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THE SIKH DARBAR AND THE FIRST AFGHAN WAR.

BY K. C. KHANNA.

[Paper read on 31st October, 1932].

The following pages will attempt to describe and discuss as critically as possible the part played by the Lahore Darbar in the execution of British policy towards Afghanistan from 1838 to 1842. This subject has not had the attention it deserves, and has, therefore, been inadequately treated in the existing literature on the First Afghan War.

It is unnecessary to enter into the circumstances which led to the formation of the Tripartite Treaty; that subject has been treated by Mr. Khera in the preceding issue of the Journal. The Tripartite Treaty was ratified on 25th July, 1838. It gave Ranjit Singh the advantage he had so far desired. Not only the Shah, but the English also now guaranteed him in his territories, lying on either bank of the Indus, in fact all that he possessed at the time from Kashmir in the north down to Amarkot in the south. The Shah gave up all claims on Sind, and agreed to accept whatever sum the British might determine, out of which 15 lakhs were to be given to Ranjit Singh in settlement of his claims on the Amirs. The British Government guaranteed the payment of 2 lakhs annually to Ranjit Singh (calculated from the date on which the Sikh troops should be despatched) on condition of his stationing 5,000 Mohammadan cavalry and infantry within the Bahawal territory for the Shah's support. This force was to aid the Shah when the British and the Sikhs thought necessary. In fact the

British and Sikh governments were to act jointly, and were also to exercise joint control over the foreign policy of Afghanistan.¹

Ostensibly the treaty achieved the immediate object of the British Government, which was to enlist the support of Ranjit Singh in the projected plan of seating Shah Shuja on the throne of Kabul. But it had certain defects, which will be examined later as we pursue the course of the expedition. Being inexperienced in frontier politics, the makers of the treaty could not visualise what influence apparently small matters would wield on the arrangements of the struggle, and therefore did not pay sufficient attention to defining and adjusting territorial rights between the Sikhs and the Afghans. The home government perceived from the beginning that the interests of Shah Shuja and Ranjit Singh had been reconciled by the treaty, but there was no confidence between the Sikhs and the Afghans. It therefore stressed that the jealousy and fear of the Afghans should not be enkindled, that Ranjit Singh should not be allowed to acquire any new territory at the expense of the Afghans and that the Sikhs should not be required to advance until absolutely necessary.²

After the treaty had been made the British Government decided to take a larger share in the expedition and set about making preparations which were somewhat lessened by the news received in November that the siege of Herat had been raised by the Persians. Of the two ways leading to Afghanistan, the one through the Khaibar was the shorter, easier and more direct, but for various reasons Ranjit Singh was disinclined to let the whole force pass through the Punjab. So the army of the Indus left Ferozepore with Shah Shuja on 10th December to proceed to Kandahar *via* Sind and Baluchistan. Besides, the Shah had actually preferred to go by the longer route in view of the advantage to be gained by a march through Sind. The Khaibaris, he said, were his slaves and would not raise difficulties.³ Colonel Wade accompanied the Shah's son, Shahzada Taimur, and advanced with a smaller force through the Punjab with the object of forcing the

¹ Aitchison. Vol. 1, pp. 41—44. Also see *idem* pp. 4—6, foot-note for the text of the original engagement between Ranjit Singh and Shah Shuja.

² India Board to Governor-General of India in Council, 24th October and 5th November 1838 (India Office Record, Secret Despatches, Vol. 37., ff. 49—58).

³ Kaye. The War in Afghanistan, Vol. I, p. 329.

Khaibar and causing a diversion. The movement was made just before Ranjit's death, which occurred in June, 1839, and it was not until 3rd September that the Shahzada reached Kabul.

Wade's service as political agent in charge of the Shahzada's march, was indeed commendable. From his station at Peshawar he had no doubt made the restoration agreeable to the parties at Kabul, even before the Shah had arrived. But he had to give money to the Khaibar chiefs and promise more from the Shah. As a matter of fact, the Shah could not satisfy the chiefs occupying the western Khaibar owing to the financial restraint exercised by the Envoy.¹ The Khaibaris raised troubles and attacked the posts which Wade had established between Peshawar and Jallalabad. A battalion of Sikh Sepoys entrenched near Ali Masjid was partially discomfited.² Sir John Keene's return with a portion of the army of the Indus punished the Khaibaris for a short time, but they again harassed the relief parties which were sent to Ali Masjid. Colonel Wheeler who marched from Jallalabad lost some of his baggage and cattle. Macnaghten then appeared on the scene and quietened them with payments.³

Kunwar Nau Nihal Singh, Ranjit's grandson, had reached Peshawar on 26th April, 1839. Together with Raja Gulab Singh, Lehna Singh Majithia and General Ventura, he had remained at the head of a force at Peshawar to support the Shahzada's passage through the Khaibar, and had not left his post on hearing of Ranjit's death. As soon as this business was accomplished, the reserve camp at Attock was broken up, though the required contingent stayed at Peshawar under Colonel Shaikh Bassawan, while the Kunwar arrived in Lahore in September to share in the plans, which led to the deposition of Kharak Singh and the establishment of his regency.

Government congratulated the Kunwar and the Sikh Darbar on the successful accomplishment of the Shahzada's march. At first Wade had complained of delay caused by the Darbar in supplying the

¹ Wade to Maddock, 9th December 1839 (Ind. Sec. Cons., 12th February 1840, No. 36).

² Ind. Sec. Cons. 30th October 1839, No. 46.

³ Kaye. The War in Afghanistan, Vol. I, p. 489.

stipulated contingent, but the Government of India had taken a more moderate view of the matter, and had rightly attributed the delay, caused by the Darbar, to its pre-occupation on account of Ranjit's fatal illness.¹ Clerk's visit to the Maharaja in May 1839 confirmed this view, which was best expressed in a communication made to Colonel Wade on 3rd June :—

“His Lordship has been very happy to find that Ranjit Singh evinces the most anxious desire to acquit himself of his obligations under the Tripartite Treaty and has attended most readily to your wishes in respect to the auxiliary force which he has engaged to furnish in support of the Shahzada.”²

The co-operation rendered by the Sikhs in furthering the Shahzada's advance proved to be so satisfactory on the whole that Colonel Wade on his return expressed himself about it in distinct terms of appreciation :—

“It is in my opinion apparent, that the Sikhs have performed the service originally contemplated, *viz.*, of forcing the Pass of Khaibar, simultaneously with the advance of the Shah on Kabul, and of the occupation of the intermediate country, to enable the Shah to establish his own authority.”³

But Macnaghten thought otherwise. He and Mackeson (who had been appointed political agent at Peshawar after Wade's return in the autumn of 1839) attributed the trouble caused by the Khaibars largely to Sikh interference. Further, some Ghilzai refugees found shelter at Kohat in the winter of 1839 with the Barakzai feudatories of Lahore. The Envoy doubted the motives of the Lahore darbar, and feared that it had a hand in the shelter which had been provided to the Ghilzais. At the same time the Lahore Darbar had shown unwillingness to permit a British force to pass through the Punjab more than once. Macnaghten believed that the unfriendly attitude of the Darbar was evidenced by its refusal to accord a free passage to British Troops and convoys through the Punjab.

¹ Maddock to Wade, 22nd April (Ind. Sec. Cons., 3rd July, 1839, No. 20).

² Same to same. 3rd June (Idem, 11th September 1839, No. 42).

³ Wade to Maddock, 21st December 1839 (Idem, 23rd March 1840, No. 41).

In the circumstances he made rather extreme proposals. He stressed the urgent need of "macadamising the road through the Punjab." It was feared that a rupture with the Sikhs could not be avoided unless they gave way.¹

It is unnecessary to emphasise that in his suggested coercion of the Sikhs (as well as of Herat), a subject which engaged his constant attention through the greater part of 1840, Macnaghten was influenced partly by considerations of success in Afghanistan. His drastic suggestions of coercing the Sikhs found no favour with the Government of India, which while it determined, in view of the unexpected turn of events in Afghanistan, to march armies and forward convoys through the Khaibar alone, saw no point in alienating the Sikhs by making unnecessary demands. The home government conveyed a similar view.²

The question of passing British forces and convoys had presented itself to the British Government not long after Ranjit Singh's death. When Clerk visited Lahore in September 1839 on a mission of condolence, he was required by the Government of India to avoid formal discussions on the subject, but to persuade the Darbar to offer facilities of its own accord.³ This the Darbar was willing to do, provided a guarantee were given by the British Government that the passage was required only once, and the returning army would pass by the Dara Ismail Khan route. Clerk found that the Darbar regarded the subject of the passage of a British force as one of "deep importance," especially at a time when its own affairs were so unsettled. His own opinion was that the sacrifice of independence involved in the concession of such a privilege, if ever indispensable to the British Government, will essentially alter the relative positions of the two states, to a degree, indeed, that can only result from the terms of a new treaty."⁴ Clerk only succeeded in obtaining permission for the returning force

¹ Kaye. *The War in Afghanistan*, Vol. I. p. 515.

² India Board to Governor-General of India in Council, 4th November and 20th November 1839 (Secret Despatches, Vol. 38. ff. 63 and 78).

³ Maddock to Clerk 20th August (Ind. Sec. Cons., 16th October 1839, No. 116).

⁴ Clerk to Government (14th September 1839 (Idem. 20th April 1840, No. 85).

to pass through the Punjab by promising that the request for another passage would not be made. Government thought that Clerk had "engaged in terms more positive than were necessary," and required him to inform the Darbar that Government would effect no passage without the Darbar's permission.¹ It also expressed the hope that the Darbar would realise the circumstances and would accommodate the British Government.

But the Darbar took a different view of the matter. The political wisdom and friendly spirit of Ranjit were no longer the governing factors of its policy. If Kharak Singh had not been deposed on 8th October, he would have raised no difficulties. In fact he had granted permission for a convoy to be sent in January 1840 and others following it whenever necessary.² But with the coming of the youthful Nau Nihal Singh, things had changed. He disapproved of the tame manner in which Ranjit Singh had always yielded to the British, and in this view he was supported by Bhai Ram Singh and others. Not understanding the situation as it had developed in Afghanistan, he began to distrust the British plan of maintaining an army in that country after the Shah had been enthroned at Kabul, and feared that the British and Afghans might encroach on the Sikh territory.³ A very satisfactory clue to the questions affecting Sikh policy towards the Afghan expedition lies in the suggestion that it was influenced by fear and distrust, rather than in the view that the Sikh authorities were actively working against the British Government.

Nau Nihal Singh granted permission to the convoy to be passed in January 1840 after great hesitation, but once he gave way he raised no more objections. Several convoys of treasure and military stores passed through the Punjab escorted by British and Sikh troops, and before the end of the year a whole brigade made its way to Kabul. It might be added in passing that Wade's transfer from Ludhiana to

¹ Maddock to Clerk, 14th October 1839 (Ind. Sec. Cons., 20th April 1840, No. 89).

² Wade to Maddock, 9th December 1839 (Ind. Sec. Cons., 4th May 1840, No. 14).

³ Clerk to Torrens, 23rd August (Ind. Sec. Cons., 14th September 1840, No. 82).

... was the price which the Government paid to bring round the
 ... to its way of thinking as regards the passing of convoys and
 ...

It is arguable that the Sikh attitude towards the passing of
 British forces was created partly by apprehension concerning the
 indefinite territorial position on the Khaibar frontier. From Sep-
 tember 1839, when Clerk visited Lahore, the Lahore Darbar continued
 to urge its claims of sovereignty over certain areas like Swat, Bunner
 and Panjtar on the basis of what was acknowledged in Article 1 of the
 Treaty, which ran as below :—

“Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk disclaims all title on the part of
 himself, his heirs and successors, and all the Suddozies, to all the
 territories lying on either bank of the river Indus, that may be
 possessed by the Maharaja, viz., Cashmeer, including its limits,
 E. W. N. S., together with the fort of Attock, Chuch Huzara,
 Khubul, Umb, with its dependencies, on the left bank of the afore-
 said river, and on the right bank Peshawar, with the Eusufzaee
 territory, the Khutuks, Husht Nugger, Mitchnee, Kohat, Hungoo,
 and all places dependent on Peshawar, as far as the Khaibar
 Pass.”

Examination will at once reveal the indefinite nature of this terri-
 torial stipulation. The words “ Peshawar with the Eusafzaee territory,
 the Khutuks and all places dependent on Peshawar, as far as the
 Khaibar Pass ” proved to be most difficult of precise definition.
 What was to determine the nature of sovereignty or dependency in
 that area at that time ? Again, the Persian text of the Treaty, on which
 the Sikhs took their stand, was undoubtedly capable of a wider and a
 more indistinct interpretation, which the Sikhs employed in their
 favour.¹ According to it the Sikh sovereignty comprised “ Peshawar
 with the Yusafzai, etc., the Khutuks and all places dependent on
 Peshawar, up to the boundary of the Khaibar.” The use of an “ etc.”
 has seldom done more mischief. The Darbar urged time and again
 that the “ etc.” meant that it could complete the extension of its

¹ The writer has compared the English translation of the Treaty with the
 Persian text, a copy of which was supplied to him by the kindness of Lt.-Col. H. L. O.
 Garrett, Keeper of the Records of the Punjab Government.

sovereignty over such areas as were in the process of reduction at the time when the Treaty was formed. It construed the phrase "up to the boundary of the Khaibar" to mean that it could continue to collect revenue from the few miles of country between Jamrud and the mouth of the Khaibar.

So far as the British Government was concerned, it appears that the question had arisen out of the needs of a situation which the framers of the Treaty had not been able to forecast. It is, therefore, interesting to study how Government shaped its view in regard to the matter. In November 1839 both the Government and the Envoy had believed that the Sikh claims as stated in Article 1 of the Treaty would have to be admitted.¹ But by April of the following year Macnaghten came to believe that the Sikh claims were inadmissible and in any case, the Darbar should agree not to create disputes until the question of boundaries had been settled by mutual arbitration.² Presumably his earlier view had been altered by the Sikh attitude towards the Ghilzais and by factors which might influence his success in Afghanistan.

The anxiety of the Sikh authorities to vindicate their sovereignty on the Khaibar front led to other troubles. Avitabile, the Sikh governor at Peshawar, ousted some Afridis from their lands between Jamrud and the Khaibar on non-payment of revenue, and replaced them by the rival clan of Orukzais. Mackeson observed that this act, which had been done in spite of his guarantee as regards the payment of revenue, was certain to inflame the Afridis, and cause trouble in the Khaibar. Again, Avitabile detained from four to five hundred Afghan merchants in Peshawar and closed the road to Kabul in order to recover a sum of 40,000 rupees, which had been plundered in his territory by the Afridis. Avitabile's measures were disagreeable and calculated to create complications with the Khaibaris, who would make no distinction between the Sikhs and the British.³

¹ Macnaghten to Maddock, 11th November 1839, and Maddock to Macnaghten, 5th December 1839. (Ind. Sec. Cons., 23rd March 1840, No. 30 and 32).

² Same to same 26th April (Ind. Sec. Cons., 25th May 1840, No. 55-A).

³ Maddock to Clerk, 15th May (Ind. Sec. Cons., 18th May 1840, No. 60).

The question which necessitated protracted discussions and compromised the Sikh Darbar most was that of the Ghilzai refugees. Some of the Ghilzais who had been raising trouble against the Shah since his entry into Afghanistan, had been harboured in Kohat by Sultan Muhammad Barakzai during the winter of 1839-40, and allowed to escape with the approach of the spring. They created fresh disturbances between Kabul and Kandahar. Another chief, Amir Khan Nawazi had been allowed to escape to Bajaur. Government at first dropped a polite hint in 1840.¹ This was followed by a strong remonstrance in March as to the impropriety of the conduct of the Darbar's feudatories.² Believing that the presence of the Barakzais was most obnoxious to the cause of Shah Shuja, Macnaghten altered his earlier view of the Sikh claims to territories on the frontier and urged upon the Government in April the necessity of asking the Darbar to withdraw both the Barakzais and the remaining Ghilzai refugees from the frontier.³

The settlement of all these matters, as also the necessity of abrogating clause 15 of the Tripartite Treaty, required Clerk's presence at the Darbar. Before the political agent visited Amritsar in May, he sent for Fakir Aziz-ud-Din in order to gauge the feelings of the Darbar on the various matters under dispute. The Fakir faithfully represented the viewpoints of the Darbar, but promised help in removing the difficulties. Clerk found the Darbar very amenable. Avitabile was checked; Sultan Muhammad Khan Barakzai was threatened; claims to the disputed territory were held in abeyance pending the proposed arbitration. But the Darbar put forth its view regarding the last subject unmistakably. Ranjit Singh had contemplated no distinction between the Yusafzais in actual subjection "and those with whom the Sikhs had been forming those relations which would soon have resulted in the completion of their subjection also." Clerk, however, did his utmost to limit the meaning of the territorial phrases under discussion.

¹ Governor-General to Maharaja Kharak Singh, 29th January (Ind. Sec. Cons., 2nd March 1840, No. 61).

² Maddock to Wade, 2nd March (Ind. Sec. Cons. 2nd March 1840, No. 70).

³ Macnaghten to Maddock, 26th April (Ind. Sec. Cons., 25th May 1840, No. 55-A).

While the Darbar offered ready redress for some matters, it delayed compliance with other demands, particularly that in regard to the withdrawal of the Barakzais and the Ghilzais. It maintained a pliant attitude, but its measures were "very dilatory and the conduct of the Barakzais evasive." Nau Nihal Singh was subject to many influences; Raja Dhian Singh and others supported the cause of the Barakzais on the plausible ground that they had been faithful to the Sikhs since Ranjit Singh's days and that the administration of Peshawar could not be carried on without their co-operation. The Sikhs viewed the British demand with regard to the refugees and the British interpretation of the territorial stipulation with distrust which filled their whole understanding of the Treaty and the British policy towards Afghanistan. Clerk doubted whether the Sikhs had ever liked the Treaty. And, as during the late discussions the Government interpretation of some of the clauses had proved to be different from what the Sikhs had always understood to be the meaning of those clauses, the Sikhs were really apprehensive that the Afghans would succeed in recovering some of the Sikh territory.¹ In other words it was a Sikh *versus* Afghan question, and as the needs of the case required the British to support the Afghan claims, the Sikhs appeared to be suspicious of the designs of their allies. The home government was not surprised at the difficulties of territorial adjustment, and feared "that the Boundary question will not easily be settled." Still it expressed the view in July 1840 that forbearance was essential, though a few months later in December, it changed its earlier view and approved of the military preparations made by the Government of India to force a passage through the Punjab if necessary and to compel the Sikhs to perform their share of the Treaty.²

Sultan Muhammad Khan Barakzai arrived at Lahore on 15th July accompanied by one of his brothers, but another, Pir Muhammad Khan, still remained at Peshawar. Clerk made repeated protests, and finally in September, sent for Fakir Aziz-ud-Din and declared that the Darbar must choose between the Barakzais and friendship with the

¹ Clerk to Torrens, 23rd August (Punjab Government Record, N.-W. F. Agency, 1840, Book 149, No. 54).

² India Board to the Governor-General of India in Council, 31st December 1840 (Secret Despatches, Vol. 38. ff 332-33).

British Government. Sultan Muhammad Khan and the Ghilzais were then sent to Ludhiana on 23rd September. A further demand now came from Ludhiana for the families of the Barakzais and the Ghilzais also to be removed from the frontier, and their jagirs to be confiscated. This somewhat staggered the Darbar but Nau Nihal Singh ordered even these demands also to be met.¹

It is evident that the Darbar would not have adopted this course of action unless driven to it by necessity. It had only acted on perceiving that its delay regarding the Barakzais and Ghilzais had caused misunderstanding with Government. But the perception had come too late. The situation in Afghanistan had taken an unfavourable turn. Government had also come into possession of certain intercepted letters from the Barakzais to Dost Muhammad and various other parties in Afghanistan. Government believed that the dilatory policy of the Darbar in dealing with the Barakzais had contributed to this new situation. Auckland addressed a stiff letter to Kharak Singh saying "that the Government of your Highness has not at heart the preservation of the engagements to which it is a party."² Clerk was told that the Barakzais had supplied money to the enemies of the Shah, and the Kunwar's name had been used in political intrigues. Auckland did not believe in the accusations against the Kunwar, but by his neglect and evasion the Darbar had made itself responsible. It was therefore imperative on the part of the Darbar to raise no difficulties whatsoever in sending reinforcements to Afghanistan. In other words, a British brigade was now to be marched through the Punjab without taking a formal sanction from the Sikhs. Realising the gravity of the situation, the Darbar readily agreed and promised to render help on its own account.³ Earlier in the year 1840, Government had suggested to the Darbar that as the services of the Sikh contingent were no longer necessary, clause 15 of the Treaty might be abrogated. But the Darbar was opposed to any such measure by virtue of which

¹ Punjab Intelligence up to 30th September 1840 (Ind. Sec. Cons., 26th October 1840, No. 115).

² Auckland to Kharak Singh, 1st October (Idem, 5th October, No. 75).

³ Clerk to Government, 22nd October (Ind. Sec. Cons., 9th November 1840, No. 128).

alone it could take any active share in the Afghan expedition. The contingent had not been maintained at its full strength, but the Darbar would put it in full force again.¹ At this stage the Kunwar became ready to take command of the contingent as before. In other ways also co-operation was rendered to the Government, and a bridge of boats was speedily constructed at Firozpur.

Clerk made great efforts to get the contingent ready, but Macnaghten did not approve of this measure, fearing that the Sikhs would be treacherous allies. Government disliked the prospect of controversy between its officers, and while it wished to make the fullest use of the spirit of co-operation now shown by the Darbar, it had no intention of committing itself as regards the past conduct of the Sikhs of which the Envoy had proof.²

Towards the end of October, Clerk reported that all other matters had been settled with the Darbar. It only remained to withdraw the Barakzai and Ghilzai families and confiscate their jagirs, settle the question of Swat and Bunner and clear the position with regard to the intercepted letters.³ The Darbar promptly ordered the removal of the families and the confiscation of the jagirs; and when its wakil forwarded from Clerk the copy of an intercepted communication in which Nau Nihal Singh's name occurred, the Kunwar showed great satisfaction and remarked that it was a proof of British friendship that such forgeries were brought to his notice.⁴ A few days after, a communication was brought from Yar Muhammad Khan of Herat making insinuations against the British. The Kunwar at once submitted it to the political agent, who after enquiring by what channel it was supposed to have been conveyed, doubted if it was genuine, and remarked that it was very likely an attempt of the Afghans to implicate the Darbar.⁵ Clerk found no evidence to convince him that Nau

¹ Clerk to Torrens, 18th September (Ind. Sec. Cons., 5th October 1840, No. 128).

² Government to Clerk, 23rd November (Idem, 23rd November 1840, No. 62).

³ Clerk to Government, 24th October (Ind. Sec. Cons., 9th November 1840, No. 132).

⁴ Punjab Intelligence up to 23rd October (Ind. Sec. Cons. 16th November 1840, No. 63).

⁵ Clerk to Government, 4th November (Ind. Sec. Cons., 23rd November 1840, No. 67).

Nihal Singh intrigued with the enemies of Shah Shuja, as he wrote :

“ I have observed no appearances that indicate any disposition on the part of the Sikhs to receive with satisfaction news from Cabul unfavourable to the security of our interests there.”¹

Only in regard to its Swat and Buner claims did the Darbar remain obstinate. It complained of the Shah's interference in the disputed territory. The arguments it had first advanced were repeated on many occasions and were later supported by two others. The contested territory had never been in the possession of the Shah's predecessor, and the Shah had agreed in 1838 to take only those territories “ from which Cabul derived its revenue at the present time.”²

This was the position when on 5th November 1840 Kharak Singh died and the Kunwar was mortally wounded. The ten or twelve weeks which followed were crowded with events and intrigues which led to the establishment of Sher Singh's position as Maharaja. Luckily however, internal dissensions did not interfere with the smooth conduct of business relating to the British troops and convoys. On the deaths of Kharak Singh and the Kunwar, the Darbar appears to have become apprehensive of British forces and preparations. But no effort was made to retard the movements of Shelton's brigade. On the other hand, Dhian Singh and his rival councillors, in this as well as other matters, showed prompt attention. After Shelton's brigade had passed, one convoy left on 8th December and another in the middle of January following. Dost Muhammad was conveyed prisoner to the Punjab escorted by a returning brigade. The desire to please the British Government was equally shown in the Darbar's willingness to grant jagirs to the Barakzais further away from the line of the Helum and by change in its former attitude towards the disputed areas in Swat and Buner.³

Internal affairs chiefly occupied the attention of Maharaja Sher Singh in the first few months of his reign. The Sindhanwalas attempted to undermine his power by intriguing with the British.

¹ Clerk to Government, 8th October (Ind. Sec. Cons. 26th October 1840, No. 114).

² Same to same, 22nd October (Ind. Sec. Cons. 9th November 1840, No. 128).

³ Punjab Intelligence, 23rd Nov. (Ind. Sec. Cons., 14th Dec. 1840, No. 87).

The troops mutinied in various parts of the country and exhibited very undisciplinatory conduct. These difficulties together with the shortage of money obliged him to recognize the influence of Dhian Singh and his brother, even though at heart he wished to lower rather than raise the position of his Dogra minister. He understood that the security of his tenure depended considerably on the good will of the British Government. He therefore did everything to facilitate the passage of the British Kafilas and travellers through the Punjab and when the Kabul insurrection occurred later in the year, he attempted to be helpful in every way. Perhaps at times he shared the fears with others that the British might invade the Punjab while the Sikh forces were busy in the north-west. At other times it was believed that British policy would now become more conciliatory towards the native powers, especially the Sikhs. But on the whole Sher Singh's faith in the power of the British was not shaken. He had his difficulties; money was short and the mutinous troops disinclined to march to Peshawar unless paid. Again, the trouble in Hazara was not yet suppressed, and Raja Ghulab Singh was more anxious to direct his energies towards Ladakh than Peshawar.¹

Still the Darbar set about the business in right earnest. Avitabile was ordered to march from Peshawar with two Mohammedan and two Ramgol battalions and help Mackeson and Henry Lawrence, who had been specially appointed to supervise and expedite the Sikh aid. But fearing that the Najibs, who were due for relief, might not obey orders, the Darbar had advised the Governor to lure them with rewards and the usual *batta* beyond Jamrud, and, if they would not march further, to advance with Kesri Singh's sowars and General Mehtab Singh's battalions which would soon be in Peshawar. He was also required to leave about one thousand troops in Peshawar until Sher Singh and Fateh Singh Man arrived there with *Misdari* troops to hold the place.²

¹ Clerk to Maddock, 27th December 1841 (Ind. Sec. Cons., 10th January 1842, No. 114).

² Punjab Intelligence, 4th to 10th December 1841 (Ind. Sec. Cons., 3rd January 1842, No. 117). Punjab Intelligence, 12th to 16th December 1841 (Ind. Sec. Cons., 10th January 1842, No. 114). Purwanas from the Lahore Darbar to Avitabile, 8th December 1841 (Ind. Sec. Cons., 3rd January, 1842, No. 120), and 1st January 1842 (Ind. Sec. Cons., 24th January 1842, No. 58).

Sher Singh was sincere and there was no truth in the rumour that, while he had ordered Avitabile to render help he had secretly instructed the commandants not to march.¹ But there is no doubt that the Darbar's orders were being carried out very slowly. On the receipt of a letter from Clerk, the Maharaja made further efforts to co-operate. The necessary roads and bridges were constructed and stores and troops were despatched. The local authorities at Firozpur were ordered to pass British Kafilas and stores without reference to Lahore.²

Since Sale at Jallalabad was demanding the advance of the Sikh contingent with Col. Wild's Brigade, the Commander-in-Chief ordered Wild to advance if the risk was not too great, and hoped that the establishment of a strong post at Ali Masjid would prove helpful to General Pollock in his advance afterwards.³ Strangely enough, Wild had brought no artillery with him, and he could not advance until the Sikhs supplied the four guns they had promised and the required contingent. But the contingent could not be made ready. Avitabile was willing to help, but he had no control over the troops. In fact, the troops threatened to shoot him if he persisted in taking them to Jamrud from where the march into the Khaibar was to begin.⁴ Mackeson readily obtained orders from Clerk to settle the claims of some of the troops who were disinclined to move without payment.⁵ Eventually the guns were obtained and the troops marched to Jamrud, but the prospect of an advance into the Khaibar was still remote. Remembering the hardships of 1839, the Sikh troops would appear to have been afraid of advancing into the Khaibar without adequate preparations. Moreover, the Najibs as Muslims were disinclined to fight. Camel drivers began to desert. The march, however, could no longer be delayed.

¹ Mackeson to Clerk, 20th December 1841 (Ind. Sec. Cons., 10th January 1842, No. 73).

² Punjab Intelligence, 1st to 11th January 1842 (Ind. Sec. Cons., 31st January 1842, No. 74).

³ C-in-C. to G.-G. in Council, 27th December 1841 (Ind. Sec. Cons., 10th January 1842, No. 87).

⁴ Mackeson to Clerk, 25th December 1841 (Idem., 17th January 1842, No. 66).

⁵ Same to same, 23rd December 1841 (Idem No. 29).

Ali Masjid was occupied on 15th January, and it was settled that Wild would march on the 18th with the Sikh troops who had meantime been won over by payments. Then Avitabile required a day's postponement to get provisions and carriage ready. On the morning of the 19th, however, when Wild marched towards the Khaibar, the Mussalman troops, some twelve hundred in number, struck their tents and marched into Peshawar whence they proceeded to Attock.¹

It is unnecessary to dwell on Wild's disaster. He was himself wounded in the face, and the British sepoy who had probably been disaffected by the spirit displayed by the Najibs, and their exaggerated stories of Afghan atrocities, did not face the heavy fire of the Khaibaris, and retreated abandoning one of the guns. Ali Masjid was consequently abandoned on the 24th.

About this time news arrived that the Kabul army had perished on its way to Jallalabad. Since there was no relief to be given to the Kabul force, Government decided in February 1842 to rescue the beleaguered Jallalabad force and then withdraw from Afghanistan altogether. It was also decided to concentrate the British forces on the Sutlej rather than at Peshawar, and to let the Sikhs make their own arrangements for the defence of the north-west, and to open negotiations for a fresh treaty with the Lahore Darbar.² J. C. Robertson, the Lieut.-Governor of the North-Western Provinces and Clerk addressed spirited letters to the Government opposing the above policy.

The Lahore Darbar cannot be accused of treachery, for its troops had now been out of control for about a year. The behaviour of the Najibs, even before the advance, had been objectionable. The Darbar's fault lay in not providing other troops more readily and the British political authorities at Peshawar had sacrificed normal considerations of safety to further the advance which was thought so necessary. The news of the Najib's flight depressed Sher Singh and Dhian Singh. Desiring to make amends, and finding that Avitabile

¹ Henry Lawrence to Clerk, Memorandum of occurrences from 16th to 30th January 1842 (Ind. Sec. Cons., 28th February 1842, No. 36).

² Maddock to Clerk, 10th February (Ind. Sec. Cons., 14th February 1842, No. 64) (Secret Department).

had failed to exercise proper command, they urged Raja Gulab Singh and Kanwar Partab Singh to proceed from Hazara to Peshawar and to employ their troops in support of the Jallalabad relief force, now under Pollock.

General Pollock arrived at Peshawar on 5th February, 1842, but Raja Gulab Singh and the Kanwar did not join him till the middle of the month.¹ Still Pollock could not advance. The *morale* of the British Indian sepoy had been affected by their contact with the Sikhs, and over a thousand of them were in hospital, so that the advance to Jallalabad was delayed for over two months.

The situation at Peshawar was such that Pollock could not advance without the Sikhs, however little help he expected from them. While the Darbar was still anxious to support the British, it was ever sensible of the difficulties of the Khaibar situation. It emphasised to the Government the view that adequate military preparations should be made before further action.² It required Gulab Singh to co-operate with the British even if he disapproved of their plan of action, but, in the latter case, to take a certificate from the British officers recording his dissent from their decisions.³ On the one hand, Gulab Singh's own attention was fixed on Ladakh, on the other, his troops were reluctant to proceed into the Khaibar at nine rupees per mensem, while the British troops drew twelve rupees. Again the Sikh and Hindu troops were afraid of being taken and forcibly converted by the Mullahs.

The British authorities at Peshawar held interviews with Gulab Singh to find what help could be expected and in what manner it would be rendered. They learnt that Gulab Singh would not co-operate without some hope of reward. While they were busy at Peshawar, Clerk stayed at Lahore during March and April to promote the interests of the Afghan expedition. It was not easy for him to require help from the Darbar at the same time that he had to announce his

¹ The British authorities generally believed that Gulab Singh had purposely delayed his march, that his mild treatment of Najibs at Attock could not be viewed without suspicion and that his march to Peshawar had been accomplished in a leisurely manner.

² Punjab Intelligence, 26th February to 12th March, 1842 (Ind. Sec. Cons., 30th March 1842, No. 98).

³ Lahore Darbar to Raja Gulab Singh, 15th February (Ind. Sec. Cons., 21st March, 1842, No. 89).

Government's decision to withdraw from Jallalabad. The latter task he left to Pollock and himself persuaded the Darbar to undertake to hold Ali Masjid and the Khaibar for a month or two. The Darbar was distinctly inclined to secure the passage of the Khaibar by diplomacy and negotiations rather than by the use of military force. Clerk believed that the Sikhs would not continue to hold the Khaibar except for reasons of self-interest; he therefore recommended that Pollock might be empowered to make over to the Sikhs the country between Peshawar and Jallalabad. At the same time Clerk communicated to Government a fantastic scheme which the Darbar had put before him as regards the future management of Afghanistan. Without adopting this, Government instructed Pollock to hand over the possession of Jallalabad to the Sikhs when the latter had made proper arrangements to hold the banks of the Kabul and the place itself. But Clerk was aware that the Sikhs would not take Jallalabad until Government had declared its future Afghan policy.

Gulab Singh left for Ladakh after making the necessary preparations for the Sikh advance, and in his absence, the work was carried on by Kanwar Partab Singh. After making the necessary arrangements Pollock advanced on 5th April. The Sikhs advanced by another route and joined the British at Ali Masjid. The combined forces reached Jallalabad on the 16th. The Sikh troops had advanced in such good spirits that Lawrence at once recommended that Clerk might express his satisfaction to the Darbar. The Darbar secured the further good opinion of Henry Lawrence by making adequate supplies of carriage and provisions, so that when the time arrived for Pollock to advance towards Kabul in the autumn, Lawrence suggested that a detachment of Sikh troops should be taken to Kabul to take part in chastising the Afghans. General Gulab Singh who had been sent to Jallalabad in June at the head of five thousand troops, accompanied Pollock's force to Kabul. The story of the advance of Pollock and Nott to Kabul, the punishment inflicted on the Afghans and the return of the forces through the Khaibar and the Punjab, interesting in itself, lies outside the scope of this paper. It may only be remarked that the Sikhs not only raised no difficulty in the way of the returning force, but provided it with every facility.

The punitive expedition of Pollock proved to be a great success. British prestige which had been shaken by the disasters of 1841-42 was now more restored. But what policy would the British Government adopt henceforward towards Afghanistan? The Tripartite Treaty had failed in many ways owing partly to its defective construction and chiefly to the varying political conditions of the Punjab and Afghanistan. The murder of Shah Shuja on 5th April ended the Treaty in any case. Government required Clerk on 27th May to enter into a new treaty with the Darbar. The territories of Lahore as detailed in clause I of the Tripartite Treaty would be recognised; the provisions regarding Shikarpur and Sind would be maintained; but the Darbar would be required to recognise the same sovereign in Afghanistan as the British Government would accept. Government was so particular as to the last condition, which would strengthen its hold on Afghanistan, that it instructed Pollock not to hand over Jallalabad until the new treaty had been formed.¹

The Darbar did not agree to the suggested clauses. It made other proposals by which Jallalabad, Swat, Buner and other territories were to be definitely included in clause I of the old Treaty, the Sind amirs were to be allowed to send *peshkash* and the passage of British troops through the Punjab was to conform to the old treaties. The proposal to recognise the same king in Afghanistan as was agreeable to the British Government was, if at all, dubiously accepted. Failing these, the Sikhs showed willingness to make a new treaty if they were allowed a hand in the future affairs of Afghanistan. Government did not agree to the Sikh proposals, but it directed Clerk to assure the Darbar that its independence would be respected and no passage would be demanded for troops except in circumstances similar to those of the past, and added that it hoped that the Darbar would then accord a friendly welcome.² Hoping that the negotiations for a new treaty might still succeed, Government instructed Clerk to ask the Darbar to be ready to occupy Jallalabad by the 21st September, but not to send up any forces until required. The intention was to keep the pass clear for Pollock's returning force. The Sikhs wanted

¹ Maddock to Clerk, 22nd July (Ind. Sec. Cons., 3rd August, 1842, No. 20).

² Government to Clerk, 29th July (Idem, 31st August 1842, No. 54).

Jallalabad, but not without knowing what policy the British Government had adopted towards Afghanistan. Their own arrangements would depend on the maintenance of a British force in that country. This was highly illogical, as, on the one hand, they welcomed the prospect of occupying Jallalabad with a British force in the neighbourhood, on the other, they disliked the idea of providing the British troops with a permanent right of passage through the Punjab.

With the change of the situation in Afghanistan, the Government of India changed its views in August 1842. The power which was likely to be established in Afghanistan might be agreeable to the return of guns and exchange of prisoners, but it would strongly object to the cession of Jallalabad to the Sikhs. Government had favoured the idea of giving Jallalabad in spite of its being an act of "unmitigated hostility" to the Afghans, as the only course then open to it of formulating its Afghan policy. In view of the changed circumstances, therefore it ceased to press the matter upon the Sikhs, who were so slow in coming to a decision that Pollock demolished the fortifications of Jallalabad before the news of their agreement reached him. It was indeed fortunate that the Sikhs did not obtain any new territories which would have entangled their affairs hopelessly. This was undoubtedly the view of the Governor-General, for as early as the previous May, he had caused his sentiments to be conveyed to Maharaja Sher Singh in the following terms:—

"But as a true friend of the Lahore Government, the Governor-General would not advise it to engage in new designs for the acquisition of territory beyond the Indus, and at the same time to project conquests beyond the Himalayas."¹

The future of Anglo-Sikh policy towards Afghanistan was unsettled when the Army of the Indus returned through the Punjab after its victories in Afghanistan, the Sikh forces following them at a certain distance. In spite of his good-will and general friendliness, Sher Singh had shared with others unnecessary suspicions of the British intentions. The Afghan War had been distasteful to the Sikh sardars :

¹ Government to Clerk, 26th May (Ind. Sec. Cons., 2nd November, 1842, No. 30A).

It had strained the resources of the state and had weakened the independence of the Khalsa by the constant passage of British troops through the Punjab. The completion of the campaign gave Sher Singh a sense of relief, although he could not feel entirely at ease till the British army had passed through the Punjab and the pageantry at Ferozpur and his interview with the Governor-General were over. These fanciful fears were chiefly excited by Bhai Gurmukh Singh, though Dhian Singh was not slow to emphasise to the Maharaja the necessity for caution in his interview with the Governor-General. Above all, the Sikh army was highly suspicious, and the soldiers vowed vengeance on Sher Singh if he yielded on any point during the interview. In such an atmosphere of doubt and suspicion, the Sikh deputation under Lehna Singh went to visit the Governor-General at Luckhiana. Through a misunderstanding, for which Fakir Aziz-ud-Din seems to have been much to blame, the deputation did not actually present itself.¹ Lord Ellenborough was greatly incensed at this result. The Lahore Darbar apologised and made amends by showing marks of disfavour to the chiefs who had formed the deputation, and nominated others to interview the Governor-General at Ferozpur.² The Governor-General accepted the apology, interviewed Prince Harab Singh, Raja Dhian Singh and others, but cancelled the Maharaja's interview, at which Sher Singh was much relieved, as he had but reluctantly prepared for the occasion.

The Darbar had entered into no agreement with the British Government regarding a new ruler in Afghanistan. However, in February 1843 when Dost Muhammad passed through Lahore on his way to Kabul, the Darbar entered into an engagement with him.³ The Sikhs included the British Government in this without the latter's authority, in order to show that the alliance was not against the Government. Dost Muhammad recognised the right of the Sikhs in Swat, Buner and Bajaur which had been discussed so much by the British acting on behalf of the Shah. Clerk believed that the treaty

¹ Punjab Intelligence, 24th January (Ind. Sec. Cons., 22nd February, 1843, No. 85).

² Sher Singh to Clerk received on 24th December, 1842 (Ind. Sec. Cons., 18th January, 1843, No. 14).

³ cf. Sohan Lal, Umdat-ut-Twarikh, Book IV, Part III, p. 6).

had bound the Sikhs and the Afghans "by a rope of sand," and neither of the parties meant to observe it.

This brings the subject of the first Afghan War to a close. To sum up, Ranjit Singh could not have left a more trying situation behind him. He left his successors encumbered with a war and ill-fated to carry out the heavy responsibilities entailed by the Tripartite Treaty the defective construction of which proved to be a prolific source of much fruitless discussion. The Afghan War undoubtedly added to the strain to which Ranjit's whole work was subjected. It certainly lessened mutual respect and friendship between the two powers and later, produced an atmosphere of ill-will which was intensified later by discussions of the indefinite Cis-Sutlej position.

THE VOICE OF HISTORY FROM LIVING LIPS
OR
THE TRACES OF ALEXANDER'S PRESENCE IN THE
PABBI HILLS (PANJAB).

BY RAM CHAND MANCHANDA.

[*Paper read on 17th March 1932.*]

Ever since the discovery of the mention of the Indian invasion of Alexander the Great in classical literature, great interest has been excited in the subject and pains have been taken to ascertain and fix the various Punjab tribes and places mentioned therein. There has always existed room for difference of opinion on many points, and it still exists. Even the site of the memorable battlefield where the foreign invader triumphed over the local Raja Porus has not been agreed upon.

Strange as it may appear, the Hindu, the Jain and the Buddhist literatures are altogether silent on this great event and very naturally the Indian critical mind feels sceptical as to the truth of the classical references. It is impossible that such an important event should have gone entirely out of the memory of the people who were associated with it. Such entire forgetfulness in the traditions of the people living in the locality is not believable. The object of this paper is to show that the traces of this great event still exist in the memory of the people. In March 1930 I availed of the Easter holidays and wandered about in the Pabbi Hills in Gujrat District and was not little astonished to find that people living in these hills, will not only preserve the memory of Alexander's presence in their country but one of the tribes goes so far as to set up the audacious claim of direct descent from him. My object in writing this paper is to draw attention to this field, wherein historical materials in buried mounds, coins and traditions are likely to be gathered, which may confirm the correctness of the classical references.

According to the Greek historians Alexander was encamped on the right bank of the Jhelum (Hydaspes) before he attacked Porus after crossing the stream. There is a mound of ruins of an ancient city to the west of the present town, on which now stands the railway station. When the foundations for the station buildings were being excavated, the mound yielded the following materials of great historical value :—

1. Three iron tripods of Greek fashion.
2. Two brass balls.
3. One complete stone pillar.
4. Twenty-three pillar bases.

These finds were only an accidental discovery. There is reason to believe that the mound contains materials of far greater historical value. The dimensions of the mound and the nature of the materials clearly indicate that the city which lies buried in it should have been a great imperial city. Now the classical references show that Alexander ordered the foundation of the great city to be laid to commemorate his famous charger *Bukephalos* at the place where the animal died and the king had his camp. Though local tradition is entirely silent as to what the city was, when and why it was built and how it came to be destroyed, the probabilities are that this mound of ruins locally called the *Pind* is the ruined city of *Bukephala*. It was probably a fortified place and commanded the passage of the river and so a place of great political, military and administrative importance. Classical references further show that the victory was also commemorated in the shape of a city at the battlefield which was on the eastern side of the river and it was called *Nikaia*. Surely this must be a city not far away from the sister city *Bukephala* and worthy of the great event. Antiquarians have divided themselves into two schools of opinion, one asserting that the "city of victory" was at Mong, 30 miles below Jhelum, the other asserting that it should be somewhere to the north-east of it. There are extensive ruins at Besa Khurd covering an area of 52 acres, out of which are excavated well burnt bricks of large size, $12 \times 12 \times 3$. The villagers round about, whenever they feel the necessity of bricks for building purposes, quarry at the Besa mound and

excavate as many bricks as they like. According to their notion there lies an inexhaustible mine of bricks. The traces of wells at short intervals were also discovered in the area of this mound, showing that they were inside the city, used for water-supply. Stone materials with holes to fasten metal clamps were also found lying there. I myself found the work of excavation of bricks going on and picked up a specimen brick which has been niched in the Central Museum, Lahore, along with other specimen of large sized bricks collected from the various other ancient mounds of ruins.

This mound is on the road to Bhimber, 10 miles east of Jhelum on the bank of the Jaba stream left side of the Jhelum. This place is of great historical interest and in its womb lies valuable evidence bearing on the invasion of Alexander the Great. Occasionally people pick up coins, though I could not secure one.

I was astonished to find well-known tradition extant at the place, which I believe is of some value. The tradition is quoted by almost everybody at Besa in one form or another which is noted below:—

“ Ittan gharian Bulhe kumhare ”

“ Shah Sikander Zulkernain de ware.”

This rendered in plain English reads:—

Bhulah, the brick-maker, made these bricks in the time of Alexander the Zulkernain. Now Zulkernain was the title assumed by Alexander the Macedonian to set up a claim to his descent from the God Zeus, who according to Greek mythology appears on earth in the form of a two-horned bull. The word Zulkernain in Arabic means two-horned. Now this tradition clearly attributes the introduction of the bricks found at the mound to Alexander the Great.

The other version:—

“ Ittan kharian Baleh kumhare ”

“ Shah Sikander Zulkernain de bare ”

which rendered in English means:—Good bricks, excellent brick-maker from the watch-tower of Alexander the Zulkernain.

There is no reason to doubt the genuineness nor the antiquity of this tradition, as it would not pay the people of the locality to forge a spurious one.

There are two villages entirely built of these bricks, viz., Besa Kalan and Besa Khurd close to this mound, and the bricks which they obtain at a little labour and cost bear a deep impression on their minds, and so enable them to preserve the tradition from generation to generation. These I believe to be the ruins of the city of victory 'Nikaia.'

The mound itself is called *Pati koti* or Pata Kothi, but generally the former, and the tradition is that it was built by Alexander to celebrate the defeat of Porus. And there is another tradition current, which has also some vague reference to a great historical event, that left a lasting impression on the minds of the people.

“ *Pati koti Besman Dhani Samundron par* ”

“ *Per je shoh loren apna Jhelum Ghat sambhal* ”

which rendered in English means: *Pati Koti Besman* is across the seas of *Dhani*, and if you want to see your real husband come to *Jhelum Ferry*.

Now *Besa*, the name of the existing village, is an abbreviation of *Besman*; its Sanskrit form would be *Vesman* (lofty). *Pati Koti Vesman* would mean the lord of a million lofty castles and this would be an Indian equivalent of Alexander's title as “ *universal king*.”

Such are the local traces pointing to Alexander's presence in this part of the Punjab.

There is another ruined mound called *Kariali* in the same vicinity and there is a tomb called *Khartan Balan*. These names appear to be Greek ones in Indianized form. Still more interesting is the claim of an important tribe inhabiting the *Kharian Tahsil* of the *Gujrat District* with their chief village at *Barnali*, as to their being the direct descendants of Alexander the Great. This tribe is called *Hakla* and they have preserved their traditional pedigree, which has lately been put in a ballad by *Mir Jamal Panjorana*. According to this tradition

Alexander married a Rajput princess of the locality and the union yielded the following descendants:—

Genealogical tree of the Hakla tribe.

Sikandar Badshah

His son

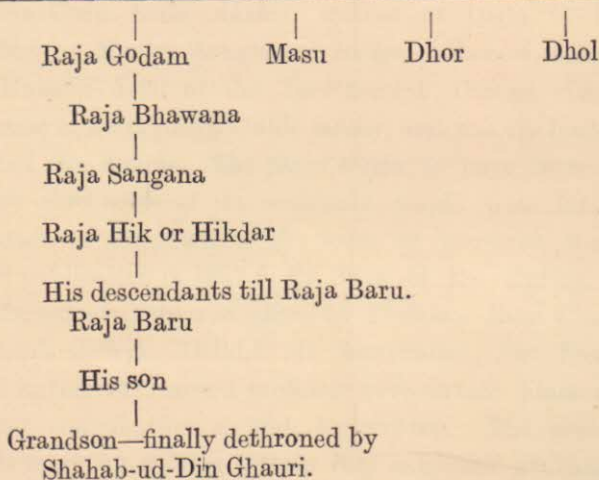
Gang—king of Khorasan

His son

Raja Jagdeo of Muttra

His descendants for 14 generations ruled Muttra, among them being Raja Nandpal.

Raja Nandpal



There are other minor traces in the same neighbourhood. Considered alone they possess very little historical value, but collectively they confirm the classical references as to Alexander's presence in that part of the Punjab, and his laying the foundations of two cities Bukephala and Nikaia and possibly his marriage with an Indian Princess. All these cannot be looked upon as mere forgeries concocted to please modern European antiquarians. Personally I feel inclined to believe that these traditions existed before the discovery of

the classical references to Alexander's Indian invasion and if carefully studied they are likely to yield good results.

I feel prone to join the minority school, asserting that Bukephala was built at Jhelum and Nikaia at Pati Koti Besa and not at Dilawara or Mong Rasul, as the majority school assert, some 30 miles lower down, as such is the voice of history from living lips.

URDU JOURNALISM IN THE PANJAB.

BY BOOL CHAND, HINDU COLLEGE, DELHI.

Probably the *Sayyad-ul-Akhbar* was the earliest Urdu newspaper which appeared in Delhi in 1837. It was started by Syed Mohammad Khan, the elder brother of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. But he was not able to serve the paper for long, because he died of cholera while quite in his youth. After his death the editorship of the paper fell to the hands of his younger brother, who did brilliant work for some time, but later on suspended its publication for want of time, as he was at this time busy writing a book called *Asar-ul-Sanadid*. Another paper also, the Urdu *Delhi Akhbar*, started at Delhi in 1838. This was edited by Moulvi Mohammad Baqar, father of Maulana Mohammad Hussain Azad of the Government College, Lahore. The Moulvi came of a very respectable family, and was the leader of a certain sect of the Sunnis. The paper seems to have been quite popular. Very often some of its sentences would pass into the current language of the town in the form of proverbs. But the paper stopped publication in 1857 in the days of the Mutiny. A third paper started at Delhi was edited by Professor Ram Chandra of St. Stephen's College, Delhi.* It was called, *The Fawaid-i-Nazarin* and in this the learned professor gave certain hints as to how newspaper contributions should be written. The professor later made his mark by solving certain very enigmatic problems in Mathematics, and these solutions have found acceptance even in Europe. In 1846, there was started another paper, *Quran-ul-Saadin*, edited by Pandit Dharam Narain, the Mir Munshi of the Resident of Lahore, which continued with vigour for about twelve years.

Though it is possible to count a few stray names of Urdu newspapers before 1850, yet the history of Urdu journalism in the

*Prof. Ram Chandra also started another paper, the *Muhibb-i-Hind*, which continued for several years.

Panjab really begins in Lahore, on the 14th January, 1850, the day of the appearance of the *Koh-i-Noor*, the first regular paper of the modern type. The *Koh-i-Noor* was started by Munshi Harsukh Rai, a Kayasth of Sikanderabad in the United Provinces who came to Lahore about this time. In Lahore he was for a long time a member of the local Municipal Committee, and seems to have been quite an important person; his name occurs in the list of the Raises of Lahore given by Syed Abdul Latif in his book on that city.* I was able to procure two files of the *Koh-i-Noor* for the years 1850 and 1851. The paper was a weekly, and was published on every Monday. It consisted of 8 pages of 12 × 8 inches.

The subscription rates were—

Yearly Rs. 13/-

Half-yearly Rs. 8/-

Monthly Rs. 2/8

but there was discrimination in the case of the native chiefs, from whom higher prices were charged, in some cases amounting to Rs. 50/-. This was really a sort of blackmailing, and this vicious habit has continued in the Urdu Press of the Punjab even to this day. The *Koh-i-Noor* was primarily an organ for the circulation of news, official or otherwise. "There were no editorial leaders, or comments, no discussion of any current topics, political or other, no advertisements except about some new book in vernacular; certainly no trace whatever of the indecent advertisement of medicines or of objectionable literature, with which some of our present-day newspapers teem; no religious controversies or party politics. It was literally a newspaper, containing rules, acts and notifications (appointments and dismissals of Government servants) copied from the *Government Gazette*; some news of the world taken from English newspapers, some statistics, interspersed occasionally by some query and an answer on some literary subject."† It is a noticeable feature of the paper that every item of information is headed "Information about——", for instance *خبر کان نمک - خبر گورنر جنرل - خبر لہندو*

*Pp. 327, 341.

†The "*Kohinoor*" of 1851. Shiv Narain, Journal of the Punjab Historical Society, Volume IV, p. 52.

The modern system of giving a suitable informatory heading to every piece of news had no counterpart in the *Koh-i-Noor* of 1850 and 1851.

The paper established its position very soon after its appearance. It was the first Urdu paper of its kind, not only in the Punjab, but in the whole of India. The paper was popular even in the Native States. On various occasions, festivals, etc., the Indian Rajas used to invite the editor. But in spite of everything the circulation of the *Koh-i-Noor* could not have been above a few hundred. It was the custom with this paper to publish after every two months the names of its fresh subscribers. At the end of 1850, we count 257 subscribers. This low circulation was due primarily to the extraordinarily low percentage of education, and the lack of general interest in the public. But the *Koh-i-Noor* laboured under another difficulty peculiar to itself. It did not command the confidence of the nobility of Lahore, who had somehow conceived the impression that the *Koh-i-Noor* was a seditious paper, and that contributions to it were resented by the Government. It seems inexplicable, however, why the public should have taken such an attitude, when the Board of Administration itself and many officials, both European and Indian, were among its enthusiastic supporters. The names of Sir John Lawrence, Lieut. Innes, Messrs. McLeod, Sleeman, and McGregor stand out prominently in the list of subscribers. The paper was read not only in the Punjab, but also at such distant places as Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. In 1857 the Sepoy Mutiny broke out and it became clear that the native press, if unchecked, would become the organ of treason. It had already manifested a bad spirit. "With one exception," says the Punjab Administration Report for the year, "the editors were all Hindustanis, and as the disaffection had been greatest among the Hindustanis, so the Government saw the necessity of establishing over every one of them strict censorship by means of the District Officers. At Peshawar one native editor was imprisoned, one press was stopped at Sialkot, and one at Multan." I could not procure any newspapers or magazines of the years of the Mutiny, in spite of all my search. It is, therefore, only to be presumed how the general ignominy under which the Hindustanis had fallen might have affected the *Koh-i-Noor*, whose proprietor, Munshi Harsukh Rai,

and the rest of the staff were predominantly Hindustani. The career of this paper must have been tremendously chequered* during all these years, but it is to the credit of its editor that the paper regained its hold on the public as soon as the censorship of the press was abolished in 1865 and the normal state of affairs as regards journalism was established. From weekly the paper became bi-weekly, and later on tri-weekly. For about three months in 1888 it became even a daily; but this was only in the nature of an experiment which did not succeed. After 1890 the star of the *Koh-i-Noor* began to wane. Munshi Harsukh Rai, the energetic proprietor and editor, who had been growing old for some time, at last died. After his death the paper was carried on by his adopted son, Munshi Jagat Narain, but shortly afterwards he also died. The burden of working the newspaper then fell upon the widow. It continued to appear as a weekly till 1904.

In the *Koh-i-Noor* we find references to certain other Urdu papers that were appearing at the time. The *Koh-i-Noor*, when it copied from other newspapers, always recognised the source of its information. The following names of vernacular newspapers (besides English ones) occur in it:—1. *Majma-ul-Akhbar* of Bombay. 2. *Aftab-i-Alamdar* of Madras. 3. *Akhbar-i-Malwa* of Malwa. 4. *Talim-i-Khaliq* of Allahabad. 5. *Jam-i-Jamshed* of Calcutta. 6. *Amidat-ul Akhbar* of Bareilly. 7. *Zabdat-ul-Akhbar* of Agra.

Among the Punjab journals, we notice the names of—1. *Quran-ul-Saidan* and *Umdat-ul-Akhbar* at Delhi. 2. *Dehli Gazette*. 3. *Riaz-ul-Akhbar* at Sialkot. 4. *Darya-i-Noor* at Lahore. 5. *Simla Akhbar* at Simla. 6. *Nur-ul-Noor* at Ludhiana. Of all these names the most prominent is that of the *Darya-i-Noor*, which appeared with the *Koh-i-Noor* in the same year and the same building. But it seems to have come to an inglorious end very soon after with the death of its editor, Fakir Siraj-ud-Din. It is a very strange fact about the earlier Urdu papers in the Punjab that they

*It seems the *Koh-i-Noor* was not stopped during the Mutiny, as Mr. B. M. Dattatrya of Delhi is in possession of that supplement of the *Koh-i-Noor* which announces the fall of Delhi, and publishes the Delhi telegram to that effect.

It may be of interest to mention that this supplement bears the name of Mr. Newul Kishore (afterwards the famous owner of the well-known Newul Kishore Press of Lucknow) as manager of the *Koh-i-Noor* Press. One cannot say when he joined the *Koh-i-Noor* management.

which survived the death of their originators. Very rarely do we meet with anything in the nature of an organised effort. Always some enterprising spirit started a paper on his own strength. In the whole of the Panjab I am told there is only one newspaper, the *Beade Matram*, that is owned by a joint-stock company at the present day. Lately the proprietor of the *Tej* in Delhi thought of forming a similar organisation; but I do not know whether it has fructified. Another contemporary of the *Koh-i-Noor*, a peculiarly characteristic newspaper of the period was the *Akhbar-i-Chashma-i-Fair* (now the *Victoria Paper*) of Sialkot. The *Akhbar-i-Chashma-i-Fair* was started by Rai Diwan Chand in 1853 at Lahore. Under the "Cragging" Act of 1857 its publication was prohibited; but after the Mutiny the paper reappeared at Sialkot under the title of the *Victoria Paper*, and with that name it continues to appear even to this day. It is conducted at present by R. B. Diwan Gian Chand, and can hardly be termed a modern journal at all, for it gives little else than a translation of the *Government Gazette*. It is only a relic of those by-gone days.

In 1870 there appeared at Lahore a new Urdu weekly, the *Akhbar-i-Am*, which introduced a fresh element in the vernacular journalism of the day. It would be remembered that the vernacular papers so far had been fairly costly: the *Koh-i-Noor* had cost Rs. 13/-. The people therefore could not generally afford to buy these papers. The starters of the *Akhbar-i-Am* thus marked an event by fixing its annual subscription at Rs. 2/8 at a time when the vernacular newspaper postage had not yet come down to one pice. The founder of the *Akhbar-i-Am* was a Kashmiri Pandit, Mukand Lal, who had served as a calligraphist for the *Koh-i-Noor*. Having left the *Koh-i-Noor* he started a Hindi paper, *Mitra Vilas*, devoted mainly to the affairs of Kashmir State and to advocating the rights of the Kashmiri Pandit class. But he felt a great need of a paper which should express its views on the current topics of the day, and therefore started the *Akhbar-i-Am* in 1870. The *Akhbar-i-Am* was a small paper appearing on four ordinary-sized pages. It had a great peculiarity which it retains even to this day (because the *Akhbar-i-Am* is still alive), that it

published on its first page one-line news and brief comments upon them. These comments were sometimes good, at others bad, but they are almost always irrelevant. To give an example :

شملة میں کل روز سات انچ بارش ہوئی۔ کیا خوب !

Yet the birth of the *Akhbar-i-Am* marked an important epoch in the history of Urdu Journalism in the Panjab. I have gone through a number of files of the *Akhbar-i-Am*, and one thing that has struck me is the tremendous amount of news that this paper gave. It published the latest news of the time not only about India but also about the foreign countries. Most of the local papers depended upon it for their news, and in its issue of the 19th January, 1908, the *Akhbar-i-Am* proudly boasts that even the premier Anglo-Indian paper of Northern India, the *Civil and Military Gazette*, recently copied the "China Letter" from the *Akhbar-i-Am*. This certainly is a great achievement for an Urdu paper, especially because some of the present-day news-agencies had not sprung up at that time. The *Akhbar-i-Am* was never known for good Urdu. As a matter of fact, none of the Panjab papers has ever gained any reputation for its language, but especially the *Akhbar-i-Am*. In one of its issues the *Akhbar-i-Am* offers a plea for its bad language. Its main argument is that the *Akhbar-i-Am* was first of all a newspaper, and that language is only of subordinate consideration with it. This argument was jeered at in those days, when the newspapers generally indulged in wordiness and ornateness of language ; but I believe that the argument is quite sound. What is required of a modern newspaper is that it should be able to give a clear description of things so as not to be misinterpreted. But the language of the *Akhbar-i-Am* was at times not even clear. To give an example :

لندن - مسٹر سکاٹ مرے اور سر ایم ہکسوپے کل رات کو برسٹل کی دعوت میں اڑبن میں مہمان تھے۔

This is a translation of a telegram from London, but what it means exactly I fail to understand. How could the two gentlemen be present at Bristol and Lisbon, places so far apart, on the same day ? Yet the *Akhbar-i-Am* made a great contribution to the progress of Urdu journalism. By using cheap paper it popularised the vernacular press

and made it possible for Urdu papers to reach the hands even of average-incomed people. Even from the journalistic point of view it was a paper of high mark. Its horizon was very broad, and though it did not habitually write editorials, yet it made it a rule to make editorial comments when something of importance happened. But the *Akhbar-i-Am* is to be considered only as a break from the path. Urdu journalism as a whole is still in a very crude stage. The predominating tone was that of flattery of the Government, subservience to officials, and undue praise of rulers, princes and aristocrats. In every issue there used to be small flimsy rhymes, and in this line there would spring up competition among the various papers. Most of the papers were given to attacking each other, and sometimes would go to awful lengths, not hesitating even to use obscene language. The articles were generally about festivals, seasons, or about the history of some word in the language; comparatively little interest was shown in the dissemination of news.

When Urdu journalism was already suffering with all these maladies, there fell upon it the wrath of the Government in the form of the Vernacular Press Act of 1878. According to this Act the printer and publisher of any vernacular paper could be called upon to enter into a bond not to publish anything likely to excite feelings of disaffection to the Government or antipathy between persons of different races, castes and religions among His Majesty's subjects. If a newspaper contained any matter of the description just mentioned, it was to be warned, and if it repeated the offence, its plant was to be seized. Any newspaper, however, could escape the operation of the act by submitting to a prescribed form of Government censorship. The Act was severely criticised by all who had any weight of opinion outside the small circle of its framers. In Parliament it was denounced as unnecessary, impolitic and severe. No doubt some of the vernacular papers had shown a certain amount of lawlessness in their writings. Sir J. A. Arbutnot, member of the Viceroy's Council, has given certain examples. "One of the objects of the English authorities in maintaining and enhancing the Salt Tax is to enable their own countrymen to import English salt in this country, and to enrich them at the cost of the natives." "All laws are

applicable to Indians alone, and not to Europeans. Europeans are allowed to kill natives with perfect impunity." "The British Government is like a beautiful maiden whose charms are irresistible, but who is cunning, deceitful, and cruel at heart. All men are in love with her: now she lends her graces to one lover, now to another, and thus causes the rivals to fight together and perish." But after all, the vernacular press exerted no great influence on the public: its circulation was almost insignificant. And as the framers of the Act themselves admitted, the class of persons who were likely to be affected by these writings in the newspapers was not big enough to be a source of danger. But apart from the fact that it curtailed the liberty of the press, the obvious criticisms of the Act were, (I) that it was invidious to apply the provisions to vernacular papers only and not to papers written in English, and (II) that it was not likely to prove really effective. This latter criticism proved an accurate prophecy. During the four years of its existence the Act was never once fully put into force. In 1877 there were 34 printing presses in existence in the Panjab, almost every big town of the province possessing one. The Act brought down the number by 5. The decrease is not very alarming, but the vernacular press undoubtedly remained in a stagnant condition for about half a dozen years after the passage of the Act.

It is not till 1888 that we see the birth of another important Urdu paper in the Panjab. In that year was started the famous *Paisa Akhbar* of Munshi Mahbub Alam.* With the advent of the *Paisa Akhbar* Urdu journalism enters upon its modern phase. The articles of the *Paisa Akhbar* were not, like those of the older Urdu papers, devoted to the praises of Winter and Summer and the poetic disputes between pen and sword, but glowed with real public interest and were of enormous constructive value. The *Paisa Akhbar* adopted from its very start a size which almost every newspaper has since adopted. And then, the price of the *Paisa Akhbar* was fixed very low. It was sold in the beginning at the rate of a pice per issue. That is why it was called *Paisa Akhbar*. But though its price was so cheap, yet it was the first Urdu paper which succeeded in making journalism a paying concern. All Urdu papers

* The *Paisa Akhbar* took its birth at Gujranwala, but was later on transferred to Lahore.

now had been working at a loss; the *Paisa Akhbar* was the first to live of its own. How it managed to do so is a secret of modern journalism. It is one's common experience to-day to see Urdu papers full of advertisements from all quarters of the world; but there was a time when nobody liked to advertise in Urdu papers, because their circulation was very limited. This is a great achievement of the *Paisa Akhbar*, that it reaped large profits from its advertisements. The *Akhbar-i-Am*, of which the *Paisa Akhbar* was a rival, jeeringly mentions of the *Paisa Akhbar* how sometimes it promised to publish an advertisement for a year for only a rupee, and at others to go on publishing it throughout its life for a small fixed sum of money. But in whatever light the *Akhbar-i-Am* may take it, certain it is that the *Paisa Akhbar* set a new example in the world of Urdu journalism by making it a lucrative profession, chiefly through the agency of advertisements. In the beginning the *Paisa Akhbar* was very irregular in its publication. Sometimes it would not appear for two or three turns consecutively. This irregularity in its publication led a certain contemporary to make a humorous remark.

تین ہفتے غائب رہ کر آخر پیسہ اخبار اپنے اندوں بچوں سمیت موجود ہوا۔
 The *بچے* refers to the other small papers which were being edited by the editor of the *Paisa Akhbar*, e.g. *رسالہ کلید امتحان*۔ *باغبان*۔
 But though the *Paisa Akhbar* was so irregular in the beginning, and though its paper, printing and articles had a look of destitution and poverty about them, yet its prospects seemed very bright. It appeared at the right moment, because some of the Lahore papers were distinctly on their decline at this time. This opportunity Maulvi Mahbub Alam was very quick to catch. In order to make his paper popular he gave his attention to the idea that was agitating the public mind, and made it the mission of his life to help on the progress of education. He insisted on the educational value of the Urdu press, and advocated that it was not sufficient for the editor of an Urdu paper to be able to read and write merely the Urdu language. He must know English also. Probably it was due to this propaganda of Maulvi Mahbub Alam that the editors of almost all Urdu papers to-day are people who have some English degree or other.

But even more than what M. Mahbub Alam was able to do directly for Urdu journalism he did indirectly for it through his personal example. In the year 1900 the Maulvi went to Europe in order to study western journalism. This was the first time that an Urdu editor made a voyage westwards for that purpose. From Europe the Maulvi kept on writing for his paper articles which were read with great interest by the public. Later these articles were published in book form سفرنامہ یورپ, for which the Punjab Government most graciously gave him a gift of Rs. 400. And when the Maulvi came back, he was received on the station by a number of friends and acquaintances. All these were small things, but they must have combined to produce a glamour round the name of the editor of an Urdu paper, and must have popularised his calling. Besides, there is another aspect of the service of M. Mahbub Alam to Urdu journalism. M. Mahbub Alam has generally been called ایڈیٹر گرایڈیٹر *i.e.*, editor-making editor. This is a happy appellation, since the *Paisa Akhbar* was a veritable training ground for many of the future editors of the province. The names of Lala Dina Nath later the editor of the *Hindustan*, Hakim Ghulam Nabi later the editor of *Al-Hukma*, Munshi Ahmad Din later the editor of the *Ghamkhuari-Alam*, Mohammad-ud-Din Fauq later the editor of the *Kashmiri*, Maulvi Shuja-ud-Dawla later the editor of the *Millat*, stand out prominent among those who had served their apprenticeship in this training school.

Before the century expired there was again a change in the Government's attitude towards vernacular press, which had so far been quite favourable. In 1882 the odious Vernacular Press Act had been repealed, and a few months later the vernacular press postage had been reduced from two pice to one. But after 15 years of peace there was now fresh trouble in 1896. In that year plague had broken out in Bombay Presidency, and the public mind was greatly agitated by the horrors of the grim disease as well as the strong policy adopted by the Government for stamping it out. The employment of European soldiers on plague duty in Poona was a colossal blunder, and naturally aroused a good deal of public dissatisfaction and resentment. Two European officers were shot dead in

India, and the Government thought that the murders were due to the violent writings in the press, and therefore prosecutions were instituted against Mr. Tilak, the editor of the *Kesari*, and a few other journalists who were all convicted and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. Not content with instituting successful press prosecutions, the Government wished to amend the law of sedition so as to bring it in harmony with the judicial decisions, and therefore made the following changes in the law affecting the press in 1898.

1. Section 124A of the Penal Code was amended. This section was meant to punish all speeches and writings that were calculated to excite feelings against the Government and hold it up to the hatred and contempt of the people. But before amendment, its scope had been limited. It was generally accepted that, so long as a person did not suggest or intend to use force, he did not fall within this section. Now the scope was much broadened, and the section was applied to all cases where there was any intention to create a feeling of hatred and contempt against the Government.
2. A new Section 124B was introduced in the Penal Code to punish all attempts to promote enmity or hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects.
3. A new Section 108 was introduced in the Criminal Procedure Code, which was designed to prevent the dissemination of seditious matter either orally or in writing by means of a system of personal security.
4. Section 505 of the Penal Code was amended.

It was under these handicaps that Urdu journalism in the Punjab entered into the 20th century, though otherwise it had already made great progress. The traditional literary character of Urdu newspapers had shown signs of change ; and the first decade of the century witnessed the appearance of three newspapers whose interest was, unlike the old papers, mainly political. Round these three papers the *Vatan*, the *Hindustan* and the *Zamindar* centred the activity of Urdu journalism in the Punjab before the beginning of the war. The first of these, the *Vatan*, was started by Moulvi Mohammad Insha Ullah in January 1902. The Moulvi had received his training in the *Vakil* of Amritsar, which was a sectarian paper of the Muslims. Therefore when he started the *Vatan* he tried to lead it on the same lines ; but realising that the public opinion was against sectarianism, he changed the

policy of the *Vatan* till by 1907 it became a purely political newspaper. The second paper, the *Hindustan*, was started by L. Dina Nath on 26th August 1904. He had served his apprenticeship in the *Paisa Akhbar* under M. Mahbub Alam, and thus was already a trained journalist. For the first four weeks the circulation of the *Hindustan* was limited to 13 copies, but L. Dina Nath did not lose courage and by the end of three years succeeded in making his paper the most widely circulated of all the Urdu newspapers of the Punjab. In 1907, L. Dina Nath was, however, prosecuted for the publication from his press of a pamphlet called "India," for which he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment. On an appeal to the High Court the sentence was reduced to 2 years. During his absence the paper was continued by L. Dina Nath's younger brother, but the quality had much degenerated, and it was not till October 1909 when L. Dina Nath resumed the editorship that the paper became important again. But L. Dina Nath's two years' sojourn in the jail was very bad for the paper, because when he came out his proclivities had become rather revolutionary, and when he resumed charge the tone of the paper became definitely extremist and virulent, a fact which ultimately brought about its ruin. But while L. Dina Nath was in jail, another paper, the *Zamindar*, had come into the limelight. The *Zamindar* had been started by Munshi Siraj-ud-Din at Wazirabad; but it became important only in 1909 when, on the death of the Munshi, the conduct of the paper was taken up by his talented son, Moulvi Zafar Ali, who had already worked as a translator in the Nizam's Government. Maulana Zafar Ali was so far, therefore, the first person to take to Urdu journalism after renouncing an honourable post. He was a B.A. of the Aligarh University, and these two facts must have combined to impart a sense of respectability to the profession of an Urdu journalist. In 1911 the Maulana shifted his paper to Lahore, and there took up the role of a critic of the prominent Hindu papers, thus gaining for his paper very early a position of importance which it might otherwise not have acquired even after a long time. But as soon as this position was gained, the *Zamindar* left alone religion, and devoted its attention to the politics of the country. It began by writing articles against the Indian Princes who had the bad habit of prohibiting from their

territory any newspaper which presumed to speak against the Government. But as the Balkan Wars broke out, it devoted its attention to the fate of Turkey and other Islamic countries, which it continued to do throughout the Great War.

But before we proceed further, we must stop for a moment to see the fresh measures taken by the Government against the Press. Certain features of Lord Curzon's administration, especially his Partition of Bengal, had excited some public indignation. As a result Indian politics had undergone rapid and unexpected changes. The Congress proclaimed the boycott of English goods as a retaliatory measure, and some ardent spirits even went to the length of declaring national independence to be the political goal of India. Probably they were helped in this attitude by the victory in 1905 of Japan, an oriental power, over Russia, a pre-eminent Western power. In these circumstances some of the papers did advocate and disseminate sedition. It was said that Government violated the law, and that it broke its promises. In the more violent papers the weaknesses of the English were remarked upon, and their inability to maintain their position in the world. In 1908 suddenly the whole world was shocked by the bomb-outrage in Muzaffarpur, and when one of the criminals in the case admitted that he had been incited to this course by the encouragement that he had received from the writings of certain papers, the Government thought it expedient to bring the press under control. Already provision had been made for the executive control of the platform in 1907. In 1908 was passed the Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act. This was followed two years later by the Press Act of 1910. Even though controlled, however, the press continued its interest in political questions. The Punjab Administration Report for the years 1911-12 says: "The course of events in Morocco and Tripoli and in Persia engaged attention especially from Muslim papers. The treatment of Indians in the Colonies was a constant subject of comment, both Hindu and Muslim papers joining in their protest against the indignities to which their fellow-countrymen are alleged to have been subjected, especially in Natal and Mauritius. Legislation occupied a considerable amount of attention, and there is general approval of the proceedings of the Congress."

Nevertheless the Royal Visit evoked a chorus of loyal enthusiasm, and when the war broke out in 1914, it was at once resolved that all controversial matters must be held in abeyance, and England assured of the loyalty of India. The general attitude of the Press in its comments on the war may be said to have been on the whole satisfactory, though the tendency of certain newspapers to add to their circulation by the publication of sensational rumours necessitated the taking of action under the Press Act in several cases. But the war had some very important effects upon the development of journalism. It increased the number of readers, and led to an extension of newspaper circulation, especially in Urdu. And since the machinery of news propagation was naturally dislocated in such a crisis, Government, being better informed, started a paper called *Haq* in all the vernaculars of the Province in order to inform the public how the war was carrying on. The circulation figures of this paper, normally amounting to 70,000 and even exceeding that figure in the case of certain special issues, showed the stimulated interest of the public in newspaper reading. Thus aroused from lethargy the masses have never again gone to slumber. Though the cost of paper and printing had considerably gone up after the war, yet the newspapers did not suffer much in their circulation. The combined circulation of the whole Punjab Press was in 1917—246,000; in 1918—320,000; in 1919—342,000; in 1920—358,000. And to-day it about double that figure—594,000.

THE TREATY OF BHYROWAL OR SECOND TREATY OF LAHORE—DECEMBER, 1846.¹

BY R. R. SETHI.

The Kashmir insurrection and the treachery of Raja Lal Singh led to a revision of the Treaty of March, 1846,² in a direction which the Governor-General—Lieut.-General Viscount Hardinge—had for some time past been contemplating.

Lord Hardinge's dispatches of September 1846, and of the following months to the Secret Committee of the East India Company show clearly his views of the past management of the Panjab; of the conduct of the Council and others; the necessity for a change; the ground for the new arrangements, and the steps by which they were introduced.³ Some extracts from these are here reproduced.

In a dispatch to the Secret Committee, dated at Simla, the 19th September 1846 (No. 39), after referring to such success as had been achieved, and dealing with the question of the retention of British troops in the Panjab, and his objections to the continued presence of British troops under the same administrative arrangements as heretofore, Lord Hardinge discusses the advisability of continuing the occupation of Lahore by British troops under modified arrangements. His suggestions for modified arrangements—which resulted in the new Treaty—were thus explained:—"The other course which it may be open to the British Government to take, and which has constantly occupied my attention, would be to carry on the Government at Lahore in the name of Maharaja Dalip Singh during his minority, a period of about eight years, placing a British Minister at the head of the Government, assisted by a Native Council.

"The marked difference between the system of having the British Minister residing at Lahore, conducting the Government through native agency, and that which now prevails would amount to this:

¹ See *ante*, Volume I—"Revolt in Kashmir, 1846"—p. 19; and "Trial of Raja Lal Singh, 1846"—p. 113.

² Treaty between the British Government and the State of Lahore, concluded at Lahore on March 9th, 1846. (First Treaty of Lahore).

³ Parliamentary Papers relating to the Article of Agreement concluded between the British Government and the Lahore Darbar on the 16th of December, 1846. (Presented to both Houses of Parliament by the Command of Her Majesty, March 1847).

that in the one case our troops are made the instrument for supporting misrule, and in the other, by British interposition, justice and moderation are secured by an administration through native executive agency, in accordance with the customs, feelings, and prejudices of the people. If, therefore, the proposal of the Regent and Darbar should lead to an offer to carry on the Lahore Government by a British Minister, during the minority of the Maharaja—and the proposal should be confirmed by the influential Chiefs, publicly convoked for the deliberation of such a measure, I should be disposed to give the experiment a favourable consideration.”¹

The contingency contemplated above had now arrived.

On December 9, 1846, Frederick Currie, Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, who was then in Lahore, laid before the Darbar a letter embodying the instructions of the Governor-General,² reminding them of the approaching departure of the British troops from Lahore, and asking them what arrangements they had made for the future. The receipt of this letter caused the greatest excitement at the Court, the majority of the Sardars being filled with alarm at the prospect before them on the withdrawal of the British troops from Lahore. Till within the last few days, no one had expressed a more anxious desire for the British to stay in Lahore than the Maharani; and, even on the day following that on which Raja Lal Singh was deposed from the Wazarat, when her grief was at its worst, she declared to Henry Lawrence, when he called on her, that she would leave the Panjab when they (the British) did.³

¹ The Governor-General to the Secret Committee, dated at Simla, the 19th September 1846 (No. 39)—Parliamentary Papers (1844—47).

² Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 355, dated the 9th December 1846. From F. Currie to H. M. Lawrence.

³ H. M. Lawrence writing to F. Currie on the subject in a letter, dated the 10th December 1846, says:—

“On the 5th evening I went and was received in full Darbar by the Maharaja, the Maharani being behind a cloth screen. All was decorum. Hearty thanks were offered to the Governor-General, Mr. Currie and myself for past kindness and care, and hopes expressed of the same being continued. The Maharani expressed herself personally pleased and anxious only to meet the Government wishes. She concluded by begging that as the Governor-General had, on a former occasion, taken her son’s hand, I would now do so. I accordingly took the Maharaja’s hand, and expressed my anxious desire to do all in my power to carry out the orders of Government for the sustainment of the Sikh Sovereign and the happiness of the Maharaja and his people. I remarked that I hoped I had already proved such to be my desire, and that as His Highness was now so formally made over to me, my endeavours on behalf of the Raj, should not be relaxed.”—Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 357.

A very short time had given a more active—perhaps, a more vindictive—turn to her inclinations, and during the last few days her whole energies had been devoted to an endeavour to win over the Sardars of high and low degree, and unite them all together in a scheme of independent Government, of which she herself was to be the head. In this, her chief aid and counsellor had ostensibly been Diwan Dina Nath, ever ill-disposed to the English, and then probably contemplating with alarm the possibility of the British becoming the guardians of the young Maharaja, and—what he would like still less—the guardians of the exchequer. He had survived many revolutions in which kings and families, old masters and old friends, had perished; but it was doubtful if the Chancellor of the Panjab could long survive one which should altogether do away with speculation. Calculating, therefore, on having when the British withdrew, the whole management of affairs in his own hands, he had, apparently, preferred to run all risks, and had joined heartily in the intrigues of the Maharani.

The Sardars, however, showed great steadiness and perseverance in this matter; and, headed by Sardar Tej Singh, the Commander-in-Chief, and Sardar Sher Singh, the Maharaja's brother-in-law, they stoutly refused the Maharani's proposal that they should send a letter to the British, declaring her the head of the Government and their readiness to obey all her orders.

The discussion that ensued lasted for nearly a week (till December 14), eliciting strange philippics and recriminations and even abuse within the Palace, and usually ending in the Sardars rising and retiring in a body, saying that the Maharani wished to bring ruin on her son and all the Khalsa; that she might act as she pleased; but, for themselves, the Palace was no longer a fit place for respectable men and that they would cross the Sutlej with the British troops.¹

Accordingly, the Sardars seemed to have left Diwan Dina Nath to write an answer to the Governor-General's letter, in what terms he chose; and, no sooner had it been sent, than messages from various Sardars came to disown all participation in its composition. "Sardar

¹ Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 365, dated the 17th December 1846. From H. M. Lawrence to F. Currie.

Sher Singh," wrote H. M. Lawrence to F. Currie in a letter dated the 17th December 1846, "whose near relationship to the Maharaja makes it his strongest interest to do what seems best for the stability of the Panjab as an independent kingdom, applied to me for a private interview on the subject and sent me a paper explanatory of his wishes. Standing studiously aloof from the intrigues of the Court, I declined the private interview, but perused the paper, and strange to say, it proposed the unreserved committal of the kingdom to British guardianship, till such time as the young Maharaja comes to maturity; pointing out, with much good sense, the necessity of reviewing fairly the whole resources of the kingdom, and portioning out the *jagirs*, establishments and expenses accordingly."¹

It was evident, therefore, that in the written answer² to the Governor-General's letter, an honest expression of the wants, wishes and opinions of the great body of the Chiefs who, during the boyhood of the Maharaja, were the natural representatives of the State, was not vouchsafed. So it was thought best to assemble all the Sardars together and give them an opportunity of speaking out their mind, unbiassed by the Maharani's persuasion and abuse.³

On December 15, a Darbar was held for this purpose in Currie's Camp, and was fully attended, the momentous importance of the occasion to the Khalsa having, in addition to the Ministers and principal Sardars, drawn many petty Chiefs, officers, and yeomen to the spot. An *Akali*, in the full costume of his order, with high blue turban, wreathed with steel quoits and crescents, was quite a new figure in this deliberate assembly, and showed that all ranks took an interest in the business of the day.

Currie explained to the assembly that the Governor-General would be best pleased could they assure him of their ability to carry on the Government alone, supported by the sincere friendship of the

¹ Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 365, dated the 17th December 1846.

² The Governor-General to the Secret Committee (No. 59), dated the 21st December 1846, Enclosure 5 in No. 9.—Parliamentary Papers (1844—47).

³ Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 360, dated the 14th December 1846. From F. Currie to H. M. Lawrence.

British ; but, if they thought it was impossible, and they called on the Governor-General to interfere and actively assist them, they must understand that his interference would be *complete, i. e.*, he would occupy Lahore or any other part of the Panjab, with what force he thought advisable ; a stipulated sum of money being paid monthly into the British Treasury for the expenses of the same ; and, further, that the whole civil and military administration of the Panjab would be subject to the supervision of a British Resident, though conducted by the Darbar and the executive officers appointed by them. This arrangement was to hold good till the maturity of the young Maharaja, when the British troops would retire from the Panjab, and the British Government would recognise its perfect independence.¹

This proposition being communicated to the Assembly, Diwan Dina Nath expressed a wish to adjourn in order that they might take the opinion of the Maharani ; but Currie informed him that the Governor-General was not asking the opinion of the Queen-Mother, but of the Sardars and pillars of the State ; and to enable them to discuss the matter amongst themselves and come to an unbiassed opinion, Currie and Henry Lawrence retired to another tent and left them to themselves.

The fixed sum proposed by Currie to be paid yearly for the expenses of the British troops was twenty-four lacs of rupees, and he was soon informed by messengers that this was the only point on which there was any debate ; presently a deputation of five or six of the principal Sardars came to propose a reduction of this sum, as a point of friendship, and after canvassing the matter with reference to the resources of the country, it was at last agreed to fix it at twenty-two lacs per annum. The consent of each member of the deputation was then asked separately and written down by the *Mir Munshi* (Clerk of the Court) in presence of Henry Lawrence and Lieut. H. B. Edwardes. Currie and Henry Lawrence then returned to the Assembly in the other tent, and the same form was observed in the case of every

¹ The Governor-General to the Secret Committee (No. 59), dated the 21st December 1846. Enclosure 7 in No. 9.—Parliamentary Papers (1844—47).

Sardar and officer of high or low degree, fifty-one in number, considered eligible to vote.¹

In order to afford full time for further deliberation it was resolved that the Sardars and the Chiefs should reassemble on the following day when certain individuals should be selected by themselves to draw up the Articles of Agreement, in conjunction with Currie and Henry Lawrence.

The Chiefs accordingly reassembled at Currie's darbar tent, at three o'clock on December 16, 1846. The Articles of Agreement were drawn up, each Article having been discussed separately; the money contribution was fixed at twenty-two lacs; and every Sardar present signed and sealed the paper.²

All the Chiefs expressed their satisfaction that the Maharaja would be under the protection of the British Government during his minority, which would continue until the 4th of September 1854.³

On December 26, 1846, Maharaja Dalip Singh paid the Governor-General a State visit at his camp at Bhyrowal, when the Articles of Agreement dated the 16th December 1846, were ratified by the Maharaja and the Governor-General with the usual ceremonies.⁴ After this the Governor-General addressed the Chiefs assembled in the following terms, the address being translated, sentence by sentence, by the Secretary to the Government of India, Frederick Currie.⁵

“The sentiments which I expressed on the occasion of ratifying the Treaty of Peace last March at Lahore, have undergone no change. The British Government desires that peace and friendship may subsist between the two States.

¹ Panjab Government Records, Press List Volume IX, Serial No. 365, dated the 17th December 1846. From H. M. Lawrence to F. Currie.

² The Governor-General to the Secret Committee, dated Camp left bank of Beas, the 22nd December 1846.—Parliamentary Papers (1844—47).

³ The Governor-General to the Secret Committee, dated Camp Bhyrowal Ghât, the 21st December 1846.—Parliamentary Papers (1844—47).

⁴ The Governor-General to the Secret Committee, dated Camp Lahore, the 2nd January 1847.—Parliamentary Papers (1844—47).

⁵ Proceedings of a Darbar at the Governor-General's Camp at Bhyrowal Ghât on the left bank of the Beas, dated 26th December 1846.—Parliamentary Papers (1844—47).

“The notification which I have caused to be published of the recent transactions at Lahore contains a statement of the circumstances which have led to the modification of the Treaty. The Articles of Agreement have been inserted in that document. The Sardars and Chiefs, in coming to this decision, have exercised their own judgment, influenced, no doubt, by the conviction that the interests of the Maharaja and the welfare of the people can best be secured by cultivating the friendship of the British Government.

“Acting on the same principle, of maintaining the Lahore Treaty, and of strengthening the bonds of amity and peace, I have undertaken, on the part of the British Government, to carry the terms of the Agreement into effect. No permanent alteration has been made in the Treaty of Lahore; every Article remains in full force, with the exception of the temporary suspension of Article XV¹ during the minority of the Maharaja.

“The interposition of British influence will be exercised for the advantage of the people, and the success of this interposition will be assisted by the confidence and cordiality with which the Sardars will co-operate with the British Resident.

“That officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, is well-known to the Chiefs, by his energy, talents, and integrity; by these qualities he has conciliated their good-will and respect.

“The Agreement ratified this day, as well as the recent events at Lahore, will, I trust, impress upon every State in India the conviction that, whilst the British Government will, by just means, firmly consolidate its Eastern Empire, it will omit no efforts to improve the condition, and promote the prosperity, of all classes of the people.

“I also trust, that when His Highness shall have arrived at the age prescribed by law for assuming the Government of the country, he will establish his rule on the firm basis of making his people happy, by his equity and justice.

¹ “The British Government will not exercise any interference in the internal administration of the Lahore State; but in all cases or questions which may be referred to the British Government, the Governor-General will give the aid of his advice and good offices for the furtherance of the interests of the Lahore Government.” (Article XV of First Treaty of Lahore of 1846).

“In the interval, the British Government will feel a cordial solicitude in all that regards His Highness’ personal welfare.”¹

How short-lived were the hopes of the durability of the system of protection thus established in the Panjab is now a matter of history.

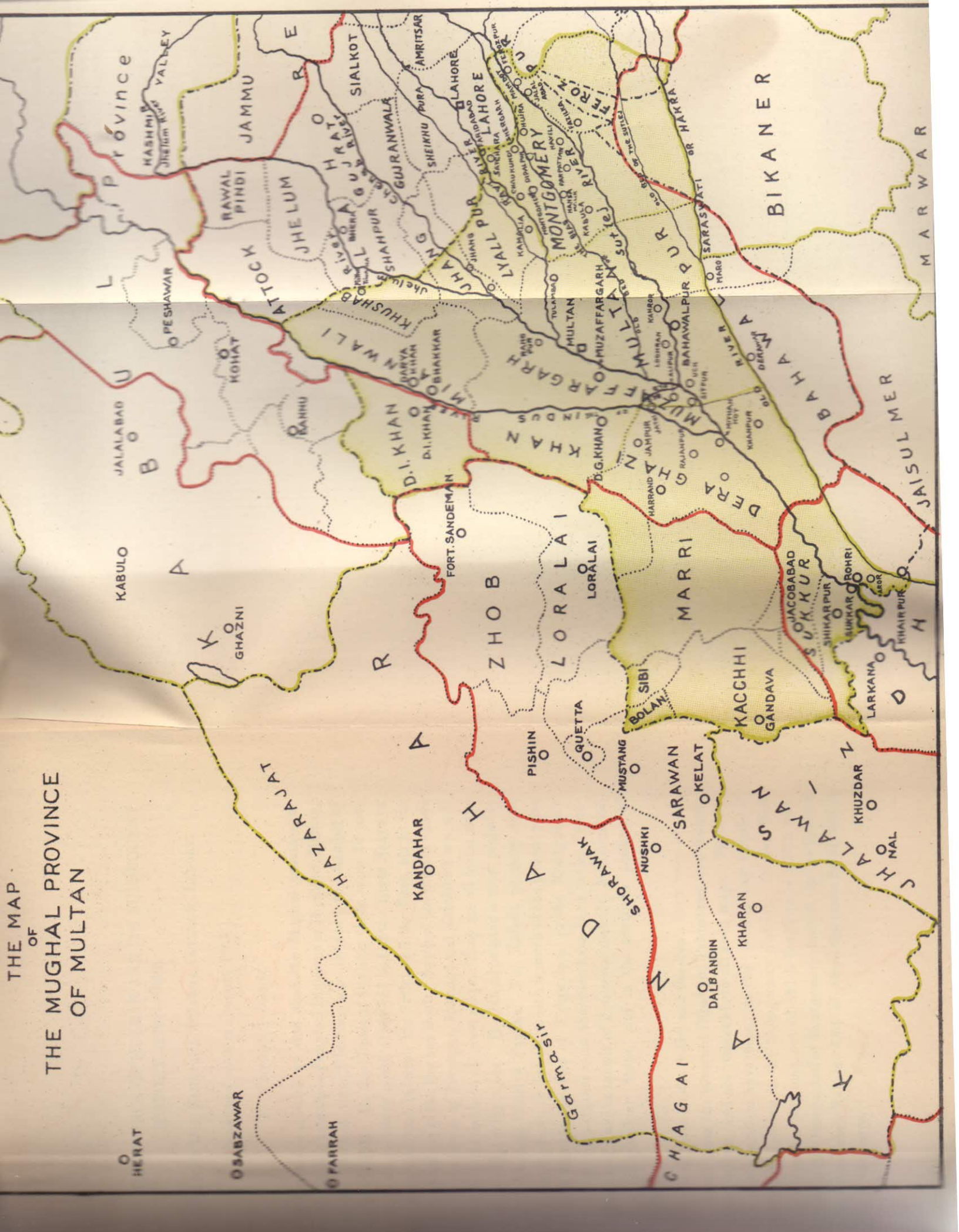
A contemporary writer defending the Treaty of December, 1846, thus expressed the alternative that was present to the Governor-General’s mind:—“If the time arrives when the Darbar and the Army grow weary of our honesty, then no voice will be louder than ours for punishing the State by complete annexation.”²

When that time did arrive, Lord Hardinge’s voice joined in approving the policy which was forced upon his successor. In a letter from England to Sir Henry Lawrence, dated March 24, 1849, he wrote:—“The energy and turbulent spirit of the Sikhs are stated by one section [of politicians here] as ground for not annexing. In my judgment, this is the argument which would dispose me, if I were on the spot, to annex. . . . I should be ashamed of myself if I would not depart from a line of policy which was right at the time, because I might be charged with inconsistency.”

¹ Proceedings of a Darbar at the Governor-General’s Camp at Bhyrowal Ghât on the left bank of the Beas, dated 26th December 1846—Parliamentary Papers (1844—47).

² Viscount Hardinge.—The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1900. p. 152. *Rules of India*.

THE MAP OF THE MUGHAL PROVINCE OF MULTAN



THE MUGHAL PROVINCE OF MULTAN AND ITS SUBSEQUENT HISTORY (1707—1849).

BY GULSHAN RAI, SANATANA DHARMA COLLEGE, LAHORE.

[Paper read on 31st January 1933.]

I. Territorial Limits.

From the *Ain-i-Akbarī* we find that the Mughal province of Multan was divided into three Faujdari Divisions of Dipalpur, Multan, and Bhakkar. Each of these Divisions was divided into a number of Parganas, or Mahals. In the Dipalpur Division there were 29 parganas; six in the territory north of the old bed of the River Hakra or Ghaggar, 10 in the Doab between the Sutlej and the Beas, six in the Bari Doab, and seven in the Rachna Doab. South of the present course of the Sutlej, the towns of Ferozpur, Mamdot and Jalalabad are still well-known, and traceable in all good maps. They are all found in the present day district of Ferozpur. The Jangal pargana is most probably the recently colonised tahsil of Fazilka. The Kabula pargana must have been near the town of Kabula, which is north of the present river Sutlej, a little towards the west of Pakpattan, in the Montgomery district. These six parganas must therefore have been in the Ferozpur, Muktsar and Fazilka tahsils of Ferozepur district, Minchinabad district of Bahawalpur State, and in the northern portion of Hissar State.

In the Doab between the Sutlej and the Beas, there were 10 parganas. Out of these the towns of Dipalpur, Pakpattan, and Kabula are still well-known, and are traceable in all good maps. These 10 parganas must therefore have been in the present day tahsils of Dipalpur and Pakpattan in the Montgomery district. In the Bari Doab there were six parganas, out of which Satghara is still a well-known town in the Okara tahsil of Montgomery district. In the Rachna Doab there were seven Mahals. Out of these the town Faridabad is traceable in the maps.

From the situation of these towns we can very well judge, that the Divalpur Division in the time of the Mughals contained the following present day territories :—

1. The tahsils of Fazilka, Ferozpur, and Muktsar in the district of Ferozpur, and a portion of Chunian tahsil of Lahore district.
2. The Eastern portion of Minchinabad district of Bahawalpur State.
3. Northern portion of Bikaner State.
4. All the four tahsils of Divalpur, Pakpattan, Montgomery and Okara of Montgomery district.

If we round up the boundaries from Ferozpur to Divalpur, then it seems in this corner the boundary lay along the old bed of the Beas. The south-western corner of the Chunian tahsil south of the old bed of the river Beas must have therefore been in the Divalpur Division.

This disposes of the Divalpur Division. Next we come to the Multan Division of the province. In this Division the Mughals had 47 parganas; 17 in the territory south of the present course of the Sutlej and west of the Indus, nine in the Doab between the Sutlej and the Bias, 11 in the Bari Doab, six in the Rachna Doab, and four in the Sindh Sagar Doab. In the territory south of the Sutlej, the old town of Battu Wattu, Jajji, Mau, Sarwahi, Marot, Uch and Derawal in the Bahawalpur State, and Sitpur in the present day Muzaffargarh district are still well-known, and are traceable in all good maps. In the Doab between the Sutlej and the Beas there were nine parganas. Out of these Adamwahan, Jalalabad, Dunyapur, Shergarh, Fatehpur and Kahrur are still well-known places in the Lodhran and Mailsi tahsils of the present day Multan district. Khaibuldi was most probably along the old bed of the river Beas. Ghalu Ghara was along the banks of the river Sutlej near Bahawalpur town. In the Bari Doab there were 11 parganas. Out of these, Multan, suburban Multan, and Tulamba can easily be traced on the map. Islampur must have been along the banks of the river Chenab, Chaukundi, Khatpur and Deg Ravi tract, along the banks of the river Ravi, and Khaibuldi along the banks of the river Beas. In the Rachna Doab there were six parganas, Irajpur, Deg Ravi

tract, Chaukundi, Khatpur, Dalibhati and Kalbali. In the Sindh Sagar Doab there were four parganas. Out of these, Rangpur and Sripur, both in the Muzaffargarh district are still well-known towns.

From a situation of these towns we can very well infer that the Multan Division in the time of the Mughals contained the following territories :—

1. The western portion of Minchinabad district and Bahawalpur and Khanpur districts of Bahawalpur State, north of the old bed of the river Hakra.
2. All the five tahsils of Mailsi, Lodhran, Shujabad, Multan, Khanewal, and Kabirwala of the present day district of Multan.
3. All the four tahsil of Alipur, Muzaffargarh, Kot Adu, and Leiah of the present day district of Muzaffargarh.
4. Samundari and Toba Tek Singh tahsils of Lyallpur district.
5. Jhang tahsil and a portion of Shorekot tahsils of the present day Jhang district.
6. It can be safely said that the present day Mianwali and Dera Ismail Khan districts did neither form parts of the neighbouring Lahore province in the East, nor of the adjoining Kabul province in the West. From the Land Revenue Settlement Reports of these districts we find that these territories were uptill recently absolutely waste lands. In the 15th and 16th centuries A. D. the governors of Multan encouraged several Biloch tribes to colonise the present day districts of Muzaffargarh, Dera Ghazi Khan, Dera Ismail Khan, and Mianwali. So we may take it that these districts though waste lands, were within the boundaries of the Mughal province of Multan.

Having disposed of Dipalpur and Multan Divisions, we now come to the 3rd Faujdari Division of Bhakkar. In this Division according to the *Ain-i-Akbari* there were 12 parganas. Out of these Alor or Aror near the present day railway junction Rohri, which is also supposed to be the original home of the well-known Arora caste of the Hindus, does not require any elaborate identification on my part.

The ruins of this old town are in the present day Sukkur district of Sindh. Close by this town is the celebrated fort of Bhakkar on an island in the river Indus. It was the headquarters of the local Faujdar and formed a separate mahal. Jatoi, another pargana town in this Division, is now in the Alipur tehsil of Muzaffargarh district. Siwi is undoubtedly the present day Sibi in British Balochistan. Sibi is just near the Bolan Pass, and the officer in charge of this pargana was called muhafiz-i-darra. Fatehpur another pargana town in this Division is near Gandava (ancient Kandahar) the chief town of Kacchhi district in Kelat State.

From the situation of these towns, we find that the Bhakkar Division of Multan province contained in the Mughal times the following territories :—

1. The whole of the present day Sukkur and Frontier districts in Sindh.
2. The Kacchhi district in Kelat State.
3. The Sibi district in Balochistan, including the Marri, the Bugti, and the Khetran territories.
4. The greater portion of the present day district of Dera Ghazi Khan and a portion of the Alipur tahsil of Muzaffargarh district.

Since it is well-known that Thal, Chotiali, and Duki in the present day Loralai district were included in the province of Kandahar, and Zhob Valley district is also almost entirely inhabited by Pathans, we may take it that these two districts were not in the province of Multan. We also know that Quetta or the old town of Shal, and Pishin or the old town of Pushang were also included in the province of Kandahar. So the present day Quetta district was also not in the Mughal province of Multan. Mustang a very important town in the Sarawan district of Kelat State was also included in Kandahar province. This disposes off the western frontiers of the Multan province. In the north we know definitely that Bannu, Kohat, Tirah, and Peshawar, were included in the Kabul province.

We are now in a position to fix the boundaries of the Mughal province of Multan. It consisted of three Faujdari Divisions con-

including 88 parganas; and the following territories were included in this province:—

1. The entire present day British districts of Montgomery, Multan, Muzaffargarh, Mianwali, Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Sukkur, Sindh Frontier, and Sibi.
2. The whole of the State of Bahawalpur, north of the old bed of the river Hakra.
3. Fazilka, Muktsar and Ferozepur tahsils of the Ferozepur district, a small south-western corner of the Chunian tahsil of Lahore district, Samundari and Toba Tek Singh tahsils of Lyallpur district, Shorekot and Jhang tahsils of Jhang district, and a greater portion of Khushab tahsil of Shahpur district. The trans-Indus tahsil of Isa Khel of the Mianwali district probably did not form part of Multan province.
4. Northern portion of Bikaner State.
5. The Kacchhi district in Kelat State.

In order to facilitate reference, I have attached to this paper a map I have specially prepared for the occasion. I have given in this map most of the important towns mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* and which can at present be traced in the maps. The red lines mark the present day British territorial distribution. The green lines on the other hand show the territorial distribution of the Mughals. From the map it will be observed that in the western boundaries of the Multan province, there was a semi-circular depression caused by an intrusion of a portion of the Kandahar province. The Bolan Pass in the time of the Mughals gave an entrance into the Multan province from Kandahar side just as Khyber Pass in modern times gives an entrance into India from Kabul. The Multan province together with Kabul province in the north, and Sindh province in the south, formed a big semi-circular curve round the province of Kandahar in the west. Sindh, Multan, and Kabul were the frontier provinces of the Mughals. That explains why the Mughals so very often made efforts to include Kandahar in their Empire. They did not want a foreign territory like that of Kandahar under the Persians to project into their north-western frontiers.

II. *Political condition in 1707.*

On the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, the administrative affairs of the Mughal government in Multan province were in a very neglected condition. Aurangzeb had spent the whole of the latter half of his reign in fighting the Deccan kingdoms and the Marhattas, in the south. At the time of his death in 1707, his grandson, Prince Muiz-ud-din, who afterwards ascended the Imperial throne of Delhi, with the title of Jahandar Shah (1712-13), was the Viceroy at Multan. But Muiz-ud-din was a very profligate prince and he cared very little for the affairs of the State. The Emperor, on account of his pre-occupations in the Deccan, could hardly pay any attention to the affairs in the north. The result was that the Empire began very soon to break up. The local governors, faujdars, and zamindars, began to assume independence. It would be interesting to have a political picture at this period of the Mughal provinces of Lahore, Kabul, Multan and Sindh.

Let us first take the frontier province of Sindh. It consisted in the time of the Mughals, of the present British province of Sindh minus Sukkur and Sindh Frontier districts in the north, minus Thar Parkar and a portion of Khairpur State in the East, plus the State of Las Bela, in Baluchistan, and plus Jhalawan district in Kelat State also in Baluchistan. The districts of Kharan and Makran in the present Kelat State were at that time within the Persian Empire. The present districts of Zhob Valley, Loralai, Quetta-Pishin, and a greater portion of Chagai all in British Baluchistan to-day, at that time formed parts of the Persian province of Kandahar. Towards the latter part of the reign of Aurangzeb there had risen a Bruhi power in the western parts of the Mughal province of Sindh. The present day Bruhi people are by race supposed to be a mixed people of Perso-Turanian extraction. But their language is akin to the Dravidian languages of south India. These people have from long ages lived in the western mountains of Sindh. A chief belonging to this Bruhi people, Mir Ahmad by name organised a rebellion in Jhalawan district, and then carved out for himself a small independent principality in the western parts of Sindh. This took place in the reign of Aurangzeb, for Mir Ahmad is supposed to have died in 1695,

full 12 years before the death of Aurangzeb. Having become independent in Jhalawan, Mir Ahmad and his successors began to make raids into the neighbouring territories of the Mughal province of Multan, and the Persian provinces of Kandahar, Sistan and Makran.

The Kalhoras and the Daudputras.—Let us now take up the Mughal province of Multan. A number of clans, tribes and people were at this time living in the province. In the western portions of the Khanpur district of the present Bahawalpur State, in the Sukkur and Sindh Frontier districts of modern Sindh, in the Sibi district of the existing Baluchistan, and in the Kacchhi district of the present Kelat State, there was living at this time a clan, which considers itself connected with the celebrated Abbasi caliphate family of Baghdad. Several centuries ago this clan settled itself in this part of Multan province, as agriculturists. About the end of the reign of Aurangzeb, two families, belonging to this clan rose into prominence. The Kalhora branch of this clan, was in possession of Sibi and Kacchhi districts, and the Daudputra branch held the western portions of Khanpur district in the Bahawalpur State and Sukkur and Sindh Frontier districts of Sindh. There was great amount of rivalry between these two branches of the clan, and at the time of the death of Aurangzeb both of these families had become politically prominent. The first Kalhora chief to rise into prominence was Nasir Muhammed, and his son Yar Muhammed Khan, with the assistance of Mir Samandar, the Khan of Kelat, defeated the Mughal governor of Sibi, in 1700, and founded an independent principality. Expeditionary forces were sent against him by the Mughal Viceroy of Multan, Prince Muiz-ud-din, and Yar Muhammad Khan, who is also known by the name of Khudayar Khan, offered his submission. On this he was confirmed as the governor of Sibi. In 1716 Emperor Farrukhsiyar, appointed him viceroy of Sindh. While the Kalhoras were thus consolidating their political power, the Daudputras did not lag behind. In 1701 the Baluches in Dera Ghazi Khan had revolted against the Mughal government, and Mubarak Khan, the head of the Daudputra branch of the clan, rendered assistance to Prince Muiz-ud-din in organising an expeditionary force against them. In reward for these services Mubarak Khan was confirmed by the Prince in the possession of Shikarpur, Bakhtiyarpur, Khanpur, and the fort of Bhakkar.

The Nahars.—Higher up in what is now called the Derajat, comprising the present day districts of Mianwali, Muzaffargarh, Dera Ghazi Khan, and Dera Ismail Khan, there were at this time two people risen into importance, the Nahars and the Baluches. When Bahlol Khan Lodi, who had been governor of Multan, became king of Delhi in 1455, he granted the country lying between the Indus, which then joined the Chenab at Uch, and the Suleman mountains, south of a line from Harrand to Uch and north of Shikarpur in Sukkur district, to his relation Islam Khan Lodi. This tract comprised what is now the Alipur tahsil of Muzaffargarh district, and the Rajanpur and Rojhan tahsils of Dera Ghazi Khan district. Islam Khan Lodi and his descendants are known in history by the name of Nahars. Islam Khan's grandsons quarrelled and divided the country among themselves. The present Alipur tahsil, with Sitpur as its chief town came to the share of Tahir Khan, the head of one branch of the family. Rojhan, and Rajanpur fell to the share of the other branch. It was after the Sitpur principality was established, that the Baluches appeared on the scene, and occupied the entire country on the left bank of the river Indus, from Sitpur in Alipur tahsil to Kot Karor in Leiah tahsil. But in the beginning of the 18th century, A. D. the Nahars were still in possession of a large part of their old territories.

The Baluches.—The Baluches are really not indigenous to India. Their original home is on the other side of the Suleman range of mountains, in the wilds of Siestan and Makran. In the middle of the 15th century A. D. these Baluch tribes began to issue from across the hills, and advance towards Sindh, and the valley of the Indus River. At that time the chiefs of the Langah dynasty were ruling the province of Multan. The country was then occupied mostly by the Jats, and they were troubling the administration very much. Sultan Hussain, a king of the Langah dynasty (1469—1504), took advantage of the arrival in these parts of the country at this juncture, of the Baluches, and decided to use them in putting down the Jat disturbances. The Baluches eventually established three principalities in the Derajat. One section, the Mirranis, established themselves in the present district of Dera Ghazi Khan. One of the Mirrani chiefs, Haji Khan, founded in 1484 the town of Dera Ghazi Khan, after the name of his son Ghazi Khan.

The chiefs of this family expelled the Nahars from the south of Dera Ghazi Khan district and pressed the Sitpur Nahars very hard. The Mirrani chiefs also held the greater portion of Muzaffargarh tahsil, as well as the tahsils of Kot Adu and Leiah. Another branch of the Baluches, the Hots, established themselves in the present day Dera Ismail Khan district, and in the Mianwali and Bhakkar tahsils of Mianwali district. Later on the Mirranis were ousted from Leiah and the Hots from Bhakkar, by another Biloch tribe, the Jeskanis.

The Sials.—In what is now known as the district of Jhang, there ruled at this time a Rajput clan, the Sials. The Sials are supposed to be the descendants of one Rai Shanker, a Panwar Rajput, whose original home was in Dharanagari, a well-known town in the present day Central India Agency. The son of this Rai Shanker Sial emigrated to the Punjab, and here Baba Farid converted him to the faith of Islam. Baba Farid is said to have died in 1265. One Mal Khan, a descendant in the 9th generation of Sial, founded in 1462 the town of Jhang. Mal Khan was the first among the Sials who attained political importance. He exercised an extensive sway over the entire territory round about Jhang. The Mughal government seems to have recognised these Sial chiefs as the zamindars of the Jhang Ilaqa. They collected the revenues, and transmitted them to the provincial headquarters. At the time when Prince Muiz-ud-din was the governor of Multan, one Sultan Mahmud was the Sial Chief of Jhang. He was soon after succeeded in the zamindari by his nephew Walidad Khan, who ruled till 1747. It was therefore in the time of Walidad Khan that the Mughal empire broke up into pieces. He had consequently a very good opportunity to extend the bounds of the territory under his sway.

The Tiwanas.—Towards the north of the Sials, west of the river Jhelum, were the Tiwanas. The Tiwanas and the Sials are both supposed to be the descendants of Rai Shanker, the Panwar Rajput prince of Dharanagari. The Tiwanas also like their cousins the Sials had emigrated to the Punjab, and here got converted to the faith of Islam. They at first established themselves in the Mianwali district on the banks of the river Indus. From there they extended their dominions eastwards, across the Thal, to the banks of the river Jhelum.

One of these Tiwana Chiefs, Mir Ahmad Khan, founded the town of Mitha Tiwana in the present tahsil of Khushab, in the year 1680. In the reign of Emperor Muhammad Shah (1719—1748), one Malik Sher Khan was the ruler of this Ilaqa. But he paid the collections of revenues to the Baluch Chiefs of Dera Ismail Khan.

The Kharrals.—At the time of the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, several new powers were rising into importance, in the district of Montgomery. In the north-west portions of the district the politically most important people were the Kharrals. The Kharrals consider themselves to be the descendants of Raja Karan of Hastinapur fame. One of the descendants of this Raja Karan, named Bhupa emigrated to the Punjab, and came to Uch, the residence of the celebrated Muslim Saint Makhdum Jahania Shah, where he was converted to the faith of Islam. From Uch the Kharrals spread over to the country along the banks of the river Ravi. A descendant of Bhupa, by name Kamal Khan, founded the town of Kamalia in the middle of the 16th century. In the reign of the Emperor Muhammad Shah Kamalia was ruled by the Kharral Chief Saadat Ali Khan.

Hansa Malik.—A little south of the Kharrals there were another people who had gained importance. In the time of Emperor Aurangzeb a learned Shaikh Kutub-ud-din was a teacher of the sons of some Delhi noblemen. He obtained some influence at the court, and in 1663 he obtained from the Emperor a Sanad granting him several villages near Hansa Malik, a little to the north-west of Pakpattan. Owing to his own ability as well as court influence, Sheikh Kutub-ud-din became a powerful man, and as the Sohag-Para inundation canals passed through his lands, he became very rich. On the breakup of the Mughal Empire in the reign of Emperor Muhammad Shah the descendants of this Shaikh made themselves independent over the country they held. Their territory lay in the Ain-i-Akbari pargana of Kabula.

Wattus and Dogars.—In the eastern parts of the district there were two other tribes that were important. They were the Wattus, who are a section of the Bhatti Rajputs, and Dogars who consider themselves to be a section of the Chauhan Rajputs. On the decay of the Mughal Empire, these people turned into robbers and dacoits, and caused a good deal of disturbance in the country. The Wattus had

their headquarters at Atari and Haveli in the southern parts of Dipalpur tahsil, and the Dogars occupied the riverain tracts of the Sutlej, on the southern borders of the same tahsil.

Besides these secular powers, there were at this time in the district some ecclesiastical bodies too, which possessed a good deal of power and influence among the people. They were the Diwans of Pakpattan, the descendant of Baba Farid, and the Sayads of Shergarh and Hujra in Dipalpur tahsil. These religious bodies possessed large areas of revenue free grants of land, and at the breakup of the Empire they also became independent secular powers.

We can now be in a position to reconstruct the political condition of the Mughal province of Multan, as it was on the death of Aurangzeb in 1707. It appears the main substratum in Multan was the Jat population. There were also living here in this province, a few of the most ancient Kshatriya tribes like those of the Yaudehas (the modern Joras) and the Kathis. In the beginning of the 18th century there were as many as 10 powers that sprang up into existence, viz., the Hansa Maliks, and the Kharrals in Montgomery district, the Sials in the Jhang district, the Tiwanas in the Thal, the Jaskanas, in Mianwali, the Hots in Dera Ismail Khan, the Mirranis in Dera Ghazi Khan, the Sabars in Sitpur, Muzaffargarh, the Kalhoras in Sibi and Kacchhi, and the Daudputras in Sukkur and Khanpur. In addition to these 10 secular powers there were four ecclesiastical powers at Uch, Pakpattan, Hujra and Shergarh. With the rise of these 14 distinct and independent powers, it can well be imagined to what low position the Mughal Viceroy was at this time reduced to. No wonder then that marauders like the Dogars and the Wattus began to over-run the entire countryside. That explains why the province was not able to offer any resistance to a foreign invader like Nadir Shah. The territory directly under the rule of the Viceroy became so much restricted in area, that its resources became quite inadequate to keep internal peace and tranquility, or check foreign aggression.

III. *History subsequent to the year 1707.*

Let us now turn to the history of each of the powers mentioned above, in the period 1707—1849. I shall deal with this matter as briefly as possible. The province kept up to some extent its outward unity

till the Sikhs broke out into open rebellion in the neighbouring province of Lahore under the leadership of Banda Bairagi. It is well-known that this Sikh outbreak had not yet subsided, when Emperor Shah Alam I suddenly died at Lahore in 1712. The Emperor's eldest son Prince Muiz-ud-din was at that time governor of Multan. So he at once succeeded his father, under the title of Jahandar Shah. But at this time the empire itself became engaged in a war of succession. Jahandar Shah was in a few months dethroned by his nephew Farrukh Siyar, and thenceforward under the supremacy of the Sayyad brothers the Emperor himself became a nonentity. Under such circumstances then the Sikh rebellion continued unabated. This led the unruly elements in the neighbouring districts of Multan province like the Dogars and the Wattus also to raise their heads. Both the provinces, Multan and Lahore became disturbed. In order to put down this disturbance one Abdul Samad Khan, who was at that time Faujdar of Kashmir, was appointed Viceroy in charge of both the provinces. During his life time this governor was engaged in subduing the Sikhs. He died in 1726, and was succeeded by his son Zakariya Khan, who ruled till 1743. His rule in the Mughal provinces of Lahore and Multan coincided with the reign of Emperor Muhammad Shah. In this reign the disintegrating processes in the empire were working with full force. Each local zemindar, faujdar and governor was trying to become independent. After the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739, the forces of disorders were released completely. In that year the provinces of Sindh and Kabul, and the trans-Indus territory of Multan province were ceded by Emperor Muhammad Shah to Nadir Shah, and thenceforth they formed part of the Persian Empire. So under this treaty the present districts of Sukkur, Sindh Frontier, Kacchhi and Sibi, which then formed part of the Mughal province of Multan, were lost by India. In 1752 the remaining portion of Multan province was also taken away by Ahmad Shah Abdali, the successor of Nadir Shah in the eastern parts of his Persian Empire.

1. *The Kalhoras and the Daudputras.*

I have already stated that at the time of the death of Aurangzeb, in 1707, one Yar Muhammad Khan Kalhora was in charge of the present districts of Kacchhi and Sibi, and one Mubarak Khan

Daudputra was in occupation of the districts of Sukkur and Khanpur. In 1716, Yar Muhammad Khan was appointed by the Mughal Emperor Farrukh Siyar, governor of Sindh, but two years after this in 1718, he died. He was succeeded in the governorship of Sindh by his son Nur Muhammad Khan. In Sukkur Mubarak Khan Daudputra was succeeded by his son Sadiq Muhammad Khan, in 1723. In 1726 Sadiq Muhammad Khan was driven out of Shikarpur and Sukkur by Nur Muhammad Khan. The Daudputras were now compelled to take refuge with the Makhdums of Uch. With the influence the Makhdums had with the Nawab of Multan, Sadiq Muhammad Khan Daudputra was able to obtain in 1728 the jagirdari of Chaudhri, a small district in the Khanpur district of the present Bahawalpur State. At that time in the present Minchinabad district of Bahawalpur State, south of Pakpattan there lay the territory of one Farid Khan Lakhwera, who had become independent of the Mughal authorities, and making raids into all the neighbouring lands. At the instance of the Nawab of Multan, Sadiq Muhammad Khan overthrew Farid Khan, and put down the disturbance caused by him. In reward for this service he was granted Farid Shahr also in jagir. This happened in 1732. Having established himself in Chaudhri and Shahr Farid, Sadiq Muhammad now began to extend his dominions. There lay across the dry bed of the river Hakra in the south at that time the Rajput States of Bikaner and Jaisalmer. Muhammad Sadiq Khan attacked Jaisalmer, and in 1733 took possession of Derawal. It was after this that in 1739 Nadir Shah invaded India. On his final departure from India in 1740 he recognised Sadiq Muhammad Khan Daudputra as the ruler of the territories he held, and from the trans-Indus portion of the province of Multan, which was ceded to him, he granted him the districts of Sukkur, Shikarpur and Sibi. He granted the eastern portion of the Mughal province of Sindh to Nur Muhammad Khan Kalhora. The western portion of Sindh, forming the present districts of Jhalawan and Sarawan was granted to the Bruhi Chief Muhabbat Khan. Having thus divided his new territories in Sindh and Multan, Nadir Shah returned to Kandahar. But it seems Nur Muhammad Khan Kalhora was not satisfied with this division. A few years after the departure of Nadir Shah, seeing that he was busy elsewhere the Kalhora Chief Nur Muhammad

attacked the possessions of the Daudputras in Sukkur and Shikarpur, and added them to his own dominions of Sindh. Sadiq Muhammad Khan was killed in 1746, while defending these places. Thereafter the Daudputras retire finally from Sukkur, and Bahawal Khan, the son of Sadiq Muhammad Khan, founded in 1748 a city called after his name, Bahawalpur, which he made his headquarters. Bahawal Khan ruled from 1746 to 1749. Shortly after the foundation of Bahawalpur, Janessar Khan, the Baluch Chief of Dera Ghazi Khan, revolted against Kura Mall, the governor of Multan. Bahawal Khan rendered great service to the governor in putting down the Baluch revolt. In reward for this service, perpetual lease of the pargana of Adamwahan on the northern side of the river Sutlej was granted to the Daudputras. After the death of Bahawal Khan I, his brother Mubarak Khan II succeeded to the principality of Bahawalpur. He ruled from 1749 to 1772. He continued the policy of extending his territories. He took in 1750 Marot from Jaisalmer, and Madwala and Shihni Bakri, in Muzaffargarh district, and But Doma in Dera Ghazi Khan district from the Nahars of Sitpur. He conquered Phulra close to Fort Abbas of the present-day from Bikaner, and when after 1756 the Mughal province of Lahore, and the remaining territory of Multan province were annexed to the Abdali Empire, and on account of the opposition of the Sikhs, King Ahmad Shah could not hold the country, and the Sikhs became independent in 1764, Mubarak Khan II annexed to his dominions the entire low lying territory north of the river Sutlej, in the present Montgomery district, right up to Tibbi, a place a little south westward of Pakpattan. In 1766, the Bhangi Sardars attacked Multan, and Mubarak Khan came to the assistance of the Abdali governor. The advance of the Sikhs was for the time being checked. In return for this service, the Nawab of Multan granted to Mubarak Khan a lease of the southern tahsils of Multan, *viz.*, Mailsi, Lodhran and a part of Shujabad. The whole of the territory, south of the old bed of the river Bias, was granted to him. When in 1772, Mubarak Khan II died, he was succeeded by his nephew Bahawal Khan II who ruled from 1772 to 1809. This ruler also continued the policy of territorial expansion followed by his predecessors. In 1782 he took Jatoi,

and when in 1790 the Indus suddenly changed its course, and instead of joining the Panjnad at Uch, as it was doing so far, formed its confluence with the Panjab rivers at Mithankot, the Nahar territory north of the old bed of the river Indus became exposed to the attacks of the Daudputras. Between the years 1790—1800 Bahawal Khan II conquered the Nahar territories of Alipur, Shahr Sultan, Sitpur and Khairpur, all in the present district of Muzaffargarh. He also took away some territory from the Baluch rulers of Dera Ghazi Khan. Bahawal Khan II died in 1809, and he was succeeded by his son Sadiq Muhammad Khan II, who ruled from 1809 to 1825. It was during his reign that Ranjit Singh conquered Multan in 1818, and the Baluch territory of Dera Ghazi Khan in 1819. Ranjit Singh leased the territory of Central Muzaffargarh and Dera Ghazi Khan to Sadiq Muhammad Khan II. Sadiq Muhammad Khan II was succeeded by his son Bahawal Khan III, who ruled from 1825 to 1852. In 1831 Ranjit Singh terminated the lease and Bahawal Khan was required to hand over to the Sikh government the possession of all the territory he held north of the river Sutlej, in the tahsils of Pakpattan, Mailsi, Lodhran and Shujabad, and of the territories in Muzaffargarh and Dera Ghazi Khan districts. General Ventura was asked to take over the possession, who held its charge for two years till 1833. In this way Nawab Bahawal Khan III lost territory yielding to him an annual revenue of Rupees 69,742. He was deeply chagrined at this loss, and so now began to look about for alliances with rulers of neighbouring territories. In 1833 he accepted the protection of the British East India Company. In that year the territory taken by Ranjit Singh from Bahawal Khan III was added to the charge of Diwan Sawan Mall, who had been appointed governor of Multan a few years earlier.

2. *The Nahars and the Baluches.*

I have already explained that the Nahars were connected with the Lodhi dynasty of Delhi. They established a principality in the southern parts of the present Muzaffargarh and Dera Ghazi Khan districts in 1455, with Sitpur as their capital. Later on this principality became split up into three divisions, and it was finally absorbed by the two neighbouring powers of the Baluches in the west and the Daudputras in the south-east.

I have already stated that the Mirrani section of the Baluch established themselves in 1469 in the present district of Dera Ghazi Khan, in the western parts of the tahsil of Muzaffargarh, and in the tahsils of Kot Adu and Leiah. The Mirrani chiefs ruled this country from 1469 to 1739, that is to say for a period of about 270 years. It appears that during all this long period although these Baluch chiefs owed allegiance to the successive Delhi emperors of the Lodhi and Mughal dynasties, and worked in subordination to the local government of the Multan province, they exercised autonomous powers in the territories held by them. In 1620, a Baluch chief Baluch Khan, whose descendants are known as Jaskanis, after the name of his son Jaski Khan, drove the Mirranis out of Leiah, and himself began to rule in this part of the country. In 1712 the Mirrani Baluch chiefs came into conflict with the Kalhoras, who had recently established themselves in Sibi. In 1738, Muhammed Khan Gujar, who had been the Wazir of the last Mirrani chief, set aside his master and himself became the ruler of the country. He and his son Barkhurdar ruled the country for 40 years from 1739 to 1779. These two Gujar chiefs recognised the overlordships of the Kalhora rulers of Sindh. But the Kalhora rule itself ended in Sindh in 1783. In the time of the last Kalhora chief Sarfaraz Khan who ruled from 1772 to 1783, there was a regular civil war in Sindh. He could not therefore keep much control over Barkhurdar Gujar of Dera Ghazi Khan, who practically became independent. But by this time the old Abdali King Ahmad Shah was dead, and his son Taimur Shah had ascended the Abdali throne in 1773. This king in the beginning of his reign showed great activity. He recovered Multan in 1779 from the Bhangi Sikhs, and in the same year an Abdali governor was sent for Dera Ghazi Khan. These Abdali governors ruled the country from 1779 to 1819 for a period of 40 years, when it was annexed to the Sikh dominions by Ranjit Singh, who gave it on lease to Sadiq Muhammad Khan II of Bahawalpur. It was handed over to Diwan Sawan Mall in 1831.

3. *The Hots and the Jaskanis.*

The Hot section of the Baluches occupied in the middle of the 15th century the present district of Dera Ismail Khan, and the tahsils of

Mianwali and Bhakkar. These Hot chiefs like the Mirranis, exercised autonomous powers over the country they held. But in 1620 their rule was overthrown in Mianwali and Bhakkar tahsils by the Jaskanis. After this the rule of the Hots remained confined to the present district of Dera Ismail Khan. These Hot chiefs ruled the country from about the middle of the 15th century to 1770. The last Hot chief Nasrat Khan was set aside in 1770 by Ahmad Shah Abdali and from this time onward Abdali governors ruled the country. In 1793, the Abdali King Shah Taimur died, and was succeeded by Shah Zaman. His elder brother Humayun was forced to run away from Kandahar, and take refuge in the deserts of Mianwali. Nawab Muhammad Khan Saddozai who was at this time the ruler of the present Mianwali district, arrested Prince Humayun, and sent him as prisoner to his brother Shah Zaman. For this service the district of Dera Ismail Khan was added to his charge.

I have mentioned above that the Jaskanis had become rulers of the present Mianwali district in 1620. They ruled the entire country of the Sindh Sagar Doab, in between the Indus and the Chenab, from the west to the east, and from the Salt Range to Leiah from the north to the south. The rule of the Jaskanis in this part of the country lasted from 1620 to 1789, for a period of about 170 years. I have already stated that the Kalhoras were driven out of Sindh in 1783. So they were in search of a new kingdom. Just about this time the affairs of the Jaskanis in Mianwali were in a very deplorable condition. They were fighting among themselves. So Abdul Nabi, the brother of Sarfaraz Khan Kalhora, took possession of the country in 1789. He remained in possession till 1792, when Muhammad Khan Saddozai, a cousin of Muzaffar Khan, Nawab of Multan, was appointed by Shah Taimur a governor of this territory. As has already been pointed out, two years after this in 1794, he was given charge of Dera Ismail Khan also. Muhammed Khan Saddozai and his descendants ruled our this part of the country till 1821, when it was conquered by Ranjit Singh. In 1823, Dera Ismail Khan was also taken by the Sikhs, when Saddozai rule finally disappeared from the old Mughal province of Multan.

4. *The Sials and the Kharrals.*

I have explained in another section of this paper, how the Sials and the Kharrals rose into political importance. Mal Khan Sial founded Jhang in 1462. He and his successors ruled over the present Jhang district upto the year 1806 when the last chief of this House was set aside by Ranjit Singh. The most important chiefs in this dynasty were Walidad Khan who died in 1747, his nephew, Inayat Ullah Khan, who ruled from 1747 to 1787, and Ahmad Khan, the last Sial chief, who ruled from 1801 to 1806. This part of the country was ruled by Sikh governors from 1810 to 1832. In the last mentioned year this territory was also handed over to Diwan Sawan Mall.

The Kharrals, who were the rivals of the Sials, ruled the north-western portions of the Montgomery district till the middle of the 18th century, when they were overthrown by the Nakai confederacies of the Sikhs. From this time onward, it were the Sikhs who ruled over Okara and Montgomery tahsils of the district. The politics of this part of the country from this moment were common with the politics of the present day central Punjab.

Among the Nakais there were two confederacies, one with its headquarters at Bahrwal, who held the territories of Chunian, a part of Kasur, and a part of Sharakpur, and the other with its headquarters at Gugera, who held the tahsil of Okara, and who later on took possession of the Kharral country of Kamalia. The Nakais probably came into power in 1756, immediately after the Abdali governor Taimur was forced to retire from Lahore.

5. *The Shaikhs of Hansa Malik, the Pathans of Dipalpur, the Divans of Pakpattan, and the Sayads of Shergarh and Hujra.*

When in 1764, the Sikhs became independent of the Abdali empire, they now began to overrun the territories of the neighbouring Muslim Chiefs. They very easily settled with the marauding tribes of the Wattus and the Dogars, who lived in the neighbouring tahsil of Dipalpur. Most of the people in these two tribes emigrated across the river Sutlej, into the adjoining districts of Minchinabad and Ferozepur. Having driven out the Wattus and the Dogars, the Sikhs of the Bhang

and Nakai confederacies came into direct touch with the Afghans of Dipalpur, the Shaikhs of Hansa Malik, the Diwans of Pakpattan, and the Sayads of Shergarh and Hujra. It appears from 1764 right upto the time of the rise of Ranjit Singh, these different powers carried on a constant war among themselves. In 1800 the Shaikhs of Hansa Malik disappeared, as a political power. But in 1807, the Gugera Nakais who had taken possession of Hansa Malik, were themselves overthrown by Ranjit Singh, and all their territories annexed to his dominions. The Bahāwal Nakais, in whose family Ranjit Singh was married, survived a few years more, for their territory was annexed by the Maharaja in 1810. In 1807, along with the disappearance of the Gugera Nakais, disappeared also the secular power of the Diwans of Pakpattan, and the Sayads of Shergarh and Hujra. In 1831, the old territories of Hansa Malik, Kamalia and Gugera were handed over to Sawan Mall, the governor of Multan. The territory of the Tiwanas in the Thal was conquered by Ranjit Singh in 1816, and handed over in jagir to Hari Singh Nalwa, who held it till his death in 1837, when it was again granted to the Tiwanas in jagir.

6. *The Home Territories of Multan.*

I have so far been dealing with the outlying territories and principalities of the Mughal province of Multan, into which the province had become split up shortly after the death of Aurangzeb. I have now to take up the headquarters Multan. The story of the headquarters will take only a few words. From the narrative given above, it will have become clear, that after the invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali, the present-day district of Montgomery, tahsils of Toba Tek Singh, Samundari, Shorekot and Jhang, the major portion of tahsil Khushab, the tahsils of Mianwali, Bhakkar, Leiah, Kot Adu, Alipur, and the western portion of tahsil Muzaffargarh, the districts of Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Sibi, Sukkur, Sindh Frontier and the states of Kacchhi and Bahawalpur, had all become independent of the Subedars authority at Multan. Even the Sutlej tahsils of Multan district, Mailsi, Lodhran, and a part of Shujabad, had been permanently leased out. What remained under the direct rule of the Subedar of Multan, were the three present-day Multan

tahsils of Khanewal, Kabirwala, Multan, and the northern portion of Shujabad, that is to say the territory in between the River Ravi and the old bed of the Bias, together with the eastern portion of the present tahsil of Muzaffargarh district. That was all that was left to the Subedar. That was the extent of the Subedars territories after the death of Mir Manu in 1753. In the previous year the Mughal province of Lahore, and the remaining portion of Multan had been added to the Abdali empire. In 1752 one Ali Muhammad Khan Khakwani, was appointed governor of Multan by Ahmad Shah Abdali. With short intervals he ruled till 1767, for in that year during the last invasion of Ahmad Shah, he was put to death, and one Shuja Khan who was a distant collateral of the king himself, was appointed governor. But when the king returned to Kandahar, another chief Haji Sharif Khan got himself appointed to the post. On this Shuja Khan made representations to the Abdali King. A Hindu officer Ramjidass was sent to make this representation on his behalf. But Ramjidass got himself appointed the governor, and sent his chaprasi Sharif Beg to take charge of the fort on his behalf. Sharif Beg took possession of the fort. Ramjidass was killed, and Sharif Beg, the chaprasi, himself became the governor. But now he became afraid of the Abdali king. In order to protect himself, he invoked the assistance of the Sikhs of the Bhang confederacy. The Sikhs thereupon took possession of the city. They ruled the city and its neighbouring territories from 1771 to 1779. In the last mentioned year King Taimur Shah reconquered Multan. Shuja Khan had in the meantime died in 1774, so his son Muzaffar Khan was appointed governor. He ruled from 1779 to 1818, when it was conquered by Ranjit Singh. For three years it was ruled by different governors, but in 1821 Diwan Sawan Mall was appointed governor.

In 1738 began the disintegration of the Mughal province of Multan, till at length as I have explained above there were as many as 17 distinct independent powers in the province. After the conquest of Multan by Ranjit Singh the reverse process of integration began. The limited territory of Multan as conquered from Muzaffar Khan was put under Diwan Sawan Mall in 1821. In 1831 the territories taken from the Gugera Nakais in Montgomery, and from Bahawalpur

in Pakpattan, Mailsi, Lodhran, Shujabad, Muzaffargarh, and Dera Ghazi Khan, were added to his charge. In 1832, the Sial country of Jhang was added to his province. In 1849 all these territories were annexed to the British dominion in India. But the political revolutions that took place in the 18th century, have not made it possible so far to re-unite the whole of the Mughal province of Multan under one common administration. Sibi and Kacchhi districts of the old province of Multan, now form part of Baluchistan. But the Derawalis of Dera Ghazi Khan have got still intimate relations in Sibi and Quetta. Dera Ismail Khan now forms part of the Frontier Province. But it is a fact that culturally the two Deras are still one. Bahawalpur is now a separate State, but it has still very intimate relations with Multan. Sukkur and Sindh Frontier districts, which formerly formed part of the Mughal province of Multan, now form part of Sindh. Perhaps it was this old connection of Shikarpur with Multan, which induced Ranjit Singh to try to get possession of the district.

LOMBAY AND CALCUTTA IN 1841.

BY PRINCE ALEXIS SOLTYKOFF.

(Translated and Edited by H. L. O. Garrett).

[The author, Prince Alexis Soltykoff, belonged to a distinguished Russian family. He visited India in the years 1841 and 1842, and his account of his travels, in the form of letters to his relations, was published in Paris in 1851. The portion relative to his experiences in Northern India has already been translated by me and has appeared in the *Civil and Military Gazette*. I give below the sections describing his visit to Bombay and Calcutta in 1841.]

BOMBAY, MARCH 18TH, 1841.

Here I am in India as you see. I have taken forty days to get here from London, two only being by land, though this is called the Overland route. It is called rapid travelling, though to me it has seemed long and tedious enough. I shudder to think that a similar ordeal awaits me a year hence, for I cannot return before. I have been here some days but feel still bewildered at having tumbled all at once into so strange a world and I cannot collect my thoughts to write as I should wish.

In the midst of a forest of palms is the large city of Bombay, inhabited by 280,000 Indians and Parsis, men nearly naked or dressed in white, their skin bronze coloured, and their faces and sometimes their shoulders and arms smeared with paint, often wearing turbans of gauze, red, white, rose, or violet in colour, with ornaments of gold and silver on their feet, hands, necks, noses and ears, and with flowers with a very strong scent in their hair. Grotesque little Indian temples, filled with strange idols, and surrounded by groups of emaciated fakirs, with nails like the talons of an eagle—old women terrible to look upon, with wild hair and haggard eyes—vast stone tanks surrounded by steps whither they carry their dead and where there is always a crowd—the silent chapels of the Parsis—the noisy Indian pagodas—the whole country

permeated with a sickening smell, derived from the musk rats which abound in the city and in all the district of Bombay, and which live underground—the sounds of wild music that never seem to cease—this is what strikes one at first. Passing along the streets one frequently sees lights in little cages, suspended by a thread; these are Hindu weddings which seem curious affairs. They are child marriages; a boy of six to ten is married to a girl of five or six. They are quite naked, but loaded with rings and bracelets, daubed with yellow paint, and surrounded by many men and women; in turn they wash them and smear them with paint; then they give them water with which they fill their mouths and squirt it at each other. These absurdities go on for several days without a break, accompanied by an infernal din of tambourines and fiddles, and the noise is past belief. All is trumpery here except the imposing forests of palm trees. And imagine, in the middle of all this, excellent roads upon which smart English riders pass to and fro and English ladies dressed in the latest London or Paris fashions; side by side with this poetry of the olden days are all the refinements of modern civilization. When one drives round the suburbs and sees in the midst of wonderful trees and flowers the beautiful English country houses built in the Italian style, one could almost imagine oneself at Palermo; but, when one sees these naked long-haired men against a background of bright, green banana trees, dark cocoa-nut palms, or elegant cabbage palms, ones imagination seems to carry one to South America.

The Governor of Bombay has a magnificent palace in a fine park, called Parel. When one arrives, one sees on the broad outside stair way Indian servants sitting, dressed in uniforms adorned with the English arms. One enters a huge and very lofty hall, along the whole length of which a huge fan is attached to the ceiling, and is kept in motion by means of cords. The windows are covered with blinds made of fragrant grasses and kept constantly moist. It is always cool there, despite the suffocating heat outside. The Governor of Bombay, Sir James Carnack ¹ (sic) had left Parel at this time to

¹ Major Sir James Rivett Carnac, Bart. He retired in the following month and was to have been succeeded by Sir W. Macnaghten, but the latter was assassinated in Kabul on December 23rd, 1841—Editor,

occupy another country house rather more remote, and situated near the sea, on a secluded hill called Malabar Point, where the tops of the palm trees are perpetually waving in the fresh sea breeze. Sir J. Carnack received me most kindly, and invited me to attend a party given in honour of the arrival of Sir Colin Campbell.¹ He has even offered to put me up at Parel; but, as I wanted to remain in the city, I declined—a fatal mistake, for which I suitably atoned in the suffocating heat and insects of the Black Town. To-day there is a ball at Government House, and I understand Parsis and Indians are among the guests. The English society in Bombay is very large. There are no good hotels here and, for that reason, I have taken up my quarters in the upper part of a deserted Parsi house, Baron Loewe Weimar occupying the lower half. We have taken the house jointly. There are huge dilapidated halls without doors or windows and with several terraces. The birds fly into my rooms as if there were no one there, and appear quite decided not to let my presence upset their regular habits. Near us a wedding is going on, which means drums and fiddles all day and night without ceasing. Miss Emma Roberts is quite correct in saying in her charming book that Bombay appears a continuous festival the whole year round; it is true enough, but it is a barbaric festival. Ordinarily in the evening a strange sight is to be seen at my house—the dance of the nautch girls. The nautch girls form a class apart, a very numerous one, whose sole occupation is to sing, to dance and to chew betel, an astringent leaf, which is said to be good for the stomach, and which turns the mouth red. These dancers are graceful and refined, dressed in a gauze material half gold or silver, and half pink, white violet, or cerise, with their naked feet loaded with rings and chains, which make a noise like spurs though rather more silvery in tone, when they strike the ground with their heels. Their movements are unlike anything one has ever seen, and so charming in their originality and gracefulness, their songs so mournful and wild their gestures so gentle and voluptuous and sometimes lively, and lastly the music that accompanies them is so discordant, that it is very difficult to give any idea of it all. They are always

¹ The Prince is anticipating. In 1841 Lord Clyde was only a simple Colonel in command of the 98th Regiment on its way to China for the Opium War,

followed by wild looking men who advance and retire before them, strumming on their instruments and striking them with their feet.

And when one considers that this dance of unknown significance probably goes back to dim antiquity and that, for thousands of years, such girls have repeated it, without knowing what they are doing, one is lost in a dream of the mysteries of this marvellous India. These girls in great numbers, and others who are not dancing girls, occupy entire streets, the high lightly built houses of which are rather Chinese in appearance. These houses are lit at night, music is to be heard, and one can enter freely. But the actual masters of the country do not appreciate these Indian Terpsichores. Yesterday at my house one of these mystic dances was rudely interrupted by some English people, who frightened these delicate girls by dragging them off in a vase. They were so upset by this treatment, that they threw themselves on the ground weeping, and tried for some time to retire.

Too much occupied with material affairs, the English take hardly any pleasure in what is original, or rather exquisite in India ; such for them is trivial and vulgar. In general they despise everything which differs from the accepted ideas of their own country. It is in vain that India unrolls herself before their eyes, graceful and simple, savage and immense. The only scenery they care for is that of the parks which they appreciate. Near the English houses in India, everything Eastern is carefully avoided. The first care, in making a garden or a park, is to cut down all the palms, pull up all plants of an Indian character and substitute for them cassarinas, a tree which resembles the pine of the North, and grass lawns, which they keep up with great difficulty. Such is the extent of English patriotism. Do they feel that melancholy sentiment which we call homesickness? These men, whose very sensations are governed by invariable rules, distrust a natural beauty so marvellous in its simplicity and so infinitely varied in its combination of lines and colours, which the artist regards with an inexhaustible interest. The unstudied grace of the inhabitants of India is a closed book to them, for the natural stifles the artificial sense ; and indeed what is more deplorable than the grotesque fashion which disfigures our women compared with the primitive but admirable

costume of the Indian women? They were kind enough to show me the docks, the Mint, the steamers, the schools and other curiosities, and also the Fort. Imagine how delighted I was. The Government is most paternal. The Indian inhabitants, Hindu and Parsi, have only to think of their pleasures and their religious ceremonies, while an excellent police force looks after their safety.

Calcutta, October 9th, 1841.

After a voyage from Madras of four or five days in a fine merchant vessel, we arrived in great heat at one of the numerous mouths of the Ganges called the Hughli. At the entrance is Tiger Island which is full of these animals and covered with thick forest. Our Captain told me that one of his colleagues had been unwise enough to anchor too near the island and that the tigers swam out at night and killed several sailors.

The shores of Bengal were visible on either side, flat and wooded and very green. Bengali boats hailed us and bought along provisions as well as newspapers and notices from Calcutta. Every one wished to learn the news from China * or to know what carriages, horses, etc., were for sale in Calcutta or the price of indigo, opium, etc. We turned our glasses upon the vessels entering like ourselves or departing and upon several corpses floating on the water. You know that here instead of burying their dead they throw them into the Ganges unless they burn them. We passed a ruined pagoda quite isolated in the forest. Yet there is celebrated there every year a festival which attracts thousands of people so that a camp is formed there in a very short time. I have heard that human sacrifices are offered at this festival and that mothers throw their children into the river. But since the English Government has been established in the country, the English police do not permit this and hand those infanticides over to the magistrates who treat them as murderers, as they do those who take part in a *Sati*. In all parts of India not belonging to the English this practice flourishes as in the past. Many people have told me that the *Satis* are stupefied with opium beforehand that their courage may not fail. I think this is unusual; for I do not care to belittle the courage of these wretched victims.

* The Opium War was in progress.

We are now approaching Calcutta in tow of a tug. On either bank are the fine country houses of the rich English, of a simple Italian style. From the mouth of the river to Calcutta is about 200 miles and the passage takes two, three or even four days for one has to have a tug and cannot travel at night. Last night there was an accident. A little Bengali boat with four Indians in it was tied to our vessel and used by us for messages. Suddenly as we were turning rather quickly the little boat got too near us and capsized. Three of the Indians caught hold of the vessel but the fourth was carried away by the current. However he could swim and the only risk was that he might be seized by a crocodile or a shark but a boat was quickly lowered and picked him up.

We are just about to anchor at Calcutta. "Here we are," as one says when one arrives in London, and I must see about landing. Just at present the place is more like Petersburg than any other place; a river as broad as the Neva, lines of European buildings, flat ground and many ships.

Here I am installed in Calcutta at the Spence Hotel and I have just sent to Bagshaw and Co., the bankers, for my letters.

October 12th, 1841.

I am well enough except that I find the great heat trying and sometime when walking I feel quite overcome. Yesterday I went to the English theatre, comedy and drama. The actors were good and the hall a nice one with immense *punkahs* waving all the time.

The promenade in the evening on the bank of the river is a very lively sight and extends for at least a mile. It rather reminds me of that of the 1st May at Petersburg except that there are very few pedestrians: it lasts only for an hour at sunset. A band plays and yesterday they played 'Norma' quite passably. It is a fine city; there are a number of palaces between which are grass lawns surrounded by iron or stone railings. Trees are avoided as they cut off the breeze which blows only occasionally.

The Governor-General's palace is like a portion of the Winter Palace at Petersburg. The others are in a plain Italian style with terraces and large verandahs shut in by Venetian blinds and supported

on slender columns. Everything is in beautiful order. The Spence Hotel where I am staying is very large and luxurious. Before my window on the lawn and the terraces, large birds called philosophers, which I have never seen before, are walking about.

I dined with the Governor-General (Lord Auckland) yesterday. We did not sit long at table but after dinner hastened down the huge staircase. A number of carriage and servants in uniform came up to the entrance of the palace, every body bundled in pell-mell, and off we went to the theatre in a cloud of dust. In this crush the red gold-embroidered uniforms and the nodding white plumes of the aides-de-camp of the Governor stood out against the torches of the servants and the jewels of the ladies shone with a strange brilliance.

When one leaves the fashionable quarter and enters the city (for, as in London, the best part is at one end) one enters narrow but decent streets, where are the native bazaar and a nearly naked population not so black as that of Madras and with long hair.

A great Hindu festival is preparing and will last two days, I hear idols will be thrown into the river in the midst of tumultuous crowds. I have just been invited to dine with a lady whom I met at Lord Auckland's—Mrs. Prinsep. Her husband, a very nice man, is one of the principal officials of the Company * : her house is one of the finest in Calcutta. The furniture is good but plain. As is the custom here, there are no useless ornaments in the room. Coolness is the main object. Any furniture which is not absolutely necessary would intercept the air which is circulated artificially. Hence emptiness reigns in the palaces of Calcutta.

October 15th, 1841.

I wish to tell you something pleasant about the capital of India; but the heat is terrible and the country is damp and low-lying; there is no air to breathe and one feels very slack. All the English people except the strenuous ones get up at 5 when the sky is still a lovely rose pink and go and take the air on the river bank in a carriage or on horse back, for exercise is dangerous and soon after 6 the sun is so

* H. T. Prinsep, Member of the Governor-General's Council—1835; Director of the E. I. Company 1850—1858; Council of India 1858—1874.

strong and the heat so overwhelming that one feels faint ; one goes indoors and the *punkah* gives an artificial coolness.

In the evening after 5 the carriage re-appear on the corso. on the bank of the Ganges and pale forms are to be seen stretched in them. The life of the English here is one long struggle against death owing to their method of life, while the natives who take neither meat nor wine are not similarly affected. The latter only eat light food, rice, fruit, arrowroot, sago, vegetables, milk food, or wheat cakes, and only drink rice water, or cocoanut milk, or butter milk. They face the sun with their white turbans and even without them, for most of them are completely naked ; this is not habit it is a difference of nature. English children born in India feel the sun much and nearly always have to be sent to England as much for their health as their education. The fact is that the sun has a most disastrous effect upon Europeans. Yesterday when going on board a boat to visit the most beautiful botanic garden in the world, I noticed a bad smell in spite of the fresh evening air, and looking round I saw a corpse in the water bumping against the boat. One sees so many of them that death loses all its terror.

Several of Tippu's children are here.* I asked to see them this morning finding myself by accident near their house when out for a drive, but was told it was not the right time.

I drive about Calcutta and its suburbs with four Indians, a coachman, a footman and two runners who sometimes run in front and at the side of the carriage to clear off pedestrians by their shouts and sometimes hold on behind the carriage to rest ; they also run errands and look after the horses when we stop.

The Indian society in Calcutta is very civilized. I have just had a written invitation to a nautch or Indian dance in five or six days which will last three evenings in succession. I saw this morning an equally civilized Hindu merchant, one of the richest in India ; he hopes to go to Europe shortly with an English friend and to begin with Naples to acclimatize himself gradually. His name is Dwarka Nath Tagore and the Englishman is Mr. Parker, a very nice young married man. You will hear of them.

* Moved from Vellore after the Mutiny of 1806.

The jackals howl all night in the streets of Calcutta, a most extraordinary thing to me. I hear them from the Hotel Spence which is in the most fashionable quarter near the Governor's palace, and several others, and the finest shops. There is a sinister sound about these owls on four legs which they call jackals. Their cries are doleful and lugubrious and one can picture them in the most dismal desert. Volnay in his " Ruins " mentions jackals as typical of solitude. This passage struck my imagination and ever since jackals have had a sinister and mysterious significance for me.

October 22nd.

I have been staying with Mr. Petiot who is in business here : a very nice agreeable man. At Chandernagore there is a lack of formality in great contrast to the formal English life. It is little place on a piece of ground about six or seven leagues in circumference and very lively and gay. There are 40,000 Indian inhabitants who are French subjects. The rich Indians give nautches to which Europeans are invited. At Chandernagore I saw two of these dances. The hall was well lit ; in the middle a railing surrounded the four or five dancing girls and their musicians and the master of the house and his family with their distinguished guests, behind the railing a mass of people, for every one is admitted, which seems very hospitable. This mass was composed of people nearly naked and bronze in colour with calm faces and features with some distinction in many cases. At the end of the hall was a statue of the Goddess Durga, in whose honour the fête took place. The statue was of painted wood, rather more than life size, ornamented with gold and silver and brightly lit up. The different coloured dresses of the dancing girls are curious. One of them seemed more important than the others and while resting she sat on the floor and smoked a silver hookah. Her rose coloured gauze pant-loons, tight at the top and loose below so as to form a kind of skirt, had seams trimmed with lace, three on each leg coming to a point above and below. Her musician was a fine young man in a tight gauze garment with a head dress of the same material and a fine head of hair, like one of our deacons. The women were small and graceful and their teeth were black, though they were quite young.

October 27th.

I shall go to Benares by the first boat. Unfortunately the journey takes 20 days as it is against the current. But I hope the cabins are good and one can land every day if one wishes.

Since my return from Chandernagore I have been to several nautches or parties at Indian houses. Vast courtyards were arranged as rooms by covering them with a ceiling with hanging lamps and putting down canvas carpets. The dancing girls were ugly. Only one was passable, and I doubt if you would agree even to that small praise as she was so small. At these parties I met several rajahs and Indian gentlemen. They imitate the English fashions and some of them wear a curious mixed costume and drive their own carriages. But there was one young man who wore Delhi dress and affected a purely Oriental style, although his brother wore European dress. However this rajah, Krishna Bahadur, speaks excellent English. He was 20, very good looking, with long hair like a deacon, a slender figure, a gauze robe in the old Persian style, and pantaloons of a very thin material very wide at the bottom and so long that they covered his feet and even prevented his walking freely.

The nautches lasted three days after which came the worship of the gods and goddesses in whose honour they had been given; great painted wooden statues specially made for the occasion.

There was Durga, a red goddess with ten arms, another white goddess on her left who, according to the Indians, corresponded to Minerva; another sky blue goddess, a yellow god with an elephant head; and a wretched green man with moustaches and whiskers (they are of very ancient use in India) knocked down and devoured by a fabulous lion with horns, and transfixed by a silver spear into the bargain, which Durga plunged into his heart while the lion consumed his stomach. All these were surrounded by an immense circle of minor deities of the Hindu Pantheon. On the fourth day all these idols were transported in the middle of an enormous crowd and amid a deafening noise of drums and trumpets to the Ganges and thrown in,

I went in a carriage to see the show. In the crowd a swartly long haired young man rode past in a tight coat of cloth of gold with a velvet cap embroidered in gold with a gold tussel.

My Muhammadan servant who was on the box turned round and told me that this was the grandson of Tippu Sahib, but "not the best of them," for there are several brothers. Some minutes later he showed me a carriage in which three people in white oriental costume were sitting, one of them he said was the *good* grandson of Tippu Sahib probably meaning the one who paid best. He speaks English, he added, and at the same time he got down from his seat to speak to him with that familiarity which exists among all classes in the East: on his return he said that Tippu wished to see me and asked me to bring my carriage near his. I then made his acquaintance. He wore Eastern dress and long hair which made him appear middle aged. The father of these princes could not endure his confinement and had hardly been brought to Calcutta before he blew his brains out. They were first at Vellore but were moved to Calcutta after the Vellore Mutiny (1806). At present they go where they like, I think, for I fancy I saw one of the brothers in London. Since then this prince has been to see me to ask me to take as my travelling companion a broken down land owner, but I politely refused.

November 7th, 1841.

The day before yesterday I passed some hours at the country house of my agent, the Europeanised Dwarka Nath Tagore. Before dinner we rode in the garden on an elephant to get an appetite. After dinner Meyerbeer and Donizetti were played on the organ: but the jackals made such a ghastly noise outside that one could hear nothing. They cry like children in distress. The master of the house appeared very upset at this mischance.

November 9th.

In four days I shall be off to Benares if the boat sails as announced. My baggage has gone on by another boat for there is little room in the passenger boat which is otherwise comfortable enough. It is not a steamer but a large boat with bright and airy cabins towed by a steamer. It will take 18 or 19 days, I understand. I often walk on

the bank of the Ganges at Calcutta. There is an animated scene which extends for several miles. One sees a crowd of Indian bathing there. One day there was a poor young man prostrated by sickness and as thin as a skeleton, lying on the sand near the water while his friend sadly watched beside him. Near by was a solemn looking Brahmin who had just painted his face, shoulders and breast and was sitting on a wooden staging admiring himself in a little glass. On another large staging covered with leaves and mats instead of parasols was quite a party of Brahmins. Then there were fakirs smeared with chalk and wild disordered hair. Sometimes the hair was twisted round the head like a monstrous turban and covered with red or white powder. A poor old dying man had been brought here in a palanquin for the fresh air to revive him ; his haggard eye and wasted appearance indicated that death was very near. A graceful young man, emerging from the water spread out his long hair and let his brown body dry in the last rays of the setting sun. A dead body was being conveyed to the Mortuary. The roof of this building was occupied by numerous cormorants and vultures, and other birds wheeled in the air or walked round this melancholy spot. A party of Brahmin women, slim and graceful, descended to the river to bathe, covered with fine draperies of red, green or lilac muslin. Further on they were burning corpses on a pyre and the odour of these spread along the bank lively with so many different scenes.

Yesterday I saw the sick young man apparently much better ; I was surprised for the other day he seems motionless and almost lifeless. I gave him a rupee which seemed to please him. His friend, perhaps it was his brother, was no longer with him, he had finished his honourable task and gone about his ordinary business. A Brahmin retiring from bathing went proudly by with his monkey on his shoulder : both had their foreheads painted red. From time to time old fashioned carriages pass by filled with rajahs or Indian gentlemen, old and young, large and small, and obscure persons who dwell in the noisome slums of this strange capital. These are naked, with wild disordered hair or wear turbans decorated with plumes and faded gauze or brocade garments. Servants naked or in rags hang on to the springs of the old carriages, while others run by the side.

November 13th.

By the side of the Mortuary there is another building with a courtyard looking on to the river. There they burn the dead. I went there to-day. There was a strong smell of burning flesh and I saw two pyres in flame, but I could not see any human remains among the embers though my servant, holding his nose, pointed out bones here and there. Personally I saw nothing and finding it useless to approach nearer, I yielded to the request of my Muhammadan servant and left this unclean place. There were some Hindu undertakers men sitting there who made some joke or other which conveyed nothing to me who do not know any of their languages. My boat is put off till the 18th, rather annoying but fortunately it is much cooler. To-day at 7 in the morning it was 16° Reaumur in the shade and 22° in the day time. The Indians shiver in the morning, wrapped in their thin clothing, if they wear any, and warm their hands at wood fires. Yet they continue to bathe in the river and the tanks morning and evening, both men and women. This practice is religiously observed. I have just stopped the *punkah*.

The other day I was dining alone in my room and my European servants, Francois and Theodore in the room at the side, for it is the usual custom here and in Asia generally that the servants receive the dishes after their masters. As there was no Indian servant about except a young Hindu who was putting the *punkah*, I told him to carry a dish to the servant, but to my great astonishment he refused to do so with a strange jeering smile. Rather taken aback, I signed to him to leave the room; but afterwards I reflected that the poor lad was a Hindu and that the meat we were eating was for him as terrible as human flesh could be for us and that it was a great concession on his part even to assist at our terrible meal.

AN AUTOGRAPH LETTER ADDRESSED BY WILLIAM
MOORCROFT TO MAJOR-GENERAL SIR DAVID
OCHTERLONY, BART., K.G.C.B.

BY G. L. CHOPRA.

The first half of the nineteenth century was a period of great activity in the field of geographical explorations in Northern India and the regions lying beyond it. Fresh opportunities for such explorations were now provided by the newly-established British connection with the tracts beyond the river Jamna as the result of the visits of Lord Lake and later of Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Metcalfe to the Panjab. The circumstances which led to these visits are matters of common history and need not be repeated here. But the most important outcome of the Treaty of Amritsar of 1809 was the extension of the British frontier westward some two hundred miles—from the banks of the river Jamna to those of the river Satluj. This meant the beginning of a direct political and economic contact between the British Power and the Sikh kingdom, which, in turn created new occasions for the former, through their diplomatic agents and the like, of feeling closer concern and evincing keener interest in the affairs of the Panjab than had hitherto been necessary or possible. For one thing, the rapidly increasing military resources of the Sikhs, necessitated the maintenance of a vigilant watch over the policy and pursuits of their ruler.

In fact, the English attention began now to be drawn not only to the adjacent territory of the Panjab, but also to Bahawalpur, Sindh, Afghanistan and even Persia; and the political records of the period are full of intelligence concerning these countries. Elphinstone and Malcolm visited Kabul and Persia respectively just about the same time as Metcalfe came to the Panjab, and the official and private accounts of their travels furnished stimulating materials for study to many Englishmen in Calcutta, who saw in their safe journeys to and back from those countries the possibilities of further investigations.

And though the official British Policy from 1809 to 1828 remained one of non-interference in the affairs of the countries on the other side of Satluj, continued diplomatic contact with them kept the possibility of commercial expansion in that direction alive in the minds of many far-seeing and enterprising Englishmen.

Among this latter class of men the name of William Moorcroft stands pre-eminent, for his were the most enterprising and hazardous efforts to penetrate into Central Asia from the direction of India. These efforts were made not only without the encouragement of the Company's Government, but even without their approval. Moorcroft undertook his first journey as early as 1811, and accompanied by Captain (afterwards General Sir John) Hearsey crossed the Himalaya by the Niti Pass and reached the great plain between it and the Keun-Lunchain. He examined the sources of the Indus and the Satluj and of the two famous lakes of Ravan and Manasarowara. He was the first British traveller to cross the Himalaya.

Without going into the details of Moorcroft's early life and career, it may be mentioned that he was a native of Lancashire, was educated at Liverpool in medicine and had then turned to the study of veterinary science. In pursuit of this latter he went over to France for a time and then returned to London, though only to be forced by his private circumstances to come out to Bengal in 1808 as superintendent of the company's military stud. This stud was instituted for the purpose of improving the indigenous breed of horses for service in cavalry. Moorcroft soon realised that no essential or permanent improvement in the quality of horses could be made without the infusion of new blood into the native stock, and he vigorously urged the introduction of Turcoman horses from Balkh and Bokhara into India. These he regarded as much superior to the Arab variety. This was the chief aim of his first journey, as it partly was of his second one also.

But his great aim, during this later journey was to investigate and explore the possibilities of establishing a trade route between the company's dominion in India and the trans-Himalayan districts and inaugurating commercial intercourse between them. Having wrested

from the Government a reluctant acquiescence in his project to proceed towards Bokhara for the purpose of procuring horses, he obtained permission to carry with him a quantity of English goods, chiefly cottons, broadcloth and hardware, to the value of between three and four thousand pounds. These belonged for the most part to two firms of Calcutta, namely Messrs. Palmer & Co., and Mackillop & Co., who had taken the risk of incurring loss in the hope of creating fresh markets for British commerce in Central Asia. Thus equipped, he started on his journey towards the end of 1819. Of his companions only one was European—Mr. George Trebeck—who, at the time of undertaking this journey was quite a young man, and whose father had at first been a solicitor in London but had lately settled in the same capacity in Calcutta. The young Trebeck was entrusted with the preparation of geographical notes, which he did regularly at least until the party quitted the Panjab, and also made valuable contributions to the account of the journey by way of delineating objects of art or nature and making sketches and drawings. Moorcroft speaks of his friend as being always alert, active, and cheerful under most trying conditions, and Lieut. (afterwards Sir Alexander) Burnes remarks, when describing his burial place at Mazar: "This young man has left a most favourable impression of his good qualities throughout the country which we passed."

The circumstances of Moorcroft's journey are described at length in the two volumes entitled, *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Panjab, etc., etc.*, edited by the great orientalist, the late Prof. H. H. Wilson. These volumes describe his rambles from 1819 to 1825 and were first printed in 1841. It was in the course of these wanderings that the traveller along with his party descended into the plains of the Panjab from the direction of the Kangra Valley. His progress through the sikh kingdom and particularly his visit to Lahore and conversation with Ranjit Singh are of fascinating interest to all students of sikh history. Moorcroft made his way to Ladakh and stayed for some time at its capital, Lé. Disapproving of his long sojourn there, the Government suspended his pay and allowances during his absence. He tried strenuously to gain admission into Chinese Tartary, but did not succeed. From Lé he proceeded to

Kashmir. "His zealous inquiries into the management of the shawl-wool goat and the various processes of the Kashmir shawl manufacture together with the specimens he sent home, are allowed to have contributed much to the improvement of the shawl industry at home." Moorcroft was perhaps the first European in modern times to have travelled through the Pir Panjal range; and he made his way to Kabul by way of Attock and Peshawar. His request to the Government for a letter to the King of Bokhara was refused. Nevertheless he reached Bokhara by traversing the route from Kabul, which until then was new to Europeans, and received a kind and courteous audience from the king. Moorcroft writes: "Before I leave Turkistan I mean to penetrate into that tract that contains perhaps the finest horses in the world, but with which all intercourse has been suspended during the last five years. The expedition is full of hazard, but *le jeu vaut bien la chandelle*. He started from Bokhara on the return journey on 4th-5th August 1825. With a few servants he separated from his party to visit Maimana. But he was taken by robbers and he died, by some accounts of fever, by others of poison, at a place called Andekhui after a few days' illness. His body was brought on a camel to Balkh and was buried outside the walls. George Trebeck was too ill at the time to investigate the circumstances leading to his death and shortly afterwards he himself died of fever at Mazar. Thus ended the careers of these two enterprising Englishmen.

It remains now only to reproduce the letter which has occasioned the writing of this short biographical sketch of the author. This letter has so far remained obscure and has, so far as we know, never previously been brought into print. It is written in Moorcroft's own handwriting at the time when he was visiting Ranjit Singh at Lahore. The purpose or the object with which it was written is set forth in clear and unambiguous language, and it affords, in addition, some vivid glimpses into the manner and character of Ranjit Singh.

Note.—This letter is published through the courtesy of Mr. M. G. Singh, Secretary of the Panjab Public Library, Lahore, who has recently acquired it through Messrs. Francis Edwards, Ltd., of London, who obtained possession of it through private sale.

LAHORE, *May 12th*, 1820.

MY DEAR SIR,

In March, from the neighbourhood of Mundeë, I took the liberty of informing you of my determination to visit this city for the purposes of endeavouring by personal representation to Raja Runjeet Singh, to remove the obstacles then opposing my progress towards Tartary, and to prevent the occurrence of others wherever his influence might extend in the line of my projected route.

To this resolve I was impelled by a well-founded distrust of the correctness of representations from the parties obstructing my advance, and by the numerous advantages personal conference possesses over written recital in a good case.

At the same time I was not unconscious of the disadvantage of appearing before the Raja in an equivocal character, and without being introduced by you. But my situation presented no alternative save that which my judgment condemned, and which consisted in waiting at Mundeë the result of a reference, that, if unfavourable would be directly destructive to my project, and if favourable, might be so in appearance only.

Unaccredited by the Government I could not consistently ask for an introduction from you, and the difficulty was increased by the advance I had actually made without having secured your previous sanction of this measure. But as the consequences of a personal reference were likely to affect me alone, I determined to confront them, and began my journey in the hope that it might be effected without molestation, though some difficulty and delay might reasonably be expected.

Having traversed the Raj of Katoch, and nearly gone through that of Juswa in ten days, I was stopped at the Fort of Rajpoora but was speedily allowed to proceed by the interposition of an intelligent but eccentric officer, who confidently took upon himself the responsibility of the measure. At Hoshiarpur I was less fortunate, my detention there lasting from the 3rd to the 29th of April.

By Meer Izzat Oollah Khan I despatched the accompanying representation No. 1 to Lala Sheodeal at Phalour, with the expecta-

tion of his being induced by it to allow me to continue my journey, but in this I was disappointed although he was prevailed upon to permit the Meer to go to the Raja, an alternative I directed him to press if my immediate progress should be interdicted.

Discussions at Amritsar with the Sardar Desa Singh and the Fugear Commander of the Fort of Gobind Garh, brother of the Hakeem Uzeez-oo-Deen, detained Meer Izzat Oollah at that City until the return of the Raja from Mooltan, when he called the Meer to Lahore, and a Guard and Mehmandar were directed to accompany me in my journey thither.

On the 6th instant I arrived at the Garden of Shalimar and after removing to another Garden and Bungla contiguous to the Fort, had an audience of the Raja, on the evening of the 8th.

Runjeet Singh received me with much civility and appeared gratified with the presents I offered to his acceptance. These consisted of a Brace of Pistols with Spring Bayonets by Nock, a Brace of Pocket Pistols with their panels rifled, a sword by Gile, a most highly finished Model of a piece of Brass Ordnance by Mr. Donnithorne and some Chourees and Pods of Musk.

The Raja exhibited fifty of his best Horses in hand, the next morning fifty more mounted and ridden according to the Sikh mode of training, the morning after that two Regiments of Infantry composed of Sikhs, Goorkhas and natives of Hindoostan armed, accoutred and exercised in imitation of the Company's Sepahees, and more Horses, and yesterday sent the remainder of two hundred reserved for his own riding to be exercised before me. He then desired me to select one, which I begged leave to decline doing, until my return.

It is not surprizing that professedly desirous to obtain the finest Horses in his own dominions and in those of the weaker and neighbouring States, Runjeet Singh should assemble in his Stables so large a body of such Horses as money alone could not probably bring into the possession of any other individual in the more eastern parts of Asia. But notwithstanding the excellence of his Horses of Dhunnee Ghep, the exhibition of his Horses of Bokhara obtained as presents from the late Fattedh Khan and his Brothers and by purchase, leaves

a doubt whether more perfect animals are not to be found in the more western parts of Asia, and confirms the propriety of searching in those countries for individuals to improve the breed of Horses in British Hindustan, *for military purposes.*

Received with increasing familiarity at each successive audience I made an attempt subsequently to the last, through the Hakeem Uzeez-oo-Deen, to introduce British Merchandize direct from British Merchants into the Raja's dominions, and to ensure its safety by a fixed duty, according to the Scheme No. 2, which I have now the honour of submitting for your consideration.

Meer Izzat Oollah was directed by the Raja to attend the discussion of this subject, and after a general view of the benefits which would arise from an increase of commercial intercourse between Hindoostan and the Panjab had been presented, according to my instructions by the Meer, Runjeet Singh observed that as the matter was altogether new and important, he could not give a decided answer until he should have consulted you. For should he accede to the proposition without consulting your advice, and any English Merchant be robbed, it might lead to unpleasant discussions and expose him to an enquiry from you why he had not previously asked your opinion.

For his own part he professed an unwillingness to receive duties upon any Merchandize coming from the Sahib log, but expressed an apprehension that some of the Sikh Chiefs, through whose Jagheers it might pass, might be inclined to exact duties on its transit, and that when he granted the Districts to which he alluded, he left the power of levying duties wholly to the discretion of the Jagheerdars.

On this it was remarked, that whether he should allow British Merchandize to enter and pass through his dominions without paying or on paying duties, it was equally improbable that his Jagheerdars would attempt to disturb arrangements sanctioned by him.

On this point I must observe that between the Satluj and Lahor on the road from Lodehana, there is no other Jagheerdar than Fattedh Singh Aloowala, nor between Lahor and Mooltan than Kuruk Singh. From the connections of the former with the British Government

as holding lands protected by them, no opposition is to be expected, and it is equally improbable that such a son as the latter would venture to impugn the will of such a father.

To the irregularity of the project proposed originating with me I have only to plead the obvious and perhaps general good its adoption might produce to the manufacturing interests of Great Britain, the duty I owe to the Merchants, who have entrusted part of their interests to my charge, and the favourableness of the opportunity.

I was not so vain, or so sanguine, as to expect that a Chief so cautious as Runjeet Singh, would adopt at once, a proposition so pregnant with probability of incident, and especially when proceeding from an individual unannounced, and introduced by himself, in such a manner, and on an occasion much calculated to excite distrust in minds of more confiding habits than that of the Sikh Sovereign.

But, from various circumstances, I was led to expect that it would be received with attention and to hope it might take the turn it actually has done.

This matter, most properly, now rests with you and it would not fall into better hands. I do not see after what the Raja has said how he can sink it altogether, if it be not entirely agreeable to him, without reference to you, and I shall take the occasion of the audience I am to have this day to apprise him that I have written to you regarding it, which will afford you an opportunity of introducing the subject in case of his silence, should it appear to you likely to prove beneficial to the cause of commerce. I know full well that the opinions of commercial men and statesmen in Calcutta are divided as to the demand, which exists, or may be created in the north-western parts of Asia for British merchandize.

Your friend, Mr. Palmer has given an unequivocal testimony of his belief of its improbability and in this he is joined by Mr. Mackillop.

In aiming at the introduction of British merchandize into Runjeet Singh's dominions for sale, I was influenced principally by the fondness the Sikhs entertain for gay attire, and by the ample means great numbers apparently possess for acquiring it.

At the same time it seemed highly proper to keep in view facilities for a passage to Kabool, Kundhar and the more western countries, although the confusion now prevailing in them may not speedily subside into a state favourable to commerce.

These however were less objects of immediate interest than a safe passage for British goods into Tartary by the way of Mundee and Koolloo, to the Capital of Ludagh, from which it is confidently hoped they will go to Yarkund and be diffused over every part of Chinese and Oosbuk Toorkistan.

In laying the foundation for this commerce it may be necessary for English Merchants to incur the risk attending pushing on their wares towards the countries in question beyond the boundaries of Ludagh, but after two or three adventures conducted with great caution, I am willing to hope that Leh will be the Emporium from which British commerce will spread to the northern and western parts of Central Asia.

14th (yesterday) I had a long audience of the Raja and informed him that I had written to you regarding the duty on the introduction of British merchandize to which he observed that he would write to Ræe Anund Singh after having consulted some of his courtiers.

A consultation with courtiers from a Chief who determines and acts singly and independently, is a virtual consignment of the subject to oblivion on his part.

But I trust that what has already taken place, although unauthorised, will furnish sufficient general grounds for the Government to bestow some consideration on the subject provided it can be shown that the cause of British commerce is likely to be materially benefitted by a commercial road to Tartary through the border of a frontier belonging to Runjeet Singh.

The advantages gained by the journey to Lahor are permission to pass through Mundee and Koolloo and also permission to go through Kashmeer, should I find it expedient from difficulties in other lines of march.

But the permission extends not to the remaining portion of the consignment at Farokhabad, and my stay in Kashmeer, from the wording of the Purwana, exceeds not eight or ten days.

Whether it be desirable to send the goods in question to Leh cannot be determined till I shall have tried that market, and also tried whether a road cannot be opened from Tartary direct into the British frontier.

As to my stay in Kashmeer, its prolongation beyond the period prescribed may not be necessary, but the contrary is also possible from events not under my control.

It is to me highly desirable that the Government should intimate a wish through you that I be not stopped in my progress through the Sikh dominions, as I prosecute no other objects than those which are direct, avowed and well-known to the Sikh Chief and indeed the concession of which could not reasonably be refused to the subject and servant of another in friendly relations.

I think it right to observe that I received in Zeafats (which could not be refused without affront) between 5 and 600 Rs. from Runjeet Singh.

I left, on my part with the Raja's servants two hundred rupees, and gifts to other persons in office which when I shall leave this country will exceed the sum received.

My presents to the Raja were worth about seven hundred rupees and the present he made to me amounted to about a thousand rupees.

Of my communication to you on the subject of my going to Lahor I was of course silent.

Believe me,

My Dear Sir,

Obediently and sincerely yours,

(Sd.) WILLIAM MOORCROFT.

LAHORE :

May 15th, 1820.

Whitehall: 10th April 1764

Sir

I am commanded by the King to transmit to you, for the Information of the several Cantons, the inclosed Copy of a Declaration, made the 25th past, at Paris, by the Ministers of the Two Empresses, the Most Christian King, & the Kings of Sweden & Poland, for assembling a Congress at Augsbourg, for treating of a general Peace, which Declaration was delivered here, on the 31st past, by Prince Gallitzin, Envoy Extraordinary from the Court of Petersbourg; and the inclosed Copy of the Counter Declaration, given to that Minister, on the 3rd Instant will shew, how readily His Majesty, & the King of Prussia have accepted this Proposal.

I am, with great Truth & Respect.

Sir

Your most Obedient
humble Servant

W. Pitt