and by the addition of a fresh squadron to each regiment, in 1885. In the same year the 1st and 2nd Bombay Lancers were equipped throughout with lance, sword, and carbine. In 1887 the Aden troop also was armed with the lance instead of the sabre. In the Bombay Native Infantry far-reaching changes were made. Under the system introduced into the whole native army of India in 1886, the Bombay Native Infantry regiments of the old organisation were linked together into regiments consisting of three battalions each; the new battalions being identical with the old regiments. Of these new regiments, one, consisting of the 4th Rifles, the 23rd Light Infantry, and the 25th Light Infantry was on the proposal of H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught formed into a Rifle Corps in 1888. The 4th Rifles were armed with long Sniders

in 1887, and in 1888 the Government of India sanctioned the issue of Martini-Henri rifles to certain Native Infantry regiments.

Another point worthy of notice was the assimilation of the system of enlistment for the Bombay Native Army to that prevailing in the Bengal Native Army, in 1887. Under it, a soldier can claim his discharge after three years' service if his regiment is within 10 per cent of its establishment in time of peace. The formation of a Reserve for the Native Infantry, sanctioned by the Secretary of State in 1885, and established in connection with the Bombay army in 1887, is of the nature of an experimental measure.

The British troops in the Bombay Presidency, in 1889-90, numbered 12,604 officers and men, and the Native army 26,902 officers and men; total, 39,506. The English force comprised 21 batteries and troops of artillery with 84 guns (excluding the heavy ordnance at Bombay, Aden, and Karachi), one regiment of cavalry, nine regiments of infantry, and 34 engineers. The Native army consisted of two Mountain Batteries of artillery with 12 guns, one regiment of engineers, nine regiments of cavalry, numbering 4516 officers and men, and 28 regiments of infantry numbering 21,353 officers and men. The English army contained 391 commissioned officers, 1262 non-commissioned officers, and 10,951 men. The Native army was composed of 326 English commissioned officers, 548 Native commissioned officers, 2811 non-commissioned officers and 23,217 men<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Bombay Administration Report for 1889-90*, Appendix III, I (1).

The total cost of the Bombay army under the various Budget grants for 1889-90 amounted to Rs. 265,33,687. Of this sum Rs. 62,23,872 was allotted to the English army, and Rs. 74,64,636 to the Native army<sup>1</sup>. What are termed Effective Services, including the staff, the commissariat, ordnance, medical, barrack, clothing, and remount establishments, and the administration of martial law, absorbed no less than Rs. 113,06,028. Some of the items under this head deserve further details. The commissariat, for instance, including establishments, supplies, and services, cost Rs. 54,35,212; a sum which gives an idea of the magnitude of the department with which Colonel Luckhardt had to deal; ordnance, Rs. 14,08,219; medical establishments, services, and supplies, Rs. 11,43,982. Non-effective Services, namely pensions and rewards, came to Rs. 15,39,151.

Among the items under Effective Services is a sum of Rs. 3,15,654 for Volunteer Corps. The number of volunteers in the Bombay Presidency amounted to 4394 officers and men. Of these, 2735 belonged to the three Railway Volunteer Corps, composed of the men employed on the three great trunk lines running from Bombay—the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India; the Great India Peninsula; and the Southern Maráthá. The Bombay Volunteers include artillery, rifles, and light horse; and the Sind Volunteers comprise the Karáchi Naval Volunteer Corps formed in June, 1889. The formation of a similar corps of Naval Volunteers

<sup>1</sup> *Bombay Administration Report for 1889-90*, Appendix III, I (2).



at Aden was sanctioned by the Bombay Government in January, 1890.

In addition to the cost of the Bombay Army must be reckoned the expenditure on military works, which may be divided into Defence and Ordinary Works. I have already referred to the separation of the Military Works from the Bombay Public Works Department, in the last year of Lord Reay's administration. The Government of Bombay recognised the distinction between original defence works, needing supervision by Royal Engineers and ordinary military works, such as barracks and store-houses. Lord Reay fully acknowledged the expediency of a special supervision, and indeed of a special department, for the former. Indeed, shortly after his arrival he successfully urged acceleration of harbour defence works. But he protested against the concentration of ordinary military works under a central department of military works at the distant headquarters of the Government of India. The Bombay Public Works Department had shown itself thoroughly competent to carry out the building and repair of barracks and stores. Lord Reay maintained that, by its knowledge of local prices and requirements, it could do such work more economically and quite as efficiently as the new branch of Military Works directly dependent on the Simla Department.

Defence works stand on a different footing. It was part of the policy of Lord Dufferin to fortify the great seaports of the Indian Empire against attack by sea. Recent naval manœuvres show with what ease a

modern ship of war can capture or destroy even the largest city, unless protected by effective heavy ordnance. Foremost among the seaports of the Indian Empire are Bombay, Aden, and Karáchi. Elaborate defence works (of which it would be improper for me to enter into the details) were undertaken during the five years under review for the protection of these cities. The preparation of the designs and the execution of the works have been carried out by a special staff of Royal Engineer officers at each station under the direction, since 1887, of the Inspector-General of Military Works. Coast batteries have been erected, heavy modern ordnance has been supplied, and a network of submarine mines has been arranged in connection with each of these three harbours. Three torpedo boats of the latest pattern arrived for Bombay and two for Karáchi in 1889. Schemes for defence in case of an attack have been drawn up, and rehearsals of them were carried out in the presence of H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught at Aden in November, 1889; at Karáchi in January, 1890; and at Bombay in March, 1890<sup>1</sup>. During the five years from 1885 to 1890, Rs. 64,54,284 were spent on the special coast defences of Bombay, Aden, and Karáchi, of which Rs. 6,51,099 have been refunded by the Home Government as a moiety of the expenditure at Aden.

The Secretary in the Military Department is also the Secretary in the Marine Department to the Government of Bombay, and the headquarters of the Indian Marine are at Bombay. The old Indian Navy,

<sup>1</sup> *Bombay Administration Report for 1889-90*, p. 68.

maintained by the East India Company, and with a glorious record of service on the coasts of India and in the Persian Gulf, was abolished on April 30, 1863. It was believed that the work which it performed could be more economically done in another fashion, and six ships of the Royal Navy were subsidised for the purpose at a yearly cost of £70,000. This expectation was not altogether realised. The transport of troops to Aden and from one Indian port to another, the inspection of lighthouses and the guarding of the convict settlement on the Andaman Islands, were scarcely duties for the Royal Navy. In 1877 a separate Indian Marine was accordingly organised. It constructed a regular service out of the local establishment which had gradually grown up for these special duties, and took over the dockyards at Bombay and at Kidderpur near Calcutta. In 1882 Captain H. W. Brent, R.N., was appointed the first Director of the Indian Marine, and had the arduous task of despatching the Indian contingent to Egypt. He was succeeded in 1883 by Captain John Hext, R.N., who filled the office of Director of the Indian Marine throughout the five years under review.

The Indian Marine mans five troopships, the 'Canning,' 'Clive,' 'Dalhousie,' 'Mayo,' and 'Tenasserim,' besides the two turret-ships 'Abyssinia' and 'Magdala,' six torpedo boats, and several smaller vessels. The Government of India also owns the five great troopships which carry the reliefs between England and India, the 'Serapis,' 'Euphrates,' 'Crocodile,' 'Jumna,' and 'Malabar,' but which are officered and manned by

the Royal Navy. The ordinary work of the Indian Marine is the transport of the reliefs between one Indian port and another. But in case of a military expedition, a much greater strain is placed on its resources. Thus in 1885, just before Lord Reay's arrival, it carried to the Soudan in its own vessels and in hired transports, between February 22 and April 16, 3366 officers and men of the Indian Army, with 11,521 followers, 835 horses, 2279 mules and ponies, 4155 camels and other animals.

On a still larger scale was the work of the Indian Marine in transporting troops for the conquest of Burma in 1885-86. It embarked in its own and in hired ships 14,629 officers and men, with 6565 followers, 494 horses and other animals; and in 1886 18,389 officers and men, with 7371 followers, 3054 horses and other animals. Its officers did good service on the Irrawadi in the Burma campaign; two of them earned the Distinguished Service Order and several have been mentioned in despatches. During the five years under review the Indian Marine received steady encouragement from the Government of India. Its officers have been graded in the Indian precedence list, but just complaints are made that it has not yet received a fair share of recognition from the Lords of the Admiralty.

## CHAPTER XV.

### SIND, ADEN, AND THE PORTUGUESE POSSESSIONS.

**H**ITHERTO I have treated the Bombay Presidency as a whole. But before ending this volume, I must explain at some length an important question which arose afresh during the five years under review in regard to the outlying province of Sind. I shall then very briefly refer to certain transactions in the more distant settlement of Aden, and in the Portuguese Settlements on the Bombay coast.

The province of Sind, as already stated, is cut off from the Presidency Proper by Native States, and presents administrative problems distinctively its own. Its Muhammadan population, its entire dependence on irrigation for agricultural prosperity, its comparatively recent conquest, and its sparsely inhabited tracts, contrast with the conditions prevailing in Gujarát and the Deccan. It accordingly forms, to a certain extent, a separate administrative unit. The Commissioner in Sind exercises larger powers than the Commissioners of the Northern, Central, and Southern Divisions of the Presidency. The Judicial Commissioner of Sind possesses nearly all the powers

of the Bombay High Court. The Districts of Sind are still Non-Regulation, and many enactments of the Bombay Legislative Council are not extended to them. The administrative system on the whole resembles that of the Central Provinces, except that the Commissioner in Sind is subordinate to the Government of Bombay, while the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces is directly under the Government of India.

The connection of Sind with the Bombay Government has not, however, been always regarded as essential, and in 1888 the Government of India decided to recommend the transference of Sind to the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Punjab. Lord Reay, on being consulted by the Governor-General in Council, objected, and after a full consideration of his arguments, the transfer was not carried into effect. The question seriously affected the Bombay Government, and the decision to maintain the *status quo* was not arrived at without much discussion. The proposal is, however, of old standing and has an instructive history. The following summary shows the long-protracted deliberation which is given to such a question of territorial jurisdiction by the Indian Government, and briefly indicates the arguments from time to time put forward on both sides. They may be divided into historical, geographical, administrative, military, and commercial.

Sir Charles Napier conquered the Amirs of Sind in 1843, and was appointed Governor of the province on its annexation by Lord Ellenborough. He held

the office until 1847, doing arduous work in settling a country disturbed by long licence and misgovernment. On Napier's resignation, the administration of Sind was placed under the control of the Bombay Government. In February 1856 the Government of India proposed to establish a Lieutenant-Governorship on the north-west frontier of the empire, to include both the Punjab and Sind. The project was, however, negatived by the Court of Directors on financial and other grounds. In November, 1858, after the abolition of the East India Company, the Secretary of State for India ordered the formation of the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Punjab. The composition of the new province was left to the Government of India. It decided, in a large measure owing to the admirable administration of Sind by Sir Bartle Frere, then Commissioner, and to the difficulty of communications with the North, that Sind should remain attached to the Bombay Presidency. Twelve years later, Lord Mayo had again to consider the question of re-arranging the jurisdictions of the Local Governments, and among them the transfer of Sind. No step was immediately taken, but in 1876 the Secretary of State sanctioned the transfer of Sind to the Punjab, and on August 15, 1879, the Government of India applied for sanction to bring the new arrangements into force from January 1, 1880. The events at Kábul, however, and the continuance of the Afghán war, caused the proposal to be postponed. From this narrative it will be seen that one school could fairly argue that the subordination of Sind to the Bombay Government was accidental,

and that there had long been a consensus of opinion in favour of eventually separating it.

On the other side, the history of actual facts may be opposed to the history of opinion. It may be true, urge the advocates for retaining the *status quo*, that the subordination of Sind to Bombay had been regarded as a temporary measure. Nevertheless the arrangement has now lasted for nearly fifty years; and when a temporary arrangement lasts for nearly half a century in India, it must be treated as practically permanent. They argue that the very facts which weighed with the Government of India against actual separation in 1858 and 1879, namely the admirable administration of Sir Bartle Frere and the Afghan war, show that the unanimity of opinion was, upon the two occasions when the matter was most maturely considered, overpowered by practical considerations in favour of the existing system. To this answer it is rejoined that these considerations against the transfer were of a temporary character.

The geographical arguments for and against the transfer of Sind are apparent from a glance at the map. On the one hand, Sind is separated from the boundaries of the Bombay Presidency by the Native States of Rájputána and Cutch, while it marches on its northern frontier with the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Punjab, and on its western frontier with the recently ceded districts of Balúchistán. Its most important physical feature, and the one on which its agricultural prosperity depends, the Indus river, is formed by the five streams which give the Punjab its



name. It would seem natural, therefore, that the whole course of the mighty river and its affluents should be under one government. The difficulty of communication with the Punjab, which formed an objection to the inclusion of Sind within that Lieutenant-Governorship in 1858, has been removed by the completion of the North-Western State Railway. Lahore can now be more easily reached by train than Bombay by steamer. To these geographical arguments may also be added ethnological and religious considerations. The people of Sind are less alien in habits and religion to those of the Punjab and Balúchistán than to those of Bombay. The prevailing religion of Sind is that of Islám, which has comparatively few followers in the Bombay Presidency.

On the other hand it is urged that the geographical argument of Sind being watered by the great river of the Punjab is not conclusive, for it might be alleged on behalf of the amalgamation of part of Madras with Bombay, and against the separation of Assam from Bengal. The close connection between Sind and the Punjab resulting from the completion of the North-Western State Railway may some day be balanced by the construction of a Bombay line across the Rann of Cutch from Karáchi to Káthiáwár. It is true that the Sind population is chiefly of the Muhammadan religion, but these Muhammadans are the descendants of the original Hindu inhabitants, who were converted to the faith of Islám during the reign of the Ummayyide dynasty of K̄halifas, and are ethnically related to the people of Gujarát. This is proved by the Sindi

language, which differs more from Punjabi than it does from Gujaráti, and has much in common with the latter vernacular. The class from which Native officials in Sind are chiefly drawn is that of the Hindu Amils. The Bombay Presidency proper contains Maráthi-speaking, Gujaráti-speaking, and Kánarese-speaking races, and has to deal with the Hindu, Pársi, and Lingáyat religions. The addition of another language and another dominant religion in Sind does not complicate its government.

The administrative arguments are more weighty. The Province of Sind is and, under British rule, always has been an administrative entity. It is administered by a Commissioner, whose powers resemble those of the Chief Commissioners of Assam and the Central Provinces. Its districts are Non-Regulation like those in the latter governments. Its judicial machinery is complete in itself. It can therefore be separated with a minimum of friction or inconvenience. It has its own interests, which are independent of those existing in the Bombay Presidency. Its agricultural system, dependent on irrigation works and canals, differs from that of the Deccan, the Konkan or Gujarát. Its physical configuration, with its one great river, its sandy soil and frequent deserts, its absence of mountains and of forests, presents peculiar conditions. Its commercial prosperity depends on the trade of the north-west of India, mainly upon wheat, while that of the Bombay Presidency proper depends on the trade of the western and central districts of the Peninsula, mainly on cotton.

In reply to these considerations, the opposing school justly urges the success which has been attained by the existing system. For nearly half a century, Sind has been administered, as a separate organisation it is true, but by Bombay officers and upon Bombay principles. Bombay administrators, like Sir Bartle Frere and Colonel Sir W. L. Merewether, have built up a most efficient government. A special revenue system, based on the condition of the province, under the name of irrigational settlements, has been introduced by the instrumentality of Mr. H. N. B. Erskine, C.S.I., who was Commissioner in Sind during the early part of Lord Reay's administration. Education has been put on a sound footing by a special Inspector of Schools, Mr. H. P. Jacob. The Bombay Public Works Department has paid particular attention to the requirements of Sind, and has successfully laboured, with the aid of its slowly acquired special knowledge, to maintain and extend the network of irrigation canals. Sind has certainly not suffered by its connection with Bombay in the past.

Nor would the separation be unattended with difficulties. The Sind public records are inextricably mixed up with those of the rest of the Bombay Government, and it would be a very expensive and prolonged task to separate them. Bombay, moreover, is the principal maritime province of India. The Bombay Government is peculiarly suited to deal with the special questions connected with the management of ports and harbours. Sind has a considerable seaboard, and its wealthiest and most progressive city is

the important port of Karáchi. The Punjab has no ports and no maritime administration. It would have to create a fresh machinery for the single harbour of Karáchi, and there would be a danger of disagreement between the neighbouring maritime jurisdictions of Sind (if a part of the Punjab) and Bombay.

The fourth series of considerations are military. It was owing to the inconvenience of a division of political responsibility upon the North-Western frontier that the Government of India resuscitated the idea of the separation of Sind from Bombay in 1876. The unity of frontier policy was impaired by a portion of the frontier being subject to the Government of the Punjab and a portion to that of Bombay. It was felt that since the completion of the North-Western State Railway the whole frontier ought to be treated strategically as a whole. In the event of a war the existence of two military authorities on the frontier might prove a source of weakness.

To these considerations the opposed school of administrators rejoin that, since 1876, circumstances have undergone a change. That Sind is no longer strategically a frontier province. That by the Treaty of Gandamak the former Afghán districts of Pishin and Sibi were assigned to the British Government, and Quetta is held on a perpetual lease from the Khán of Khelát. These accessions have been formed into a separate government of British Balúchistán, under the rule of the Agent to the Governor-General at Khelát as Chief Commissioner.

The military district command at Quetta now

pertains to the Bengal Army, like the other military commands on the Punjab frontier. It is true that the ultimate base of operations, the North-Western State Railway, runs through both the Punjab and Sind. But the southern line of primary operations has been pushed out from Sind into Balúchistán by the construction of the railway from Sukkur to Sibi, with a loop line through the Bolan to Quetta, and from Sibi up the Nari gorge and the Harnai valley to Pishin, and onwards towards the Khojak pass. A military road has been made through the Boři valley connecting Pishin with the Punjab, and a cantonment has been established at Loralai.

On more general military grounds, it is argued that if the Bombay Army were deprived of its three Balúch battalions and the Sind Horse, its prestige and usefulness would be impaired; that it is necessary for its efficiency that it should have to garrison an outlying province like Sind, sufficiently close to the frontier to maintain the spirit of alertness for actual warfare.

From the commercial point of view, the most important city in Sind is Karáchi, and Karáchi is the port of export for the produce not only of Sind but of the Punjab. It would be for the advantage of the trade of the Punjab that its outlet should be under the control of its own administration. This argument would certainly be conclusive if Bombay and the Punjab were independent states, for it is natural that every state should strive for a maritime outlet of its own for its commerce. But the Bombay Presidency

and the Punjab are not rival states. They form part of one empire. The Government of India would, in case of a conflict of interests, take care that the Bombay Government should not prejudice the interests of the Punjab. Meanwhile the experience gained by the Bombay Government in the management of Bombay itself, the greatest port of India and one of the greatest in the world, has proved of inestimable advantage to the interests of Karáchi. The development of that harbour during Lord Reay's administration, the extensive works undertaken for its improvement by the Bombay Public Works Department, and the formation of the Karáchi Port Trust on the model of the Port Trust which has done so much for the prosperity of Bombay, have been already mentioned. The consideration that the Bombay Presidency is the maritime province of India has weight both from the commercial and the administrative point of view. It is an advantage to have the two most important centres of coast defence (the ports of Karáchi and Bombay) under the same Local Government. As a matter of fact, the great commercial houses, which control the export wheat trade of Karáchi, are more closely connected with Bombay than with Lahore or Delhi, and have generally their headquarters at Bombay.

If Sind is separated from Bombay, what is to be done with it? Two projects have been brought forward. According to one of them, Sind, with the recently ceded districts in Balúchistán, would be formed into a Chief Commissionership similar to those

of Assam and the Central Provinces. But in these days of easy communication by railway and telegraph, the tendency is to diminish rather than to increase the number of administrative units. Economy can thus be secured without prejudice to efficiency, and it is likely that in any rearrangement of Provinces a reduction in the number of local governments will be made.

The other project is to unite Sind with the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Punjab. This was the scheme favoured by Lord Lytton's Government in 1876, and adopted by Lord Dufferin's Government in 1888.

Of the people of Sind, those who pay attention to the manner in which their province is governed disliked the idea of separation. On May 18, 1888, the Sind Sabha of Karáchi, describing itself as 'a body established for the representation and advancement of the public interests of the people of Sind,' drew up a 'humble memorial' on the subject to the Viceroy in Council. The Memorial ably set forth the leading arguments mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs in favour of retaining Sind under the Government of Bombay. Although this document may seem rather to furnish evidence of contentment with the existing state of things than to appreciate the reasons—political, commercial, and military—which now point to a change, it deservedly carried some weight. Upon a full consideration of the objections urged by the Bombay Government, and of the expression of opinion in Sind, the Government of India refrained from further action in the matter for the time being.

During the discussions as to separating Sind from Bombay arose a question of amalgamating the Central Provinces with that Presidency. This proposal was regarded with approval by Lord Salisbury, in 1876, when the transfer of Sind was under consideration, as affording compensation for the loss which the Bombay Presidency would experience. It was again carefully discussed during the five years under review, 1885-1890; and it will probably be revived when the question of territorial redistribution comes up for final decision. The Central Provinces were acquired by the British from the Maráthás, and many experienced administrators have thought that the time is at hand for reuniting those Provinces with the main portion of the Maráthá country under the Government of Bombay. If the double project is ever carried out, Sind would be amalgamated with the Punjab into a strong frontier Province stretching down the whole valley of the Indus from the Himálayas to the sea; while the Bombay Presidency would embrace all the British provinces of Western and Central India, commanded by the railway system which has its sea-outlet at the port of Bombay. Meanwhile the general question of transfer of territory to or from Bombay remains in abeyance. But as this question fundamentally affects the future of the Bombay Presidency, I have thought it well to present it in a clear light.

With regard to Aden, I propose merely to summarise the more important administrative events during the five years under review, 1885-1890. Aden may



be considered as a fortress, a settlement, and a port. As a fortress, commanding the entrance to the Red Sea, and as a coaling station, the defence of Aden is a matter of supreme importance to the whole British Empire. The English Government recognise this fact, and the English War Office furnished designs for a series of defensive works to render Aden impregnable. The Home and the Indian Governments divide the expense, but the works have been carried out partly by the Bombay Government, partly by the Western India Imperial Defences Branch, and the garrison is supplied by the Bombay Army. The defensive works were completed during the period under review, and both the Governor and the Commander-in-Chief of Bombay had reason to believe that all that was then possible has been done to secure the safety of the great stronghold which commands the road to India.

As a settlement, Aden is administered by a Resident, who is also the Brigadier-General commanding the troops stationed in the fortress. The Resident has full magisterial authority, together with jurisdiction as a judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court and in matters connected with the suppression of the slave trade. The Resident has six assistants under him, one of whom is the Cantonment Magistrate. It being found inexpedient to keep a large population within the limits of the fortress, the village of Shaikh Othman was purchased in 1880 in order to lay out a suitable settlement for the civil part of the inhabitants. It is situated about five miles from Aden, and has been so

rapidly taken into favour that it now contains about 10,000 inhabitants. An Aden Municipality has been formed, including Aden proper and Little Aden on the two peninsulas, which form the limits of the fortress, and Shaikh Othman. Like all the other Bombay Municipalities, it pays its chief attention to sanitation. This Municipality raised a local revenue of Rs. 1,52,178 in 1889-90, and one of Lord Reay's last acts was to make arrangements for the establishment of a good civil hospital in connection with it.

As a port and coaling station, Aden is the centre of a large and increasing trade. In 1889-90 no fewer than 1615 vessels visited Aden, of which 1461 were merchant steamers with an aggregate tonnage of 2,427,760 tons<sup>1</sup>. Of these only 970 were British steamers, and their number showed a decrease, owing to the fact that passing ships prefer to take in their coal at Perim, where there are no port dues. The value of the seaborne and inland trade, exclusive of Government stores and treasure and cargo manifested for transhipment on importation, amounted in 1889-90 to Rs. 671,79,699, a large increase over the average for the five years under review<sup>2</sup>. Considering the magnitude of this trade, Lord Reay's Government determined to extend to Aden the system which had proved so beneficial at Bombay, and by Act V of 1888 created an Aden Port Trust. This new body, of which the First Assistant Resident is chairman and all the members are nominated by Government, at once obtained

<sup>1</sup> *Bombay Administration Report for 1889-90*, pp. 71 and 116.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 113.

a dredger of 1000 tons capacity and prepared to deepen the harbour at an expense of Rs. 9,30,967, to be spread over five years. The receipts of the Port Trust during the year 1889-90 amounted to Rs. 1,97,723, of which Rs. 1,17,298 were derived from port dues. The expenditure on dredging alone amounted to Rs. 1,40,433<sup>1</sup>.

The functions of the Resident at Aden are not however confined to the settlement. For Aden has many dependencies. The most important of these is the little island of Perim, situated in an important strategic position at the entrance of the Red Sea. It is defended by a small garrison, and largely used as a coaling station. During 1889-90 588 steamers, of which 528 were British, called at the island, four-fifths of them to take in or discharge coal<sup>2</sup>. Besides Perim, the Resident at Aden has control over the Massah Islands and Eibat Island, purchased by the British Government in 1840, and the Kooriah Mooriah Islands ceded by the Imám of Mascat in 1854; islands which are however chiefly valuable for their guano deposits. The coast tribes from Perim to Ras Sair are also under British protection, and in 1886 the Bombay Government established a protectorate over the large island of Socotra, 150 miles E N.E. of Cape Guardafui. By this arrangement the native ruler engaged to protect shipwrecked vessels of whatever nationality, and to enter into no agreement with any nation but the English.

<sup>1</sup> *Bombay Administration Report for 1889-90*, p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71.

A British protectorate is also maintained from Aden over the Somáli coast, along the African seaboard of the Gulf of Aden. It is important for the prosperity and safety of Aden that this district should not be controlled by any foreign power; for its safety, because it enables England to effectually close the Gulf of Aden; for its prosperity, because it supplies Aden with live stock, and Somális are the labourers of the settlement. The Somáli Coast protectorate extends from Ras Jibuti to Bandar Ziyada, that is from  $48^{\circ} 15'$  to  $49^{\circ}$  E. long., and is divided for political purposes into the two sub-residencies of Bulhar-Berbera and Zaila. It contains three ports, Bulhar, Berbera, and Zaila, and there is every prospect that under British protection a flourishing trade will spring up in connection with them. One function of the Resident at Aden is, under the orders of the Bombay Government, to maintain the Somáli coast line. That line is held, not as a base for expansion inland, but to increase the security of Aden. Towards the close of Lord Reay's administration, however, it became necessary to penetrate the interior. In August, 1889, the Mamasan Esa tribe treacherously attacked Bulhar and killed 67 of the inhabitants. A punitive expedition was therefore despatched in January, 1890, under the command of Captain Domville, consisting of 60 cavalry, 30 sappers 170 native infantry, and 10 men of the Royal Navy, with two Gardner guns, which defeated the Esa tribe, who came in voluntarily and made their submission after the return of the force<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Bombay Administration Report for 1889-90*, pp. 29 and 70.

It seems a long stride from so recent an acquisition as Somáli-land to the relations of the oldest European power in Asia with the Government of Bombay. Yet it is with the Government of Bombay, which has grown out of an item in the dowry of a Portuguese princess, Catherine of Braganza, when she wedded the English king Charles II, that the successors of Vasco da Gama and Affonso de Albuquerque, Francisco de Almeida, and João de Castro have to deal. All the Portuguese possessions now remaining in India, Goa, Damán, and Diu, lie within the limits of the Bombay Presidency, and involve frequent communications between the Governor of Bombay and the Governor-General of Portuguese India.

The fact that the Portuguese settlements are imbedded in British territory rendered a clear understanding necessary, if they were not to become nests for smugglers and caves of Adullam for broken men of various sorts. During the five years under review, the Portuguese Treaty of 1878 remained in force; by which Portugal surrendered her right to manufacture salt and other rights, in return for certain allowances and a subsidy of Rs. 4,00,000 a year. I have mentioned that this subsidy was hypothecated for the construction of a railway from the Portuguese port of Marmagáo to join the Southern Maráthá Railway. That line will make Marmagáo the outlet for the cotton of Bellary, and greatly promote the prosperity of the Portuguese territory of Goa. It was completed during the period under review (1885-1890), and its opening was celebrated by an

international ceremonial, at which the Governor-General of Portuguese India and Lord Reay were both present.

Great as may be the importance of this event on the prosperity of Portuguese India, it did not excite so much interest as the closing of the ancient schism in the Roman Catholic Church in India by the Concordat between the Pope and the King of Portugal, signed on June 23, 1886. In the days when Portugal was the Christian nation which kept the road to Asia round the Cape of Good Hope, Roman Catholic hierarchies were established in India, China, and Japan, and the King of Portugal, though not yet 'Fidelissimus,' received the right to nominate to those bishoprics. But the power of Portugal in the East dwindled as rapidly as it had grown. Four centuries rolled by, and when Roman Catholic missionaries built up new congregations of converts in districts within the limits of the tolerant sway of England, the new Roman Catholic Churches felt it unjust that they should be subject to bishops appointed by the Portuguese sovereign of an insignificant portion of India, or by his nominee, the Archbishop of Goa. The result of this feeling was a strife between the Vicars-Apostolic of the Pope, at the head of various missions in British or Feudatory India, and the bishops of the Portuguese Church in India. I have explained the character of this *Schisma Lusitanum* in my 'Indian Empire.' It suffices here to remark that the Pope naturally desired to preserve his direct supremacy over such of his flock in India as were not resident within Portuguese limits; that it

was also natural for the Portuguese nation to resent any subtraction from the shadow of their former greatness in the East, even though the substance of it had long departed. The agreement arrived at was to the effect that from September 1, 1886, the Roman Catholic Church in India should be divided into the eight ecclesiastical provinces of Agra, Bombay, Calcutta, Colombo, Goa, Madras, Pondicherry, and Verapoli, each presided over by its own archbishop. Seven of these provinces were to be directly ruled by the Pope, but the eighth, the province of Goa, was left to the King of Portugal. The Archbishopric of Bombay holds in certain respects an intermediate position. The province of Goa was to consist of the dioceses of Goa, Damán, Cochin, and Mailapur, and to these sees the King of Portugal retains the right to nominate. The Archbishop of Goa keeps his title of Primate of the East and Patriarch of the East Indies, and has the right to preside at all the Plenary Councils of the Indies which are to be held at Goa.

Incidentally it may be noted that this arrangement will somewhat complicate matters with regard to the Roman Catholic Church in the Bombay Presidency. The province of Bombay consists of the archdiocese of Bombay and the diocese of Poona. The former of these sees extends over Bombay, Gujarát north of the Narbáda, Cutch, Rájputána, Sind, and Balúchistán; and the latter over the Southern Konkan, Khándesh, and the Deccan up to the limits of Haidarábád, Mysore, and North Kánara. But on the other hand, the Bishop of Damán, one of the suffragans of the

Archbishop of Goa, will have jurisdiction over Damán, Diu, Gujarát south of the Narbáda, the Northern Konkan, Bassein, and the islands of Salsette and Trombay. At the same time nine churches in the archdiocese of Bombay with their schools fall under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Damán, and ten churches and institutions in the diocese of Damán under that of the Archbishop of Bombay. It is a compromise which, to be successful, must be worked in a conciliatory spirit.



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OPINIONS OF THE PRESS ON THE IMPERIAL GAZETTEER OF INDIA, *continued*.

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OPINIONS OF THE PRESS ON THE IMPERIAL GAZETTEER OF INDIA, *continued*.  
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