Notes

Abbreviations used in Notes

agt  political agent  
CID  Committee of Imperial Defence  
CO  Colonial Office  
DBFP  Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919–1939  
EAINC  East Africa Indian National Congress  
EC  Eastern Committee  
FO  Foreign Office  
gov.  governor  
IO  India Office  
MAC  Mesopotamia Administration Committee  
MEC  Middle East Committee  
P.P.  Parliamentary papers  
res.  political resident  
SSAir  secretary of state for air  
SSC  secretary of state for the colonies  
SSFA  secretary of state for foreign affairs  
SSI  secretary of state for India  
SSWar  secretary of state for war  
T  Treasury  
V  viceroy  
WO  War Office

1 The Dynamics of the Indian Sphere


2  On the development of the British Empire in this period, the crisis in the Muslim states and the increasing importance of India in the imperial system, see C.A. Bayly, Imperial meridian: the British Empire and the world, 1780–1830 (London, 1989).

3  ‘Position and policy of England as an Asiatic power’, memo. by Board of Control, 1 Mar. 1855, p. 1, L/PS/18/A113.

4  For details of the post-1858 constitutional structure, see A.B. Keith, A constitutional history of India, 1600–1935 (London, 1936), pp. 164–8; D. Williams,


7 See, for example, 'Imperial War Conference, 1917: extracts from minutes of proceedings…', *P.P.* (1917–18), 23, Cd 8566, pp. 15–16, 22–3, 117–20; 'Imperial War Conference, 1918: extracts from minutes of proceedings…', *P.P.* (1918), 16, Cd 9177, pp. 195–201, 245–8.


9 'India and the League of Nations’, speech by Sir B.L. Mitter, 22 Dec. 1931 cited in Coyagee, *India and the League*, p. 49. On the pressure to vote as a British Empire bloc, see, for example, Lord Peel (SSI) to Lord Hardinge, 18 Aug. 1923, L/PO/1/1a(i).

10 For the schemes of Frere and Salisbury, see pp. 19–20, 23–5.


12 The literature on imperial administration is vast, if ageing. On India, for example, see Keith, *A constitutional history of India*; B.B. Misra, *British bureaucracy in India: an historical analysis up to 1947* (Delhi, 1977). For the best study of the operations of the India Office, see A.P. Kaminsky, *The India Office, 1880–1910* (Westport, CT, 1986).

Cain and Hopkins, *British imperialism*, p. 28.


For a particularly useful source of microfilmed material, see P. Tuson (ed.), *British policy in Asia: India Office memoranda: the Middle East, 1856–1947* (London, 1980).

## 2 Persia and the Persian Gulf


5 Lord Malmesbury (SSFA) to Lord Stanley (SSI), 12 Nov. 1858; Stanley to Malmesbury, 17 Nov. 1858, in ‘Correspondence respecting the transfer of the Persian mission to the Foreign Office’, *P.P.* (1870), 70, C. 105, pp. 1–4.
7 Sir H. Rawlinson to Russell, Tehran, 20 Feb. 1860; Russell to Rawlinson, 24 Apr. 1860; Russell to Sir C. Alison, 24 Apr. 1860, in *P.P.* (1870), 70, C. 105, pp. 8–9.
8 Sir S. Northcote (SSI) to Sir J. Lawrence (V), 2 Jul. 1868, MSS Eur F90/29. For details of Zanzibar and Muscat affairs, see Chapter 3 in this volume.
9 Lawrence to Northcote, Simla, 29 Jul. 1868, MSS Eur F90/33.
15 ‘Report from the select committee on diplomatic and consular services: minutes of evidence’, *P.P.* (1870), 7, 382, qs 2062–9, 2075–9, 2105, 2120–6, 2159–63. The Indian government contributed £12,000 annually to the costs of the Tehran mission with the Treasury making up any shortfall. Although the cost of the mission continued to rise, the average annual Imperial subsidy in any year between 1860 and 1870 was little more than £3000. Ibid., p. 421.
16 *P.P.* (1870), 7, 382, qs 1285–6, 2196–7, 2239.
18 *P.P.* (1870), 7, 382, q. 4995.
19 Ibid., qs 240, 2828–37, 3956–60.
20 ‘First report of the select committee on diplomatic and consular services’, *P.P.* (1871), 7, 238, p. v.


25 Lord Lytton (V) to Salisbury, Mushobra, 19 Jun. 1876, MSS Eur E218/18; Salisbury to Lytton, 4 Sep. 1877, MSS Eur E218/46; Lytton to Salisbury, 3 Oct. 1877, Simla, MSS Eur E218/19; Salisbury (SSFA) to Lytton, 5 Apr. 1878; Lord Cranbrook (SSI) to Lytton, 9 Jul. 1878, MSS Eur E218/5; Lytton to Cranbrook, Simla, 10 Jun. 1878, MSS Eur E218/20; Lytton to Cranbrook, 11 Aug. 1879, MSS Eur E218/21.

26 ‘Proposed transfer of Aden and Somali Coast to Imperial government; and of Persian legation to India’, memo. by Foreign Dept (Govt of India), Jun. 1890, L/PS/18/B51a; Viscount Cross (SSI) to Lord Lansdowne (V), 28 Mar. and 16 May 1890; Lansdowne to Cross, viceroy’s camp, 16 Apr. and Simla, 9 Jun. 1890, MSS Eur D558/3. See also McLean, Britain and her buffer state, esp. chs 1 and 2. On Aden and the Somali Coast, see Chapter 4 in this volume.


33 Curzon to Godley, Simla, 12 Apr. 1899, MSS Eur F111/158.
35 Hamilton to Curzon, 14 Apr. 1899, MSS Eur F111/158.
37 Hamilton to Curzon, 2 Nov. and 14 Dec. 1899, MSS Eur F111/158.
41 Dilks, Achievement, pp. 136–7; Gopal, British policy in India, pp. 229–30; Curzon to Salisbury, Simla, 12 Jul. 1900, MSS Eur F111/159.
42 Salisbury to Curzon, n.d. [Aug. 1900], MSS Eur F111/159. See also, Roberts, Salisbury, pp. 768–70.
44 See, for example, Curzon to Lord Cranbourne (FO), Manipur, 18 Nov. 1901, MSS Eur F111/182. On Persia’s finances, see McLean, Britain and her buffer state, pp. 33–6, 45; Dilks, Achievement, pp. 144–7.
49 See, for example, S.A. Wolpert, Morley and India, 1906–1910 (Berkeley, CA, 1967), ch. 2.
50 J. Morley (SSI) to Earl of Minto (V), 9 Feb. 1906, MSS Eur D573/1.
51 S.E. Koss, John Morley at the India Office, 1905–1910 (London, 1969), p. 95, n. 1; Kaminsky, India Office, pp. 141–5; Wolpert, Morley and India, ch. 3;
M.N. Das, India under Morley and Minto: politics behind revolution, repression and reforms (London, 1964). On Minto’s efforts to avoid Curzonian activities, see, for example, Minto to Morley, Simla, 9 May 1906, MSS Eur D573/8.

On the diplomatic background to the convention and details of its negotiation, see McLean, Britain’s buffer state, ch. 5; Busch, Britain and the Persian Gulf, pp. 357–69; B.J. Williams, ‘The strategic background to the Anglo-Russian entente of August 1907’, Historical Journal, 9, 3 (1966), pp. 360–73; Z.S. Steiner, Britain and the origins of the First World War (London, 1977), ch. 4.

Minto to Morley, viceroy’s camp, 15 Feb. 1906, MSS Eur D573/7; Morley to Minto, 23 March, 30 Mar. and 5 Apr. 1906, MSS Eur D573/1.


Morley to Minto, 6 Jul. 1906, MSS Eur D573/1.


Morley to Minto, 15 Aug. 1906, MSS Eur D573/1.

McLean, Britain and her buffer state, pp. 74–6. For the text of the convention, see Gooch and TEMPERLEY, British Documents, iv, app. 1, pp. 618–20.


McLean, Britain and her buffer state, p. 80.


Busch, Britain and the Persian Gulf, p. 387.

3 The British Indian Agency at Zanzibar


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5 H. Merivale (IO) to H.P. Rigby (agt Zanzibar), 10 Dec. 1860, L/PS/5/591; Tuson, British residency, p. 153; Aitchison, Treaties, xi, pp. 68–70.
7 Aitchison, Treaties, pp. 72–4; Coupland, Exploitation of East Africa, pp. 26–36.
9 Lord Wodehouse (FO) to Sir G. Clerk (IO), 5 Mar. 1860; T.G. Baring (IO) to E. Hammond (FO), 11 Jun. 1860, L/PS/3/65.
10 Landen, Oman since 1856, pp. 286–8; Kelly, Britain and the Persian Gulf, pp. 649–50.
11 FO to IO, 27 May 1868, FO84/1269.
13 Govt of India to Govt of Bombay, 10 Feb. 1870, in ‘Précis of Muscat affairs, October 1869 to March 1872’ by C.E. Buckland (Govt of India), 13 Mar. 1872, p. 13, L/PS/20/C229.
15 Sir S. Northcote (SSI) to Sir J. Lawrence (V), 2 Jul. 1868, MSS Eur F90/29; Lawrence to Northcote, Simla, 7 Jul. 1868, MSS Eur F90/33; memo. by Capt. W.J. Eastwick, 13 Jul. 1868, p. 6, L/PS/18/B2.
16 Clinton (IO) to Hammond, 2 Jul. 1868, FO84/1296.
17 Northcote to Lawrence, 15 Feb. 1868, FO84/1296.
18 Lawrence to Northcote, Simla, 14 May 1868, FO84/1296; Sir S. Fitzgerald (gov. Bombay) to Northcote, Poona, 6 Jul. 1868, L/PS/3/73/1045.
21 Duke of Argyll (SSI) to Lawrence, 6 Jan. 1869; Fitzgerald to Earl of Mayo (V), 10 Mar. 1869; Mayo to Argyll, 20 Mar. 1869, in ‘Précis of correspondence relating to Zanzibar affairs from 1856 to 1872’ by Capt. P.D. Henderson (Govt of India), n.d. [1872], pp. 43–8, L/PS/18/B150a; Argyll to Fitzgerald, 13 Apr. 1869; Fitzgerald to Argyll, Mahabaleswar, 13 May and 20 May 1869, and Poona, 12 Sep. 1869, Add. MSS 7490/53a; Merivale to A. Otway (FO), 6 Jan. 1869; H.A. Churchill (agt Zanzibar) to C. Gonne (Govt of Bombay), Zanzibar, 26 Feb. 1869; Otway to Merivale, 29 May 1869, L/PS/3/74.
24 Churchill to Wedderburn (Govt of Bombay), Zanzibar, 7 Oct. and 8 Oct. 1870, L/PS/9/49.
27 Mayo to Argyll, Calcutta, 21 Dec. 1870, L/PS/5/265.
33 Note by Mayo, 5 Mar. 1871, Govt of India, FD, secret-internal, 1871, nos 10–22.
34 Churchill to Vivian, Cairo, 10 Mar. 1871 enclosed in Vivian to Kaye, 27 Mar. 1871; note by Kaye, 29 Mar. 1871; Argyll to Mayo, 21 Apr. 1871, L/PS/5/593.
37 Kaye to Aitchison, 2 Aug. 1872, L/PS/5/594; Blyth, ‘Redrawing the boundary’, p. 799.
38 Notes by H. Wynne (Govt of India), 21 Oct. 1871 and Aitchison, 23 Oct. 1871, Govt of India, FD, secret, Jul. 1871, nos 28–30; Govt of India to Argyll,
Calcutta, 1 Mar. 1871, L/PS/5/269; Mayo to Argyll, Calcutta, 22 Nov. 1871, Add. MSS 7490/45; Mayo to Argyll, Calcutta, 5 Jan. 1872, Add. MSS 7490/46.

39 Govt of India to Argyll, Calcutta, 1 Mar. 1872, L/PS/5/269.

40 Lord Northbrook (V) to Argyll, Calcutta, 31 Jan. 1873, L/PS/5/272; Blyth, ‘Redrawing the boundary’, pp. 801–03.


42 Mayo to Argyll, Calcutta, 21 Dec. 1870, L/PS/5/265.

43 ‘Present state of the Zanzibar question’, memo. by Kaye, 8 Feb. 1871, L/PS/5/593.


45 W. Law (T) to Hammond, 15 Mar. 1870; J. Stansfield (T) to Hammond, T12/5; W. Murray (FO) to Merivale, 10 Nov. 1870, L/PS/3/77; Merivale to Hammond, 27 Apr. 1871; Argyll to Mayo, 21 Apr. 1871, L/PS/5/593.


49 ‘Report from the select committee on the slave trade (east coast of Africa), 4 Aug. 1871’, P.P. (1871), 12, 420, p. ix.


51 ‘Affairs of Zanzibar and Muscat’, memo. by Kaye, 1 Aug. 1872, L/PS/3/82.


54 Argyll to Northbrook, 12 Oct. 1872, MSS Eur C144/9.

55 Northbrook to Argyll, Sukkur, 3 Nov. 1872 and Dalhousie off Bombay, 14 Nov. 1872, MSS Eur C144/9; Rawlinson to Northbrook, 28 Mar. 1872, MSS Eur C144/20.


57 ‘Expenses of Zanzibar consulate’, p. 8, L/PS/18/B11. See also ‘Zanzibar agency and consulate expenses’, memo. by A.W. Moore (IO), 17 Aug. 1876; ‘Report [of a committee on the Muscat subsidy and the Zanzibar agency and
4 Aden and Somaliland


5 Within six weeks of the opening of the canal, Prussian, French, Dutch, Spanish and Austrian warships had all visited Aden. Marston, *Britain’s imperial role*, p. 388.


9 I.M. Lewis, *The modern history of Somaliland: from nation to state* (London, 1965), pp. 41–2; Marston, *Britain’s imperial role*, pp. 388–9; Mayo to Argyll, Simla, 10 Jun. 1870; Maj.-Gen. Russell (res. Aden) to C. Gonne (Govt of
India), Aden, 25 Feb. 1870, in ‘Correspondence respecting Egyptian proceedings on the Somali Coast’ (FOC3568), Apr. 1878, pp. 10, 19, FO403/8.

10 Lewis, Somaliland, p. 42; H. Merivale (IO) to E. Hammond (FO), 5 Aug 1870, in ‘Egyptian claims to sovereignty over the Somali Coast’, memo. by A.W. Moore (IO), 26 Feb. 1876, p. 3, L/PS/18/B3i. On the khedive’s anti-slavery credentials, see Frere to Lady Frere, Cairo, Dec. 1872 cited in Martineau, Frere, ii, pp. 75–6.


12 ‘Egyptian claims’, p. 6, L/PS/18/B3i; ‘Correspondence’, pp. 54–5, FO403/8.

13 Lord Hamilton (IO) to Lord Tenterden (FO), 7 Aug. 1874, in ‘Egyptian claims’, p. 8, L/PS/18/B3i.

14 Tenterden to Hamilton, 21 Aug. 1874, in ‘Egyptian claims’, p. 9, L/PS/18/B3i.


16 Tenterden to Hamilton, 14 Jul. 1874, L/PS/3/90; Meade (CO) to Tenterden, 16 Sep. 1874, L/PS/3/91; Lord Salisbury (SSI) to Northbrook, 26 Jun. 1874, MSS Eur C144/11; Rawlinson to Northbrook, 24 Jul. 1874, MSS Eur C144/22.

17 Salisbury to Northbrook, 7 Aug. 1874, L/PS/5/596.


19 Northbrook to Salisbury, 9 Oct. 1874, in ‘Egyptian claims’, pp. 12–13, L/PS/18/B3i.

20 ‘Egyptian claims’, pp. 13–14, L/PS/18/B3i.

21 Mallet to Tenterden, 23 Mar. 1875, in ‘Egyptian claims’, p. 16, L/PS/18/B3i.

22 FO to IO, 19 May 1875, in ‘Egyptian claims’, p. 19, L/PS/18/B3i.


24 Northbrook to Salisbury, Simla, 16 Aug. 1875, L/PS/7/5.


27 ‘Egyptian claims’, pp. 7–11, 35–7, L/PS/18/B3ii.

IO to FO, 8 May 1884; Lord Ripon (V) to Earl of Kimberley (SSI), 10 May 1884, in ‘Correspondence respecting Egyptian evacuation of the Somali Coast’, memo. by Moore, 28 Oct. 1884, pp. 1–2, L/PS/18/B27i.

Sir E. Baring to Granville, 16 Oct. 1884, in ‘Correspondence respecting Egyptian evacuation of the Somali Coast’, memo. by Moore, 28 Feb. 1885, p. 6, L/PS/18/B27ii.

Ripon responded to Kimberley’s despatch privately. The start of the autumn tours prevented a full council meeting to consider the proposal. Ripon to Kimberley, 7 Nov. 1884, in ‘Egyptian evacuation’, p. 7, L/PS/18/B27ii; Lord Dufferin (V) to Kimberley, 14 Jan. 1885, in ‘Egyptian evacuation’, p. 7, L/PS/18/B27ii; Brockett, ‘British Somaliland’, pp. 145–6.

Lewis, Somaliland, pp. 45–56.

Viscount Cross (SSI) to Lord Lansdowne (V), 28 Mar. 1890, MSS Eur D558/2. See also ‘Proposed transfers of Aden and the Somali Coast to Imperial government; and of Persian legation to India’, memo. by Foreign Dept (Govt of India), Jun. 1890, p. 1, L/PS/18/B51a.


Lewis, Somaliland, p. 57.

Lord Harris (gov. Bombay) to Earl of Elgin (V), Bombay, 26 Jun. 1894, MSS Eur F84/64.


Elgin to Lord G. Hamilton (SSI), Calcutta, 4 March 1896, MSS Eur F84/14; note by Westland, 3 Jan. 1896, Govt of India, FD, secret external, May 1896, nos 87–92.


Hamilton to Elgin, 1 May 1896, MSS Eur F84/14.

Brackenbury to Hamilton’s private secretary, 21 May 1896, R/20/E/202; Hamilton to Elgin, 22 May and 17 Jul. 1896, MSS Eur F84/14.


Hamilton to Elgin, 4 Dec. 1896, MSS Eur F84/14.


Teleg., Hamilton to Elgin, 17 Nov. 1896; Elgin to Hamilton, viceroy’s camp, 3 Dec. 1896, MSS Eur F84/19; Edgerley to Govt of India, Bombay, 11 Dec. 1896, R/20/E/202.


Robinson and Gallagher, Africa and the Victorians, ch. 12.
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54 Elgin to Hamilton, Calcutta, 3 Feb. 1897, MSS Eur F84/15.


64 Curzon to Hamilton, Simla, 15 Oct. 1902.

65 Dilks, Achievement, p. 218; Curzon to Hamilton, Simla, 28 May 1902, MSS Eur F111/161.


67 Curzon to Lord Lansdowne (SSFA), Simla, 1 Oct. 1902, MSS Eur F111/161.

5 The Struggle for East Africa


4 ‘Report on Tanganyika Territory: covering the period from the conclusion of the armistice to the end of 1920’, *P.P.* (1921), 24, Cmd 1428, pp. 44–6, 74–7; R.G. Gregory, *South Asians in East Africa: an economic and social history, 1890–1980* (Boulder, CO, 1993), p. xiii; Gregory, *India and East Africa*, p. 48. It has been argued that Indian practices were often implemented without


14 Sir T. Holderness (IO) to Hardinge, 6 Nov. 1914; Hardinge to Crewe, Delhi, 29 Nov. 1914; Hardinge to Holderness, Delhi, 9 Dec. 1914, H/120.

15 Crewe to Hardinge, 13 Nov. and 10 Dec. 1914; Hardinge to Holderness, Delhi, 16 Nov. 1914; Hardinge to Crewe, Delhi, 18 Nov. and 2 Dec. 1914, H/120. Demands for an explanation came from the very highest level, see Lord Stanfordham (private secretary to George V) to Crewe, 9 Nov. 1914; Crewe to Stanfordham, 9 Nov. 1914, C/I/18/4. European settlers in British East Africa viewed the affair with disdain, see, for example, Col. R. Meinertz-hagen, *Army Diary, 1899–1926* (London, 1960), pp. 119–20.

16 Hardinge to Sir A. Chamberlain (SSI), Simla, 24 Jun. 1915, H/121.


32 ‘A colony for India’, memo. by Sir T. Morison, Jul. 1918 enclosed in memo. (GTS132) by E.S. Montagu (SSI), 16 Jul. 1918, CAB24/58. It is interesting to note that in his important account of the colony scheme, Gregory has clearly not examined Morison’s important memorandum and merely alludes to its existence. Gregory, *India and East Africa*, pp. 158–9.


36 Teleg., Jadab to Desai, 13 Nov. 1918, L/E/7/1206/472; teleg., H.S. Virji (Nairobi Indian Assoc.) to W. Long (SSC), 17 Nov. 1918 enclosed in Montagu to Chelmsford, 21 Aug. 1919, COS33/219/48713; see also Govt of India, Cl, emigration B, Jan. 1919, no. 1; Gregory, *India and East Africa*, p. 159.


40 ‘Territorial changes’, memo. by IO, 12 Sep. 1916, L/PS/18/B239.


44 ‘India and German East Africa’, memo. (GT6407) by Montagu, 28 Nov. 1918, CAB24/71.

45 H. Read (CO) to G. Fiddes (CO), 9 Dec. and 20 Dec. 1918, CO537/940.


54 Note by A.K.S. [?], 29 Nov. 1918, Govt of India, CI, emigration B, Jan. 1919, no. 1.
Note by C.E. Low, n.d. [Dec. 1918], Govt of India, Cl, emigration B, Jan. 1919, no. 1.


India, 7 Feb. 1919, p. 41; Meinertzhagen, Army Diary, p. 249.


M.A. Ali to D. Bray, Simla, 8 Sep. 1919, Govt of India, FPD, general B, Feb. 1920, nos 203–06; Gregory, India and East Africa, p. 160.

Note by Bray, n.d. [Sep. 1919]; note by K.S. Fitze, 9 Sep. 1919, Govt of India, FPD, general B, Feb. 1920, nos 203–06.

Sir M.C.C. Seton (IO) to Ley, 11 Sep. 1919; note by G.L. Corbett, 4 Nov. 1919 [with comments by Ley], Govt of India, Cl, emigration A, Mar. 1921, nos 16–47.

Note by Corbett, 4 Nov. 1919, Govt of India, Cl, emigration A, Mar. 1921, nos 16–47.

Note by Ley, 8 Nov. 1919, Govt of India, Cl, emigration A, Mar. 1921, nos 16–47.

Note by Sir G.R. Lowndes, 14 Nov. 1919, Govt of India, Cl, emigration A, Mar. 1921, nos 16–47.

Note by Sir C. Hill, 18 Nov. 1919, Govt of India, Cl, emigration A, Mar. 1921, nos 16–47.

See, for example, extract from Council of State debates, 30 Jan. 1920, p. 604, L/PO/1/1a(iv).


‘Report regarding the proposed settlement of Indian agriculturalists in Tanganyika Territory’ by Sir B. Robertson, 4 Aug. 1920, P.P. (1921), 10, Cmd 1312, pt 1, pp. 2–4.

Govt of India to Montagu, 10 Feb. 1921, P.P. (1921), 10, Cmd 1312, pt 2, pp. 5–6; Chelmsford to Montagu, 10 Feb. 1921, L/E/7/1206/472.

P.P. (1921), Cmd 1312, pt 2, p. 7; Ferard (IO) to CO, 11 Feb. 1920 enclosed in Lord Peel (SSI) to Lord Reading (V), 11 May 1922, L/E/7/1206/472.
Notes by C. Strachey (CO) and Hewins, 18 Feb. 1920, CO691/38/7975; teleg., Chelmsford to Milner, 22 Dec. 1920; ‘Outstanding differences with the Colonial Office in regard to territories in East Africa’, memo. by IO, n.d. [1920], L/E/1/1174/11; P.P. (1921), Cmd 1312, pt 2, p. 7.


80 See, for example, Parliamentary debates (Commons), 5, 123, 22 Dec. 1919, col. 1065.


89 Teleg., Chelmsford to Chelmsford, 16 Dec. 1920, L/E/7/1174/11.

90 Teleg., Chelmsford to Montagu, 22 Dec. 1920, MSS Eur E264/11. Chelmsford had earlier received a telegram from the Bombay branch of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association warning him that the ‘action of [the] Kenya Government seriously jeopardises [the] Indian people’s faith in British integrity and
British justice’. Teleg., Chelmsford to Commerce and Industry Dept (IO), 8 Nov. 1920, L/E/7/1174/11.


93 Lord Reading (V) to Montagu, 1 Feb. 1922; V.S.S. Sastri to Montagu, Washington, DC, 1 Feb. 1922 enclosed in Montagu to Cabinet (CP3688), 2 Feb. 1922, CAB24/132.


97 P.P. (1923), 18, Cmd 1922, pp. 8–9; Gregory, India and East Africa, pp. 221–2.


101 For details on the delegations, see Huxley, White man’s country, ii, p. 140.

102 Memo. by CO, 24 Apr. 1923, pp. 8, 10–11, 14–15, 17 enclosed in Parkinson to S.K. Brown (IO), 7 May 1923, L/PO/1/1a(i); Peel to Reading, 25 Apr., 9 May and 17 May 1923, MSS Eur E238/6; Gregory, India and East Africa, pp. 234–49.

103 Teleg., Reading to Peel, Simla, 1 May 1923 enclosed in Walton to Bottomley, 3 May 1923, CO533/302/22195.

104 Extract from Council of State debates, 5 May 1923, pp. 1105–07, L/PO/1/1a(i).


106 A. Frederick (gov. gen. South Africa) to Devonshire, 10 Jul. 1923, L/PO/1/6(i); P.P. (1923), 18, Cmd 1922, p. 10.

107 Kenyan Indian delegation to S. Baldwin, 18 Jul. 1923, L/PO/1/6(i); Gregory, India and East Africa, pp. 129, 258–65; Huxley, White man’s country, ii. p. 166.

108 Lord Reading (V) to Lord Willingdon (gov. Bombay), Simla, 22 Aug. 1922, MSS Eur F93/5.

109 Willingdon to Reading, Ootacumund, 21 May and 28 Aug. 1923, MSS Eur F93/5; Willingdon to Peel, Ootacumund, 29 Jul. 1923, MSS Eur F93/4.

110 Sastri cited in Huxley, White man’s country, ii, p. 166; teleg., Reading to Peel, 12 Sep. 1923, L/PO/1/6(i); Reading to King George V, Simla, 11 Oct. 1923,


112 See, for example, R.B. Ewbank to J.W. Bhore, n.d. enclosed in teleg., Irwin to Earl of Birkenhead (SSI), 8 May 1925, L/E/7/1329/377; teleg., Irwin to Peel, New Delhi, 19 May 1929, L/E/7/1497/1453.

113 See, for example, Lord Wavell (V) to Amery (SSI), 21 Feb. 1945, L/PO/6/89b(i); teleg., Wavell to Lord Pethick-Lawrence (SSI), 21 Mar. 1946; representatives of the unofficial European members of the Kenya, Uganda, and Tankaunya Legislatures to G. Hall (SSI), 10 Jul. 1946, CO822/114/11. See also Mangat, *Asians in East Africa*, ch. 6.

6 Realigning the Middle East


3 A number of suggestions were made regarding a permanent British/Indian military presence in the Gulf. See, for example, reference paper for Sir A. Hirtzel (IO), 22 Dec. 1915, L/PS/10/513.

4 A.T. Wilson to Col. C.E. Yate, MP, 28 Nov. 1915, L/PS/10/463; Yate to Sir E. Grey (SSFA), 28 Jan. 1915, L/PS/11/88. It is interesting to note that Theodore Morison, the architect of the idea for an Indian colony in East Africa, rejected Indian settlement in Mesopotamia, believing ‘it would be a *damnosa hereditas*, which we should much rather avoid’. Note by Sir T. Morison, n.d. [16 Mar. 1915] enclosed in Morison to Crewe, 16 Mar. 1915, C/I/19/12.


7 Hardinge to G.B. Allen, Delhi, 30 Nov. 1914; Hardinge to Sir V. Chirol, Delhi, 26 Nov. and 2 Dec. 1914, H/93; Hardinge to Lord Willingdon (gov. Bombay), Delhi, 2 Dec. 1914, H/88; Hardinge to Crewe, Delhi, 2 Dec. 1914; Crewe to Hardinge, 10 Dec. 1914, H/120; teleg., Hardinge to Crewe, 5 Dec. 1914, L/PS/10/515. For details of the development of

8 Note by Hirtzel, n.d. [Dec. 1914]; Sir E. Crowe (FO) to Sir T. Holderness (IO), 15 Dec. 1914, L/PS/10/515; notes by G.R. Clerk (FO) and Crowe, 7 Dec. 1914, FO371/2144/79449; Crewe to Hardinge, 10 Dec. 1914, H/120; teleg., Crewe to Hardinge, 16 Dec. 1914, FO371/2144/85429.

9 Extract from Cox to Persian Gulf and other chiefs, n.d. [Nov. 1914], p. 1, L/PS/18/B245.


14 Hardinge to Allen, viceroy's camp, 14 Apr. 1915, H/93.


20 'British desiderata in Turkey-in-Asia', 30 June 1915, CAB27/1; Klieman, 'Britain's war aims', p. 249.

21 Note by Crewe, 31 Mar. 1915, C/I/19/3; Holderness to Hardinge, 8 Apr. 1915, H/121; Busch, Britain, India, and the Arabs, p. 45.

24 Busch, Britain, India, and the Arabs, pp. 66–70.
26 Ibid.
27 Hardinge to Chamberlain, Simla, 27 Aug. 1915, H/121; Hardinge to A.H. Grant (Govt of India), 4 Oct. 1916, MSS Eur D660/11.
29 For Indian reactions to the Arab revolt, see, for example, Crewe to Hardinge, 22 Jan. 1915, H/121; Nicolson to Hardinge, 11 Nov. 1915; Cox to Hardinge, 7 Dec. 1915, H/94.
31 Hardinge to Chamberlain, Delhi, 17 Nov. 1915, H/121; Busch, Hardinge of Penshurst, p. 231; McMahon to Hardinge, Cairo, 2 Feb. 1915, H/93.
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37 Chamberlain to Hardinge, 22 Oct. 1915, H/121; Holderness to Nicolson, 6 Nov. 1915, FO371/2486/166483; Busch, Britain, India, and the Arabs, p. 79.
38 ‘Negotiations with Grand Shareef’, memo. by Chamberlain, 8 Nov. 1915, FO371/2486/166807.
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61 Hardinge (FO) to Grant, 3 Aug. 1916, MSS Eur D660/10; Hardinge to Grant, 4 Oct. 1916, MSS Eur D660/11.
62 Note by Hirtzel, 30 Dec. 1916, pp. 4–5, L/PS/18/B246.
64 Memo. (GT230) by Sykes, 19 Mar. 1917, FO371/3051/68626; Busch, Britain, India, and the Arabs, p. 141.
66 ‘Mesopotamia Administration Committee: draft report of committee’ (GT436), n.d. [Mar. 1917], p. 1, CAB24/10; Rothwell, ‘Mesopotamia in British war aims’, p. 285. The question of the employment and settlement of Indians in Mesopotamia remained a point of friction between Delhi and Whitehall. See, for example, ‘Mesopotamia Administration Committee’, n.d. [May 1917], pp. 1–2, L/PS/18/B257; minutes of MAC meeting (8 May 1917) by Maj. C.L. Storr, 10 May 1917, CAB27/22.
68 Ormsby-Gore, ‘Organization of British responsibilities’, p. 84.
69 P.P. (1917–18), 16, Cd 8610; Goold, ‘Lord Hardinge’, passim.
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73 E.S. Montagu (SSI) to Hankey, Kaiser-i-Hind, Aden, 4 Nov. 1917 (GT2837), CAB24/34.
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75 See, for example, E. Maisel, The Foreign Office and foreign policy, 1919–1926 (Brighton, 1994), pp. 204–27.
76 Stanwood, War, revolution and British imperialism, ch. 5.
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82 ‘War in the East’, memo. (EC1008) by Curzon, 1 Aug. 1918, MSS Eur F112/274.
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88 Montagu to Cecil, 3 Sep. 1918; Cecil to Montagu, 5 Sep. 1918, FO800/207; Maisel, Foreign Office, pp. 204–12.
89 Montagu to Chelmsford, 10 Oct. and 7 Nov. 1918; Chelmsford to Montagu, Delhi, 9 Nov. 1918, MSS Eur E264/4. For more on Monro’s views, see Busch, Britain, India, and the Arabs, pp. 211–12; Stanwood, War, revolution and British imperialism, pp. 177–9.
90 ‘The proposed Middle East Department’, memo. by Shuckburgh, 12 Nov. 1918; note by Lord Islington (IO), 20 Nov. 1918, L/PS/11/141.
91 Note by Hirtzel, 16 Nov. 1918; Cecil to Montagu, n.d. [Nov. 1918], L/PS/11/141.
94 ‘Proposed creation of a new department for Middle Eastern affairs’, memo. (CP1372) by Lord Winterton (IO) to Hankey, 26 May 1920, MSS Eur F112/281; ‘Note on the future control of the Middle East’, memo. by Young, 17 May 1920, pp. 6–8, FO371/5255/E4870; Mejcher, ‘British Middle East policy’, pp. 96–7. On the worsening Iraqi situation, see Busch, Britain, India, and the Arabs, ch. 8.
95 ‘Mesopotamian expenditure’, memo. (CP1320) by W.S. Churchill (SSWar), 1 May 1920; ‘Mesopotamia and Middle East: question of future control’,


100 See Klieman, *Foundations of British policy*, chs. 6 and 7; Bennett, *British foreign policy*, pp. 111–13.


102 Teleg., D. Bray (Govt of India) to Govt of Bombay, 20 Mar. 1921, Govt of India, FPD, 1924–25, 173–N.


106 Grant to A.J. Balfour (SSFA), Simla, 7 Jul. 1919, MSS Eur D660/19.


7 The Aden Transfer

1 Lord Hardinge (V) to E.S. Montagu (IO), Simla, 22 Apr. 1913; Hardinge to Montagu, Simla, 30 Apr. 1913, H/93. The key work on Britain and Aden in the inter-war period remains R.J. Gavin, *Aden under British rule, 1839–1967* (London, 1975). None of the standard accounts of the region offers a detailed account of the transfer from Indian to Colonial Office control.

2 Hardinge to Lord Crewe (SSI), Delhi, 17 Dec. 1914, H/120; H. McMahon (high commissioner Egypt) to Hardinge, 11 Dec. 1914; Hardinge to McMahon, Delhi, 5 Jan. 1914, H/93. For Basra, see Chapter 6 in this volume.


6 Chelmsford to Military Dept (IO), 24 Jul. 1917, L/PS/10/694.


9 Note by D. Bray (FPD), 28 Dec. 1918, Govt of India, FPD, secret-external, Aug. 1920, nos 327–40; Chelmsford to Montagu, Delhi, 9 Nov. 1918, MSS Eur E264/4.


Teleg., Montagu to Reading, 28 Apr. 1921, L/PS/11/193/768.

Teleg., Montagu to Reading, 28 Apr. 1921, L/PS/11/193/768. Churchill estimated the annual cost of maintaining Aden and its garrison was between £600,000 and £1 million. In 1919–20, civil expenditure was approximately £250,000. Teleg., Montagu to Reading, 13 Apr. 1921, MSS Eur E238/10.


Teleg., Reading to Montagu, 1 May 1921, L/PS/11/193/768.

For a summary of the financial machinations surrounding the transfer and copies of the relevant telegraphic correspondence, see note by Howard (IO), 16 Aug. 1921 and minute by D. Monteath (IO), 22 Aug. 1921, in memo., ‘Aden: Future Administration and Incidence of Cost’, L/PS/18/B396. Sir David Monteath of the India Office Political Department was confused by the sheer volume and complexity of the various Colonial Office and Indian offers and counter-offers. He was convinced that few officials were aware of the precise state of play and urged the use of despatches rather than telegrams to slow down the process and allow some clarity to emerge.

Telegs, Montagu to Reading, 23 Jun. and 26 Jul. 1921; telegs, Reading to Montagu, 16 Jul. and 17 Jul. 1921, MSS Eur E238/10; note by Howard, 16 Aug. 1921, L/PS/18/B396. The rupee was not stabilised until 1926, when a rate of 1s 6d was established. For a useful conversion table, see Sir A. Rumbold, *Watershed in India, 1914–1922* (London, 1979), p. xii.


Resolutions of the Council of the West India National Liberal Association, 20 Aug. 1921 and the National Home Rule League Reform Conference, Bombay,
30 Aug. 1921 enclosed in V. Baudeally and A. Mahomed (British Indian Merchants’ Assoc., Bombay) to viceroy’s private secretary, 2 Sep. 1921; extract from Deccan Sabha Council to Montagu, Poona, 21 Oct. 1921, L/PS/10/696.


33 Teleg., Reading to Montagu, 9 Nov. 1921, MSS Eur E238/10.

34 See, for example, note by G.L.M. Clauson (CO), 13 Jan. 1922, CO725/4/2089.

35 E.S. Murray (Aden Chamber of Commerce) to first assistant resident, 23 Mar. 1922 and Scott to Political Dept (Govt of Bombay), 15 Apr. 1922 enclosed in A.F. Kindersley (Govt of Bombay) to Bray, 25 May 1922, L/PS/10/696.

36 Note by T.B. Sapru, 22 Apr. 1922; notes by R. Casson and L. Graham, 20/21 Apr. 1922, Govt of India, FPD, 1924–25, 173–N.

37 Note by Howard (IO), 23 Aug. 1921, L/PS/18/B396; telegs, Lord Peel (SSI) to Reading, 28 Oct. and 16 Nov. 1922, MSS Eur E238/16.

38 Teleg., Reading to Peel, 25 Nov. 1922, L/PS/10/695; ‘Military administration of Aden’, Reading to Peel, Simla, 19 Oct. 1922, R/20/E/307.


41 Teleg., Reading to Lord Birkenhead (SSI), 30 Jun. 1924, MSS Eur E238/18; note by Maj.-Gen. G.N. Cory (Govt of India), 8 Mar. 1924, Govt of India, FPD, 1924–25, 173–N; note by Scott, 2 Sep. 1924, L/PS/10/696.

42 Teleg., Birkenhead to Reading, 31 Jan. 1925, MSS Eur E238/19; Birkenhead to Reading, 5 Feb. 1925, MSS Eur E238/8

43 Teleg., Reading to Birkenhead, viceroy’s camp, 6 Feb. 1925; teleg., Birkenhead to Reading, 10 Feb. 1925, MSS Eur E238/19.

44 Teleg., Reading to Birkenhead, n.d. [Feb. 1925], MSS Eur E238/19; teleg., Political Dept (Govt of Bombay) to Foreign Dept (Govt of India), 11 Mar. 1925, R/20/E/307.


46 ‘Aden and its administration’, memo. by R.E. France (IO), Apr. 1931, pp. 5–6, L/PS/18/B424; note by A.J. Harding (CO), 7 Apr. 1927, CO725/13/3; Birkenhead to Irwin, 7 Apr. 1927, MSS Eur C152/3; ‘Aden: selection of officers to hold appointment as resident’, memo. by Birkenhead, Mar. 1928, L/PS/10/697.

47 Sir L. Wilson (gov. Bombay) to Irwin, Bombay, 5 Mar. and 16 Mar. 1927; Irwin to Wilson, Delhi, 11 Mar. 1927, MSS Eur C152/21; *Amery Diaries, 1896–1929*, pp. 505, 563; ‘Aden and its administration’, p. 6, L/PS/18/B424. For India’s dispute with the War Office, see, for example, Reading to Birkenhead, Delhi, 16 Feb. 1925; Birkenhead to Reading, 10 Mar. 1925, MSS Eur E238/8.

48 Note by Sir S. Symes, 24 Sep. 1928 enclosed in J.G. Acheson (Govt of India) to J.R. Martin (Govt of Bombay), New Delhi, 16 Nov. 1928; teleg., Irwin to Wilson, Simla, 6 Oct. 1928, R/20/E/309.


‘Note on the administration of Aden and the proposed transfer of control from the Government of Bombay to the Government of India’ by E.B. Howell (Govt of India), n.d. enclosed in Howell to C.W.A. Turner (Govt of Bombay), Simla, 2 Sep. 1930, R/20/E/311; Howell to Govt of Bombay, Simla, 19 May 1931, L/PS/12/1444.

J.K. Mehta (Indian Merchants’ Chamber, Bombay) to Political Dept (Govt of Bombay), 22 Aug. 1931; extract from *Kaiser-i-Hind* (Bombay), 4 Oct. 1931, R/20/E/312.

Extract from *Jam-e-Jamsheed*, 3 Nov. 1931, R/20/E/312.

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Maj. H.M. Wightwick (acting res. Aden) to Political Dept (Govt of Bombay), 12 Sep. 1931, R/20/E/312.


Teleg., Willingdon to Hoare, 4 Mar. 1933, MSS Eur E240/12a.

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R.S. Champion (chief commissioner Aden) to Howell, 15 Jul. 1933 enclosed in Champion to Hoare, Aden, 19 Jul. 1933, in ‘Transfer papers’, L/PS/12/1482/4117. In 1933, the Arab population of Aden was estimated at 29,820 whereas Indians numbered only 7,287. Lt-Col. B.R. Reilly (chief commissioner Aden) to Howell, 23 Nov. 1933; translation of a representation by certain Arabs to Reilly, 23 Nov. 1933, L/PS/12/1459.
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68 Teleg., Foreign and Political Dept (Govt of India) to Hoare, 12 Oct. 1933 enclosed in J.C. Walton (IO) to Cowell, 28 Nov. 1933, L/PS/12/1485.
69 Note by Walton, 19 Oct. 1933, L/PS/12/1459.
70 Teleg., Hoare to Foreign and Political Dept (Govt of India) 30 Oct. 1933, L/PS/12/1485.
71 Teleg., Foreign and Political Dept (Govt of India) to Hoare, 17 Nov. 1933, in ‘Transfer papers’, L/PS/12/1482.
72 Note by IO, 4 Apr. 1935, L/PS/12/1482; speech by Reilly, 1 Apr. 1937, L/PS/12/1485; Gavin, Aden, p. 256.
73 In February 1921, Lloyd George misinformed the Commons, stating that Aden was the sole concern of the Colonial Office. He compounded his error in March when he announced that the Indian government had no involvement in Aden’s affairs. Parliamentary debates (Commons), 5, 138, 28 Feb. 1921, cols 1409–11; 3 Mar. 1921, cols 2009–10; Shuckburgh to Wakely, 8 Dec. 1924, L/PS/10/696.

8 Conclusions and Postscript

3 Teleg., Lord Birkenhead (SSI) to Lord Irwin (V), 3 Oct. 1928, MSS Eur C152/9; teleg., Irwin to Birkenhead, Simla, 17 Oct. 1928; note by J.G. Laithwaite (IO), 5 Nov. 1928, L/PS/10/1268.
5 On the attitude of the Foreign Office, see, for example, notes by Rendel, 20 Jul. 1932 and Sir L. Oliphant (FO), 17 Sep. 1932, FO371/16007/E3714; note
by Rendel, 10 Oct. 1932, FO371/16007/E5742. For the debate within the Colonial Office, see, for example, J.E. Shuckburgh (CO) to L.S. Amery (SSC), 30 May 1929, CO732/41/4; note by Amery, 3 Jun. 1929, CO732/41/8; ‘General control of British relations with territories in the Middle East’, memo. (CP27(31)) by Lord Passfield (SSC), 31 Jan. 1931, CO732/43/1. For developments within the India Office, see, for example, M.J. Clauson (IO) to Benn, 3 Feb. 1931, L/PS/10/1268; Laithwaite to J.C. Walton (IO), 21 Jul. 1932, L/PS/10/1273.


7 ‘Proposed transfer to Foreign Office or India Office of Colonial Office work in connexion with the Persian Gulf’, memo. (CP156(33)) by Sir J. Simon (SSFA), 10 Jun. 1933, L/PS/10/1273.

8 ‘Future arrangements with work for the Persian Gulf at present dealt with by the Colonial Office’, memo. (CP165(33)) by Sir S. Hoare (SSI), 19 Jun. 1933, L/PS/10/1273.

9 Extract from Cabinet conclusions, 26 Jul. 1933, L/PS/10/1273.

10 Lord Peel (SSI) to Irwin, 4 Jun. 1929; Irwin to Peel, 11 Apr. 1929, MSS Eur C152/10; ‘Situation of Persian Gulf residency: arguments for and against Koweit and Bahrein as alternatives to Bushire’, memo. by Laithwaite, 10 Jan. 1930, L/PS/18/B421; telegs, Laithwaite to Govt of India, 25 Nov. 1930; Govt of India to Benn, New Delhi, 5 Dec. 1930, L/PS/12/3552.

11 Note by Rendel, 5 Aug. 1935, FO371/18911/E3802.

12 H.A.F. Metcalfe (Govt of India) to Lt-Col. T.C. Fowle (res. Persian Gulf), New Delhi, 9 Dec. 1935; Fowle to Metcalfe, Bushire, 4 Feb 1936, Govt of India, FPD, 1935, 628-N/35, secret; Fowle to Metcalfe, Bahrain, 25 Jul. 1936, R/15/2/154.

13 Notes by W. Christie (Govt of India), 10 Mar. 1936 and Metcalfe, 22 Mar. 1936, Govt of India, FPD, 1935, 628–N/35 (secret).

14 Note by E. Coates (Govt of India), 12 Mar. 1937, Govt of India, FPD, 1935, 628–N/35, secret; Lord Linlithgow (V) to Lord Zetland (SSI), Camp Kaladhungi, 22 Apr. 1937; Linlithgow to Zetland, Simla, 19 Aug. 1937, MSS Eur F125/4.


18 O.K. Caroe (Govt of India) to R. Peel (IO), New Delhi, 1 Aug. 1944, FO371/39986/E5772.


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