frequent visitors at the Viceregal Court, and most of whom meet on the occasion of great Durbars. The histories of the States are so diverse, the claims to priority in some cases so conflicting, and the actual existence of a common meeting-ground is of such recent date, that the only practicable course has been to confine the scope of the Warrant to British subjects, with provision by courtesy for the consular representatives in India of Foreign Powers. The correspondence of 1859 shows that such a gathering of Indian Princes and Chiefs as actually took place only eighteen years later, when Lord Lytton announced at Delhi Her Majesty's new style of Kaisar-i-Hind, lay far beyond the horizon. For more than a century and a half the Rulers of Indian States had never had an opportunity of peaceful meeting.

## Chapter XI

## THE MILITARY DEPARTMENT

*The King's and the Company's Troops—The East India Volunteers—The Indian Army—The India Office Military Department—Lord Clive's Fund—The Marine Services*

### *The King's and the Company's Troops*

Royal Forces appeared in India as early as 1661, when Charles II sent soldiers to take possession of Bombay, but when he made over his new acquisition to the East India Company (already firmly established at Surat), these King's troops were in 1668 encouraged to transfer to the Company's service, and developed into the 1st European Regiment Bombay Fusiliers. One hundred and ninety years later the pendulum swung back, and the Company's European Regiments were incorporated in the British Army. No more King's troops came to India until 1754, when the 39th Foot (now 1st Battalion Dorset Regiment) were brought by Admiral Watson to reinforce Clive, a fact recognised by their motto " Primus in Indis."

In the meantime the Company had been forming its own local forces*, and obtaining from the Crown

* An excellent sketch of the development of the Indian Army from the earliest days is contained in a Government of India publication, " The Army in India and its Evolution," Calcutta, 1924.

the authority and powers necessary to maintain discipline. Charters of 1661 and 1669 allowed the enlistment of soldiers and established powers of military government, and it is notable that a third Charter (1683), authorising martial law, specifically preserved the sovereign rights of the Crown. When the two rival Companies were amalgamated in 1708, distinct forces were formed in each of the three Presidencies; it was not until 1893 that an Act of Parliament abolished the Commanders-in-Chief in Madras and Bombay.

But the organisation of the Company's troops as an effective force dates from 1748, when Sir Eyre Coote was in command at Fort St. David (Madras Presidency). A thorough reorganisation took place under Clive. The Company's first troops were European (except for the "Topasses," apparently Portuguese Eurasians, raised at Bombay in the seventeenth century), and it is well known that it was the enlistment of sepoys under the French flag by Dupleix that set the model for the inauguration of the Company's Native Army. In view of recent developments it is interesting to note that the earliest British sepoy battalions were commanded by their own Indian officers, and though Clive added British officers and men to the native battalions, their Indian Commandants survived for a time. The continuous maintenance in India of King's forces "for the annoyance of our enemies" dates from 1779. By this time the Company's European troops numbered 11,000 odd, but after the Napoleonic wars they were reduced to 8,000. The native forces were of course far more numerous.



It was inevitable that some friction should arise between the King's and the Company's forces; the former were not altogether satisfied at finding themselves under the Company's Commander-in-Chief, while the Company's regimental officers were handicapped in matters of comparative rank. Until 1796 the latter could not rise above the rank of Colonel. The difficulties of status and of jurisdiction over the Royal as well as the Company's troops were so great that Cornwallis insisted on the grant to himself of the Commandership-in-Chief when he became Governor-General, and Lord Wellesley and Lord Moira (Lord Hastings) held the same position. The steadily increasing power of the Crown in India regulated such matters and gave the military Commanders-in-Chief all necessary powers, while they were placed on the Governor-General's Council (and also, while the separate Commands existed, on those of Madras and Bombay) as Extraordinary Members. By this arrangement the Commander-in-Chief could never act as Governor-General or Governor, a temporary appointment that often came to the senior Ordinary Member of Council, and in India the General commanding the troops was never vested with the supreme civil authority when it was temporarily vacant. In 1863 Lord Napier of Magdala, when "Military Member," officiated as Governor-General for ten days on the death of Lord Elgin, but when later on he was Commander-in-Chief he could not have taken this position had a sudden vacancy again occurred.

The employment of King's troops in India inevitably raised financial questions, and the problem

of the proper apportionment between British and Indian revenues of the cost of the British in India—a problem that constantly engages the time and arouses the departmental zeal of the India Office and the War Office—is nearly one hundred and fifty years old. Until 1781 no claim was made upon the Company for the expense of sending King's troops to India. The transfer of this charge to Indian revenues was the prelude to a sharp controversy. In 1788 the four-year-old Board of Control thought it necessary to send four more British regiments to India, and ordered the Company to pay for them. The Directors resisted, arguing that they ought to be required to pay only for troops sent at their own request, and the question was hotly debated in the House of Commons. It was natural for the Company to object to meeting the cost of reinforcements for which they had not asked, but from an Imperial point of view it might well have been dangerous to let a commercial company be the sole judge of the military strength needed for the safety of British India. A compromise was reached: the Crown was not to charge to Indian revenues the cost of more than 8,000 odd King's troops, but at the same time took power to compel the Company to maintain 12,000 European troops of its own service. In 1791 the expense of 2,682 more King's troops was imposed on the Company, which two years later had to accept the entire cost of the Royal Forces in India. A more complete settlement was reached in 1799, when the Crown took over the enlistment in this country of the Company's European soldiers, allowing its own



recruits to volunteer for transfer to the service of the Company, which maintained a depôt for them, at first in the Isle of Wight and later at Chatham. From a political point of view the garrisoning of India by British soldiers who were permanently on the Indian establishment, and not liable to be ordered off to the West Indies or back to Europe, had obvious advantages. As Mr. Auber* put it, the Company's officers and men were more inclined to learn Indian languages and "study the habits, customs and prejudices of the natives," for they, knowing that "all their hopes of fortune and preferment centre in India, necessarily apply themselves to the attainment of that knowledge upon which their comfort and future prospects depend." While the vision of the Company's private soldier as a versatile and sympathetic Orientalist seems a little rosy, it was true enough that India became his home, and the officers, at least, had far more inducement than the King's officers to take pains to learn Indian languages and try to understand the ways of the country, especially as they were freely employed on civil duties, and might hope for high civil preferment. Sir Thomas Munro, for instance, the eminent Governor of Madras, was a military officer of the Company. Unfortunately the opening of a civil career had a most detrimental effect on military efficiency. Not only did better pay and prospects tempt subalterns to leave their regiments for civil posts, but they remained on the battalion cadre, received military promotion while in civil employ, and were liable at any time to revert to

* Auber, "Analysis" p. 449.

military duty. (It should perhaps be mentioned that though officers of the Indian Army still to a great extent man the Indian Political Department, and until recently were drawn upon for the "Commissions"—i.e. civil administration—of certain Provinces, they drop once and for all their military functions on becoming what used to be called "Military Civilians," though they retain Army rank and promotion up to Lieutenant-Colonel, and are pensioned under Military rules.)

In the latter half of the eighteenth century the Directors had been anxious to procure for their own Artillery and Engineers cadets who had passed through Woolwich, and in 1786 they ceased to give direct commissions to young Englishmen in India ("country cadets," not necessarily country-born). In 1798 they were allowed to maintain cadets at Woolwich up to the number of forty, in return subsidising the Royal Military Academy rather generously, and they also obtained young officers from Marlow. But it was naturally difficult to attract to India the necessary number of young officers while Europe was one great battlefield, and in 1809 the East India Company founded its own military college at Addiscombe, at first for the training of artillery and engineer cadets only. In 1816 cadets for the infantry were added. The college* lasted until 1861, and sent out to India some 3,600 military officers, many of whom played

* Colonel H. M. Vibart's "Addiscombe: its Heroes and Men of Note" (London, 1894) gives an entertaining account of life at the College, as well as a valuable record of the careers of the most distinguished cadets.



a great part in the history of the Indian Empire. It furnished to the British Army two Field-Marshals, Lord Napier of Magdala and Lord Roberts of Kandahar. Its course of instruction was similar to that of Woolwich, but Hindustani formed part of the curriculum. Apparently before 1816 the acquirements necessary for cavalry and infantry subalterns were expected to come by Nature or to develop after they joined their regiments in India; the young soldier sailed at once for India on receiving his nomination and learned his work by doing it. Cadets for the Company's military forces were nominated between the ages of 15 and 22, but the age limit was extended to 25 in the case of officers who had a year's service in the Royal Army (or in Militia or Fencibles actually enlisted), or had passed through Woolwich. Thus the principle of drawing on the Royal Army for Indian officers was partly established in the Company's days. Since 1858 a period of apprenticeship in the British Army has been a requisite preliminary to appointment to commissions on the Indian Staff Corps, now the Indian Army. Officered after the Mutiny by a somewhat haphazard system of voluntary transfer from British regiments serving in India, it has seen the regulations stiffened, and officers pass through Sandhurst and are attached to a British unit on first commission. Subalterns attached to a British battalion *en route* for the Indian Army are described as belonging to the "unattached list," a fact that illustrates the peculiarities of the official vocabulary of India.

As the Company's army developed, and Hindu

recruits of high caste were attached to the Service, the Hindu objection to crossing the sea became a real difficulty. But as early as 1789 Lord Cornwallis induced Indian troops to volunteer for an expedition to Bencoolen in the Dutch East Indies, and a more notable departure was seen in 1800 when an Indian contingent was sent to support Abercromby in Egypt, just as in 1882 a similar reinforcement was sent to Sir Garnet Wolseley. The Napoleonic Wars necessitated other expeditions from India. Ceylon was won by Indian troops in 1795, Mauritius in 1801, and Java in 1811. The annexation of the Straits Settlements, and later on of Aden, to India, led to the permanent posting of Indian garrisons in Malaya and Arabia, and in more recent years Indian regiments have been lent to the Colonial Office for garrison duty at Hong Kong, Singapore and Mauritius. The nineteenth century saw Indian forces on active service in Persia (1856) and Abyssinia (1868), and the Chinese expedition of 1900 was left entirely in the hands of the Indian military authorities (apart from the Royal Navy's share in it). The despatch of Indian troops to Malta in 1878 in connection with the possibility of war against Russia provided a great political sensation and raised debate on constitutional points. Thus long before the Great War Indian troops had played a larger part in Imperial history than is generally recognised. The war against Germany and her allies brought Indian forces to France, Gallipoli, Egypt, Palestine, Iraq, Persia, East Africa and China. The India Office is not devoid of symbols of the more stirring and romantic aspects of military life; old regimental



colours are preserved in its committee-rooms, the portraits of great soldiers hang on its walls, and quite recently a valuable and interesting collection of all the medals issued to the Indian Army has been placed in a corridor.

### *The East India Volunteers*

The East India Company in Leadenhall Street shared the patriotic spirit of Napoleonic days, and a refreshing interlude to the constant bickering between Company and Government is to be seen in its maintenance during the war with France of three battalions of volunteers which cost them nearly £20,000 a year. In 1820 the ardour for volunteering revived, and a special Act of Parliament empowered the Directors to raise a volunteer battalion in England. The field officers were chosen from among the Directors, the captains and subalterns from the officers and clerks in Leadenhall Street, and the rank and file from the warehousemen. The regiment had a picturesque uniform, received colours which are still preserved at the India Office, and, according to Mr. Auber, was "peculiarly efficient and valuable as a local force, applicable to any emergency in the metropolis, as well as to the protection of the valuable property deposited in the extensive warehouses of the Company." * It was disbanded in 1834. Thus the Miniature Rifle Club

* "Analysis," p. 733. Sir William Foster in "The East India House," pp. 165-174, gives a graphic account of The Royal East India Volunteers. Ilbert's mention of the Act of 1820 ("Government of India," 1922, p. 80) does not make it clear that this Force was for service in England.

that was formed at the India Office in the Great War had an ancestor of a more picturesque character. But the younger generation undertook sterner work than parading at Lord's Cricket Ground to receive colours from Lady Jane Dundas, or guarding extensive warehouses. Of the (permanent) staff of the India Office 202 joined the Forces between 1914 and 1918, and a marble tablet in the first floor corridor of the building keeps alive the memory of the thirty who laid down their lives.

### *The Indian Army*

The reorganisation of the Army was one of the first tasks taken in hand after the assumption of direct government by the Crown, the Company's European forces being absorbed in the British Army.* The British officers of the Indian forces were in 1861 formed into three Presidency Staff Corps, and complicated questions of pay, promotion and grading were apparently tackled by the infant India Office with greater confidence than the results of its labours produced in India. Sir George Chesney records that a " cut and dried scheme "† was sent out from the India Office and imposed upon the local authorities; he describes the anomalies that resulted. The next thirty years witnessed, besides the expeditions to Abyssinia and Egypt already mentioned, the second Afghan War, the conquest

* It may be of interest to note that the Leinster Regiment, whose last service before disbandment was against the Moplah rebels, had been formed by the union of a European battalion of the East India Company with the Royal Canadians.

† Chesney, " Indian Polity," 3rd edition, p. 320.



of Upper Burma and numerous Frontier expeditions. The Afghan War of 1878-79 revealed the difficulties entailed by the semi-independent status of the Bombay and Madras Armies, but unification was not effected until the 'nineties, when the separate Presidency Armies ceased to exist. The British officers were formed into one " Indian Staff Corps " (a term that lasted only until 1903, since when its members have been officers of " the Indian Army "), and the three armies were replaced by four Commands—Bengal, Madras (including Burma), Bombay and the Punjab. But this rearrangement was still open to the criticism that the peace formations were ill-adapted to the needs of war, while the troops of the several Commands, though brought under central control, remained localised and self-contained. Lord Kitchener's drastic reorganisation, which involved the renumbering in one consecutive series of all Indian regiments (the 1st Bombay Grenadiers, for example, becoming the 101st Grenadiers), led to the 1905 system of distribution in three Commands and nine divisions, which was modified in 1908 into an arrangement of two Armies.

But in the eyes of the British public Lord Kitchener's term of the Indian Command was signalised more notably by the controversy as to the status and authority of the Commander-in-Chief. The Crown had inherited from the Company the system, started in the eighteenth century, of appointing a soldier other than the Commander-in-Chief as an Ordinary Member of the Governor-General's Council, and giving him the control of the Ordnance, Supply and Transport and Military

Works, and the management of the Military Department of the Secretariat. Lord Curzon strongly defended the existing system, which he regarded as essential to the subordination of the military to the civil power. But the Secretary of State in Council sided with the Commander-in-Chief, and the Cabinet decided to abolish the office of Military Member. A compromise was reached by the appointment of a Military Supply Member, a soldier whose departmental duties were limited to matters of supply and material, though as Member of Council he had an equal voice with his colleagues. The new experiment lasted only three years, and since 1909 the Commander-in-Chief has been the only soldier with a seat in the Executive Council. The abolition of the Military Member's department necessitated the creation of a new Military Finance branch as a *liaison* between the Army Department (under the Commander-in-Chief) and the Finance Department of the Government of India. The higher military administration in India has, since the Kitchener changes, come under direct examination by three important Committees—Lord Nicholson's in 1912 (consideration of its recommendations being interrupted by the War), Lord Esher's in 1919, and Lord Inchcape's in 1922, the last dealing with possible economies in every branch of government, civil and military. But it will suffice in these pages to describe very briefly the system existing at the present time. The Commander-in-Chief is now not only the head of Army Headquarters but also himself the Member of Council in charge of Army Department. The Secretary in the Army



Department is a Civilian; like the other Secretaries to the Government of India he has direct access to the Governor-General, and is nominated to a seat in the Indian Legislature. The Military Finance Branch, which examines all proposals for military and Air Force expenditure, is under a Financial Adviser, a Civilian, who has access to the Finance Member and the Commander-in-Chief. The Commander-in-Chief is assisted by a Military Council, of which he is President, consisting of the Chief of the General Staff, the Adjutant-General, the Quartermaster-General, the Secretary in the Army Department, and the Financial Adviser. In his purely professional capacity the Commander-in-Chief presides over Army Headquarters, which controls all British troops and officers quartered in India as well as the Indian Army. The Royal Air Force in India is directly commanded by an Air Vice-Marshal, who is in close touch with Army Headquarters, and is under the control of the Commander-in-Chief. All military medical services and personnel, the Royal Army Medical Corps serving in India as well as the Indian Medical Service and the subordinate branches, are administered by a Director of Medical Services (either a R.A.M.C. or an I.M.S. officer) who is a Major-General on the staff of Army Headquarters and is subordinate to the Adjutant-General. The functions of the Commander-in-Chief are not limited to the land and the air, for he controls also the Royal Indian Marine. He affords, in fact, what is possibly a unique instance of a double personality (Commander-in-Chief and Member-of-Council) functioning in three elements,

and under the present conditions he has important and delicate responsibilities as the spokesman of the Army and exponent of military policy in the Legislature.

The present strength of the regular troops is rather under 200,000, of which about 55,000 are British. But at the end of the War the Indian Army had risen to the figure of 573,000. It ought to be remembered that in 1914-15 Lord Hardinge's Government took two decisions of signal importance: it released the great majority of the regular British troops for immediate service overseas, gradually replacing them by Territorials from England as these became available, and it despatched the bulk of Indian regulars to the several seats of war. Lord Curzon's Government had saved Natal in 1899 by sending out from India a large contingent of British troops, but the risks taken in 1914 were far more grave, and the action of the Government of India has not always been rightly appreciated. For in a country in which the sensational exploits of the German ship *Emden* were believed by thousands to include a voyage up the Ganges and Jumna culminating in the bombardment of Delhi, there could be no certainty that serious trouble might not suddenly arise.

The part played by Indian troops in the Great War led to the extension of eligibility for the Victoria Cross to Indian officers, N.C.O.'s and rank and file and to the decision of a question that had been discussed for many years, the grant of King's Commissions to Indian officers. While British military rank had been granted to a few members



of Princely houses, and in the medical branch to Indian officers of the Indian Medical Service (a measure that had followed automatically upon the grant of combatant titles to officers of the Royal Army Medical Corps), the Indian regimental officers —Subadars, Risaldars, Jemadars—held only Viceroy's Commissions and were subordinate to the most junior British officer holding the King's Commission. The grant of this distinction to Indian officers who had shown their quality in the field was necessarily a prelude to a systematic arrangement for the regular addition of young Indians to the higher ranks, which will be described later. The Indian Volunteers, a body consisting almost entirely of Europeans and Anglo-Indians (i.e. men of mixed blood) were replaced by an Indian Defence Force, service in which was made compulsory for Europeans during the War, while it was attempted, with little success, to attract to its Indian branch volunteers from classes of Indians which had not in the past supplied recruits for the Army. In 1920 two new forces were established, the Auxiliary Force, to consist of all four arms, drawn from European British subjects, and a Territorial Force of Indians, which comprises provincial battalions and also University Training Corps battalions, all infantry up to the present. The Imperial Service Troops of the Indian States, some of which had been on active service on the Frontiers and in China long before, rendered valuable aid in the Great War, but they have now been remodelled as the "Indian State Forces," divided into three classes, and at present numbering some 27,000 in all.

Thus the armed forces of India now contain six elements—British troops, Indian Regulars, the Indian Army Reserve, the Auxiliary Force, the Territorial Force, and the Indian State troops. The Regular Forces were distributed in 1921 between four Commands, containing fourteen districts, and a careful system of decentralisation, administrative and financial, has relieved Army Headquarters of unnecessary detail and vested the Generals in command with fuller powers. The present distribution is based on the theory that the Army comprises three categories—covering troops (to deal with minor frontier outbreaks), the Field Army (four divisions and nine cavalry brigades), and internal security troops. Six squadrons of the Royal Air Force are now stationed in India. Modern developments in the field have led to the establishment or reorganisation of Indian Tank Corps, Mechanical Transport, Ordnance Services and Signal Corps; the Supply and Transport has become the Indian Army Service Corps. The Indian Remount and Veterinary Services not only exercise the same functions as their confrères of the British Army, but require expert knowledge of the idiosyncrasies of bullocks and camels. Provision for the higher professional education of Indian Army officers is now made at the Indian Staff College at Quetta, modelled on the same lines as Camberley.

But the beginning of "Indianisation" in the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army is one of the most important new developments, and here inevitably political aspirations supply impatient comments on the gradual nature of the process. An



excellent start has been made in the Prince of Wales' Royal Indian Military College at Dehra Dun, where Indian boys are given military education of an English public school character as a preliminary to Sandhurst. But a committee is now considering the question of founding a Sandhurst in India.

The difficulty of intermixing British and Indian officers graded by seniority is met by the decision to select eight regiments for "Indianisation," and filling all vacancies in them by the appointment of Indian subalterns, but the process is made less easy than it looks on paper by the fact that up to the present Indian subalterns have paid a striking testimony to the camaraderie between British and Indian officers by preferring not to serve in units from which the former are to be completely eliminated.

### *The India Office Military Department*

The Military Department of the India Office is staffed in the main by civil servants, though the Military Secretary has always been an Indian Army officer of high rank and long experience. Up to the end of last century he was an officer on the retired or unemployed list who could therefore remain in the appointment until the civil age for retirement. But the rule was broken when Sir O'Moore Creagh and Sir Beauchamp Duff in turn became Secretary and passed from that post to be Commander-in-Chief in India. In 1907 it was found essential to add to the department a staff officer of the Indian Army. One had been brought home two

years earlier for duty as Assistant Secretary to the Committee of Imperial Defence, and the two posts were for a time combined. During the War, since the Military Secretary was of course entirely absorbed in strategic and administrative problems, a civilian Joint Secretary was appointed. While the Military Secretary is now mainly concerned with questions of military policy, the civil Secretary in practice takes charge of the great bulk of the miscellaneous departmental work.

The department is in no sense an Army Headquarters staff attached to the Secretary of State. The General Headquarters of the Army in India is, and must be in India, and any attempt to duplicate it here would be undesirable, even if it were practicable. The Military Department is in fact a secretariat, discharging the same functions in regard to military matters as the other departments of the Office undertake in respect of the civil administration. As a senior soldier with recent experience of Indian military problems and of the condition of the services, the Military Secretary, charged with direct departmental duties, is in a position to maintain *liaison*, not only with the Headquarters staff in India, but with the staff at the War Office. He is appointed by the Secretary of State after consultation with the Commander-in-Chief in India and the Chief of the Imperial General Staff; and the short tenure of his appointment secures that his information is up to date.

The Secretary of State is entrusted by statute with the general direction and control of the military administration of India and is therefore



responsible to Parliament for the safety of India. Thus the variety of military questions that come to him for decision is very great. All proposals from the Government of India raising questions of high military policy or principle are subject to his approval. The Commander-in-Chief does not communicate direct with the Secretary of State, nor does he enter into direct correspondence with the War Office except on such matters as organisation or equipment or the details of the relief of British units.

Questions affecting personnel, either the services as a whole or individuals, closely concern the Secretary of State. He must judge the measures necessary to secure the supply of British officers of the type required. The conditions of service, e.g. the rate of pay and pension in relation to the rates for the British services, are factors of the first importance, and apart from this consideration he has a special responsibility for the contentment of officers holding the King's Commission. The Army Act provides that officers of the Indian Army* who consider themselves wronged by their commanding officers may carry their appeal for redress up to the Crown. The Secretary of State as the adviser to the Crown in matters concerning the Indian Army has therefore in effect the grave responsibility of a final court of appeal, and not infrequently the point at issue is whether the officer shall be removed from the service.

The Secretary of State recommends to His Majesty the two A.D.C.'s General selected from

* The phrase includes officers up to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel; higher rank is Army rank, not Indian Army rank.

among General Officers of the Indian Army actually serving in India, the four of His Majesty's A.D.C.'s chosen from Colonels or Lieutenant-Colonels of the Indian Army, and the additional A.D.C. representing the Indian Auxiliary Force. Every year (from May to July) four Indian officers are on duty in London as Orderlies to His Majesty. These Indian gentlemen are selected by the Commander-in-Chief, as the best types of their class, on consideration of their military record, bearing, and family. They are under the orders of the Equerry-in-Waiting to the King, and are placed in charge of a British officer of the Indian Army under the general supervision of the Political A.D.C. to the Secretary of State.

The India Office awards King's India Cadetships at Sandhurst, and recommends the grant of good service pensions to retired officers of the Indian Army. In close touch with the Military Department is the Ordnance Consulting Officer to the Secretary of State, deputed from the Ordnance Department of the Government of India, which is concerned with the manufacture and supplies of munitions.

### *Lord Clive's Fund*

One relic of the Company's administration has a special interest because of its connection with Clive. The widows of officers of the Indian Army are pensioned under rules substantially identical with those laid down by Royal Warrant for the British Services. But the Warrant does not apply to officers who belonged to the Company's forces and did not join the Royal forces after the transfer



to the Crown. Their widows were pensioned under different rules and until recently applications were received from the widows of long-lived Company's officers asking for pensions from "Lord Clive's Fund."

The Fund has an interesting history. Mir Mahommed Jafir Khan, Nawab of Bengal, bequeathed five lacs of rupees (£63,000) to Clive, who made it over, together with another £37,000 given by a succeeding Nawab, to the Court of Directors in trust, to be devoted to providing pensions for servants of the Company and their widows. The trust deed provided that if the Company ceased to employ a military force they should repay to Clive or his representatives "the full sum of five lacs of sicca rupees." On the passage of the Act of 1858 Clive's representatives claimed repayment, and the House of Lords on appeal decided that the contingency contemplated in the trust deed had arisen on the passing of the Act and that the sum must be repaid. In point of fact the Company in administering the trust had long since exhausted the fund and were already paying pensions out of their general revenues and the Crown continued to grant pensions on the same principles. In the accounts of the India Office, pensions of this fund have long been described with the precision of the Civil Service as "Military (late Lord Clive's Fund) Pensions." But it is difficult to persuade some of the applicants debarred by the rules that the India Office is not turning to improper uses money left by Clive for the benefit of the old Company's servants.

### *The Marine Services*

The amphibious nature of the Company's early adventures has been noticed above, and Charters of Charles II and James II gave it power to equip ships of war. But, though the Bombay Marine came into existence in the latter reign, the Company could not contend unaided with European naval powers, and the French wars of the mid-eighteenth century saw the King's ships in Indian waters. By 1769 the Company was earnestly seeking for the regular support of the Royal Navy, and the usual arguments about finance and status followed. The Crown was unwilling to place its Naval forces at the unfettered disposal of the Company: the Directors thought it unreasonable that an Admiral should have plenipotentiary powers of negotiation. After 1784 the position, of course, became less chaotic. The financial question was not settled until, by an Act of 1826, the cost of maintenance of all ships of the Royal Navy sent out at the Company's request and with the approval of the Board of Control was placed upon Indian revenues. But only in 1827 did an Order in Council secure the men of the Bombay Marine from impressment on the king's ships, and give its officers (who in local waters went as high as Commodore) rank immediately after the corresponding grades of the Navy, while securing them in command of their own ships. Hitherto the Bombay Marine had been entitled to fly only the Red Ensign: now the Union Jack was granted, and in addition a special pendant bearing the cross of St. George. Next



year by Act of Parliament the Marine was placed for disciplinary purposes on the same footing as the Company's land forces. In 1832, by the special desire of King William IV, the Bombay Marine became the Indian Navy. During its thirty years of life—for it was abolished in 1862—the Indian Navy did valuable work in peace and war, and continued the marine surveys which, in the absence of charts, the Bombay Marine had undertaken for a century and a half. Not only the coasts of India, but the Red Sea, the Somali coast and the Persian Gulf were surveyed and charted. It fell to the Indian Navy to collaborate with Rawlinson's Mesopotamian exploration by surveying the Tigris and Euphrates, and to help Charles Darwin to examine coral islands.

The Marine Survey Department became a specialist branch of the Royal Indian Marine. The survey ships, engaged primarily in charting, carry a surgeon-naturalist under whose direction trawling operations are carried on in the interests of deep sea zoology. The Department in its present form dates from 1874. R.N. officers trained in hydrographic work were employed in the early stages, but gradually reduced as the officers of the Royal Indian Marine gained experience. Finally in 1906 a Royal Indian Marine officer was for the first time appointed head of the Survey, and since then the department has consisted entirely of Royal Indian Marine personnel.

The "East Indiamen" of the merchant service, with the fast clippers built for the China tea-trade, are of course famous in maritime annals. The demands of shipowners in the eighteenth century drove the Company to shipbuilding for itself, not

only at home but in the East, and a relaxation of English law was necessary to enable its ships to be manned mainly by lascars. It was conceded that only four British seamen should be required for every hundred tons, but a British Master commanded every ship. The East India Docks in the Thames, built in 1803 under Act of Parliament and managed by a Company largely controlled by the East India Company, remain as a monument of the great days of the Eastern trade. New docks were necessary because of the large tonnage of the East Indiamen, for whose unloading the Port of London had previously no adequate accommodation.

*The Royal Indian Marine and Royal Indian Navy*

The abolition of the combatant Indian Navy in 1862 was immediately followed by the formation of the Indian Marine, which in 1892 became the Royal Indian Marine. The Royal Navy undertook the obligation of general defence and protection of trade: on the Indian Marine fell all local duties that could properly be discharged by a non-combatant service. In the recital of these in the preamble to the Indian Marine Act of 1864 are included "the transport of troops, the suppression of piracy, the survey of coasts and harbours, the visiting of lighthouses, and other local objects." The service contemplated by this Act was clearly non-combatant, but it provided that in the emergency of war ships and personnel of the Marine might, by Proclamation or Orders in Council, be placed under the command of the senior naval officer of the station where they happened to be.



Thus ships of the Royal Indian Marine could be converted into ships of the Royal Navy, and their personnel into Royal Navy personnel. On August 5th, 1914, the *Dufferin* and *Hardinge*, the two largest transports of the Royal Indian Marine, were placed by Order in Council under the command of the Naval Commander-in-Chief of the East Indies Squadron, and other vessels were transferred later. The two vessels mentioned formed part of the protecting force with the transports which conveyed the Indian Expeditionary Force to France in 1914, and later the *Dufferin* took part in the defence of the Suez Canal zone against the Turkish attack. Officers of the Service were employed in the newly formed Inland Water Transport Service, and both in France and Mesopotamia did excellent work.

Appointments to the Royal Indian Marine were made by the Secretary of State in Council, and officers' commissions countersigned by His Majesty. Candidates were selected from officers of the Merchant Service with Board of Trade certificates or, recently, with four years' sea service, including time spent on Training Ships or at the Pangbourne Naval College. While the normal employment of the Service was on sea-going ships, the senior officers in general hold shore appointments as Port Officers.

In 1922, however, the Retrenchment Committee of which Lord Inchcape was Chairman led to the sale of the troopships and the transfer of the trooping work to hired vessels. This step, and the experiences of the War, raised the question of the creation of a combatant Indian Navy, which has been settled (pending necessary legislation and the

arrangement of details with the Admiralty) by the announcement made by Lord Reading in February 1926 that the Royal Indian Marine will be reconstructed into a combatant force to be known as the Royal Indian Navy, entitled to fly the White Ensign. Indians are to be eligible for commissioned rank. At present India pays an annual subsidy of £100,000 to the Admiralty. This arrangement marks the settlement of a thirty years' controversy which followed the abolition of the Indian Navy in 1862. It was not questioned that the Government of India must meet the cost of shore and harbour defences, and at one time India maintained a small squadron of turret ships and torpedo boats in Bombay. Nor was it denied that she must bear the charges involved in the policing of her coasts and the suppression of piracy and the local slave trade, for these were Indian purposes. So far as the Royal Navy performed these duties in place of the Royal Indian Marine, the Secretary of State for India was prepared to bear the cost. But about 1890 the Admiralty claimed that "Indian purposes" covered a wider field than the Government of India was prepared to admit. The controversy was finally referred to the arbitration of Lord Rosebery, then Prime Minister. His award was that the expression "Indian purposes" must be held to include some portion, at any rate, of the duties devolving on the Royal Navy for the defence of India and the protection of trade in Indian waters. On the basis of this award the annual subsidy of £100,000 was agreed upon and has been paid by India ever since.

# Chapter XII

## MEDICAL. [By S. F. Stewart]

### *The Indian Medical Service*

The Indian Medical Service, like the covenanted Civil Service, can trace its origins back to the earliest days of the East India Company. From the beginning Surgeons were appointed to the ships of the fleets that sailed to the East; and as factories were established and the number of the Company's servants in them increased, surgeons from the ships were employed ashore in medical charge of the settlements. But it was not until 1764 that the Company's medical men were organised into a service. In the interval they seem to have been engaged in a somewhat haphazard way; they were of many nationalities and they arrived in the Company's service by strange routes. The records of the Company throw an intermittent but fascinating light on those pioneers of a great service. The facts revealed are not always creditable, but they are nearly always interesting. Like their masters these men were adventurers, sometimes in the less reputable sense of the term, wandering through the East on the strength of that most useful passport—their profession. But it must be remembered that public records everywhere contain an undue proportion of "discipline cases."

The duties of the Company's surgeons for more