Chapter Ten

GARRISON
Trinity of ‘Fort’, ‘Garrison’ and ‘Marine’ were the chief ingredients of policy framework adopted by the East India Company to guard the nascent settlement of Bombay on Western Coast, which were to replace Surat as a headquarter in the years to come. ‘Garrison’ was the soul of three aforementioned features in its physical manifestation. In its embryonic stage of development, bereft of funds as well as any encouragement for fortification, political turmoil in the neighbouring regions, geographical inconvenience, environmental hazards, lack of monetary incentives and dearth of manpower, left the task of garrisoning the Bombay, impracticable. With incessant wars among native power i.e. Sidi’s of Janjira, Marathas, Angre’s and Mughals, their constantly forming and never lasting alliances and other European companies’ i.e. Portuguese, French, etc. competition for trade and scramble for alliances with native states, in backdrop, further necessitated the need of garrisoning the Bombay. Garrisoning was a long drawn process, completed in several stages beginning under the Crown and later its acquisition by Company in the 17th century and followed till 18th century. Under Aungier the process of garrisoning was swift and made considerable development, which languished after his demise but continued at a snail's pace till woken up from slumber by Anglo-French war. During all this time Bombay came of age and metamorphosed into a settlement of considerable importance for which role of garrisoning can’t be underestimated. Besides external attacks, wars, etc. it also battled with diseases and pestilence caused by inhabitable conditions, in absence of proper medical assistance and other provisions.

THE GARRISON

Military needs were apparent since Bombay became E.E.I.Co’s first major territorial acquisition in India. The standing orders of the Directors of the Company were to maintain peace with all neighbours, to be neutral in the quarrels and struggles of Indian powers and to obtain privileges of trade from all of them, but also to defend the island against every possible enemy by all means. It was found impossible to keep entirely aloof from the affairs of the princes. Bombay was gradually drawn into the politics of her neighbours, and for her safety and protection of trade, she was compelled to increase her garrison and navy.
GARRISON UNDER CROWN (1661-68)

The history of Bombay's garrison commenced with the arrival of the remnants of Sir Abraham Shipman's contingent in 1665, which originally left England in 1662 and amounted to four companies of hundred men each, exclusive of officers. The pitiful remnant of the band accompanied Sir Humphrey Cooke, his successor, to form the first garrison of the fort and constituted the nucleus of Bombay Army.

On 25th February and 3rd March 1665, a muster of garrison landed at Bombay. On directions of Sir George Oxinden, Captain Gary and Walter Gollofer, the Storekeeper took up a general muster and inventory of stores. The numbers according to the muster roll were 97 privates, 4 sergeants, 6 corporals, 4 drummers, one ensign, a provost, Marshall, two surgeons, one gunsmith, a gunner mate with 83 pieces of cannon and 878 rounds of shots and storekeeper.

Prior to 1668, when the Island passed from the Crown to the English East India Company little had been done towards the strengthening of the garrison, in spite of Sir Gervase Lucas advice that the garrison should be increased to four hundred men. Apart from this, Lucas in his letter to Lord Clarendon in March 1667 mentions about the need of 20 horses for maintaining close communications between the different parts of island. But Lucas seems to have failed to procure twenty horses as Gary reports in December 1667 that he had 16 horses in the stable and intended to increase them to twenty.

Lucas also had already submitted his report to Lord Arlington about the state of affairs of garrison on 18th January 1666 before arriving to Bombay in the following words: that the stores of every description would be required and the greater part of those sent with Sir Abhraham Shipman being useless or lost, and that in his opinion it would be necessary to embark four hundred men as garrison, being the same number Sir Abhraham Shipman had under his command; that the charges pay etc, for the garrison would amount to £7,371 per annum exclusive of artificers and contingencies and submitted to his majesty, that eighteen months, store and provision of every kind,

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1 Bruce Annals, II, 156.
3 Ibid, 169; EFI.1665-67, 189.
must be embarked and some addition made to the pay of Governor, at this time only £2 per day, which would not be sufficient to defray the expenses that must be incurred on such a distant station.\(^5\)

The Committee of Privy Council however turned down the report of Lucas on the ground that it would be unwise to incur any great expenditure than it was absolutely necessary; they were not still certain whether Bombay would still remain in the possession of English. They therefore recommended a reinforcement of 60 men should be sent under a Lieutenant. The Lieutenant who was to have a Captain’s pay, as 8 shilling per day, and supply of clothes, ammunitions and stores and small vessel to be attached to the garrison. He was allowed a total amount of £11,498,165 and £1, until the establishment was settled.\(^5\)

In 1668, the Company garrison numbered 285 men, 93 of whom were English and rest French, Portuguese or natives. These formed two companies, each commanded by a Captain. The first Company comprehended two commissioned officers, 66 non-commissioned officers, privates and 28 Topasses. The second Company comprehended three commissioned officers, 73-non-commissioned officers and privates and 26 Topasses. This is said to have been the honourable Company’s first European regiment although many non-European found admission in to the rank\(^7\). But this condition was soon rectified by Court of Directors, who according to the terms of agreement between themselves and the Crown, were bound to provide a proper garrison to the island. Their early letters to the President and Council at Surat emphasize the desirability of military reserve and of forming trained bands or militia to supplement the force recruited directly from England.\(^8\)

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\(^5\) Bruce Annals, II, 169.  
\(^6\) Ibid, 170.  
\(^7\) Anderson Phillip, 57; Bruce Annals, II, 215-216; EFI 1665-67,300. H. Gary’s letter to His Majesty King, December 12 1667. In a letter of the same date to Earl of Clarendon, Gary remarked that the Garrison charges had somewhat increased “by the buildings of new fortification, the enlistment of additional soldiers to guard them, and by a cost of stable horses fraudulently designed by Sir General Lucas for the entertaining of correspondence from the several parts of the island upon occasion”. He also informed lord Arlington that Dutch Alarms had forced him to emoll 150 Decanies at a total cost of £ 68-7-6 a month, while the monthly cost of the European troops was £226-20, G.B.C.I., II, 254.  
\(^8\) Court of Directors to Surat Council, 27 March and 24th August 1668; Bruce Annals, II, 199, 226.
Meanwhile, the President, Sir Gervase Lucas died suddenly on 27 May 1667 and Captain Gary was officiating as Deputy Governor on the date of transfer, namely 23rd Sept. 1668. The Royal Charter of 27th March 1668 to East India Company arrived in Surat by the ‘Constantinople Merchant’ on 1st Sept., 1668. The Governor was diffident to implement it being uncertain of the reception the royal officers on the island might give to mere merchants or even whether they would acknowledge the authority of a trading Company based in Surat. Therefore a Council member, Mr. Goodyere, who was a good friend of the island’s Commander, was sent ahead, in order that he might “settle matters”. So successfully did he manage that a “peaceful surrender” took place.9 On 23rd September 1668 Captain Gary formally drew up his troops in formation, read out the Royal Charter, and therefore transferred the island with its live and dead stock, and its cash amounting to £ 4879, 7 sh, 6d., to the Company’s Commissioners, named John Goodyer, H. Young, and Tho. Co. Gary himself later not only obtained a seat in the Council but thereafter was also appointed to a judgeship on the island.

GARRISON UNDER THE COMPANY: OXINDEN AND AUNGIER (1668-1677)

On 5th Jan 1669, Oxinden reached Bombay and passed a code of Military regulations for the Garrison. These regulations prescribed the duties of the commanding officer of the garrison and enacted strict discipline under severe penalties. They defined the duties required of the soldiers, both in garrison and its quarters and those keeping stations and guards. They specified the duties of the muster-master, who was to inspect the strength of the corps and enjoyed the general obedience of all orders proceedings from the civil government. It is remarkable that in these regulations the neglect or breach of duty in the inferior officers and in soldiers was declared to be punishable with death while in case of the superior officers with deprivation of rank only.10

By the close of 1669 the garrison consisted of two companies of English, French, Dutch Portuguese soldiers and local militia. There is no doubt that the garrison would have continued to increase, had the revenue of Bombay more nearly sufficed to meet the expenditure. But at this date the question of ownership of land was still unsettled

9 Commissioners to Surat 28th September 1668, Bruce Annals, II, 241.
10 Letter from Mr. Goodies to Sir George Oxinden, 5 Jan 1669, Ibid., 242-243.
and growing deficiency of revenue obliged the Company to order considerable retrenchments, such as reductions of the two European Companies to one of 260 men\(^\text{11}\). In order to help the small army in the defence of the island, inhabitants had to be asked to assist in its defence and the land on the island was counted to be held under military service\(^\text{12}\). The salary of the English Captain in charge of the Company was fixed at £80 a year\(^\text{13}\) and there was reduction of a pay of the Portuguese soldiers from 12½ Xeraphins to 10 2/3 Xeraphins a month\(^\text{14}\).

In 1670, the garrison was reduced to one Company and was in a weak state. Despite this Aungier, in a letter to the Company, gives an entertaining account of an interview he had with some Muslim merchants at Surat, who had fled to English factory for protection during Shivaji's incursion. They thought of changing their residence in view of its dangers and going in Bombay but he found it difficult to persuade them as the island only had one hundred Englishmen, with some Portuguese to secure it\(^\text{15}\).

In February 1670, knowing the condition of the Bombay garrison, the Company sent one Company of English soldiers under the command of Captain Shaxton to Bombay so that Bombay would have two companies. These arrived in 1671. Captain Shaxton was appointed to act as a factor and afterwards, if found suitable, to hold the office of Deputy Governor of Bombay\(^\text{16}\). In 1670, Bombay regiment numbered 242 men of whom 100 were English, the rest being Portuguese and Topasses\(^\text{17}\). In 1672-73 the total force of the island comprised:

- In a castle, two native companies of 250 men a piece
- In a town, 250 infantry and 250 lances of militia, under an English Captain
- At Mahim 250 infantry and 250 lances of militia, under an English Captain
- At Mazagon, 150 infantry, 150 lances under Sir Alvaro Peres, the lord of Manor

\(^{11}\) Ibid, 279; Campbell, III, 68.
\(^{12}\) Cadell., op. cit., 20.
\(^{13}\) Court of Directors to Surat Council, 11\(^{\text{th}}\) August 1670 Cf. G.B.C.I., II, 255.
\(^{14}\) Bombay to Surat Council, December 8\(^{\text{th}}\) 1668, Bruce Annals, II, 242.
\(^{15}\) EFI, 1670-77, 9.
\(^{16}\) Letter from Court to the President and Council at Surat 22 Feb 1670-71, Bruce Annals, II, 279.
\(^{17}\) EFI, 1670-77, 9. Topasses were the Indo-Portuguese soldiers. The term as used here, may be a corruption of Persian top-chi, a gunner or musketeer. But a more usual derivation is from Hindi word topi, a hat, i.e. hat wearer. On the other hand Sir Richard Temple favoured dubhasi, one with two language, where from comes the Anglicized 'dubash', as its true origin through its Malyalam from topashi. Ibid, fn., 9.

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There was an additional force of 100 Mooreman and 100 Bhandaries armed with clerks and bill books.\textsuperscript{18}

During this year the military need that caused much anxiety to garrison was scarcity of gunpowder. Bombay Council therefore decided to buy some barrels of gunpowder from Portuguese. Its local manufacture however was hampered by the want of saltpeter. In July, Gray, the Deputy Governor, reported that he had mounted all their guns, ‘but our powder is very bad by the reason of the [damp] weather’. In August too English were in dire need for gunpowder, as well as saltpeter. The situation remained the same throughout the year.\textsuperscript{19}

Garrison apart from this was fairly well supplied. A list of stores at Bombay of October 1670 showed that these were mainly military, and Giffard acknowledged to the Company that they had sent out ‘large supplies of all things necessary for a garrison’. The only thing wanted besides gunpowder were, iron bars, half a dozen halberds for the sergeants and matches (here it means the wicks, cord, or ropes that were then used in firing cannon or other fire arms). The other complaint was about the coal and guns that had been sent out. The former had proved so bad that they had to burn charcoal in the forges. This was very dear, and its deficient supply at times prevented the smith’s forge working.\textsuperscript{20}

The separate information from Bombay during the season 1673-74 gives us the account of the strength of garrison that consisted of two companies of 200 men each. The greatest proportions of which were Topasses and 100 more of this force were employed in the Marine and three companies of militia.\textsuperscript{21}

Aungier, in spite of the avowed policy of retrenchment, did much towards improving the strength and appearance of the garrison. He obtained sanction to the supply of uniforms for the troops, “All to be of one colour for the greater awe of the adversary

\textsuperscript{18} Captain Shaxton to Court of Director, 3\textsuperscript{rd} January 1673; Bruce Annals, II, 319. Edwards, Bombay City Police, 2; Edwards, \textit{Rise of Bombay}, 113. It recorded that when the Dutch fleet actually appeared off Bombay, Sir Alvaro Peres fled in Manor of Mazagaon being confiscated by the Council at Bombay as a punishment for his cowardice and possible treachery; Edwards, \textit{Rise of Bombay}, 113.

\textsuperscript{19} EFI, 1670-77, 9-10.

\textsuperscript{20} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{21} Account of island of Bombay by Gerald Aungier and Council, 15\textsuperscript{th} Dec. 1673, Bruce Annals, II, 343.
and encouragement of themselves." 22 By 1676, Aungier was permitted to retain only up to two companies of European soldiers, numbering in all 400, of whom 100 were employed on Company's ship during wartime. The remaining 300 were divided into four companies of 75 men each, each batch taking turn in garrisoning the castle, in addition of three companies of "Portuguese black Christian" posted at Bombay, Mahim and Mazagaon and drilled at least once a month. 23

About the time of Aungier's death (1677), militia was composed of 600 men, all owners of land, 100 Brahmans and Banias, who refused to bear arms and contributed money instead of service. The following instructions sent out by this trading Company might induce a military reader to smile: "We would have the inhabitants modeled into trained bands under English or other officers as there shall be cause, and make of them one or two regiments or more as your number will hold out, exercising them in arms one day, in every two months or as often as you shall think may be convenient, but you need not always waste powder as such exercise, but teach them to handle their arms, their facings, wheeling marching and counter marching, the first ranks to present, draw their triggers together at the beat of drums, and fall into the rear for the 2nd ranks to advance, as if often used with learners in our artillery ground, but sometimes they must be used to firing, rest in time of action they should start at the noise or the recoil of their arms". 24

One of the early suggestions to improve defence was to have a mobile force of fifty horses, all to be English "since one horse was equal to fifty foot". 25 In 1677 again efforts were made to strengthen the horse troop. Two soldiers were sent to Aurangabad to get country-bred horses and they brought twelve. The horses were dear costing Rs. 60, 80,100 each, but because of their small size they were unserviceable.

The Surat Council on 3rd April spared for Bombay some of the horses brought from Persia. 26 On 17th May other horses were brought from Muskat. Bombay had

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22 Court to Surat 13 December 1672 "It is being found convenient in Europe for the soldiers to have coates of one colour not only for the handsome representation of them within exercise but for the greater awe of adversary besides the encouragement of themselves" Cf. Rodrigues, op. cit., 29, Fn 12, 230.
23 Cadell, op. cit., 23; Edwards, Bombay City Police, 2; Anderson, The English in Western India, 57-58.
24 Anderson Phillip, The English in Western India, 57-58; Bruce Annals, II, 400-401.
25 Bombay to Court, 24 Jan 1677, F.H.S.I, 119.
occasional difficulty in feeding the horses because of the lack of grain and other horse fodder. Finally a troop of 40 was raised under the command of Captain Keigwin and Cornet John Pettit, while the fort itself was supplied with 120 pieces of ordnance and 60 field pieces in their carriages.

The importance of defence can be seen from the fact that amazing work of Aungier was soon put to test, when the Dutch, with their eye on Bombay sent a squadron of 7 ships (which anchored in Bombay waters from February 20-22, 1673) under Rickloffe van Goens. This caused great anxiety among the inhabitants, some of whom fled to the Portuguese territory. The Dutch retreated finding the fort well guarded, although they had 6000 men on board. A public thanks giving had been held in Bombay earlier in the day, it being St. Stephens day to celebrate the Court news of an English victory over the Dutch in Europe, so the Dutch visit to Bombay harbour was quite unexpected. Fryer describes how well Bombay was defended in the following words

"With in the fort were mounted 120 pieces of or dance, and in other convenient stands 20 More, besides 60 field – prices ready in their carriages upon occasion to attend the Militia and Bhandaries. To the fort then belonged 300 English, and 400 Topazes, or Portugal fireman: To the Militia out of Portugal Musters 500 under English leaders, all well armed; of Bhandaries (that look after the look of cocoes) with clubs and other weapons, 300. Besides, some thousands more would make a shew, but not to be relied on, should it come to the push" 31

MUTINY OF 1674

The morale of the forces, however, was far from satisfactory. Drunkenness and disorders of various kinds were common; disease was rife and there was a general and continuous dissatisfaction at the rates of pay allowed by the Company, which was aggravated by the spasmodic reductions enjoyed by the authorities in England. Even the superior officers were occasionally lacking in morale and forbade the entry of the

27 Ibid., 119; EFI, 1670-77, 178.
28 F.H.S.I, 119.
29 Bruce Annals, II, 400-401.
30 War broke out between England and Holland in 1672 which hindered Aungier’s return which was fortunate. The port was so well guarded that the Dutch “gave over” the attempt; S. Pachel, op. cit., 5-6.
31 Fryer, op. cit., p. 66.
32 Soldiers were paid in local bujurks and duganis, the loss of the former when passed in circulation being 30% and on the latter 16 to 18%; Campbell, III p. 70-75.
names of dead soldiers in the muster rolls. They themselves drew the pay of the deceased. This situation was so grave also in Marine that even in 1730’s express orders were passed restraining the offices from sailing liquors to the sailors. Similarly to enhance efficiency several incentives for the European sailors were announced including pension for widows and compensation for disability.

These circumstances contributed in 1674 to the rise of two mutinies. In May, 60 to 80 English soldiers, mostly those who had come with their guard duty marched to Malabar hill. From there they sent a petition explaining their demands about pay. Aungier sent Captain Ustick, Captain Langford and Captain Alderton to persuade them to come to obedience and to promise them pardon if they submitted. The officers offered them pardon if they submitted and soldiers returned to obedience.

The second mutiny was headed by Captain Shaxton himself, who was brought to trial and eventually pardoned. There were also the three minor ringleaders, described by the Bombay Council as “Dangerous bloody villains” one was shot and the other two sentenced “to throw dice for their lives on drumhead” but were subsequently pardoned. This was the 1st occasion of Company’s exercise of martial law. After this incident, the Directors specified: “We desire that our Council may be composed of our factors or should you admit soldiers to it, would probably occasion contests and we desire to keep the military in subordination to the civil.”

AUNGIER’S DEATH AND REDUCTION IN GARRISON

After Aungier’s death, the authorities in Bombay made pretence of following the orders for reduction. On occasions, they were enabled to enlarge the Garrison and subsequently plead political necessity for their action. Thus, in 1676 the Court acquiesced in the abolition of the post of Captain to the Bombay garrison and in the proposal to place lieutenant of two companies, which were there upon styled as the Governor’s Company and Deputy Governor’s Company. In 1678, authorities again

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33 Bombay council to Court March 1680-01, G.B.C.I., II, 257.
35 EFI, 1670-77, 99
36 Bruce Annals, II, 368.
37 EFI, 1670-77, 103.
38 G.B.C.I., II, 258.
gave the measures for the defence of the island relating to supply of recruits that were to be embarked on the ships of the season. But they did not specify whether they were German or English, though Presidency of Surat had recommended the former. Such soldiers whose conduct had been regular and whose terms of seven years had expired were to be promoted to a small civil trust.\(^{39}\)

The concern about the defence of the island\(^{40}\) was again visible in the letter of Mr. Henry Gary, the Chief Justice of Bombay, to Court. He recommended “At least a supply of 150 recruits should be annually embarked, to render the English garrison, equal to the defence of the island; as no dependence could be placed on Portuguese, or militia, the only ostensible force it possessed, the fort, however had been completed, except the eastern bastion, which was in state of forwardness.”\(^{41}\)

Despite these, the authorities went on with their policy of alternating recruitment and reductions. In the year 1678-79, authorities again ordered for reducing ranks and allowances including the salary of Deputy Governor of Bombay to £ 120 per annum. The military establishment should be reduced to two lieutenants, two ensigns, four sergeants, four corporals, 180 privates, and that no extra allowance should be paid to 30 soldiers, who had been detached to defend the Company’s houses at Surat, when it was threatened by Shivaji’s army. However, the same pay was given to them, as if they had remained on garrison duty, at Bombay. The militia, which had been embodied for the defence of the island, should be discharged.\(^{42}\) The authorities expected from these retrenchments in both civil and military establishments at Bombay, it was expected that a considerable savings which would be made, to be brought to the Company’s cash. It was determined, that the whole charges, civil and military of the island should be established to Rs. 71,900 annually.\(^{43}\)

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39 Letter from Court to Deputy Governor and Council of Bombay, 15th March 1677-78, Bruce Annals, 407.
40 Letter from Deputy Governor Henry Oxinden to Council of Bombay to Court, 15 Jan 1677-78. The report discusses about prospect of island for becoming a seat of trade seems remote, i.e. threat of Shivaji from the opposite coasts, from Mughal armies, involved in Patan wars and Deccan and Portuguese at Tannah and Caranjah continued to obstruct the entrance of provisions created every obstacle to the trade of island, Ibid., 416-417.
41 Letter from Henry Gary to Court Jan. and Feb. 1677-78; Ibid., 417.
42 Court to President and Council of Surat, 28 Feb 1678-79, Ibid., 422-423
43 Court to Deputy Governor of Bombay, 28th February 1678-79, Ibid., 424-425.
In 1679, Authorities again disbanded the troops of horse and Captain Keigwin who commanded it, was dismissed from Company’s service.\textsuperscript{44} They carried out in 1680 the pay of the “white Portuguese” from 10½ Xs to 5Xs a month, in order that it might accord with the rate allowed to Topasses.\textsuperscript{45} On the other hand in 1678 on the plea that the Topasses element required leave, they enlisted several Dutch and Swedes. In 1680, they persuaded the Directors to agree to the formation of auxiliary forces of two companies, composed of the inhabitant of the island. These companies were to be under the command of two Captains on Xs. 100 per year. Two lieutenants on Xs. 60, two ensigns on Xs. 50, six sergeants on Xs. 30, six corporals Xs 20, together with 4 drummers on Xs 20.\textsuperscript{46} It is not clear whether this force was ever enrolled. But in 1683 the standing garrison, which had been placed under the Supreme Command of Captain Keigwin in 1681,\textsuperscript{47} was increased to three English Companies and was enlarged in 1684 by the enrolment of the Company of Rajputs, commanded by their own officers with their own weapons.\textsuperscript{48}

In December 1683, a serious mutiny took place, which changed the course of Bombay’s history in terms of its future strategy and military composition i.e. “Keigwin Rebellion”.\textsuperscript{49}

**KEIGWIN REBELLION**

The year 1683 witnessed the rebellion upon the island which may conceivably have accelerated the transfer of the Company’s government from Surat to Bombay in 1687. In March 1681 Captain Keigwin had been appointed by Court of Directors as the

\textsuperscript{44} Ibid, 423; EFI, 1670-77, 33.
\textsuperscript{45} Court of Directors to Surat Council, Feb 28, 1678-79 and March 19\textsuperscript{th} 1679-80. The Company writing to Surat in March 1679 pointed out the disparity in soldiers pay; while white Portuguese received 10½ Xs per month, Topasses received Xs 5. They said there was no reason for disparity, for Topasses were considered as good as the others and even more dependable. They advised them not to give the higher rate but to reduce to all lower rates, G.B.C.I., II, 258.
\textsuperscript{46} Bruce Annals, II, 435-436.
\textsuperscript{47} Bombay Council to Court of Directors, March 15\textsuperscript{th} 1680-81, Ibid, 448-449. Also see EFI, 1678-84, 94-95.
\textsuperscript{48} In 1683, the Company ordered the organization of a third Company in Bombay and a complete Company of first soldiers was sent out on the ship ‘Charles’ II. Thus the Bombay garrison, till now of only two companies, from now onwards comes to possess three companies. In addition, 40 soldiers had been sent to complete the numbers of existing two companies; Campbell, III, 76.
\textsuperscript{49} The Court ordered that seat of government was to be always at Bombay and that all ships to anchor and load at Bombay. The transfer however was made in 1687, Bruce Annals, II, 554-555; Campbell, II, 180.
Commandant of all forces on the island and third member of the Council. The salary of the Commandant was the result of the general desire on the part of the Company to retrench their military expenditure. In 1683, Sir John Child in pursuance of the Company’s object ordered the further reduction by 30% of military salary. Alexander Hamilton writes: "Military gentleman had made contracts in England for their salaries, though paid 20% less - yet to show himself a good economist for his masters interests he (Sir John Child) sent his Deputy Charles ward orders to reduce their pay to 30% less than it was before, though it was so small that they could hardly bring both hands to bear at month’s end. That hard kill the sons of Mars could not swallow and so bent their minds on a revolution; and having come to some knowledge of Mr. Ward’s tampering with the seavagee to land on the island they detected some letters of his to that purpose, which gave them ground for a revolt."

There is little doubt that Keigwin was forced not only by discontent at the niggardly action of the Company but also by a conviction that Sir John Child and his deputy were grossly mismanaging the affairs of Bombay. He complained bitterly of the oppression of the Company’s government in a memorial, dated Jan 1684, addressed to Prince James, duke of York, and Albany, “whom we (the Mutineers) look upon as North star of our firmament by which we are resolved to steer our course.” Accordingly on Thursday morning 27th December, 1683, Keigwin, aided by Henry Fletcher, Thomas Wiekins, Stephen Adderton and a fourth described by a Chaplain, John Church as “that little false Scot Thorburne” raised the standard of revolt, seized and confined the Deputy Governor Ward and other who adhered to him. The mutineers also seized Company ship, ‘Hunter’ and ‘Return’ which arrived at Bombay on 26th of December and latter’s treasure (intended for Malabar factory) was landed. Next day Keigwin published the proclamation and read it before the assembled troops and militia and appointed officers of two Companies while Thorburn was given the charge of civil administration, and Keigwin was to be the Governor of island. Bombay was henceforth was to be governed under the name of king.

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50 EFI, 1678-84, 95.  
51 Hamilton, op. cit., 188-189.  
52 In the letters of December 30, 1683, from John Tuner to Henry Smith it is stated that the cause of the revolt was “the very irregular government of Child and Ward continued in malice, aviarries, oppression, extortion, and other intolerable insolencies and that Keigwin’s chief complaint was that Company government had neglected the defence of the island against Sambhaji and others.” Campbell, II. 181.  
53 EFI, 1678-84, xix, x.
Ward, who according to his own account was closely watched and was supplied neither ink nor pen, managed to have the news conveyed by Steath to Surat. Whereupon the Council decided to appoint Charles Zizam, Francisday, George Osfright as commissioners to enquire into the naughtiness and wicked actions of some on Bombay and to suppress the revolt. The trio accordingly voyaged to Vasai, and thence sent letters promising pardon to several mutineers if the island was at once restored to the Company, but the trio failed to bring any fruitful result.

The Mutineers, who had meanwhile memorialized the King, saying that they would hold the island till the wishes should be known, replied firmly to the Commissioners and Sir John Child that they would not retreat from their position; whereupon the latter after some further correspondence in which they styled Keigwin’s replies as “parcel of Stuff that sufficiently discovers you ignorance and naughtiness”, issued a proclamation on the 29th February 1684, declaring them all traitors. As soon as the news of the revolt reached England, Charles II issued a royal command, dated August 23rd 1684, to Keigwin to deliver the island to Child. The King offered free pardon to all except the four grand incendiaries, for whose apprehensions rewards were publicly offered. Eventually on 19th November 1684 Keigwin, on receipt of the promise of the pardon, handed over Bombay to Admiral Sir Thomas Grantham, who had been dispatched with a force from England to quash the rebellion. Keigwin was placed under arrest for the time being, and was eventually taken back by the Admiral to England in July 1685.

During the eleven months that he was permitted to trade in any part of the Maratha dominions, he also received payment of an old debt of 12,000 pagodas, due to the Company. He built small fortifications at Mahim and Sion, collected much of the money due to the Company from native debtors, and administered the affairs of the island in such a way that Gladman forced to admit, “Rebels managed very well”.

54 Ibid.
55 Ibid., 168-180.
56 Campbell, II, 181-182
57 Sir Thomas Grantham to Surat Dec 8, 1684, Keigwin also surrendered £7000 which had taken from the ‘Return’ and all the State papers. EFI – 1678-84, xxi, 194,195
58 Keigwin was released in England. But Thorborne fell a victim to Child’s malignity and was eventually cost in to prison on a charge of debt and treated with such harshness that he died, Hamilton, op. cit., 189-192.
Thus in 1684 (November) ended the memorable revolt. It was the bloodless revolution and was headed by a man whose motives were for the well being of the island. During Keigwin’s revolt the whole garrison numbered in all 505 men and consisting of 150 English, 200 Topasses and others threw off its allegiance to the Company and continued to hold the island against them in King’s name for nearly twelve months.59

After the revolt, for the better preservation of the island, the seat of Company’s government was to be removed from Surat to Bombay, where the President and Council were to reside. A force of three English companies was to be maintained, with such number of native troops and militia as the President might deem it expedient to employ. 60 Thus, two infantry companies were formed into three companies as being dispatched from fort St. George, Madras.61

The Bantam Revolution (1682) induced the Court and the Majesty to send out a naval and military force in 1683-84. The object of this was to oblige the native powers to conform to the subsisting treaties, and to assist in the restoration of the King of Bantam, who had been dethroned by his son, instigated by Dutch. When this service should be effected, the soldiers embarked for that purpose, were to proceed to Bombay and to form the third Company. On the military establishment of that island forty recruits, were sent to complete the two established companies, and to add to the effective force of the garrison, two companies of Rajputs of each were to be embodied, and the men selected from the countries not subject to the Mughal, to Sambhaji, to Portuguese. But they were to be commanded by the officers of their own caste, to use their own arms and to have a weekly pay, half in rice, half in money, and when on duty to be blended with the regular English troops. 62

On the above said orders in 1684, two Rajput companies of 100 men each were added. After Madras, this is probably one of the first attempts of the English to

59 G.B.C.I., II, 258,
60 Bruce Annals, II, 528.
61 Surat Council to Court of Directors, 31st Jan 1685, one of the companies was commanded by Sir John Wyborne, who was also the Deputy Governor, second in Council and lieutenant Colonel of the forces. His salary was £100 a year together with captain’s pay of eight pence a day and £150 a year as diet money; Court of Directors to Surat, 6th May 1685, Campbell, III, 76.
62 Bruce Annals, II, 498.
organize the Indian soldiers on permanent basis as a part of their army in India. However, the establishment of the Rajput companies does not seem to have materialized until 1686.  

In 1685, Governor was granted a personal guard of 30 English grenadiers under a Captain Brevet, who were increased to 50 in 1687. Attempts were also made to purify the militia by distributing the posts equally among all castes and by counter balancing the untrustworthy Topasses element with “A good force of canorins (low caste Hindus).” In 1686 the garrison was further reinforced by the Company soldiers and officers from the Marquis of Worcester regiment in England. In 1687, Bombay became Company’s headquarter replacing Surat. For the Court of Directors, Bombay became the ‘key’ and was to be strengthened and fortified as Court puts it “As strong as Art and Money could make it”. This was the period of 1680s Company after the ‘Bantam Revolution’ began to think of territorial power in India, and policy of Thomas Roe was given up: “To establish such a polite of civil and military power and create and secure such a large revenue to maintain both...as may be the foundation of a large, well grounded, sure English Dominion in India for all time to come.”

Thus, in the process Company thought to strengthen the militia after Salsette was acquired. The garrison was to be increased to ten Companies’ of infantry, exclusive of militia, 120 soldiers were embarked on ship of the season and all the subjects of England who might in service of country powers were to be invited to enter in to that of Company.

In 1688-89, Bombay’s relation with Mughal power was going under strain due to which the Court directed John Child to develop Bombay on the principle of St. George, to counter any attack of native powers. Therefore he was ordered to increase the fortification, to strengthen the garrison, by recalling all Europeans, who might be in the service of native powers, offering to such men encouragement to engage in

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63 Campbell, III, 76-78.
64 G.B.C.I., II, 259
65 Court of Director to Bombay, 28th Oct.1685, 13th May 1687, Ibid.
66 Ibid, also see F.H.S.I, 150.
68 Bruce Annals, II, 585-586.
Company's military service because from having been habituated to the climate, they would be of more use, than recruits brought from Europe as "one seasoned men being worth two fresh ones". But unfortunately Bombay's defence system was soon put to test against Mughal and Sidi and the ill-defended Bombay easily succumbed.

After the Sidi's evacuation in 1690, a virulent plague wrecked havoc in the island and weakened the defence. Hence in 1694, 200 soldiers were recruited as replacement. During this year (1694), Khafi Khan, Commander of Mughal Army visited Bombay and his description showed that he was visibly impressed by the numbers and discipline of the garrison. There were nearly 7000 musketeers drawn up in a perfect array although this number must have included the militia and seaman brought in deliberately from the ships to impress the foreign visitor with an overwhelming spectacle's of the island defences.

As the aforesaid losses were also inflicted by the Sidi during the investment of Bombay (1689-90) for the weapon supplied to the garrison from home were thoroughly untrustworthy and usually burst after third loading. The near bankruptcy engendered by the siege prevented both the supply of new men, weapons and the proper maintenance of the survivors. While the new recruits from England were still, in words of Council at Bombay "allowed to lie up and down the woods whereby their debaucheries they fall in to distempers and die like rotten sheep." So the matter continued till 1715. Attempts were made to raise the strength of the garrison by the enlistment of Armenian from Isfahan and Madagascar slaves; and by training certain number of Arab laskhar to arms. But the English troops were so decimated by disease that there were not sufficient troops on the island to form the guard of honour for the Dutch Commissioner during his visit in May 1696.
Thus, the responsibility of providing soldiers increased in the following years, as a factory had been established at Anjengo in Malabar in 1684 and a fort was built there in 1690. In 1699 there was a factory established at Tellicherry, a centre of pepper trade, and a fort was erected there in 1708, the Bombay Council had to provide garrison to those places at Karwar and at Surat.\textsuperscript{76}

The events during the closing decades of 17\textsuperscript{th} century especially the Mughal –Sidi aligned war against Bombay government exposed the weakness of Bombay’s defence and pointed out the urgency of strengthening of forces both at land and sea. Bombay never did retaliate or directly attack the Sidi’s, instead, the Angria’s and Sidi’s were craftily encouraged to out-rival each other until finally their resources were depleted and their power undermined.

BOMBAY GARRISON IN 18\textsuperscript{TH} CENTURY

The opening of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century did not augur well for Bombay. The two Companies (Old and the New East India Company) were fighting with the country government, with one another, and their servants were fighting among themselves. Crime and diseases continued to take their toll in Bombay. Only 76 Europeans were left, and the natives too suffered much. In 1702 there was a violent storm that destroyed the produce of the land and wrecked a great part of the shipping.\textsuperscript{77}

Bombay was further threatened by an invasion of Sidi’s and Marathas in 1701. It was against this threat that the Burniston, the Deputy Governor of Bombay was obliged to complete the Mahim fort.\textsuperscript{78} Burniston was obliged to enlist an additional number of Topasses to strengthen the garrison, and requisition men from the Company’s ship to man the little fleet to protect the island. The Portuguese also troubled by intriguing with the Marathas and by obstructing supplies of provisions to Bombay. The Portuguese almost threatened to invade Bombay, but such was the irony of fate that they were soon themselves attacked by an Arab fleet and were obliged to seek the protection of the English.\textsuperscript{79}

\textsuperscript{76} Cadell, op. cit., 32.
\textsuperscript{77} Bruce Annals, III, 502.
\textsuperscript{78} Campbell, I, 138.
\textsuperscript{79} Ibid.
Aurangzeb’s death in 1707 set off general unrest and chaos. A number of country powers vied with each other in an inevitable power struggle. In such a prevalent chaos, the defence of Bombay assumed the utmost emergency. In 1706, when Nicholas Waits became the Governor of Bombay, he boosted the morale of the men by improving their barracks and diet. Although he could not erase the evil reputation of hospital nor that of cemetery of Mendham’s point. The pay of both officers and men was systematized and more regularly disbursed. The monthly pay fixed in 1710 was as follows: Lieutenant £4, Ensign £4, Sergeant £1:10:0; Corporal £1:4:0; Private Sentient £1:1:0. They were allowed the bonus of months pay every year.

An interesting account of the Bombay army has been recorded by John Burnell, an Ensign in 1710, in a series of letters to his father wrote: “There were five companies on the island comprised of Christians, three of them were exclusively. European while of the remaining two, one was made up of Topasses and other of Gofferies; the European companies were stationed in the castle, the eldest being distinguished by ‘blue facings’, the second green and the third red. The fourth and fifth Companies were stationed outside, one at Dongri and the other in small forts of Mahim, Sion, and Mazgaon, these last being described in proceedings as ‘Christian Outguards’.

Burnell also commented that there were in addition eight companies of sepoys, of which seven contained eighty men each, headed by a Subedar or Captain, a Hawaldar or Lieutenant and a Jamaladar or Ensign. There were also two Naiks or Corporals, all of whom were either Muslims or Hindus of the Rajput class. The Company had no Captains in India doing military service so the president General and two senior most members took these titles and the pay attached to them, but the directors soon ‘stopped’ the practice.

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80 Ibid, 80-81.
81 Ibid, 82.
82 It was in the 1704, clothing of the garrison of the Bombay first received attention. On his arrival at the settlement, Sir Nicholas Waite, the newly appointed “General” was struck by the raggedness of the soldiers, more like bandits in the woods then military men paid for guarding the castle and island. At the consultation of the 20th November 1704, he made a proposal, which was adopted by the Council for “the delivering out ordinary red cloth, making coats and caps for every soldier”, each man to have “a coat for the year, to be equally proportioned out of their month’s pay”. The warehouse keeper was ordered to give out the cloth, which was to be “faced with perpetuanoes [a silk and wool fabric], each Company distinguished by the collar”. Burnell, Bombay in the days of Queen Anne, fn.3,12.
83 Burnell op.cit, 11-12.
84 Ibid 13.
Bombay and Mahim were two headquarters for the Militia which was composed of Moors, Moon, Gentues, Mustees, and Portuguese all freemen of the island. But there was an apparent distrust of the local Marathas. The whole ‘Soldiery’ of the island in constant service was about 1200 men. Burnell noted that militia was called up every night because of the fear of Kanhoji Angria, instead of the usual over a month. This fatigued them so much that a suggestion was made for raising two companies at their own cost, provided they would be “excused from lying out of their bed at nights causing them to neglect the sowing of their fields.”

In 1711 it was therefore agreed that the expenses of maintaining an additional force for the security of the island would be defrayed by means of a levy, and from January the following year, such a tax was to be imposed. The militia was therefore immune from bearing arms and “from duty on alarums on payment of Xs.15, 000 a year.” During 1710-15 the Vereadores appear to have been excused from providing trained bands of militia. The alert directors, however enquired whether the new arrangement was sufficient and equivalent” and whether it would tantamount to “altering the ancient constitution and if this will absolve them from assisting in case of an invasion by an enemy.”

GARRISON IN MID EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The condition of the military was however merely a reflection of political and economic conditions prevailing in the region. The condition, however, seems to improve in the next century. A hospital and barracks were built in the fort in 1708, the latter being improved and enlarged in 1736, 1741 and again in 1755. The pay of both men and officers were systematized and more regularly disbursed from 1710.

In 1720, a debate arose whether the additional duties (collected with the customs) towards carrying the war against Kanhoji Angria and for finishing and repairing the church should be continued or not. It was decided that the duty towards carrying on the war against Kanhoji Angria should be taken off, and only for repairing for Church

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86 Ibid, 88-89.
87 Da Cunha States that Vereadores means attorney or procurator.
88 Burnell, op.cit, 14.
89 Campbell, III, 93, 120, 123.
90 Ibid, 83.
continued. 91 At the close of the year however, an additional duty of 2% for the term of six months was levied at Bombay, Persia, Surat and Mohka in order to defray the great expense incurred by the Company in fitting out fleets to go in search of the “Pirates and other Pickeruns” on the coast. 92

Meanwhile, a scale of pension was promulgated for the benefit of the Topasses and local militia. In addition to the barracks in the forts, quarters were provided for the outposts at Sion, Seweri, Mahim and Worli. 93 In 1742, on the suggestion of land paymasters, 94 about the recruitment and defence of the town walls, it was decided to attract recruitment by raising the pay of the Europeans in the regiment and efforts were made to enlist Topasses in greater numbers and of a better caliber, who were to live within the walls, and to replace the Gentue sepoys. In order to encourage the Topasses to join the Garrison the President, in the same year declared ‘it is his real and firm sentiments that the Topasses ought to be encouraged to live and keep their families within the walls though at the additional allowance of Rs. 5. By that means they will always be ready for the defence of the town, and the presence of their families will be a sure pledge for their fidelity’. 95

The infantry of Bombay was for the first time in 1742, spoken as ‘Bombay European regiment’, consisted of 444 Europeans and 1004 Topasses fewer than 26 officers. The garrison sepoys at this date numbered 829, divided into thirteen companies each supplied with a Subedar, Jamadar and 4 Havaldar and 4 Naiks. But they were reduced in following year to six companies numbering in all 702 men and costing monthly Rs. 3,132. 96

Next year President acquainted the Board that while he was viewing the posts Sion, a paper was delivered to him signed by near 200 of the military Topasses on duty there, insisting on certain liberties which never were or can be allowed in any garrison. Among these liberties were leaving their guard and going to their own houses to eat, license to go over the river and to attend church when they pleased. Otherwise they

91 Ibid, 323-324.
92 P.D.D. No.1 A/1720, 235.
93 G.B.C.I, II, 260.
95 Ibid.
96 Campbell, III, 97-98.
demanded their discharge. The President ordered the Captain Commandant with a proper detachment to relieve the several posts. The Commandant however acquaints the President that it appears that the Topasses are in mutinous mood and are disorderly. They were the one of those who fled from Salsette after the Marathas took possession of that island and they numbered 172 when taken into the service and formed into four companies at Rs. 842-0-66 a month. At that time there were apprehensions of the Marathas molesting this Island. But at present there are no reasons to suspect that the Marathas have any such ill designs. Even if the Marathas have, and these people are discharged, they can be of no more service to the Marathas than sepoys without European officers to discipline them, and of sepoys without European officers, the Marathas can have as many thousands as they please.97

MILITARY FORCES AT BOMBAY AND OUTPOSTS, 174298

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97 Bombay Government Consultation 9th May 1743, P.D.D, 16/I of 1743, 135-36.
98 P.D.D. No. 15/II- 1742, 374.

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</tbody>
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369
It was further resolved that the monthly payment of the Sion Topasses who had behaved in mutinous manner should be stopped. 99

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99 Ibid.
In July 1743 Bombay Council decided to settle the number of men to be employed in the military and that in future the respective companies should have a fixed number of men of all denominations allotted to each in which the officers servants are to be included, the following scheme was proposed for the seven companies of Europeans and topasses.¹⁰⁰

PROPOSES STRENGTH OF EUROPEAN AND TOPASSES COMPANIES, 1743.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Companies</th>
<th>Captain</th>
<th>Lieutenant</th>
<th>Ensign</th>
<th>Sergeant Majors</th>
<th>Sergeant</th>
<th>Corporals</th>
<th>Drummers</th>
<th>Europeans</th>
<th>Masters</th>
<th>Servants</th>
<th>Sepoys</th>
<th>Subnikes</th>
<th>Linguist</th>
<th>Armourer</th>
<th>Doctor</th>
<th>Topasses</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grenadiers Company</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Company Bombay</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>2nd Company Mahim</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
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<tr>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>Total</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>1499</td>
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The division of the sepoys into thirteen companies created more officers than are necessary to command a small body of men. It was therefore proposed to reduce the

¹⁰⁰ P.D.D. No. 16/1 of 1743, 162-64.
number of sepoys at a monthly cost of about Rs. 523, that was a total strength of 702 and a monthly cost of Rs. 3132. The details of each Company are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The details of each Company</th>
<th>Expenses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 subhedar at</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Jumbeldars at Rs. 13</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Havaldars at Rs. 6 ½</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Naiks at Rs. 4-2-20</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Sabnis at</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 Trumpeter at</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Colour bearer at</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Bhaldar or halberd bearer at</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100 Sepoys at Rs.4</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total: 117</td>
<td>517</td>
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</table>

1 servant to the subhedar at Rs. 6 in the first Company and at Rs. 4 each of the other five Companies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>Rs.</td>
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Total monthly charges Rs.

<table>
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<tr>
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</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>523</td>
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</table>

or Rs.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Expenses</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>521</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In view of the threat of the French and Marathas on the coast, it was resolved that the number of people specified in the preceding proposals was necessary at the present to be kept up for the garrison but not to be exceeded. As supplies were received from England a proportional number of topasses might be discharged so as to render the

101 Ibid.
several companies equal to the intended establishment. By this resolution the
difference in yearly expense in July 1743 compared with what was in November 1742
will be Rs. 17,229. 102

BOMBAY AND FRENCH

When the English at Bombay were dealing with complications in their relations with
the Marathas, Angrias, and other neighbouring powers, war broke out in Europe
between England and France in May 1744. 103 As a result the trading Companies of
these two powers also came to grips. In September 1746, the French took Madras, and
it was apprehended that the next attack would be upon Bombay with Portuguese
help. 104 This resulted in taking immediate measures to strengthen Bombay’s sea
fortification. 105 Orders were also sent to Surat Chief to raise 2000 Moors. Captain
James Sterling was sent to Janjira to treat with Sidi chief for the enlistment of 200
men who were to form an emergency camp in the center of Bombay. 106 The third
force was formed at Tellicherry. All English covenanted servants were given arms
and their duties assigned.

In 1747, Madras made an urgent appeal for help. Bombay immediately responded by
dispatching Ensign Williams with “68 Europeans, 200 good Topasses and 115 old
garrison sepoys as the Sidi’s declined to go”. They sailed on three separate ships as
the measure of safety and reached fort David on 17th June 1747. Bombay factor at
Tellicherry too had enlisted 380 sepoys for Madras. 107

This was the real beginning for the Company army which can be dated from this
Anglo-French war in 1748, when an appreciable number of men were recruited at
Madras to face the French threat. This force was put under the command of Major
Lawrence, ‘Father of Indian Army’ who had received his commission from the

102 Ibid.
103 Campbell, I, 281.
104 Bombay Castle. Letter dated 23rd Oct 1746, F.H.S. II, 78-79. French were demanding 11 lakh
ransom for Madras. Ibid.
105 Campbell, I, 281-282.
106 For Sidi’s the complement was returned a year later, when Sidi Masud, who had caused much
trouble at Surat by his conflict with Muslim Governor, was permitted to enlist troops in Bombay and
was furnished by Marine Storekeeper with two. 4 pounders and six-6 pounder iron guns for the use of
his grab, at the rate of Rs. 18 per cwt. Subsequent to this date this troublesome opponent sinks into
complete insignificance and confines his diminished activity to consolidating his own position in
Jafarabad and Janjira, Ibid, 284.
107 Campbell, I, 284-285.
Company. The example of Madras was followed in Bengal by Robert Clive after the battle of Plassey, where he raised a separate force. The foundation being laid, the Company’s army began to grow.  

In 1748 the Bombay government received the artillery regulation from the Court and was asked to follow and observe them strictly. Some of the regulations were:

1. The Governor to make his constant residence at the Fort so that he may have the military more immediately under his eye and will be the better able to judge of the conduct and capacity of the officers and soldiers.

2. All officers to be promoted by seniority unless very good reason to the contrary be given to the Governor and Council, but that subaltern officers under the degree of Captain be named appointed and commissioned by the Governor only. Every captain to recommend to all vacancies of sergeants, corporals and drummers that may happen in their respective companies which are to be approved or not by the Major or military commanding officer of the ten companies.

3. The entire discipline of the ten companies was to be under the direction, command and inspection of the Major or commanding military officer, subordinate nevertheless to the Governor or next in Council in the Governor’s absence. And all orders to the military shall be conveyed through the Major or adjutant unless in cases of urgent necessity.

4. After the Governor or in his absence the next in Council was to deliver the public daily orders for the garrison, the Major or officer commanding the companies shall give such orders as they shall find necessary for their discipline and good government which are to be obeyed by all officers and soldiers. All orders issued by the Governor or in his absence by the next in Council and by the major or officer commanding the companies are to be entered fair in a book to be kept for that purpose by the adjutant.

5. The Governor while relieving the guard shall have a report made to him immediately in writing by the officer of the guard relieved, of all occurrences that during the time he was upon guard, to which shall be added all new orders

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relating to the troops which shall have been issued by the Major or commanding officer during that guard.

6. All outposts or stations of the military be constantly relieved at stated times, that every commission, non-commission officer, and soldier may have their turns upon all duties and services, and that none may grow negligent or forgetful of their duty by too long absence from the main body.

7. No officer or soldier shall be excused from doing his duty, but in case of sickness or inability or with leave of the Major or officer commanding the companies, and the approbation of the Governor.

8. No captain or other officer shall, on pain of being dismissed from the service, demand or receive directly or indirectly any present, fee, or reward for the admission or promotion or recommendation of any person to be promoted in the military service.

9. No man shall be discharged from the military Company before his time is out, but by order of the Governor and Council. Those who have served their full time shall be discharged, unless they engage for a farther time.

10. The Governor or Second in Council shall make a general review or muster of the military and see them exercised once towards the latter end of each month, or oftener when the season will permit it.

11. The muster rolls of each Company shall be signed by the Captain and subalterns and certified by the Governor or second which so ever shall have made the review, as also by the Major or officer commanding the companies, and then they shall be laid before the Council in time for approbation before the next payment.

12. A separate list be made up to the first of January and sent home yearly in the Company's packets, of each military Company, in which shall be inserted the name of each person received from England or any of the Company's settlements abroad, as also of such as may be enlisted setting forth what nation they are of and specifying the times of their arrival or enlisting as also the time of every man's discharge death or desertion.

13. Each Captain to have the clothing of his own Company and that for regularity the Major or officer commanding the companies shall appoint a pattern coat and hat or cap suitable to the climate, to be approved by the Governor and to which every Captain shall conform at the first making new clothes, and that
the Major shall appoint the uniforms for the commission officers to be approved of by the Governor.

14. That a sufficient quantity of ammunition shall be delivered for disciplining the companies, for which the adjustment shall give receipts and deliver in accounts of the consumption thereof to the person who hatch charge of the ammunition to be so delivered.

15. In case of the death or desertion of any non-commission officer or soldier, the Captain of the Company to which such officer or soldier did belong, is forthwith to see that the arms accoutrements and ammunition delivered to such non-commissioned officer or soldier be returned to the proper officer, or that they be immediately paid for, preferably to all other debts out of the effects if any can be found belonging to the person deceased or deserted.

16. The above regulations are to be strictly complied with in every article and made public in such manner that no one may be ignorant of their contents so far as he is concerned therein. And as it may be proper to make farther regulations for the military at Bombay that can at present be foreseen to be necessary, more especially with relation to detachments sent as garrisons to the subordinate settlements, or to escort the Company's effects, it is hereby left to the prudence and discretion of the Governor and Council, with the advice of the Major or officer commanding the companies to make such farther regulations which they may from time to time amend or alter for the good of the service, provided such farther regulations be not contrary to or inconsistent with the above.

17. It is ordered that the garrison for the settlement at Bombay be formed into ten regular companies under the command of a Major after the following manner. To be paid at 2 shillings and 6 pence a rupee.\(^\text{109}\)

GARRISON AFTER ANGLO-FRENCH WAR

The fall of Madras brought out some important realization. The first centered on the appallingly low standards of the army officers, promotions had been from the ranks and civilian like Boone and Cowan had absolutely no military experience and yet they were expected to lead expeditionary forces. Captains of Merchant vessels were in a

like predicament, and the meager pay failed to attract any army but "Base born Adventurers". Thus the strength of European Company Topasses was again reviewed in 1748 and fixed at the 10 regular Companies. Each consisting of 85 officers and men to which was added to the same year a regular Company of artillery composed of 100 gunners. In 1750 an officer had been appointed to command the garrison on a salary of £250 a year with allowances and appointed as a third member in Council.\footnote{G.B.C.I, II, 261.}

The historical reorganization of army was however still far from complete. The Company found it difficult to get good man for their army. Forrest describes the officers in 1752 as either illiterate, adventures or European butlers, who know no drill, while the sepoys spent their time running with the palanquins and carriages of the senior merchants.\footnote{Prakash Chandra, art. cit., 523.} In 1752, an entire Company of 141 Swiss Protestant soldiers were sent out by Court of Directors to Bombay, as the administration was wary of Catholic loyalties.\footnote{G.B.C.I, II, 261.} In the Anglo-French war, French had demonstrated that small disciplined bodies of men could face the fire of larger untrained forces of horsemen. Sepoys trained in methods of European discipline became infinitely more effective in action.\footnote{Campbell, III, 122-3}

In 1753, Directors appointed Sir James Foulis, the commander of all forces in Bombay Presidency. He was to be the "Third" member in the Council but was not to be embarrassed with any other care, but that of military.\footnote{Campbell, III, 118.} In 1753 a survey was carried out by James Foulis and it was found that one officer had been a trumpeter in a raree (circus) show, other was a barber, and the officer who had replaced the vernacular-speaking captain Inchbird, one lieutenant Sterling though a good and trustworthy man, "had the misfortune to want the necessary qualifications of writing which was inconvenient in an emergency." Graft and peculation permeated the entire system and were evils, which an army in combat could ill afford.\footnote{Rodrigues, op. cit., 41.}
James Foulis also furnished a general abstract of cannon, mortars, shot, shells, and gunpowder in the Castle, on the town wall, and on the out forts of Bombay. Of this abstract the totals are:

**BRASS ORDNANCE-POUNDERS**

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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
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</table>

**IRON ORDNANCE-POUNDERS**

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>23</th>
<th>36</th>
<th>33</th>
<th>26</th>
<th>13</th>
<th></th>
<th>2</th>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caste Town</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Wall Out-forts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>27</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4</td>
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**MORTARS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>13- In</th>
<th>12- In</th>
<th>11- In</th>
<th>10- In</th>
<th>8- In</th>
<th>7- In</th>
<th>4- In</th>
<th>½ In</th>
<th>Firelock Mortar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brass Mortars</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brass Howitzers</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron ditto</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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</table>

116 P.D.D 26-II of 1753, 411-12.
## SHOT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>48</th>
<th>42</th>
<th>32</th>
<th>24</th>
<th>18</th>
<th>16</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Round</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>3312</td>
<td>4220</td>
<td>9000</td>
<td>2332</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>1831</td>
<td>816</td>
<td>4096</td>
<td>2356</td>
<td>10,241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>594</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>786</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>headed</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grape Iron Grape</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>429</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>613</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>520</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>5 ¼</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>⅛</th>
<th>½</th>
<th>4 oz</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>3 oz.</th>
<th>2 oz.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Round</td>
<td>2291</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>1076</td>
<td>591</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>942</td>
<td>1465</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>910</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>headed</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
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<td>--</td>
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<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grape</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>274</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>484</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
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<td>--</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grape</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The table below shows the quantities of different shell types:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shell Type</th>
<th>13-In</th>
<th>12-In</th>
<th>11-In</th>
<th>10-In</th>
<th>8-In</th>
<th>7-In</th>
<th>4½-In</th>
<th>Hand Grenades</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shells Filled</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>726</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>1391</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do. Empty</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>716</td>
<td>2053</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>3193</td>
<td>353</td>
<td>573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lead Carcasses Filled</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditto Empty</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canvas Carcasses filled</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: There are 5437 stone balls of sorts for mortars.

In August 1753 the question of building barracks was once more brought forward. Company recommended to Bombay to erect barracks for accommodating officers and preserving the health and good order of the soldiers as it being impossible to enlarge the present barracks. The military paymaster and clerk of the works were directed to pitch upon some proper place for this purpose, and lay an estimate of the expense before the Board.\(^{117}\)

During this year Board also resolved to discontinue advancing the military one month’s pay, as it has led to many inconveniences and Company was liable to suffer from military debt. It was also decided that this change should not immediately fall hard on the military therefore the paymaster was ordered to advance two-thirds of their pay this month and so proportion the rest until it is brought to the former footing excepting the Swiss Company which are to be paid daily according to the practice in Europe.\(^{118}\)

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\(^{117}\) P.D.D 26-II of 1753, 265.

\(^{118}\) P.D.D 26-III of 1753, 462.
In 1753 the Court considered the artillery of Bombay one of its main supports in times of trouble and decided to observe the rules and regulation of 1748 strictly. In 1753 the artillery Company consisted of:

- One Captain at two hundred pounds a year.
- One First Lieutenant at one hundred pounds.
- One Second Lieutenant at ninety pounds.
- One Third Lieutenant at ninety pounds.
- Six sergeants’ at two shillings a day each.
- Six Corporals at one shilling and eight pence each.
- Thirty Bombardiers at one shilling and eight pence each.
- Thirty Gunners at one shilling and six pence each.
- Forty Mattrosses at one shilling each.
- Two Drummers at one shilling each.

The very essential reform passed in 1754, despite heavy opposition in England because of the general unwillingness to entrust the Company with wider power was the ‘Mutiny Act’ of 1754. The formation of Bombay Army really dates to the reading of this Mutiny Act of 1754.

The Bombay letter of December 1755, shows the strength of the different companies from 1743 to 1755 as prepared by James Foulis. The details are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Companies</th>
<th>1743</th>
<th>1744</th>
<th>1745</th>
<th>1746</th>
<th>1747</th>
<th>1748</th>
<th>1749</th>
<th>1750</th>
<th>1751</th>
<th>1753</th>
<th>1755</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixth</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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119 Campbell,III,118.
120 Partly the opposition was due to the fact that the Kings troops could now be sent to India. Ibid,122-123.
In 1755, fresh reductions of the infantry were made in consequence of the Company's officers having each for his own advantage, gradually increased the strength of the Company, while the Artillery was permanently enlarged to 3 companies, each composed as follows: 122

- One Captain on £200 a year.
- One Captain on £109-10-0 a year.
- One first Lieutenant on £100 a year.
- One second Lieutenant £90 a year.
- Three Lieutenant Fire workers on 3 shillings a day.
- Three Corporals on 1 2/3 shillings a day.
- Eight Bombardiers on 1 ½ shillings a day.
- Sixty four mat roses on 1 shilling a day.
- Two drummers on 1 shilling a day.

Out of these seven ordinary Companies- five belonged to Bombay proper, one belong to Mahim, one to Sion and one Grenadier Company. The total strength was 1499.

The reduction of the infantry led to a serious complaint of unpreparedness from Major James Foulis. In 1759, at the instigation of Major Fraser, a separate body of 500 sepoys on increased pay and a new Grenadier Company were formed, new barracks, were erected for their accommodation out of savings from the arracks or drink allowances, of the troops. 123 In 1760 when the appointments of fort and town major were created, the garrison strength was as follows:

- 622 infantry, of whom 225 were natives
- 227 Artillery, of whom 128 were natives and
- 1652 sepoys, of whom 661 were classed as Sidis, 598 as Established, 257 as Arabs, and 136 as old Surat. 124

Meanwhile in Deccan, the Carnatic war was in progress between the French and the English. In 1754 Madras again appealed for help and Bombay Army came for the first time into confrontation with Hyder Ali's forces. The Bombay detachment returned in 1755 having lost a great many men, but they had earned the deep gratitude of Madras

122 Campbell, III, 125.
123 Campbell, III, 135; G.B.C.I, II, 260-261
124 Ibid, 137; Appointments of fort and town major were created on March 11th 1760 the pay being Rs. 5 or 2 Shillings a day; G.B.C.I., II, 261

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government and the appreciation of Stringer Lawrence for the “invariably prompt assistance for which Bombay was distinguished.”

During this period, Bombay proceeded with the preparations for the conquest of Gheria in conjunction with the Marathas, and desired to make use of the Royal Squadron and troops, so as to accomplish the purpose more easily. Early in February 1756, all arrangements were complete for the expedition against Angria’s. Watson was appointed the Chief in Command, Clive next to him; Admiral Pocock and Captain Hugh were to be their assistants while all four were to form the Council of War. 125 This was the time, when ‘Alliance Diplomacy’, more than other methods against the Angre finally began to pay.

After Kanhoji’s death, his naval forces split between his two sons Manaji and Tulaji. The latter refused to recognize the suzerainty of the Peshwa who then allied with the English in 1755 to inflict the first serious defeat on Angre strongholds. This time artillery seems to have played some part in demoralizing the garrison. In Suvarndurg, the decisive factor was the 10,000 strong Maratha storming force. The final defeat of Tulaji Came in 1756, when the combined military and naval expedition consisting of 800 European and 700 Indian soldiers under the command of Clive, 16 men of war together with Gallivats, a kind of bomb vessel, and a Company of Artillery from Bombay. At Suvarndurg it was reinforced by four Grabs and 40 Gallivats of Marathas. Admiral Watson first blockaded and then captured Gheria. In February 1756, Gheria was taken after five days siege and Angre fleet was burnt in the Harbour. 126 Thus powerful Angria’s trapped in ‘Anglo-Maratha Diplomacy.

In 1757 the French invasion became imminent and French East India Company in this situation gave instructions to Count Lally, “All fortification to be destroyed, all other English places to be demolished, all English soldiers Sailors, writers to be sent to the island of Bourn born.” The King of France concurred in this and directed that no Englishman shall be left in any place that shall be taken. 127 Thereby with this prospect of French invasion, the English East India Company offered Marathas to

125 F.M.S., I, 104.
126 F.M.S., I, 110-112.
127 Long J. unpublished records of Government (1748-64) by M.P. Saha; Select Committee Proceedings May 29 1757, letter no. 566.
accommodate all European ladies and children at Thane. The Bombay president also took measures against these perceived threats and acquainted his board about this. He advised to keep town gates of Bombay to be closed, only to be opened to admit any gentleman and his Company's servant.\[128\]

In 1759, a new embassy was sent to Peshwa who was reported to be annoyed at Bombay Council not having assisted him to capture Janjira.\[129\] While in 1760 one Govind Shivram Pant, “delivered at the Company’s new house an elephant by Nana (Peshwa) to our Honourable Masters.”\[130\] The proximity of Marathas, coupled with the declaration of France and Spain, which lasted with the intervals of comparative peace till 1762. At the same time commercial rivalry with the Dutch during 1756 to 1764, was responsible for the marked strengthening of defences both at sea and land of Bombay.

**MORTALITY IN GARRISON**

Reinforcement and reorganization could have been compensated, but it was the appalling losses which the garrison suffered during this period, especially at close of 17\(^{th}\) century could not be compensated. Constant reference is made in the documents of the period to the great mortality among the soldiers. One of the main causes was the unhealthiness of island.

Throughout the entire period in closing years of 17\(^{th}\) century (1670-1710) there were continued references in the official records to the great unhealthiness of island.\[131\] On more than one occasion the Company servants asked to be excused on this account from serving in Bombay.\[132\] Moreover circumstances were not improved by the fact that the island was often destitute of a physician. The consignment of medicines, 

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\[128\] F.H.S. II, 155; letter dated Bombay castle 18\(^{th}\) Nov 1757.

\[129\] F.M.S., I, 130.

\[130\] G.B.C.I., II, 109.

\[131\] John Ovington in 1689 also wrote, that “Fish manure is a mortal enemy to the lives of Europeans. We arrived here at the beginning of the rains and buried of 24 passengers, we brought with us above 20, before they were ended and all of our own ships Company above 15. The Prodigious growth of vermin and of venomous gestures at the time of Monsoons do abundantly demonstrate the Malignant corruption of Air,” J. Ovington, op. cit., 86-87.

The constant reference to such diseases like Flux, Scurvy, gout, Putrid fevers, dropsy etc. are found in every second record of that period. For this see Campbell, III, 542.

\[132\] In 1676, when Sir John Child was appointed accountant of Bombay. He refused to go there. Campbell, III, 544.
which was spasmodically sent out by the Court of Directors often, proved to be bad.\textsuperscript{133} In 1690 it was reported that there were only 35 Englishmen in Bombay, who, were not ill.\textsuperscript{134}

Company’s representatives in Bombay put various reasons for the unhealthiness of the climate forth. Writing in 1671 the Court of Directors stated that it was due to the habit of manuring of coconut palms with putrid fish.\textsuperscript{135} While in 1673 Aungier remarked in his report that after the first rains in May and June their total ceasing in October the air and water was unwholesome by reason of the crude, pestiferous vapours exhaled by the violent heat of the sun into air and vermin was created in wells and tanks which renders those months most sickly to the inhabitants and especially to Europeans.\textsuperscript{136}

Seeing the large number of mortality in the garrison and on the island in general, in 1675 a proposal for erecting a hospital was made which however came up by 1677. This helped in reducing the mortality rate, which becomes evident from the letters of the period, an extract of a letter is worth producing here:“...Our soldiers thanks be to God continue very healthful for where as last year from October-February there died hundred men, this year we have lost only fifteen most of which of imposthumation in the liver, much of which benefit we must attribute to new hospital.... our Bombay Bills of mortality have swelled to high, where as in the hospital nothing can come in or out without passing the doctors eye, that he have confidence this hospital will save our honors some 100 pounds yearly which the transport of soldiers exacts...”\textsuperscript{137}

\textsuperscript{133} The first Physician was Dr. Wilson, appointed in 1676. In 1680 a Surgeon on 45 shillings a month and an assistant on 30 shillings a month were sent out from England. See Edwards, op. cit., 123. In 1702 Mr. Robert Bartlort offered his services as Physician on the island (his ship was robbed by the pirates of Madagascar) and came privately by way of Swally). As their was no doctor on the island after the death of Doctor skinner, and great number of soldiers and natives were dying for the help and advice of doctor, he was allowed to have 4 pound per month to be paid in Xeraphins and the same allowance as Dr. skinner was allowed and was appointed as the Company’s Physician on island; Consultation Surat 28 Dec 1702, F.H.S., I, 245.

\textsuperscript{134} Surat to Court, Dec 13, 1690; G.B.C.I., III, 162.

\textsuperscript{135} See Hamilton, op. cit., 181; EFi 1670-77, 29. All the Early travelers agreed on the ill effect of these methods. But the council did not want to diminish the shade of cutting down the trees while the Company derived revenue of Rs. 25 per thousand coconuts. Presented with this dilemma of either losing their coconut revenue as of providing constant succession of the recruits, the Council corresponded for many years with Bombay Council; See Detail in Percival Spear, ‘Nabobs’, OUP, 1963, Chapter IV.

\textsuperscript{136} G.B.C.I., III, 162-163.

\textsuperscript{137} Bombay letter 24\textsuperscript{th} Jan 1676-77, F.H.S. I, 120.
But this lowering of mortality did not continue long as the year 1687 again saw a considerable sickness on the island. So Bombay asked Surat to send the medicines urgently needed for the garrison according to doctors' list. Out of 35 soldiers sent from England that year 19 arrived on shore, 17 of them were sent to the hospital at once as they were suffering from Scurvy, of which two died. One of the reasons for the wretched conditions of these soldiers, who came on the ship 'Worcester', was that they had been badly treated and starved on the voyage. Bombay wrote to Company to send strongmen, otherwise most of them would die by the time they come to Bombay. Secondly, instructed the Captains' of ships to supply bread and provisions properly to the soldiers on voyage.

The phase of 1690-1708 saw circumstances further aggravated by violent epidemic of Plague, which helped to justify the dictum, that in Bombay "Two monsoons were the age of men" and which forced Sir Nicholas Waite to cry: "We are six, including your Council, and some of us very sick. It is morally impossible without an overruling providence to continue longer from going underground, if we have not a large assistance."

The excessive mortality caused greatest anxiety to Court of Directors, who endeavoured to provide temporary relief to their factors by dispatch of medicines and surgeons from home. They also advised Bombay Council to issue orders prohibiting 'bucks housing' of toddy trees in Mahim and Varli woods, to allow the free perflation of the western breeze, to stop the breaches, to burn continental fires and to put chalk in drinking water. Accordingly in 1709, the Council tried for burying of the fish in the earth. Upto year 1766, dry manuring that was permitted, was tuned to bad uses, and this practice from this year was discontinued. Even in 1754, we

138 Campbell, III, 77.
139 Campbell, II, 78-79; F.H.S., I, 150. Edwards, Rise of Bombay, 124. The plague appeared in Aurangzeb's Camp in 1684 and 1689; and at Surat in 1684 and 1690; and at Bassein in 1690 and in Bombay at the intervals of 1689 to 1702. Dr. Carrei, who visited Bombay and Bassein in 1695 described "it was exactly like a bubo, and so violent it not only takes away all means of preparing for good end, but in few hours depopulates whole cities." In 1696 June, A letter from Bombay t Court mentions that Bombay had no plague that year, but it was very violent in Bassein, Thana, Chaul, nevertheless there were at that date on island only 27 men who were not sick.
140 Ovington, op. cit., 86.
141 Ovington, op. cit., 86-87.
142 Edwards, Rise of Bombay, 124.
143 Spear, op. cit., 68-69.
find mortality rate as high. Ives writing in 1754 notes that “there were seldom less than 3 or 4 hurried and burned every night the maters edge under Malabar hill” at the end of 1800, morality was 500 per month. 144

Another reason apart from unhealthiness due to climate was attributed in 1685 by the Deputy Governor to the actions of the native Christians Indo-Portuguese with whom the soldiers were quartered, who discovered Datura and other poisons as the surest medium for revenge for outrages upon their wives and families. 145 Attempts were made to check the latter evil by building barracks and by encouraging soldiers to marry woman of the country. But orders of this nature made little impression upon a class described by the council at Surat as composed of “de bauched broken tradesmen and Renegade seaman.” 146 The same evil practices of English were referred by Ovington who remarked that “...luxury, immodesty and prostitute dissolution of manners found still new matters to work upon.” 147

SUMMING UP

In the foregoing essay, I have tried to show that the history of Bombay’s Army was that of alternating recruitment, reduction depending upon the threat of an enemy attack. But the Court of Directors was disagreeably opposed to spending money on defence. Instead they constantly complained about the heavy expenditure incurred on the presidency island. This problem was further aggravated by the mortality rate in the garrison, which finds frequent recording in Company’s logbooks. But despite all these

144  G.B.C.I., III, 166-167.
146  The women of this class was compelled after marriage to continue wearing their native dress, except in cases, where they paid a time to the Company for the right to do Company attire; Court to directors to Bombay, 14th July, 1680, G.B.C.I., II, 259.
147  As regards to the military at this period the Company had been taught by bitter experience to treat them with liberality and consequently they found that they themselves were treated with little respect. The vexatious regulations infused a spirit of insubordination into minds of all troops, from the highest officer to private soldiers. Captain Carr indeed did not hesitate to insult the Deputy Governor in his Council chamber, unsummoned he appeared before his honour is demand an enquiry into his conduct. He was told that he had not been sent for; but as he had come to his own accord, he would perhaps be so good as to explain why he had not appeared pomade for two morning; I had business was his laconic answers. The Deputy Governor mildly suggested that it had really appeared as if the captain was not anxious to perform his duty. Upon that Carr began to Swear ‘good month filling oaths’ at his honour and their threatened with punishment by him. Carr paid no heeds and as a result was placed under arrest and confined to his own quarters. Such an example, thus set by an officer was as might be expected, initiated by private soldiers and at least fell into such a disorganized state that the government could not find a man whom he would venture to make a sergeant or corporal.” G.B.C.I. II, 260.
problems and inadequacies, Bombay by the end of the period was coming of its own rather than becoming independent of other two presidencies.