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By J. F. BRUCE.

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This interest was greatly stimulated by Sir Charles Wood's famous educational despatch of 1854, which forms a landmark in the history of Indian education. It resulted in three striking measures: the formation of a Department of Education in every province; the introduction of the system of "grant-in-aid" to educational institutions; and the foundation of the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The first and second of these measures were at once adopted in the Panjab, and the achievement of the third—a University—was entertained as a practical ideal.

The Department of Public Instruction was established in the Panjab in January, 1856, and, despite the alarms of the Mutiny, by the end of 1858 the Province boasted about 1,150 village schools, while grants-in-aid helped to maintain several Mission schools. Moreover, as early as 1858 the Director proposed the establishment of a Central College at Lahore. It was still premature, but by that year

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Normal schools for the training of teachers had been founded at Lahore, Delhi and Rawalpindi. When British India passed under the direct control of the Crown in 1858, the foundations of education in the Panjab had been well laid.

In April, 1859, the first Secretary of State for India, Lord Ellenborough, issued another important educational despatch, concerned chiefly with the further development of Indian Universities. Two years later, in April, 1861, Sir Charles Wood, then Secretary of State, sanctioned the foundation of a superior school at Lahore. It was a mixture of a Government High School and a Chiefs' College in separate departments, and it foreshadowed the rise of higher education. In 1862 there were three first grade schools, besides several vigorous Missionary schools. Of the latter, that conducted by the Rev. J. Forman at Lahore was officially described as the best school in the Province.

Collegiate education in the Panjab actually originated on the professional side. As early as 1853 an "anatomical school" was formed at Mian Mir. In 1857 the Civil Surgeon proposed its conversion into a medical school, giving instruction in English and Hindustani, and a Medical College was in fact opened at Lahore in October, 1860.

A proposal had been under consideration for some time to open a Central College at Lahore on the model of Presidency College, Calcutta. It had been forestalled by the Medical Service, but in 1863 it was sanctioned, and in the following year, 1864, Government Colleges were opened at Lahore and Delhi. Dr. G. W. Leitner, M.A., Ph.D. (Freiburg), formerly Professor of Arabic and Muhammadan Law at King's College, London, was appointed Principal at Lahore, and Mr. E. Willmot, B.A. (Cambridge), at Delhi. Both Colleges prepared students for the examinations of the University of Calcutta. In 1866 a Mission College was also opened at Lahore for the same purpose. It was closed in 1869 and reopened in 1886 as Forman Christian College.

In its early years Government College, Lahore, did not prosper greatly. The education of each student was costing Rs. 1,200 a year, and in the First Arts Examination of 1866 there were 17 candidates

from Government Colleges in the Panjab, of whom only 4 passed, including only one from Lahore. These facts evoked rebukes from the Lieutenant-Governor and from the Governor-General, which were apparently deserved, for four students had passed from the Mission College. The conditions did not seem to promise success for the project on this basis to erect a University. But Dr. Leitner emerged undeterred from his severe skirmish with Government. In January, 1865, he had founded the Anjuman-i-Panjab, a propagandist society, which aimed at establishing an independent University of the Panjab upon the basis of the general promise contained in paragraph 24 of the Educational Despatch of 1854.

There were, indeed, serious objections to the attachment of the Panjab Colleges to the University of Calcutta, on account of its unsuitable curriculum and methods of examination, as well as the fact that it was designed primarily to test the results of higher education in Bengal, where conditions differed greatly from those of the Panjab. Feeling on the question ran high. The Principal of Government College, Delhi, described the University of Calcutta as "the Arch-Inspector of Schools of Bengal" and as "an academic solecism." Dr. Leitner employed more direct and practical methods of attack upon the Calcutta connexion, which, he urged, produced in Panjab students a narrow, superficial and unreal knowledge, and divorced them from their own cultural tradition.

The Anjuman-i-Panjab, aimed among other things, at the revival of Oriental learning, education through the vernacular, and the association of the learned and influential classes with the officers of Government." In response to an invitation of the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Donald McLeod, in June, 1865, to propose means of improving modern education and literature through the vernacular, Dr. Leitner quickly produced a scheme for an "Oriental University of Upper India," which, in his excited brain, would produce "a new era, in which the *complete* results of science and learning will be imparted to the *whole* people." This scheme was approved at a series of public meetings, attended by native gentry and intellectuals, organised by Dr. Leitner and the Anjuman, and was also supported by an influential group of Englishmen, which included Mr. (afterwards Sir) C. U.

Aitchison, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Lepel Griffin and Mr. Brandreth, Commissioner of Lahore.

Funds were promised and collected to assist the realisation of this scheme of an Oriental University. The Viceroy, Sir John Lawrence, and the Raja of Kapurthala each promised to subscribe Rs. 2,000 a year; Sir D. McLeod, Rs. 1,000 a year. Other Indians and Europeans promised subscriptions and donations. The Lieutenant-Governor was actively sympathetic, but naturally wished the scheme to be reduced to a practicable form, which should promise success and gain the approval and sanction—as well as the financial support—of the Government of India. He consulted Major Nassau Lees, Principal of the Madras College, Calcutta, who advised caution and suggested, instead of an Oriental University, the establishment of a good college which, while conveying a practical knowledge of English and a general acquaintance with European science through the vernacular medium, should be based mainly upon the classical languages and literatures of India. It was a more modest form of Dr. Leitner's scheme.

Discussion of the general proposal and propaganda for its adoption continued during 1866, and in March, 1867, a strong Committee of Europeans and Indians was formed, which put forward a more balanced and practicable scheme for a University and made a public appeal for funds to realise it. It should be noted particularly that the representatives of the Anjuman implicitly abandoned their original scheme and gave support to the newer and more general plan now proposed. The title now suggested was "Lahore University." When the Panjab University College became an accomplished fact, Sir D. McLeod, in his inaugural address on 11th January, 1870, explained the reason for the change. "The use of the term *Oriental*," he said, "did not commend itself to my judgment, as I deemed it certain that, without a large infusion of European literature and science, the object in view could not possibly be attained."

In 1867 the University movement in the Panjab received a fresh stimulus, when in August "The British India Association of the North-West Provinces" proposed to the Government of India the establishment of a vernacular University at Delhi. The Government

of India disapproved the proposal, but referred it to the Government of the Panjab for opinion. All officials and bodies in the Panjab to whom this proposal was submitted by the Lieutenant-Governor strongly opposed it and reiterated their approval of the proposal made by the European Committee in March, 1867, to establish a University at Lahore.

Meanwhile the Lieutenant-Governor had obtained donations of Rs. 62,500 from the Maharaja of Kashmir and Rs. 10,000 from the Raja of Kapurthala for the achievement of the local scheme, and these sums were placed in the general fund; while the Maharaja of Patiala placed Rs. 50,000, and the Rajas of Jhind and Nabha each Rs. 11,000, in special trust accounts, which were paid over to the University College when it was actually established.

At a public meeting on 12th March, 1868, over which Sir D. McLeod presided, it was resolved that a University of the Panjab should be established at Lahore, which should be a teaching as well as an examining University, employing the professorial system and taking up teaching at the point at which the Government Colleges left it off. After some further amendment of the resolutions of this meeting the Lieutenant-Governor on 27th May, 1868, addressed to the Government of India a request for approval and sanction for the establishment of a University of the Panjab according to the plan submitted in his letter.

Despite the zeal which had been shown for the achievement of a University, the contributions had not been very great, amounting at the date of the Lieutenant-Governor's letter of 27th May, 1868, to less than one lakh. Of the amount collected, namely, Rs. 98,794, the Maharaja of Kashmir had donated Rs. 62,500; the Raja of Kapurthala, Rs. 10,000; other ruling Chiefs, Rs. 7,900; European officials Rs. 6,400; only about Rs. 12,000 being derived from ordinary public donation. Moreover, Rs. 12,589 had already been dissipated, and of the remainder only Rs. 7,337 represented the contributions of those who had wished to establish an Oriental University.

It is impossible in this brief account to record the voluminous correspondence and discussion in which the project at this stage was involved. The reader will be enabled to examine it in the "Jubilee

History of the University," which is about to be published. A short outline must suffice. The Government of India was requested to approve a separate University of the Panjab and to sanction an annual grant-in-aid of Rs. 21,000. The special objects of the University were to be, "to afford encouragement to the enlightened study of Oriental languages and literatures, the improvement and extension of the vernacular literature of the Panjab and its Dependencies, and the diffusion of western knowledge through the medium of the vernaculars." Instruction and examination were to be conveyed *as far as possible* in the vernacular. Proficiency in a classical Oriental language, combined with a thorough knowledge of English, should be necessary in order to attain the highest honours of the University, but provision was to be made for honouring proficiency in literature and science in the case of those unacquainted with English, and in English in the case of those unacquainted with a classical Oriental language.

The proposal was referred by the Viceroy to his Council, which included Mr. (afterwards Sir) Henry Maine and Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Strachey. They did not approve the larger scheme and suggested that support should rather be given to the extension and improvement of the teaching in Government College, Lahore. In that sense the Governor-General replied to Sir Donald McLeod on 19th September, 1868.

The Lieutenant-Governor agreed that the proposal was defective and impracticable in certain respects, but on 12th November, 1868, he expressed to the Government of India his deep regret that the refusal would completely discourage those who were zealous to secure a system of higher education in the Panjab. In consequence of his strong advocacy the Government of India sanctioned the establishment of the institution in a modified form, and this sanction was confirmed by the Secretary of State.

The new institution was to be called a University College, to indicate that its status was merely temporary and that, if it justified the promotion, it might in future be established as a University. It was empowered to grant certificates of proficiency, but not degrees. Certain conditions were definitely imposed by the Government of

India, particularly (i) "that the study of English shall form one of the most prominent features of the teaching" and that "teaching and examination in subjects which cannot with advantage be carried on in the vernacular shall be conducted in English"; (ii) that in all teaching in the vernacular effective measures shall be provided to secure that modern educational methods and standards shall be prescribed and preserved.

The Anjuman, through Mr. Lepel Griffin, who, in Dr. Leitner's absence, was acting as president, expressed to the Lieutenant-Governor its keen disappointment at the decision of the Government of India, and pleaded that at least the name of a University and the power to confer Oriental degrees and titles of honour be conceded. Sir D. McLeod replied that it would be unwise to press the Government of India further at this stage, and that he had accordingly accepted that part of the scheme which they approved. He hoped that the successful conduct of that measure would soon justify the sanction of the complete scheme. On 5th August, 1869, the new Secretary of State, the Duke of Argyll, repeated the promise that "hereafter, if attended with due success, the College would be expanded into a University."

Accordingly, the Panjab University College was established by Notification No. 472, dated 8th December, 1869.

Before the establishment of Panjab University College the Anjuman had attempted to form an Oriental College. It opened schools in 1865, and in May, 1866, it experimentally set up a college and madrasa of the proposed University. It was discovered in 1867 that the cost of these institutions was being met from the general fund which was being collected for the foundation of a University. They were closed by 1st June, 1868, but in the interval considerably more had been expended upon them from the general fund than had been collected from supporters of the original scheme of an Oriental University.

As soon as the University College was founded the Executive Committee of its Senate took measures for the provision of an Oriental Department, which should provide instruction in the Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian languages and literatures, together with a modern training in the elements of general knowledge through the vernacular. In

to Lahore—had still to prepare students for the higher examinations of Calcutta University, which alone could confer the coveted degree, until at last, in October, 1882, the Panjab institution was raised to the status of a University and empowered to confer degrees.

Until too late Calcutta University had refused to modify its rules to meet the needs of Panjab students. Panjab University College did what it could to abate the nuisance of double examinations. It approximated its time-table, standard and curriculum of examinations as far as possible to those of Calcutta, but it could not deny its own *raison d'être*, which was a protest against the general unsuitability of the Calcutta system for Panjab students, without seeking its own abolition; and that was now unthinkable.

Fairly steady progress was made by the University College throughout its existence. Only one branch of direct teaching was added to its functions after 1870, when, in 1873-74 classes in Civil Engineering were opened in the Oriental College. They appear not to have been very popular, for in eight years only 33 students appeared in the First Examination, of whom 15 were successful; while only one appeared in the Final Examination, which he passed.

Dr. Leitner reported in glowing terms the progress of Oriental College, though, if one may judge by its condition during the first five years of the University, he apparently saw it through rose-coloured spectacles. During the last six years of the existence of the University College a spate of volumes appeared from its press, for it possessed a printery of its own in these years. These volumes consisted mostly of vernacular translations of English text-books, and of compilations and grammar books for the use of students. Few of them could be dignified as contributions to "the improvement and extension of vernacular literature," which was one of the avowed purposes of the College.

The number of candidates who appeared in the various examinations of the University College steadily increased. In its first Entrance Examination 88 candidates appeared, of whom 41 passed. In its last Entrance Examination 249 appeared, of whom 75 passed. In its first year 81 candidates appeared in all Oriental examinations,

of whom 32 were successful. In the last series 399 appeared and 182 passed. During the first ten years 303 students appeared in all examinations in Law, of whom 151 passed. In 1882, 170 appeared, of whom 83 passed. The number of candidates in Medicine, remained fairly constant during the twelve years. The progress of the competition with Calcutta may be illustrated by the figures of examinations in the three years, 1878-80. In those three series 365 Panjab candidates appeared in all Calcutta University examinations. In the corresponding series 910 candidates appeared in Panjab University College examinations.

Throughout the existence of the institution as a University College, its champions strove unremittingly for its elevation to the status of a University. Their attempt in 1873 was coldly rebuffed; but it was renewed in 1876, when the next Viceroy, Lord Lytton, visited Lahore. On that occasion he promised to support the measure, and accordingly at the great Darbar of 1877 the Senate of Panjab University College presented a memorial praying for this enhancement of status. After much correspondence and the preparation of two draft bills, at last the Panjab University Act was passed on 5th October, 1882, and Panjab University was formally called into existence nine days later by a Notification issued by the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Charles Aitchison. The first meeting of the Senate was held at Barnes Court, Simla, on 14th October, 1882, and almost its first action was to approve the Chancellor's resolution that the degree of Doctor of Oriental Learning be conferred upon Dr. Leitner.

The inaugural Convocation of Panjab University was held in the hall of Government College on 18th November, 1882. It was a gorgeous ceremony, attended by the Patron, Lord Ripon. Its colourful splendour, as recorded by a rapt observer, suggests the emergence of the butterfly from its chrysalis.

One aspect of the development of the University during its minority period should be specially noted. Its creation and maintenance had only been made possible by the splendid munificence of the ruling princes of the Panjab, particularly by the Maharajas of Patiala and Kashmir, the Nawab of Bahawalpur, the Rajas of Kapurthala, Nabha and Jhind and the Nawab of Maler-Kotla, who donated very much the largest part of its funds.

A double University had been created by the Act of Incorporation of 1882. An Oriental University had been combined with an English University—a constitution unique in India. The two sides were given equal recognition and empowered to grant parallel series of degrees, while the Oriental Faculty received special powers to recognise proficiency by conferring Oriental titles and marks of honour. Thus, as had been advocated from the outset of the movement, both English and the vernacular languages were officially recognised, English becoming the medium of instruction and examination in all subjects organised upon the European model.

Since its incorporation the University has passed through two main phases, firstly, between 1882 and 1904, and secondly, from 1905 until 1932-33. The first phase was terminated by the passing of the Indian Universities Act, by which its constitution and functions were considerably modified. The last phase has been marked not only by the attainment of its Jubilee, but also by the enquiry and report of a Committee appointed by Government to examine "its working, its constitution, rules and regulations, with a view to suggesting such changes as may appear necessary."

The University was constituted under the Act of 1882 to act as (i) an examining body; (ii) an advisory board of education for the Province; (iii) a learned and literary society; and (iv) a teaching corporation. Throughout its existence the first of these functions has remained the most prominent. The second was exercised progressively less as the organisation of the Government Department of Public Instruction was elaborated; but at first the University was frequently consulted by Government upon general educational problems. The third function languished until Dr. (now Sir) Aurel Stein became Principal of Oriental College in 1888. Fourthly, as a teaching corporation it maintained the Oriental College and the Law School. All other instruction was conveyed by Government and private colleges, some of which were aided from the funds of the University, chiefly by means of the grant of scholarships on the results of its examinations.

The University was empowered at first to confer degrees only in the Faculties of Arts and Oriental Studies, namely Bachelor and Master of Arts and Doctor of Literature; Bachelor, Master and Doctor

of Oriental Learning. The caution of the Government of India, in proceeding slowly and gradually to endow the University with full powers, was wise, for during the first five years of its "majority" its organisation was found to be inadequate to its enhanced status. A general and radical reform was found to be necessary and was completed by 1888, largely by the devotion of Dr. (afterwards Sir) W. H. Rattigan, at that time Vice-Chancellor.

The general and financial administration, which had been taken over by the University from the University College, was found to be rather lax and irresponsible and was carefully overhauled between 1884 and 1887. In the latter year the Syndicate was reconstituted and made the effective executive committee of the Senate. Faculties were organised under responsible heads and a Board of Studies was appointed in each. The whole clerical staff was replaced and the Oriental College and the Law School were reformed. It was decided to appoint a responsible Registrar and, for the sake of economy, to select a qualified Orientalist, who should also be made Principal of Oriental College.

In 1888 Dr. (now Sir) Aurel Stein was appointed Registrar of the University and Principal of Oriental College. This distinguished scholar retained the dual office until 1899, and after an interval he was succeeded in 1900 by Dr. A. W. Stratton, who, however, died in 1902. After another interval he was succeeded in April, 1903, by Mr. A. C. Woolner, now Vice-Chancellor. During the period, 1882-1904, the Oriental College was the chief object of expenditure by the University for purposes of direct instruction. At the same time the balance between the eastern and western sides of the University was being rapidly altered. In 1901, for example, there were 403 candidates in all Oriental examinations, and 3,779 in those of Arts and Science. (In the most recent phase of development the disproportion has become vastly greater.) On the other hand, certain members of the staff of Oriental College at that time, particularly Dr. Stein and Shaikh (now Sir) Muhammad Iqbal, made notable contributions to Oriental learning.

The Law School was similarly, though not so completely, reorganised. The course of instruction was extended from two to three

years. An English Barrister, Mr. P. Morton, was appointed part-time lecturer in 1887 and continued in that capacity till 1900, when Mr. Shadi Lal, M.A., B.C.L. (Oxon.), Barrister-at-law (now Sir Shadi Lal, Chief Justice of the High Court of Lahore) officiated until, in 1901, Mr. G. Serrell, M.A., LL.D. (London), was appointed Principal and the School was reorganised as a College. Dr. Serrell unfortunately died in 1904. In 1891 the University was empowered to confer degrees in Law.

The Medical College has always been maintained by Government, the University merely providing the apparatus of examination. This College was also reorganised in 1886, when the University was empowered to confer degrees in Medicine. Its development since that time has been steady and continuous. In 1887 there were 48 candidates for all examinations in Medicine, of whom 12 presented themselves for titles in indigenous Medicine. In 1904 there were 596 students on the rolls of the College, which prepared them now only in the western system. Instruction in the Ayurvedic system was transferred to D. A.-V. College, in the Yunani system to Islamia College, Lahore.

All other instruction in this first period of the University was conveyed by colleges which were "recognised" by the University. In 1882 there were only three such, namely, Government College, Lahore; St. Stephen's College, Delhi, which was opened in that year by the Cambridge Mission; and Mohindra College, Patiala, which had prepared students to the Intermediate standard since 1880, and achieved the status of a degree College in 1887. The two former Colleges prepared students for all examinations up to the M.A.

At the time of the general reorganisation of the University in 1886 several more Colleges were opened to prepare students for its examinations, especially the American Presbyterian Mission College, which was reopened, after a lapse of twenty years, as Forman Christian College. In the same year the Arya Samaj opened a school which, as the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, formed College classes in 1888. The Church of Scotland Mission opened a high school at Sialkot in 1886, which three years later formed classes in preparation for the Intermediate Examination of the University. Sadiq-Egerton

College, Bahawalpur, had opened Intermediate classes in 1886 and advanced to graduate status six years later. In 1892 Islamia College, Lahore, was opened; in 1893 Gordon Mission College, Rawalpindi; in 1896 Khalsa College, Amritsar; while in the same year, 1896, Randhir College, Kapurthala, formed Intermediate classes. In 1899 Hindu College, Delhi, formed classes for the Intermediate, and in 1900 for the B.A. Examinations; while the Church Mission High School, Peshawar, which had been opened in 1855, formed a University department—Edwardes College—in 1900. Thus, at the end of the first period of the University twelve Arts Colleges were engaged in preparing students for its examinations. Before the end of that period another professional College became affiliated to the University, which instituted a new degree to recognise the training which it provided.

In addition to the various Normal Schools which it had already established, Government founded a Central Training College in 1881. In 1887 it was removed to its present site, and in 1903 it was affiliated to the University to prepare graduate candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Teaching.

The progress of the University during this phase was also recognised in another way. In 1889 it was included by the University of Oxford in the list of Universities, the degrees of which Oxford recognised, and the graduates of which it admitted to certain important privileges. So Panjab University won its "hall mark." At the beginning of 1896 Cambridge extended to it the same recognition and privileges.

Having passed through a period which Sir Charles Aitchison described as a false start, the University had established itself. Owing to the prevailing views and conditions, it had begun chiefly as an administrative and examining machine and not, like European Universities, as a corporation of scholars and students, conscious of their united quest after sound learning. But even before the end of the first phase indications of this proper attitude became plain. As early as 1891 the University had shaken off the Calcutta incubus. In the year 1902-3 a system of joint teaching was attempted by Government College and Forman Christian College. In the following year, 1903-4, the University received grants from the Governments

of India and the Panjab for the erection of a suitable Hall and the provision of a sports ground. Since its incorporation in 1882 it had possessed a name but no local habitation except the old Senate Hall, which it owes to the munificence of the Nawab of Bahawalpur in 1874. Its students lurked in corners of Government College and in hired houses. It was now, however, on the eve of a second era, as we hope in this year of Jubilee, that it is upon the eve of a third and far more generous era of true achievement. Its greatest defect was that it was a more or less fortuitous concatenation of atoms of higher education. It still needs to become an organism.

The second stage of the life of the University, which was ushered in by the Commission of 1902 and the Indian Universities Act of 1904, has been a stage of formless achievement. Many good things have been attained, but they do not make a coherent pattern. We hope that that will be essential contribution of the third stage.

The Indian Universities Act of 1904 was concerned chiefly with administration. It improved the composition of the Senate and of the Faculties, but it changed the mechanism more than the spirit of the University. It brought colleges apparently more under the control of the University by prescribing rules for their affiliation, though it did not sufficiently consider the needs and functions of the controlling body. It gave Government an opportunity to exercise an almost overwhelming authority in those controlling bodies, particularly the Senate. But its effect was not so great as might have been expected, because it was too largely mechanical, and this University has spent a good deal of energy in picking its way through the Act. But the Act enabled one very valuable measure, which, when systematically developed, will do endless good by transforming this University from a mere affiliating body into a genuine teaching corporation. The Act did another very good thing when it enabled the University to build, and all the building which ensued during this last period has been valuable because it has created and developed its corporate consciousness. It is impossible to regard a body which merely regulates, examines, affiliates and gives degrees, as an *Alma Mater*. Early in this stage the University Hall and Library were erected and the Tournament Ground was provided. These

form the nucleus, around which, when a Union building is added, a true University will surely grow.

The new access of constructive development—which was not mere expansion, like the growing tally of Colleges and candidates for examination—received a fresh stimulus from the Congress of Universities of the Empire in 1912. It induced attention to University teaching. The first consequence was the invitation of a succession of distinguished teachers from other Universities to visit Lahore, review the existing teaching of their subjects, advise teachers, colleges and students, and suggest plans of development. They included Dr. Smithells, Mr. Ramsay Muir, Dr. Compton, Dr. Elton and Dr. Newton, between 1913 and 1929, and comprehended History, Chemistry, Physics, Economics, Mathematics, Arabic and English. If their direct influence seemed transitory, they have all left effective results in the University.

Another product of the new zeal was the erection and equipment of modern laboratories, which were placed under the direction of highly competent scientists. Government led the way here by extending the opportunities of the late Col. Stephenson, F.R.S., of Government College, who developed the departments of Zoology and Botany, which were placed at the service of the University. Honours schools in these subjects were established. The University developed the system by adding, with Government assistance, an admirable department of Chemistry. In all these higher teaching and research have been ably promoted.

Oriental College was similarly developed. Research professorships of Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit were established. Honours schools in these subjects were initiated and the Panjab University Oriental Publication Series was begun, while modern critical methods were applied in the new M.A. courses in Oriental studies.

These advances were paralleled in the rapid expansion of the University Library, the establishment therein of a school for the training of librarians, and the acquisition of an important collection of manuscripts. The growth of the Library within this period has been one of the most admirable features of the development of the University as a centre of learning.

The progress of the University was affected somewhat at this point by the publication of the Report of the Calcutta University Commission, which had two notable results in the Panjab. On the one hand it resulted in the establishment by Government of a number of new institutions, called Intermediate Colleges, which were affiliated to the University. In the form which they assumed they have scarcely assisted in the proper development of the University, for they are suspended somewhat uncertainly between the schools and the University, without gaining the advantage of a strong association with either. Their value is monitory, for they have drawn attention to the necessity of considering the preparatory foundation of University education. The other notable fruit of the Report is the Academic Council of the University, which was created in 1923 and will, when its composition and function have been more thoroughly adjusted, prove one more valuable instrument for the improvement of the University as a corporation for the advancement of learning.

The decade from 1921 to 1930, that is, the period preceding the last three lean years of financial depression and retrenchment, has been marked by great and obvious growth. Not only has the admirable University School of Chemistry come into existence, as well as the subsidised School of Technical Chemistry at Forman Christian College, but also a crop of new and necessary University buildings has rapidly appeared. The Law College and Oriental College have been well housed, though the former has become utterly inadequate for the crowd of students who have thronged to it. Excellent hostels have been erected to accommodate students of the Colleges directly conducted by the University. Largely by the munificence of the late Sir Ganga Ram and the assistance of Government, a new professional institution, Hailey College of Commerce, has been established and well housed and equipped. Government also instituted modern Colleges, namely the Agricultural College, Lyallpur, and the Maclagan Engineering College, Moghalpura, for technical training and research, and these have been affiliated to the University, which has also established a department of Astronomy, with an observatory, under the control of a Reader. On another side, it has encouraged the systematic study of the ver-

macular languages of the Province and has undertaken the compilation of a Panjabi Dictionary.

The tale of rapid growth must record a very important step, that is, the inauguration of University teaching departments and the establishment of Professorships of Mathematics, Economics, Chemistry and History. The tale of these, we hope, has only begun, for their increase and organisation are a definite harbinger of a new era in the life and value of the University. The immediate need of Professorships and properly organised departments of English, Physics and Politics, is quite apparent. The further extension of the policy which is plainly implied in their creation promises to provide the great achievement of the next generation. The problem of their proper relation to the governing councils of the University and to the affiliated collèges is crucial, and its wise solution will place the University in a far stronger and more useful relation to the life of the Province, which it must aim to serve as the great Universities of Britain serve that country.

Another important aspect of the recent development of the University has been the attempt to perfect a system of inter-collegiate instruction in post-graduate studies, in collaboration, where they exist, with the University departments, and the beginning, on the Arts side of the University, of a system of Honours Schools, corresponding to those of Science. The attempt at a Combined Honours School of English, Philosophy, Economics and History, admirable in conception, proved premature. A separate Honours School of History has been established, and it is hoped that it will be the fore-runner of others, which can enter into balanced combination. The omens indicate an immediate development in the next phase, of those departments of social studies, which have been the great strength of the ancient Universities of England and the chief source of their civic and national influence.

The recent inception of a department of Physical Training in the University, which is one of its original advances among the Universities of India, is a further indication of the growth of its organic consciousness and its sense of civic obligation. It may be impossible to make a cult of physical fitness an object of academic

study; but it is certain that the proper direction of the physical well-being of students is as vital as that of their social and intellectual training. This measure, with the foundation of a Union building which will mark the Jubilee, reveals the growing sense that the University must forget its artificial origin as a board of inquisitors, seeking candidates whom it might devour, and become an organic intellectual society, which will create social, political and intellectual leaders, while at the same time it contributes to the advancement of sound learning.

It has many problems to solve, amongst which the most pressing is the relation in which the nucleus at Lahore is to be adjusted to the affiliated institutions, not merely of Lahore, but also of the vast province of the Panjab and adjacent States, which must receive their inspiration from Lahore. Certain it is, however, that that relation can never become really satisfactory until this nucleus becomes a highly organic society, which, having acquired a rich intellectual and social life of its own, shall throw out living tentacles to embrace in that life the less richly organised institutions of the mufassal. The vastness of its responsibility is indicated by the examination statistics of the year 1932, when the following numbers of candidates presented themselves:

Entrance (Matriculation)	..	20,333
Intermediate	..	6,175
B.A. and B.Sc.	..	2,781
M.A. and M.Sc.	..	343

There are now fifty-three colleges affiliated to the University in an area on a radius of about 400 miles from Lahore.

This problem leads to a melancholy reflection. The total general endowment fund of the University scarcely exceeds five lakhs. The generosity of benefactors in its early days—among whom the ruling Princes occupy a place of conspicuous honour—is now an ancient tale, emulated in recent years only by the late Sir Ganga Ram. Government has not been entirely ungenerous, though, since the incorporation of the University, it has never regarded its maintenance and development as a matter of great public importance. Indeed, it has complicated the task of the University by often merely extending

the scope of its responsibility, by increasing the tally of institutions under its ægis, rather than by increasing its intellectual and social strength. But no worthy University has ever been entirely, or even largely, created and maintained by a Government. All peoples have got the Universities which they deserve. That is surely the lesson of Oxford and Cambridge, which have been heavily endowed by the pious generosity of countless private patrons.

The University of the Panjab must deserve this patronage—and receive it, if its Centenary is to fulfil the promise of its Jubilee. And that promise, in the essentials, is not small; nor is the achievement, especially of the past quarter of a century; for it has more to be proud of than those ignorant of its achievements and past difficulties are aware.

For further information concerning the history of Panjab University the reader may be referred to the following:

The address by Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency at a Special Convocation of the University, on 12th January, 1933, when the University conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws, *honoris causa*. (P. U. Calendar, 1933-34, pp. 557-564).

The Report of the Panjab University Enquiry Committee, 1933.
A Jubilee History of the University of the Panjab (in the press).

SOME HISTORICAL GLEANINGS FROM OLD MISSION
RECORDS.

BY ROSS WILSON.

(*Paper read on 24th April, 1933.*)

Some of my hearers will have seen a recent book entitled "A Cultural History of Modern Europe" by a German writer, Egon Friedell. This book is not only one of the most *recent* but one of the most *brilliant* expositions of a new, or if not new a neglected, type of historical writing which goes by the name of Cultural History. What Friedell has so brilliantly done for the Europe of the last four centuries, and Coulton of Cambridge for the Europe of the Middle Ages, remains to be done for India ; but the task will demand such wealth of knowledge, keenness of discernment and warmth of sympathy and imagination that it may be a long time ere one is found who will have the temerity to undertake it. Meantime there is scope and need for a host of prospectors in this field—the field, that is, of the social and cultural history of India.

This paper is intended to be a small venture in this direction. It will attempt to follow a very limited portion of the course of one particular stream of cultural influence—a stream which is only one of the many, to be sure, which have watered the great continent of Indian culture, but one whose influence few will be disposed to question. I refer to the stream of influence which is known as Christian Missions. This is not, however, an ambitious attempt to narrate the history of Christian Missions in India, but rather to set forth the beginnings of that movement in the Panjab, and to relate it to the early history of the province.

In an obscure corner of the Forman College Library is a book-case filled with a mass of books and papers, printed and in manuscript, which comprise the all too meagre archives of the Panjab Mission of the American Presbyterian Church, which was the first Protestant

Christian Mission to enter the Panjab proper. It is a portion of these records that has afforded the material for the greater part of this paper. There are, for instance, an old worm-eaten ledger in which Mr. Lowrie, the first missionary stationed in Ludhiana kept his accounts; a somewhat damaged volume containing a manuscript copy of the first annual reports of the "Lodiana Mission"; a type-script copy of the memoirs of the Rev. C. B. Newton, son of the Rev. John Newton who, in company with Dr. Charles W. Forman, took up his residence in Lahore immediately after the annexation of the Panjab in 1849; and a couple of rare volumes of printed reports and memoirs.

It may be as well to pause for a moment to take our bearings. These records are of course only minor manifestations of a movement which reaches back through nineteen centuries of history—a movement which found a tragic and mistaken, though powerful, manifestation in the Crusades of the 12th and 13th Centuries; a movement which had all but spent itself in the religious strife of the 16th and 17th Centuries; but which was to experience a powerful renaissance in the late 18th Century. The conscience of England had been stirred and her religious life quickened by the evangelical revival of the latter part of the 18th Century generally known as the Wesleyan movement. If this revival in some sense supplied the motive for the reforming activity of a Wilberforce in his crusade against slavery and for the liberal spirit of a Canning and a Grey in England, or an Elphinstone and a Bentinck out here in India, it found even clearer expression in the veritable swarming of Missionary Societies and Associations. In Great Britain alone as many as fourteen, and in the United States ten, such societies made their appearance between the year of John Wesley's death in 1791, and 1833, the year with which this sketch really begins.

Suppose we for a moment turn the time-machine backward, till we find ourselves back in the year 1831, and in the thriving young industrial city of Pittsburgh which memorialises the name of England's first and greatest imperialist, the elder Pitt.

It was on Monday, the 24th of October, 1831, that the Synod of Pittsburgh met in that city to organize the "Western Foreign Mis-

sionary Society." Not many months later three young men, well equipped in the secular and theological education of the day, volunteered for foreign service under the direction of that Society. The first to leave his home-land was the Rev. John B. Pinney, who sailed for Liberia in January, 1833. Returning to the United States in July he set out again, in October of the same year, with three companions. This quartette of missionaries claim our interest at the moment because of their subsequent tragic history. After six months in Liberia, and within a fortnight, three of the four fell victims to an epidemic, and Pinney was left to carry on his work alone.

On the 30th of May, following the first departure of Pinney, the remaining two of this trio of volunteers, the Rev. John C. Lowrie and the Rev. William Reed with their wives went aboard the ship "Star" which lay at anchor in the Delaware River not far from Philadelphia ready to hoist her sails for the voyage to Calcutta. Sailing across to Madeira, and thence by way of the Cape, the good ship "Star" bore these four young adventurers uneventfully on their way toward India—uneventfully, that is, except for a terrific three days' gale which threatened to engulf the ship. At last on the 11th of October the pilot ship, anchored off the Sand Heads of the Hoogly, was sighted. Three days later, after passing the stately European mansions of Garden Reach and "the East India Company's Botanical Garden and Bishop's College on the opposite side of the river"—to quote Mr. Lowrie's brief account—"we swept under the walls of Fort William and were in full view of Government House." The long voyage was safely over—but the same fatality that wrought havoc upon the group who had gone to Africa seemed to follow this group to India. Five weeks after their arrival Mrs. Lowrie, who had left Philadelphia in poor health, passed away, a victim of tuberculosis; and during the month of August following, Mr. Reed who with his wife had re-embarked for the United States, succumbed to the same disease. It was a lonely and saddened man, therefore, who on the 25th of July, 1834, set out for Ludhiana, the farthest outpost of British influence in India, which he and his companions had chosen as their first field of endeavour—a journey scarcely less perilous and extended than the voyage from Philadelphia had been,

But why should Ludhiana have been chosen for this venture? More than 20 years before this, American missionaries had settled in Western India and formed the Marathi Mission; another group had begun work in Burma at about the same time; a third group had been labouring in Ceylon since 1822; and a fourth group was even then beginning its work in Madura. No one of these groups was adequate in personnel to the work undertaken. Why should not Lowrie throw in his lot with one of these? Several groups of British missionaries, too, had been more than cordial in their welcome and quick to offer fields near their own. But appreciative as he was of the welcome and help that he had received, he turned eagerly toward the frontier. It is instructive to note his own *apologia* for the choice he had made. He writes, "After carefully weighing the information we had received, Mr. Reed and myself were clear in our conviction that the north-west provinces presented the best field of labour for the commencement of our efforts. They contain," he continues, "a numerous and hardy population, with a better climate than the lower provinces, and there is ready access to the lower ranges of the Himalaya mountains in case of the failure of health. They were then, and they continue to be, in a great measure, unoccupied by the Missionary institutions of other bodies of Christians. And their position connects them with other countries in which no efforts have yet been made to introduce the Christian religion." He goes on to speak of the Sikhs; but it is apparent that he has, in longer view, the opportunity for work among the Afghans and "Cashmerians," as he calls them, as well. Perhaps the final and determining consideration was this, that "there was just at that time a movement to promote the spread of English language and learning in some of the important cities in the Upper Provinces. English Colleges had been established by the Government at Agra and at Delhi and instruction of a similar kind was wanted at some other places one of which was Ludhiana."

His goal thus chosen, Lowrie set out upon the slow and tedious journey to Ludhiana twelve hundred miles inland. There were apparently three commonly accepted methods of travel; he might go by palanquin all the way, changing bearers at stages ten miles apart and accomplishing as much as a hundred miles a day; or he might travel

much more leisurely and comfortably with tents ; making from ten to fifteen miles a day. Lowrie chose a third method, that is, up the Ganges to Cawnpore by boat, and thence five hundred miles overland in a palanquin, his outfit being loaded upon heavy carts, each drawn by three bullocks, which went by the quaint old name of "hackeries." One of the early entries in Lowrie's ledger has a bearing upon this journey. It runs as follows :

" July 26th to December 15th [1834] :

To Cash Paid. Expenses of J. C. Lowrie, his baggage, Mission Property, Insurance, etc.,—from Calcutta to Lodiana—*via* Budgerow, etc., to Cawnpore 399-8 ; thence to Lodiana, Dak 239-12 ; Hackeries 188-8—827-12."

A curious feature of this entry is the dates at the beginning— for according to Lowrie's Journal as contained in his little book "Two Years in Upper India...." he started on the 25th of July and reached Ludhiana on the 5th of November. The discrepancy of one day at the start may be due to an incident recorded in his Journal. It appears that he had, somewhat naively, expected to start *early* on the morning of the 25th July. Much to his chagrin it required several hours of argument to get the boatmen started, and when eventually they did start, they were unable to make headway against adverse winds, so that the second day's start was made from a point near the original starting-point. The discrepancy in the date of arrival in Ludhiana is less easily accounted for, but it is probably due to the fact that the hackeries laden with his luggage did not reach their destination till some weeks after his own arrival in a palanquin.

Lowrie's Journal covering the period of this journey is replete with interesting observation and comment. At Serampore he met the venerable Dr. Marshman, missionary, linguist, and builder of Serampore College, whose son John Clark Marshman gave us what is still one of the most readable accounts of the British period of Indian History. Passing through Chandernagar, the French settlement above Calcutta, he observed that the tri-colour was flying and the guns being fired every half-hour "in commemoration," he supposed, "of the three days' revolution in 1830," which gave to France her Citizen King, Louis Phillipe. At

Katwa he met the son of Dr. William Carey, the cobbler who became the greatest missionary, statesman and linguist of his time. He passes through Jangipur "the greatest silk station of the East India Company" where, according to Hamilton whom he quotes, "in 1803 about three hundred thousand persons were employed." He finds Benares absorbingly interesting if somewhat shocking to his sensibilities. He mentions the Hindu College with its eight or ten professors, its two hundred students, and its European Superintendent, "in which are taught the various branches of Hindu learning, not excepting astrology, nor the astronomy of Ptolemy, nor the geography which teaches that the earth is supported by the tortoise 'chawkwa,' and that Mount Meru standing in the centre of the vast plain which forms the earth's surface supports the seven seas." He is inspired by the majesty of Agra and Delhi which he says "are the richest in memorials of former greatness that I have ever seen." And so, at length, he reaches his immediate goal, the frontier station Ludhiana, which he describes in the following words:

"Lodiana is the most remote of the English stations in India on the North West. It is situated on a small nalla or creek about five miles from the River Sutlej, which forms the eastern boundary of the Panjab, and divides the territories under the British influence from those of Ranjit Singh, the ruler of the Sikhs on the other side of the river. The present population of Lodiana is estimated at from twenty-thousand to twenty-five thousand; and is on the increase. When the navigation of the Indus is freed from the present restraints, which will most probably be within another year, the town may be expected to increase considerably; as it will then become one of the marts of trade with countries down the Indus. It is now a place of considerable business intercourse with the countries westward. Few towns have so varied a population in people and language. There are two regiments of infantry, and one troop of horse-artillery here, commanded of course, by English officers; so that nearly a hundred persons use the English language. There are probably two thousand five hundred people from Cashmere, who have found refuge here from the famine and oppression which have almost desolated their beautiful native valley. There are about one thousand Afghans, who speak Persian chiefly. The higher classes, of whatever nation, in this part

of India pride themselves on speaking Persian. The Sikhs who both on this side of the Sutlej and on the other, form about one-tenth of the population, speak and write (when they can write at all, which is seldom the case) the Gurmukhi or Panjabi dialect."

It was fortunate indeed for John Lowrie and the enterprise he had so much at heart that he found such a man as Claude Martin Wade in charge of the Ludhiana Agency. From the very beginning Lowrie was accorded a cordial and friendly reception; and that cordiality soon deepened into friendship. To be sure there were services which Lowrie could render Wade. Wade was interested in education—and here was one who could be of great service if he would. He also needed a printing-press—here again Lowrie might prove useful if so inclined. But it is clear that the relation of these two men one toward the other was founded upon something more secure than mere utility. Lowrie's attitude is evident from his words: "I esteemed myself highly fortunate in having to consult with a gentleman of such enlarged and correct views, and of such general zeal for the good of the natives, as were evinced by the Political Agent at Lodiana"; and Wade's attitude is no less clearly manifest from the steady, whole-hearted support which he accorded both Lowrie and his successors.

Lowrie was now forced by the necessity of finding a method, or methods, for carrying out his commission. The most obvious method, that of preaching or of conversation with the people on religious subjects, was as yet closed to him until he could make himself understood in their language. What alternative method was open to him? It was at this juncture that Captain Wade broached the suggestion which he had apparently had in mind even before Lowrie's arrival. But I shall let Lowrie tell his own story:

"The English school," he writes some years later, "had been set on foot by Captain Wade, now Colonel Sir C. M. Wade, the Political Agent, a few months before I reached Lodiana, and had been placed under one of his native clerks with the design of transferring it to my care when I should arrive. Some fourteen or sixteen native boys had been in attendance." "With many other men," he adds, "it might have been impracticable for me to have had any connection with the English School at that place, as I could not consent to take the

responsible charge of an institution from which our holy religion was to be utterly excluded. After mature reflection the school was placed fully under my control, and its studies were directed by a settled plan. No profession of our object was ostentatiously made, but on the other hand no concealment of our views was attempted, nor was there any withholding of religious instruction. No alarm was awakened among either Hindus, Mussalmans, or Sikhs ; and the school after a fair trial was considered a successful effort." " After a few weeks the number [of boys] was increased [from fourteen or fifteen] to about fifty, of whom some were the sons of two or three native chiefs, and other respectable native gentlemen ; some of them were Hindus, others Afghans, and others Cashmerians, and a few Sikhs ; speaking amongst them, the Hindui (sic), Hindustani, Gurmukhi, Pashto, Persian and Cashmerian languages." An old report represents them, " as having their residence in a district reaching from Patna to Cashmere and Cabul and as ranking from the mechanic and trafficker in the bazaar, to the first-born of the rajah who sits high among princes." Lowrie adds elsewhere that, " By giving two or three hours a day to the superintendence of the school, and with the valuable aid of an Indo-British teacher, the progress of the scholars was very creditable to themselves, and gratifying to their generous patron, Captain Wade, and other European visitors. Several of these youths evinced no ordinary degree of capacity and most of them were of clever abilities."

It was a formidable fare that was set before these youths, however clever they may have been ; for it included " English Readers, Geography, English Grammar, Arithmetic, Universal History, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, Evidences of Christianity, Geometry, History of England, Chemistry, Political Economy, Surveying, History of India, Physical Geography, Mental Philosophy, Logic, Algebra, and the Bible, together with written translations and compositions." The writer of the report from which this formidable list is taken adds somewhat plaintively : " This is the prescribed course, but no class has yet been induced to remain long enough to complete it," for the simple reason that " when a tolerable acquaintance with English is attained and the hand of a ready scribe formed, they leave the school to look for employment."

This then was the first school in the Panjab which offered both English and a Western course of study. And it is this school which, passing through the vicissitudes of the century, survives to-day as the Ewing High School. An equally fitting name for it would be the Claude Martin Wade High School for it was Wade who established the school, and continued his patronage of it until he was transferred to another field of activity.

A second method of work had already suggested itself to Lowrie's mind: the establishment of a vernacular and English Press for the publication of religious and educational literature. The idea had no doubt come to him during his sojourn in Calcutta where he came into close contact with one Mr. W. H. Pearce, who was managing the Baptist Mission Press at that time, "the most extensive printing establishment in India." It is not unlikely that Captain Wade reinforced that suggestion for he was anxious to find someone to publish the "Lodiana Akhbar" which, it appears, he established about the time he opened the English School. According to the Second Annual Report of the Lodiana Mission, the Lodiana Akhbar was a Persian newspaper issued in manuscript, and established for the express purpose of creating a fund which might defray the expenses of the school. Wade must have been a financial wizard as well as a wise and able administrator: for there is evidence in these old Reports that the "Lodiana Akhbar" *did* for several years contribute a tidy sum toward the expense of the school. How this could be without the boon, or bane, of advertising, I leave you to ponder.

Suffice it to say that before the end of the second year a Press had been secured and set up; and at Captain Wade's request the printing of the Akhbar was undertaken and carried on from 1835 to 1841, at least. It was at first edited and published by one Mr. Hodges, who was attached to the Agency as Surveyor, assisted with the teaching in the school, and, for a time at least, acted as Post-Master for the Station. In one of the volumes of manuscript letters in the Panjab Records Office is a letter from the Rev. John Newton, declaring himself to be the Proprietor and Publisher of this same "Lodiana Akhbar." It is curious that in spite of efforts made by one of my colleagues and myself to secure copies of this first

newspaper published in the Panjab, not a single copy of it has come to light.

Another curious thing in this connection is the mention here and there, in the Press List of the Panjab Government Records, of an "Agra Akhbar," a "Delhi Gazette," and a "Lahore Akhbar." On one occasion in a letter dated the 5th September, 1834, Captain Wade asks the Agent to the Governor-General to treat the Lahore Akhbars, which are sent to him periodically, as confidential, instead of publishing them verbatim, as he had been doing. Here too one's curiosity is whetted only to be left unsatisfied—for not a copy of any of these Akhbars has come to hand. What were they? were some of them intended to be confidential reports and were others mere news-sheets? and were the confidential ones published in English and the news-sheets in Persian? and what is meant by 'Persian'? is it genuine Persian or is it Persian Urdu?

I have been at some pains to indicate the cordial co-operation which Lowrie received at Captain Wade's hands. I might add that during the seven years of its existence, Captain Wade contributed something over two thousand rupees toward the support of the various activities of the Mission. A support no less cordial and generous was accorded by many others of his fellow-countrymen. Among some of the most interesting features of these documents under review are the pages devoted to the acknowledgment of donations from various sources. There are to be found scores of names from Lord Auckland, the Marchioness of Dalhousie and Maharajah Ranjit Singh, down to Sergeant Ray and Gunner Easton—the Lawrences, the Cunninghams, Sir Charles Trevelyan, the Hon'ble J. Thompson, Edward Thornton, J. C. Marshman, and many another destined to win fame upon the Indian scene. But perhaps more interesting even than these are the three or four that follow. In the list for 1841 appears the name of Madame Ventura, and a few years later that of her husband, Ranjit Singh's illustrious general. Their gifts were not large, but hers at least illustrates the irony of fate; for she was to spend the last ten or twelve years of her life in great poverty, in Ludhiana.¹ Another item, dated August 27, 1838, though not in the list of donations reads "By cash

¹ Vide Garrett and Gray: "Early Adventurers in the Panjab," p. 105.

borrowed in the name of the Society's Treasurer of J. Harlan, 800." A minute elsewhere explains that an American gentleman passing through Ludhiana has offered to lend a sum of money sufficient to tide over the deficiency of funds caused by a delayed remittance from the United States. This is clearly no other than the adventurer, Josiah Harlan, an American no doubt, but an egregious braggart, and one who was scarcely entitled to the epithet 'gentleman.'¹ I am unable by the way to find any record of that loan having been repaid, though to be sure, the records are incomplete. Harlan seems to have disappeared from the scene entirely after 1839; it is possible that he died about that time leaving no heirs to collect the loan.

But most interesting of all are the following two items appearing in the lists of 1835 and 1838 respectively:

"Presents made by the Maharajah Ranjit Singh to the Rev. J. C. Lowrie, 2,183-10-5," and "From the sale of a horse presented to Mr. Lowrie by Ranjit Singh, 80."

And thereby hangs a tale, and with this tale my paper must come to a conclusion. From the first days of his stay in Ludhiana, Lowrie had conceived a strong desire to visit Lahore, and, if possible, to see the great king himself. But the authorities at Ludhiana, though entirely friendly were reluctant to authorize such a venture lest it give umbrage to Ranjit Singh whose suspicions of his neighbours to the east of the Sutlej were rarely quiescent in spite of the show of friendship on both sides. But again let Lowrie tell his own story. "The reader will judge then of my surprise and gratification at receiving from the Maharaja an invitation to pay him a visit at Lahore. He had heard of me and of our English school through his Vakil at Ludhiana; and with his invitation he made a proposal that I should spend six months of the year at his capital, to take charge of the education of a number of the young Sikh noblemen, the sons of chiefs. I should have been delighted to have accepted this proposal, if the state of my health would at all have justified my living on the plains; it presented a fine prospect of obtaining a standing and influence, which would have been invaluable to a missionary." But

¹ Op. cit. p. 281 ff.

meanwhile Lowrie had come under the watchful eye of his physician who had given a tentative opinion that he must return to his own land within the year or snuff out like two of the companions who had accompanied him on the voyage out. "I was constrained therefore," he writes, "to decline the proposal, and as the invitation was connected with it, I much feared that my declining the one would prevent the renewal of the other, though in acknowledging the honour of the invitation I expressed myself as being anxious to be permitted to come and pay my duty to 'the great king.' The invitation was repeated and the visit to Lahore was shortly afterwards made."

And then followed six weeks of most absorbing interest to Lowrie. Setting out from Ludhiana toward the end of January, 1835, with two elephants and a train of sixty men supplied by Ranjit Singh himself, he made his way in nine stages to Lahore. He found Amritsar extraordinarily interesting, being, as he put it, at once the Sikh Athens and Jerusalem. Approaching Lahore he is struck by the extent (which incidentally he exaggerates) and beauty of Shalabagh. He observes the numerous "mosques, temples, palaces and tombs—seen in every direction and in every stage of dilapidation" and he is favourably impressed with the general appearance of the city itself. He is finally conducted to "an extensive garden of orange trees, in which a French officer had erected a large summer residence about a quarter of a mile from the city wall. Comfortably installed in this palace he awaits the pleasure of the king.

He had not long to wait, for in the afternoon of the day of his arrival, Nur-ud-Din the second of the famous trio, the Faqir Brothers, arrived. He bore a present for the king's guest and assured him of the excellent understanding subsisting between the British and the Sikh kingdom. After a brief and somewhat desultory conversation in which he touched very lightly upon certain religious topics, with the skill of a veteran diplomat he introduced the subject of an English school, which was at the heart of the purpose which had led his master to extend the invitation. He inquired, to quote Lowrie's narrative, how I, who understood so little of the native language,

could teach the English to natives ; how I should act, if different pupils wished to learn different branches—who should decide ? The answer seemed to give much satisfaction, and suggested another question, which I think was the chief object of the long interview, though he presented it as if it were a matter of no importance. If a Government should establish a school, who should decide on the branches to be taught ? ” I answered, “The Government, certainly.” This was “very good,” he thought. I took care to add, however, that if a Government should establish a school it would still be optional with persons proposing to take charge of its instruction, to do so or not as they might approve or disapprove of its plan, to which he assented. The whole conversation was as abstract as if we had been sitting somewhere in the region of the north star ; but its bearings on the points of interest here on the earth, and at Lahore, is sufficiently obvious.

“ Faqir Nur-ud-Din is very much of a courtier ; perhaps I should say of an eastern statesman, in his manners—grave, cautious, cool ; yet abounding in compliments, and apparently very self-complacent. He had a fine large forehead, good eyes, and greyish beard ; he is about fifty years of age, and dresses plainly.”

On the next day came Aziz-ud-Din, eldest of the three Faqirs, and closest to the King in counsel, for he served in the double capacity of personal physician and chief minister. He, too, brought a present of fruit, spoke of the good-will that characterized the relations of the two governments, asked after Lowrie’s health, turned a neat compliment or two, and took his leave. One or two of his compliments are too good to pass over. After some minutes of conversation he volunteered this : “The bud of my heart which was shut up, has been opened by the wind of your conversation.” And again on taking leave he said, “You are like a treasury of precious jewels, which I am unable to obtain,” referring, as Lowrie surmised, to his requiring an interpreter in the conversation which had just taken place.

The way had now been prepared for Mr. Lowrie to visit the Maharaja himself. Having been received by him with marked favour, the young missionary presented him with the simple gifts that he had brought, namely an English Bible, and a Punjabi version of the

Pentateuch.¹ Ranjit Singh then proceeded to catechise his guest, first upon religious matters and then upon the numerous topics that his curiosity prompted: what impression had his meeting with the Governor-General at Rupar a few years previously left upon the mind of His Excellency? was Lowrie acquainted with the military and medical science? was he married? why he wore crepe on his arm? why he wore spectacles?—and then the inevitable question, “do you understand horses?”

This was but the first of several audiences which Lowrie enjoyed during the month of his sojourn in Lahore. On the occasion of the final interview he was presented with the usual ‘khilat’ comprising several pieces of silk, cotton goods, articles of jewellery, probably a carpet, a horse, and some hundreds of rupees in silver. When it was explained that Mr. Lowrie would of course surrender these gifts to the Society he represented, Ranjit Singh insisted that he should at least keep the horse for his own personal use. In this Mr. Lowrie acquiesced; and used it regularly until his final departure from Ludhiana whereupon it was sold, enriching the Mission Treasury by the large sum of eighty rupees.

When Lowrie reached Ludhiana upon his return from Lahore, he found letters awaiting him announcing the impending arrival of five recruits, the Rev. James Wilson, the Rev. John Newton, their wives, and a Miss Davis. There was now no reason for further delay in obeying the imperative orders of his physician; and early in the year 1836 he embarked upon the homeward voyage. The voyage and the change of climate together enabled Mr. Lowrie not only to recover his health but to live to a ripe old age.

And so was begun the work of the “Lodiana Mission,” which is nearing the completion of its first century of service. In these old books and manuscripts are hidden the accounts of the journey to Lahore of Dr. Forman and Mr. Newton, before the ink of the Proclamation of Annexation was fairly dry, and of their early experiences in this city. Here too is the record of suffering and heroism which marked the year of the Mutiny. But that is another story.

¹ The writer is indebted to Dr. S. K. Datta for calling his attention to the following note which appears in the section “Asiatic Intelligence” of the *Asiatic Journal*, issue of July-August, 1832 (Vol. VIII, New Series, page 34): “At a meeting of the Calcutta Bible Association on the 6th January [1832] Archdeacon Corrie (who resigned the Priestship) announced that Ranjit Singh had desired an English Missionary to call on him in private, to explain to him the Christian religion, and was so interested in it, that he desired to be immediately furnished with a copy of the Holy Scriptures.” It is doubtless in this desire of Ranjit Singh, thus casually recorded, that the invitation to Mr. Lowrie to visit Lahore had its genesis.

EVENTS LEADING TO THE AMBELA EXPEDITION—1863.

BY R. R. SETHI.

About the year 1823, one of those famous saintly adventurers made his appearance on the Yusafzai frontier, who have at all times managed to beguile the credulous and simple Pathan race for their own ends, and have been the means of creating discord, upheaving society, and fomenting rebellions, which have been checked and crushed with the utmost difficulty. This man was Syed Ahmed Shah of Bareilly. At one period of his life he was the companion-in-arms of the celebrated Amir Khan Pindari, who was himself a Pathan, born in the valley of Buner. Syed Ahmad studied Arabic at Delhi and then proceeded to Mecca by way of Calcutta. It was during this journey that his doctrines obtained the ascendancy over the minds of the Mahomedans of Bengal, which has ever since led them to supply their colony at Sittana with fresh recruits. It was in 1824 that the adventurer arrived by way of Kandahar and Kabul amongst the Yusafzai tribes of the Peshawar border, with about forty Hindustani followers. ¹

Syed Ahmad came at a happy moment, for it was just the time to raise the spirits of the Yusafzais and other Pathans (which had been lowered by the crushing defeat they and the Peshawar Sardars had received from Maharaja Ranjit Singh at the battle of Nowshera), by religious exhortation. He easily gathered recruits; and meanwhile his own following had been swelled to some nine hundred by malcontents and fanatics from Bengal. ²

In 1827 he sallied out to lay siege to Attock, but after a slight preliminary success was utterly defeated by the Sikhs; and he then fled with a few companions to Swat, and gradually worked his way back through Buner to Yusafzai. With full faith in his miraculous

¹ Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XXI. Serial No. 31. Letter No. 67, dated the 1st February, 1864. From the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor-General.

² *Ibid.*

powers the Pathans again assembled round him, and in a two years' career of conquest he gathered the whole of Yusafzai under his control. Unfortunately the holy man's love of money made his rule so oppressive that the Pathans rose against him and drove him across the Indus, where, after a stubborn battle against the Sikhs, he was overpowered and slain. ¹

Of his disciples who escaped with their lives, a portion found their way to Sittana, on the Mahaban mountain, some fifty miles above Attock on the right bank of the Indus. There they settled down to the depredation of the lower lands and the kidnapping and murder of peaceful traders on the highways, receiving occasional recruits and even subsidies from lower Bengal. ²

The first collision of the British with them occurred in 1853, when the fanatics had abetted an offending tribe in hostilities against the former, boasting loudly of their prowess, but had fled precipitately before two Sikh regiments. Being then left alone, they returned to their evil ways and brought upon themselves a second punitive expedition under General Sir Sydney Cotton in 1858. ³ Cotton attacked Sittana itself, inflicting severe loss on the troublesome Hindustanis, who fought doggedly and well; but it was felt at the time that the penalty exacted from them was insufficient. Two neighbouring tribes (Gadun and Utmanzai) had engaged themselves to prevent the fanatics from re-occupying Sittana; so the latter built themselves a new village at Malka, some eleven miles to the north-west of their old settlement and on the northern slope of the Mahaban. ⁴

But in 1861 they came down to a place named Siri, just overhanging their old haunt at Sittana, and commenced sending robbers

¹ Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XXI. Serial No. 31. Letter No. 67, dated the 1st February, 1864. From the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor-General.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Vide* Colonel Sir Herbert Edwardes's letter No. B of the 14th May, 1858, to the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, reporting the result of the operations of the force under Sir Sydney Cotton in 1858 against Punjtar and the Sittana fanatics. Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24.

⁴ Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter No. 206/546, dated Hazara, the 11th July, 1863. From the Deputy Commissioner, Hazara, to the Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawar Division.

into Hazara to carry off Hindu traders.¹ The offence of the Gaduns was that, in contravention of their agreement, they allowed free passage to the Hindustanis through their territory when proceeding on and returning from their kidnapping and marauding expeditions.²

In order to bring them to a sense of their responsibilities, the Utmanzais and Gaduns were accordingly placed under blockade, and on October 2, 1861, they came in and made their submission, and consented to enter into fresh engagements to exclude the Syeds and Hindustanis.³

In the beginning of 1862, it was reported that the numbers of the Hindustanis had been increased, and several robberies having been committed by robbers dispatched by Syed Mubarik Shah (son of Syed Akbar Shah, the King of Swat) into the Hazara territory, it

¹ The nature of these outrages is thus described by Lieut.-Colonel R. G. Taylor, the Commissioner of the Peshawar Division, in a dispatch: No. 165, dated the 11th September 1863: "A trader loads his mules at one of our chief towns, and starts across country (though there have been extreme cases of the offence taking place on the high-road) to a village he hopes to reach by nightfall. On the road, in some lonely spot, he is seized, gagged, and taken aside into the jungle or some mountain nook, and there kept close under drawn swords till dark, when the whole party starts by well-known, but unfrequented, tracks to the mountainous river-board, where according to one of Major Adam's informants, the victim is inserted into an inflated skin, and a brigand, mounting on it, ferries him over. Whatever the plan adopted, the unfortunate is whisked across the Indus, and when once over is fairly safe till his relations pay up the required ransom. His danger lies in the day dawning, or other obstruction occurring, before the kidnapping party reach the Indus, in which case the encumbrance, in the shape of a gagged idolator, must be got rid of. They would let him go if they could afford it, but his tongue will needs wag and describe locality and route, and, perhaps, recognise individuals; and so he is knocked on the head, and thrown into a mountain crevice."

Of the difficulties of exercising any preventive measures against these acts, the Commissioner observes in the same dispatch that, "From the nature of the country it has been found impossible to deal with these acts merely by protective police arrangements. The actors are bold men, and actuated by a thirst for money for the actual needs of life, sharpened by hostility to us; while it would take the whole of the Hazara force one day to search one mountain, and at the end they would be quite knocked up and useless. What, then, could be hoped from a limited body of police in a tract of country containing a constant succession of such mountains? These are crimes which nothing but pressure on the head and source of the offence can check. The men who send out these brigands, and those who harbour and give them passage through their lands, must be reached and made to suffer, and then, and then alone, will the activity of their emissaries be checked."—Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24.

² Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter No. 127, dated Peshawar, the 9th July, 1863. From the Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawar Division, to the Secretary to the Government, Panjab.

³ Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter No. 165, dated the 11th September, 1863. From the Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawar Division, to the Secretary to the Government, Panjab.

was recommended by the Panjab authorities that an expedition be undertaken against Malka.

This recommendation accorded with the opinion of Major James, the Commissioner of Peshawar, then in England, and of the Rt. Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India, who in his dispatch No. 18 of April 7, 1862, wrote as follows: "I am disposed to agree with the Commissioner of Peshawar that it will eventually be necessary to expel the offenders by force of arms and that they will be a lasting source of trouble so long as they are permitted to remain in the neighbourhood."

The Supreme Government, however, were of opinion at that time that sufficient cause for undertaking an expedition had not been shown.¹

During the autumn of 1862 and ensuing cold season, there was a considerable immunity from these kidnapping practices; but again in the Spring of 1863 two murders were committed, which were generally attributed to Syed Mubarik Shah's men, and on July 5, it was reported that the Syeds and Hindustanis had suddenly re-occupied Sittana² and had renewed their old nefarious activity of thieving and murder. No attempt to prevent their doing so was made by the Gadun or Utmanzai tribe, and some of their members actually invited them.

These tribes, being called upon for their reasons for having thus broken the engagements they had entered into, only afforded evasive replies; the Gaduns laying the blame on the Utmanzais, and the Utmanzais on Gaduns,³ and as the Syeds and Hindustanis were sending threatening messages to the Chief of Amb, a feudatory protected by the British Government, military measures were taken for maintaining a blockade against the Gadun and Utmanzai tribes,

¹ Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XXI. Serial No. 31. Letter No. 67, dated the 1st February, 1864. From the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor-General.

² Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Service Message No. 69, dated Peshawar, the 5th July, 1863. From the Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawar Division, to the Secretary to the Government, Panjab.

³ Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter No. 206/546, dated Hazara, the 11th July, 1863. From the Deputy Commissioner, Hazara, to the Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawar Division.

and militia were entertained for the purpose of protecting the territory of the Amb Chief.¹

The Syeds and Maulvi Abdulla (the military leader of the Hindustani fanatics) were now acting with their Hindustani followers in the bitterest spirit against the British Government; the leaders of the colony expressly declared "they were embarked in determined opposition to the infidel," and called upon "all good Mahomedans to quit the friendship of the unbelieving, and join the would-be-martyrs of the faith." A letter to this effect was sent to the Chief of Amb.²

On the night of September 3, 1863, Maulvi Abdulla, with his Hindustanis, and accompanied, it was said, by Malik Esau of the Gadun tribe, attempted to attack the camp of the Guides at Topi. The attacking force had arrived within a short distance of the camp, when they came upon a cavalry patrol of one duffadar and four sowars of the Guide Corps. The duffadar had been previously warned of the neighbourhood of a body of men, and on coming on an advanced party he immediately attacked them. Two men were cut down, and the rest, rushing back on the main body, communicated a panic, which ended in a general and disgraceful flight. The Hindustanis then erected a breastwork on the right bank of the Indus, from which they continued to annoy the picquet held by the levies at Naogiran.³

About the 10th of September, the Hassanzai tribe, instigated, it was supposed by the Maulvi of Sittana, made an unprovoked attack on the hamlets in the little Shunglai valley of the Black Mountain, in which the most advanced outpost of the Amb territory is situated. The fort was not molested, but some six or seven hamlets were destroyed, and one man, who resisted, was killed.⁴

¹ Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter No. 28, dated the 15th September, 1863. From the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor-General.

² Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Demi-official letter dated the 11th September, 1863. From Lieut. R. Sandeman, Assistant Commissioner, to the Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawar Division.

³ Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Diary of H. H. Coxe, Deputy Commissioner, Hazara, dated the 10th September, 1863.

⁴ *Ibid.*

The Hassanzais then threatened an attack on Chamberi, and a portion of the Mada Khels crossed the Indus with the intention of assisting them ; but the frontier line having been greatly strengthened by the Amb authorities, the gathering broke up, and the Mada Khels recrossed the river. Shortly afterwards, the Hassanzais made an attack on the Amb levies on the Black Mountain border, in which one jemadar and seven men were killed, and several of the levies wounded.¹

It was now considered that the time had arrived when it became absolutely necessary to have recourse to military operations.² Hitherto the hostilities and provocations had been offered by detached tribes, but now, for the first time, the majority, if not the whole, of the Hazara border tribes were arrayed against the British Government. In the opinion of Sir Robert Montgomery, the then Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, it was perhaps possible, though very doubtful, to avert a campaign by making use of the feuds and factions of the different tribes to sow discord in their councils ; but this could only put off the day of reckoning a little further. Delay, which with these tribes is little understood, might encourage other tribes to action, and a favourable opportunity might thus be lost for putting an end to the chronic frontier irritation which then existed. That an expedition against these tribes would be forced on the British Government sooner or later appeared inevitable, and condonation without chastisement would only be an inducement for them to repeat their offences.³

¹ Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XX. Serial No. 2320, dated the 5th September, 1863. From the Commissioner and Superintendent, Peshawar Division, to the Secretary to the Government, Panjab.

² Colonel Taylor, the Commissioner of the Peshawar Division, writing to the Secretary to Panjab Government, in a dispatch No. 165, dated September 11, 1863, remarks : " The Gaduns, contrary to express agreements, which they themselves acknowledge, but try to evade with an excuse of want of power to fulfil, which every peasant in the country knows to be false, have, in defiance or indifference regarding our displeasure, permitted, if not encouraged, the fanatic colony to return from Malka to their former position at Sittana. Unless this flagrant contempt of our power be visited upon them, we must not only lose authority and influence on the border, but it will be very certain to be visited upon us in a tangible form by other instances of open violation of agreements, aggression on our border, and general contempt of our authority, which will force war on us most probably under less advantageous circumstances than those with which it may now be engaged in."—Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24.

³ Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter No. 28, dated the 15th September, 1863. From the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor-General.

An expedition was accordingly sanctioned by the Supreme Government, the first object of which was effectually to rid the frontier of the chronic cause of disturbance—the Hindustani fanatics. Their mere expulsion from the right bank of the Indus upon their old posts at Malka and on the south bank of the Barandu, was not considered enough; nor was it thought advisable that they should find shelter in Swat, and make that powerful tribe the future focus of disturbance on the frontier.¹

The Governor-General was of the opinion that the “punishment of the Gaduns was to be a secondary consideration to the primary one of crushing effectually the small, but troublesome, horde of fanatics; and with this purpose in view, the civil officer who accompanies the expedition should make it his object not only to discriminate carefully between those tribes who have as yet shown no sign of hostility and those who, through fear of the British approach in force, make professions of repentance; but also to hold out to the latter that their sincerity will be measured by the assistance they may render in capturing dispersed fanatics, and that by no other course can they atone for their complicity, and escape retributive measures.”²

With regard to the plan of operations, Colonel Taylor’s proposal was that the force should march to the head of the Gadun country, either direct from Topi *via* Bisak, etc., or by following the route of the expedition of 1858 to Mangal Thana and from there working across; and that it should be met near Sittana by a column advancing up the right bank of the Indus by crossing it at Rorgush. The Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab had suggested generally that the force should march in two columns and sweep the country on either side of the Mahaban range by mounting its heights and thence dictating terms to the tribes.³

¹ Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XX. Serial No. 2352. Letter No. 639, dated the 24th September, 1863. From the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor-General, to the Secretary to the Government, Panjab.

² *Ibid.*

³ Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XXI. Serial No. 31. Letter No. 67, dated the 1st February, 1864. From the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor-General.

The Supreme Government, however, laid down that "whilst occupying the attention of the fanatics and their allies on the line of the Indus, in the neighbourhood of Sittana, the aim should be, if there be no serious military objections to this course, to push up a strong column to Mangal Thana and Malka so as to interpose between the fanatics and their line of retreat towards the Baranda, their posts on which might be occupied by a separate light column or by a detachment from the main column. The latter would, from Mangal Thana and Malka, then operate, in conjunction with our troops on the Indus line, against the fanatics; and though their extirpation may, as anticipated by Colonel Taylor, not be possible, yet their dispersion would, under such circumstances, be on the lines of direction favourable to their capture, if the co-operation of the well-disposed sections of the tribes could be elicited."¹

In a dispatch of the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, to the Adjutant-General of the Army, it was added that "the strength and composition of each column, and the route to be followed, can probably best be fixed by the General Officer commanding the troops, in consultation with the Commissioner accompanying the force."²

Accordingly, on September 27, 1863, Colonel A. Wilde, commanding the Corps of Guides, under whose directions the blockade against the Gaduns had been conducted, submitted a memorandum through Brigadier-General Sir Neville B. Chamberlain who had been appointed to command the expeditionary force. In this document it was stated that the expedition of 1858, although successful, had not been conclusive as to its results. The Gadun tribe had not felt the power of the British Government; and although the Hindustanis had been turned out of Mangal Thana and driven from Sittana, they had retreated on Malka, more from the pressure put upon them by the Gadun tribe than from the defeats they had sustained from the British troops.

¹ Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XX. Serial No. 2352. Letter No. 639, dated the 24th September, 1863. From the Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor-General to the Secretary to Government, Panjab.

² Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter No. 414, dated the 25th September, 1863. From the Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor-General, Military Department, to the Adjutant-General of the Army.

For the future peace of the border, Wilde said the destruction of this colony of priests and fanatics was a necessity, and that they must be removed by death or capture from the hills, and a treaty made with the hill tribes not to allow them to reside in their territories.

He considered that the plan of campaign would have to be totally different in its nature from that pursued in 1858. The force to be employed would have to be a strong one, and it would be necessary to occupy temporarily the country to the north of the Mahaban; the military object in view being to attack the Hindustanis from the north, and force them to fight with their backs to the plains: operating, in fact, on their line of retreat, instead of, as before, advancing from the plains, driving them out of Mangal Thana and Sittana, and allowing them a safe retreat and passage into the hills.¹ To effect this, two columns were to be employed—the base of operations of one column being in the Peshawar Valley, and that of the other in Hazara.²

The Peshawar column was to be assembled at Nawakila and Swabi Manairi, with the avowed object, as in 1858, of moving on Mangal Thana (which would be naturally expected); but, when ready to march, the column was to pass through the Ambela defile (or more properly, the Surkhawai Pass) and occupy the village of Kogah, in the Chamla Valley, thirteen miles by a camel road chiefly over British territory, and stated then to be “easy in the extreme.” The next day the force was to march to Cherorai, sixteen miles, an open plain near the river Barandu, when simultaneously with the occupation of Cherorai, the Hazara column was to drop down the Indus and drive the enemy out of Sittana, occupying that place; the Peshawar Column moving on the third day to Malka.³

The advantages of this plan of operations were thus reckoned: That the Gaduns, finding their country commanded by the force in

¹ This proposal, it should be noted, met in some way the suggestion made in the Secretary to the Government of India's letter No. 639, dated the 24th September, 1863.

² Panjab Government Records, MSS. File No. 24. Letter dated the 27th September, 1863. From Colonel A. Wilde, to Brigadier-General Sir Neville B. Chamberlain.

³ *Ibid.*

the Chamla Valley, would keep quiet, and perhaps assist in capturing the defeated Hindustanis. That the operations would be in an open valley containing several fine villages and admitting of the employment of cavalry; whence also flying columns could be sent up the Mahaban, the northern slopes of which are easier than the southern. It also afforded the alternatives either of withdrawing to the plains through the Ambela Pass, or by sending back the cavalry by that route and advancing the rest of the force either to Mangal Thana or Sittana, as might be found feasible.¹

There remained the question of the attitude of the neighbouring tribes. The Chamla Valley is bounded on the north by the Gura mountain, six thousand feet high, which with the district to north of it is the home of the Bunerwals. No trouble was anticipated from them, for they had no sympathy with the fanatics and held different religious opinions. Moreover, they formed part of the flock of the *Akhund* of Swat, rather a remarkable man, who was a kind of pontiff of Islam in those quarters and had denounced the fanatics as actual infidels.

Both the Bunerwals and the Swatis, who lay to north-west of the fanatics, were expected to look with approval on the coming campaign; and the valley of Chamla itself belonged to a mixture of unimportant tribes, some friendly, some hostile towards the British. It was considered imprudent to sound any of the clans as to their feelings lest the plan of campaign should thereby be revealed, which was likely enough. It was anticipated by Colonel A. Wilde, that on the whole the entire affair should be ended in three weeks.²

The Governor-General approved of Colonel Wilde's suggestions and communicated it to Sir Hugh Rose, the Commander-in-Chief. The actual plan of operations was not laid before Sir Hugh, for it was not finally determined upon by the Lieutenant-Governor

¹ Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. XXI. Serial No. 31. Letter No. 67, dated the 1st February, 1864. From the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor-General.

² Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter dated the 27th September, 1863. From Colonel A. Wilde, to Brigadier-General Sir Neville B. Chamberlain.

of the Panjab until the last moment;¹ but none the less Rose lost no time in giving his opinion.

He pointed out, first, the danger of denuding Peshawar and other stations of troops and transport at the very moment when, by entering the mountains at one point, the British should arouse excitement along the whole line. Next, he remarked that the proper equipment of even five thousand men (as proposed by the Panjab authorities), as regards supplies, ammunition and transport, for so difficult and arduous a duty would need far more time than had been allowed, and that the period allotted for active operations (three weeks) was too short. Finally he urged that hasty flying marches through the mountains had produced no satisfactory results in the past, and were not likely to produce them at present. He therefore advised a strict blockade of the district during the winter and the dispatch of a carefully prepared and equipped expedition in the Spring.² This sound common sense was however disregarded.

¹ Colonel Wilde's proposal was personally submitted to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab by General Chamberlain at Murree. It was discussed at a meeting convened by His Honour at which the following were present:—

Sir Robert Montgomery, General Chamberlain, Colonel Taylor, Mr. Forsyth and Captain Black.

The proposal appeared to be sound, and His Honour decided that Colonel Taylor should at once proceed to the spot and in communication with Colonel Wilde, carry out the fullest enquiries regarding it. There was no time for a reference to His Honour who agreed to the adoption of the route into the Chamla Valley, provided that after Colonel Taylor's enquiries, both he and the General continued to think it the best that could be adopted.—Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter No. 18, dated the 8th January, 1864. From the Secretary to the Government, Panjab, Military Department, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, with the Governor-General.

² Panjab Government Records. MSS. File No. 24. Letter dated the 7th October, 1863. From the Adjutant-General of the Army to the Secretary to the Government of India, Military Department, with the Governor-General.

AN EARLY SCIENTIFIC TRAVELLER IN THE PANJAB.

BY H. L. O. GARRETT.

[*Paper read on 27th March 1933.*]

In the travels of Prince Alexis Soltykoff which recently appeared in the *Civil and Military Gazette* there is the following passage:—Ludhiana, February 19th, 1842. “A week ago a young English Doctor called Jameson, a naturalist and geologist came back from a trip to Kashmir which was abortive from the outset, for he had scarcely gone a mile or two towards that mysterious valley, escorted by 200 of the King of Lahore’s troops, when 700 cavalry of a hostile faction attacked them, killed six of his escort and took away all his baggage (a loss amounting to Rs. 4,400 *vide infra*). He fled and was hotly pursued by them. Fortunately he found a fort where he was able to take refuge, for it was occupied by the royal troops. He only managed to return here in disguise and travelling at night at the risk of being captured any moment by the scoundrels who were lying in wait for him. Such is the story he related to me and he is a nice youngster who is certainly not lying; in any case this is the form in which the episode has been reported to Government.” Prince Soltykoff appears to have got hold of some erroneous ideas in making the above statement and Dr. Jameson’s own version of the journey gives a somewhat different account. Through the researches of my colleague Dr. K. C. Khanna, we have now been able to obtain more details of Dr. Jameson’s journey, which have been unearthed from the records in the India Office. Dr. Jameson published his report in March 1843 under the title of “The Geology, Zoology, etc., of the Panjab and a part of Afghanistan, by William Jameson, M.R.C.S., etc., on deputation to the Indus.” Though his paper covered a variety of subjects, the main object of his deputation was to enquire into the great Indus flood in 1841,¹ a flood which occurred again, as it may be remembered, in 1929.² On the first occasion the general damage and loss of life was great and widespread.³

¹ Caused by the blocking of the course of the river by a landslip caused by an earthquake.

² Though on this occasion the obstruction which caused the damage was a glacier.

³ While on the second, thanks to careful preparation by the Panjab authorities, the loss of life was small.

The present selection details mainly with a general description of the Panjab and in particular with visits to various salt mines, etc., and also the possibility of developing the mineral wealth and resources of the Panjab. It is interesting to note that Dr. Jameson and other British officers quoted in his paper speak of the future of the Panjab in a way which seems to indicate that its ultimate annexation by the British was regarded as only a matter of time. We shall come across frequent references to this in the course of the narrative and one is led to wonder whether Moorcroft's earlier journey in the 20's was not also undertaken for spying out the land—although his ostensible object was horse buying.

Dr. Jameson owed his selection for the work to Mr. (Sir) G. R. Clerk, then the Governor-General's Agent in the Panjab, who also obtained for him permission from Maharajah Sher Singh to travel in his dominions. Before starting he settled on a route under the advice of Col. Garden—then Assistant Quarter-Master-General. The latter had visited the Panjab in 1837, when the then Commander-in-Chief, Sir Henry Fane, had paid a complimentary visit on the occasion of the marriage of Kanwar Nau Nihal Singh, and an excellent map of Lahore and its environs drawn by him at the time may be seen in the Panjab Record office.

The author then proceeds: "On ascertaining the object in view His Highness complied with Mr. Clerk's request and with his usual liberality appointed an Agent and a Guard to attend on me and afford me every assistance and protection." His stay in the Panjab was however destined to be a short one. The murder of the Agent at Kohat and the unsettled state of the Ghilzai country caused him to be recalled before his mission was accomplished. (This is somewhat at variance with Soltykoff's statement).

We now pass to his description of what he saw in the Panjab.

"Ranjit Singh extended his conquest across the Indus into the rocky mountainous countries which though he overran them are anything but subdued and are ready to a man to rise at the first signal reverse happening to the Sikh arms. A great part of the country

only nominally belongs to the Sikhs. Thus in all the hilly country north-west of Suket, Mandi, etc., a large portion of the hilly country west of the Indus (with the exception of Peshawar, Dera Ismail Khan, and Dera Ghazi Khan which are ruled by Sikh Governors), viz., the country to the north-west of Duraband, and all the country south of the Khyber range comprehending Kohat, Khattack, Kalabagh, etc., the Sikh control is very slight." Of the Panjab rivers and their use in the future development of the agricultural wealth of the province he speaks with singular prescience. "The fertilizing effects of these rivers, *protected and encouraged by a mild and powerful Government*, will some day render the Panjab one of the finest countries in India. But at the present moment the vast plain presents nothing but a waste comparatively speaking with cultivation only here and there. Even in the neighbourhood of the capital itself we meet with extensive jungles, the luxuriance of whose vegetation shows what use could be made of the soil." Of the inhabitants he says: "Of all people in India there are probably none so adapted for the plough as the Sikhs," but the population was scanty—"there is nothing which strikes the traveller so much as the scanty population of the Panjab when compared with the well-populated country included under the protected States. Proceeding from Lahore to Jalalpur *via* Kori, Meraliwalah, Alipur, Ramnagar, Mangut, etc., we pass over vast uncultivated tracts, with here or there in the centre of the bushy jungle a small village with some rich cultivated fields around it, and now and then, breaking up the monotony of the flat plain, we meet with hillocks marking the site of towns and villages which are now no more but whose streets, houses, etc., have left this memento of their former existence, or deep ravines, the haunt of the wolf or the jackal. Bunds of sand traverse the country in a north and south direction which point out the old beds of rivers and prove that all of them have been changed. Then the Sutlej which formerly ran close to the town of Ludhiana is now seven miles to the northward.¹ The Ravi which twenty years ago washed the walls of the city of Lahore runs in a channel three miles to the northward. The channel which 10 or 12 years ago ran close to the town of Ramnagar is now

¹ As to-day.

four miles distant and the same applies to the Jhelum. The changes in the Indus are striking too. Where it leaves its mountain channel at Kalabagh, kunkur, a compact marl, formed no doubt from the deposits of springs that formerly existed, is frequently to be found forming beds in the clayey soil, either stiff clay or sand and clay mixed with each other, in varying proportions. Between Jalalpur and Pind Dadan Khan the soil consists of a black rich loam and is probably the finest in the Panjab. On the west of the Indus the banks on the way to Peshawar are dry and barren." Dr. Jameson then gives the following description of the Salt Range :—

"From Jalalpur the Salt Range extends in a north-west by west direction to Mari Indus where it crosses the river and can be traced from there onward to the Khyber.

From its various secondary branches proceed such as one to the north which is met with in the neighbourhood of Rohtas (on which there is a fort of that name) forming the Tilla Hills mentioned by Elphinstone. It extends for a short distance northward and then probably makes a bend to the eastward. These branches join the low group of hills to the north-east but more of them cross the Jhelum below the town. Crossing above it they run on by Bhimber, Jammu, Nurpur and down by the south of Bilaspur, crossing the Jamna at Fyzabad and the Ganges at Hardwar. Like all the other secondary ranges of the Himalayas the Salt Range is parallel to the central or high range." Of the Jalalpur he writes : "The town is built on sandstone conglomerate strata. It has a very pretty appearance the houses being neatly arranged in a neck of the mountain and about 60 feet up the acclivity. The town dates back to the time of Jahangir,¹ at which time the town was large and populous, the ruins now seen about 200 feet above the present site testifying to the accuracy of the statement. Jalalpur was destroyed by Ranjit Singh about the commencement of his career, it being then principally inhabited by Mussalmans. Hindus now form the bulk of the population. On the hill overlooking it are the ruins of the old fort which appears to have been entirely built of boulders from the river."

¹ Akbar according to the Gazetteer.

“ From Jalalpur to the river, which is only half a *kos*, masses of stone of any size might be carried and the stone found here is equal to the finest gypsum alabaster of Europe (it is of this substance that the beautiful groups of small white figures and vases imported from Italy are made). The plaster of Paris is procured by exposing this rock to heat which deprives it of its water by crystallization; it then falls to the state of a white powder, which has a strong affinity for water.”

“ Captain Franklin speaking about this rock, as found among the Himalayas, says that it is probable that its chief use in Bengal would be as convertible into plaster of Paris and as affording a material for cornices and ornamental work to the banishment of the very rude productions of this kind that we have hitherto put up with. There is perhaps a sufficient quantity of it to answer any demand likely to arise as, when Government House (Calcutta) was last repaired, it was considered desirable to obtain a sufficiency for the purpose above mentioned, but the fact of its occurrence within our own mountain provinces was not known at that time; as it is within 50 or 60 miles of water carriage it might be expected to pay for its cost of transport.”

Dr. Jameson continues: “ In addition to its value in the arts, it forms an excellent manure and could be applied with great advantage to many of the soils in the Panjab.

To the natives its uses are quite unknown,¹ but, when it is appreciated, or *rather when the country falls into the hands of a Government which knows its value*, we may venture to foresee, from its occurring in such vast quantities close to the bank of river that it could form a valuable article of exportation to Bombay, etc., and even now, by the excellent arrangements made with the Lahore Government by Mr. Clerk, it is not liable to duty. To the Bombay Government therefore the gypsum is well worthy of attention seeing that it might be most advantageously used in the public buildings. The experiment is well worthy of a trial whether executed by Government or by private means. If by the latter and encouraged it would no doubt yield a good return.”

¹ Still are (Gazetteer 1904), though in modern times it has been tried experimentally as a cleanser of salt-impregnated soil, but the cost is prohibitive.

“Proceeding along the hills in a north by west direction we reach the village of Raghanwala distant about 4 *kos*.¹ The inhabitants are principally Awans or rather were, seeing that it is almost entirely deserted, owing to the rapacity of Rajah Gulab Singh’s soldiery. On the hill is a fort garrisoned by 200 Jammu troops.” He then proceeds to describe the salt mines. “A few miles further north-west is the village of Rewal from where the party proceeded to examine the salt mines of Tuteneb distant about 4 *kos*.² On the acclivity is the pretty village surrounded by palm trees—the residence of the miners—and containing about 200 inhabitants. The mines are about two miles further on but beyond this all the water is either salt or brackish. The mines situated up the stream are 45 feet above the bed of the stream and have been opened 20, 30 and 35 years respectively. The shafts are about 6 feet in height and 3 in breadth, varying in length from 140—180 yards. Before arriving at the principal bed of salt we passed several small ones varying from 3—6 feet in thickness, longest being from 70—200 feet.

The dress of the miner consists of a small piece of dirty white cotton cloth wrapped round the body with a similar piece round the head while to protect his skin from the splinters of rock salt a thick pad of black woollen cloth is worn. His tools are few in number and of a simple nature, *viz.*, a large hammer, sharp pointed at one and flattened at the other, chisels and hand picks.³ With these he removes masses varying in weight from 3—4 *pukka* maunds (240—320 lbs.), two of which are a camel load. Smaller masses are also removed by laden oxen, etc.

“In removing the larger masses accidents, owing to the narrowness of the shafts, frequently occur. To light up the mines small oil lamps are used appended to which are long hooks in order to fasten them to any projecting pieces of rock salt.

“The miner is capable of removing 8 *pukka* maunds per diem for which he receives one anna per maund but he supplied himself with oil and tools which cost 4 annas. On carrying the salt out of the

¹ Now a centre for paving and building stone.

² In Sikh times the salt was washed at each available spot, after the annexation it was limited. This place is not shown on map.

³ From Gazetteer of 1904 it seems the tools have changed little.

mine an additional 2 annas is given: this however is the work of another individual who is capable of removing 16 maunds per diem. The salt is conveyed to Pind Dadan Khan by camels, bullocks, etc., as no salt is allowed to be sold at the mines, and then sold at the rate of Re. 1/- per *pukka* maund. When Maharajah Ranjit Singh held the mines in his own hands a rupee was charged for a camel load but prior to farming them out to the Jammu Raja he had raised the price to Rs. 2/-.¹ Now the price of a camel load varies from Rs. 6—8 and before reaching Ambala, after paying hire, duty, etc., it costs from Rs. 18—20. The salt is sold in the bazar at the rate of from 13—15 seers a rupee.

“The mines are guarded by a part of the Rajah’s hill troops and are divided into three divisions—that of Pind Dadan Khan having a population of 10,000. In the central division there is a mud fort also garrisoned by a battalion of their troops with some horse artillery. There is a wide plain near by on which the salt was lying in great quantities and there were also scales for weighing it prior to loading the camels, of which there were about 70—80 present.

“Further to the west was the largest mine Khewra, so called from a village of that name. It is four *kos* from Pind Dadan Khan and the route is similar to that which leads to the other mines, up the bed of a mountain torrent containing but little water. Its banks however were in many places covered with efflorescence of salt much resembling lately fallen snow. The village of Khewra is close to the mine and contains about 250 inhabitants. Here we were met by some of Rajah Gulab Singh’s people. The shaft was similar to those already described but of much greater length, being not less than 300 yards. In sinking it much practical knowledge has been evinced; thus in the gallery we frequently passed beds of 10—12 feet in thickness. These however have been cut through and left untouched, and the shaft curved on to the great deposit. But how the individual who first opened the mine was led to conclude that a large bed of salt existed beyond the smaller one (it being so contrary to the native

¹NOTE.—The mention of the salt mines being farmed out to the Jammu family is interesting and one wonders at what stage they abandoned their custody. At all events the mines were considered the personal property of the Royal family and years after Dalip Singh attempted litigation in England to recover them.

character to risk capital if a means of repaying himself with interest for what he has already laid out is presented, which undoubtedly the beds mentioned would have given him) whether by the out-cropping of the salt in another part of the hills from mining operations carried out in some other place or from geological reasoning we could not ascertain. Neither could we obtain definite information as to the time when the mines were opened, further than that it was during the time of the Emperors. On entering the mine all the natives took off their shoes and proceeded barefooted. After we had gone down the inclined place about 200 yards the air became very oppressive. To descend into the great cavity we found a similar arrangement of steps cut in the solid rock salt, but the sight presented here was truly magnificent, far surpassing any geological exhibition that we had ever witnessed and it well repaid us for our suffocating trip. By the innumerable lamps the mine was well lighted up and this light being reflected by the beautiful crystalline walls, formed a splendid and brilliant hall of about 300 feet in circumference by fifty in height, contrasting well with a deep dark abyss to the end of which the eye could not penetrate, formed by an old abandoned shaft which the water had inundated. Adjoining this are several other shafts in a similar state. The thickness of the principal bed could not be ascertained as it occupies the whole extent of the mine, but it is upwards of several hundred feet. At 8 a.m. the thermometer stood in the shade at 45 degrees and in the mine at 77 degrees but owing to the state of the air it appeared to be much more. To the health it is more prejudicial. The inhabitants informed me that all of them suffer severely, after working for a few years from affections of the chest,¹ so that the average period of life with them does not average more than from 35—40 years. All presented a most sickly appearance similar to that we observed in individuals living near the marshy districts in the Panjab valleys." Dr. Jameson's party then ascended the pass leading into the Salt Range, which lies 4 kos north-west from Pind Dadan Khan. They then descended "to the small but pretty village of Chua Sydun Shah. From thence the road to Katas winds

¹ Mentioned by other medical men and said to be due to the action of the powdered salt on the mucous membrane.

along the bank of a small stream whose water is supplied by a large spring in the centre of the town. The inhabitants are mostly *fakirs* and it is so celebrated for its sanctity by the Hindus as to induce them to bring the bodies of their relations here from as far away as 50 miles in order to burn them. When we were there, several were burning and the ashes of others were collected in heaps. The place was a favourite resort of Maharajah Ranjit Singh who built a Baradari there; and there was also a building for the Jammu Rajahs."

"The spring at Katas is hot in winter and cold in summer—the temperature of the air in the morning being 20 degrees lower than that of the water. The depth is unknown. A man is said by tradition to have gone on making a rope for 12 years without fathoming it."

"On the barren hills between Katas and Mari Indus the best horses of the Panjab are bred but that does not infer much as a very good country-bred horse is rarely seen."

They then traversed a number of streams and nullahs, "all of them in general having sand in their banks containing gold which is extensively washed every month—December and February excepted. Similar gold is found on the banks of the Indus."

Of Kalabagh and Mari Indus Dr. Jameson's remarks:—Of all geological sites in India there are probably none more interesting or important than that comprehended under Mari Indus and Kalabagh, the former on the east and the latter on the west side of the Indus—distant $\frac{1}{2}$ kos from each other and interesting from the nature, position, and organic remains which the rocks contain."

Dr. Jameson had been asked to report on the possibility of coal in this area. He was doubtful but "it had been asserted that were the Salt Range east of the Indus examined by a geologist there is ample reason to believe that discoveries of value to Government would be the result." However Dr. Jameson maintained that the yield in the Kalabagh area would not be sufficient to make it a paying proposition. He added "the use of coal as fuel was unknown to the inhabitants but being used by them as a medicine in various diseases, it is so much prized as to have led them to believe that a large sum

would be given for it. 2,000 maunds were available at Kalabagh at Rs. 4/- a maund."

Alum Slate.—Of this Dr. Jameson writes: "Next to salt in economical value at Kalabagh is the alum slate from which large quantities of alum are manufactured. There were 14 factories with 10—12 workmen in each. The alum slate is brought to the factories on donkeys at the rate of one anna per maund. The following is the process of manufacture:—

"A layer of wood about two feet thick is prepared over which is spread a layer of alum slate of about the same thickness which is sprinkled with water. These layers are built up—6 or 7 of them—to a height of from 25—30 feet. The whole is then lighted and allowed to burn for anything from 12—24 hours. When cooled about 1,000 maunds are thrown into a tank and mixed with an equal quantity of water and left for three days. Then the water—which has become a deep red colour—is allowed to flow into another tank—while the clay left behind is strained into a large iron boiler and boiled for 3—5 hours until the quantity is reduced to $\frac{1}{5}$ th. This is then mixed with two maunds of potash and conducted to another boiler and boiled till ready and then poured into red clay vessels capable of holding 3 maunds. After crystallizing the vessels are broken off.¹ The alum is not quite pure being red or semi-transparent, owing to the iron it contains. It is sold at Rs. 17/4/- the camel load of 6 maunds (384 lbs.) Rs. 2/4/- being taken as duty by the Malik. All the earth near Kalabagh is almost blood-red and this, with the strange and beautiful spectacle of the salt rocks and the Indus flowing in a deep and clear stream through lofty mountains past this extraordinary town, presented such a scene of wonder as is seldom to be witnessed (Elphinstone)." According to the latter alum has long been manufactured at Kalabagh.

"*Nitre* is obtained in the vicinity of Kalabagh in the black soil about 8 *kos* to the south of the town."

The Malik of Kalabagh—Allah Yar Khan—derives his income amounting to Rs. 10,000 a year almost entirely from the mineral re-

¹ The modern process differs very little and is described in the Mianwali Gazetteer (1915), page 138. The modern price is Rs. 4/8/- 6/- a maund.

sources of the country. The salt trade however is monopolized by Rajah Gulab Singh who only allows him to sell two boat loads varying from 300—700 maunds per mensem ; little salt is exported to the north-west as other mines are situated in that direction.

The Mandi Salt Mines.—These mines are similar to those at Kalabagh. The marl forms hills which rise up in the form of peaks and needles to a height of 300—400 feet. The needle-shaped formation is produced by the action of the weather. The crystals of salt shine like diamonds.

The mines of Darang are about 3,900 feet above the sea level. In 1839 three were worked—two closed and one open to the light of day.

The first visited had been worked for 3 years and was 200 feet in depth. It was reached by a ladder a mile long with steps 2 feet 2 inches apart and divided into three sections. We were conducted to the mine by two miners who carried torches of wood soaked in turpentine which burned brilliantly.

Method of working.—The method was rough, the only instrument employed being a large sledge hammer. The salt embedded in the marl is traversed by spouts made of the plantain tree which are used in conducting water to any part of the mine intended to be worked. The water gradually wears away a portion of the salt and allows the miner to get at the remainder which he breaks up with his hammer. This plan is also followed in working the open mine, the water being brought from a distance of a mile. The water is not kept but flows away in a winding stream. After working for some time in one place they are obliged to abandon it owing to the quantity of water and open up in another place, which is easily done owing to the softness of the marl. We had many mines pointed out to us which had been abandoned for this reason. This crude method of saving implements and manual labour is unknown in Europe. If the Austrian method of dissolving the salt clay in water—the clay settling and leaving the salt in solution—were adopted in Mandi the salt obtained would be equal or superior to the salt obtained from the Panjab mines.

Method of removal.—In the first mine 8 women and one boy were employed. They carried on each journey two *kacha* maunds (64 lbs.) to the godown distant above $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, and each removes about 12—14 loads a day. The salt is carried in conical-shaped baskets the summit of the cone downwards.

250 people were employed in the mines, 200 of whom received Rs. 4/- per mensem and the remainder from Rs. 5/- to Rs. 15/-. The total cost of working the mines was Rs. 2,000/- a month, while the income was from Rs. 35,000/- to Rs. 60,000/- a year. The salt is sold at 160 lbs. (2 maunds) for a rupee. A Pahari carrying salt to Mandi about 12 miles—receives 2 annas per 42 lbs. (26 seers).

Half the workers are employed in the mines, the other half export the salt to Mandi and Bilaspur. Being inferior in quantity little is exported to the plains, though it is occasionally brought down to Mubarikpur through Simla. Another salt mine 12 *kos* north yields only 50 maunds a day as against 400 at Darang.

Work in cold weather is from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. but they complain much of the cold in the morning their only covering being a dirty piece of cotton cloth similar to that worn in the Panjab mines. Nearly the whole of the inhabitants are engaged in the mines, only a few cultivating the fields.

The revenue yielded by the Darang mines is small compared with that of Pind Dadan Khan and Kalabagh, nor is there much chance of the former being increased owing to the nature of the salt and the inaccessibility of the route for beasts of burden. From Rajah Gulab Singh's people, for the Rajah monopolizes not only the whole of the salt trade but governs the greater part of the hilly country west of the Jhelum, we could not get any definite information regarding the actual revenue yielded, but we believe it is not far short of 14 lakhs. The time however is not far distant, we trust when the country *having come under the rule of a liberal and enlightened government (which would be a subject of congratulation to the whole agricultural and commercial population)* we shall see the revenue increased ten fold. The salt will not only supply the whole of West India but probably may be exported with advantage from Bombay, etc.

Alum.—“The alum can be manufactured in any quantity and it only required encouragement and protection to increase the output.” Dr. Jameson is over-sanguine as according to the Mianwali Gazetteer the alum is not of much value commercially owing to the quantity of iron it contains.

“On the value of the gypsum we have already commented. When a change therefore takes place in the government of this country we shall no doubt see the town of Kalabagh raised to one of the most important in the Panjab.” And now a very interesting prophecy. “Even though there is no coal worth working we shall soon see another power in action—Electric Magnetism.” Such being the case we trust that that important and vital object to the commerce of Central Asia—the opening of the river Indus to free trade, obtained by the advance of the British army in 1838, will be duly appreciated and recompense government for the outlay it caused. As soon therefore as this power is brought into play we may expect to see the trade of this river rival that of its sister the Ganges. But in opening up another grand object has been obtained—a blow given to barbarism in Central Asia and a way laid open to the advancement of European Civilization.¹

Gold Washing.—Between Attock and Kalabagh about 300 individuals are engaged in washing the sand for the gold it contains which occurs in small flattened grains. They work in parties of 7 and 8 and use eight different kinds of implements.

1. One large wooden trough for receiving sand.
2. A pike for removing stones.
3. A shovel.
4. A sieve—the sand is thrown on it and washed through into the large trough with water from a wooden scoop.
5. A wooden scoop—which prevents any stones entering the trough.
- 6, 7 and 8. Vessels for receiving the sand after it has been washed.

¹ NOTE.—So far as utilizing the Indus for commercial purposes is concerned a Marine Department did come into existence in 1861 but was closed in 1872 as it could not compete with the railway. Monograph No. 9 of the Record Office Publications contains full details of its history.

So far as Electric Magnetism is concerned, many of us saw the fulfilment of the prophecy on March 10th, 1933, when the Viceroy opened the Shalamar transmitting station.

The sand is then carried to their houses and mixed with a little mercury which attracts the gold and by exposing it to heat the mercury is driven off again and the gold left. The latter is sold at Rs. 16/- per tola. A fourth of this, however, is exacted by the Maliks. The washer seldom realizes more than 4 annas a day usually about three—the gold extracted daily varying from 1-2 mashes to $\frac{1}{2}$ tola. The gold is the purest yellow gold.”

“ Having examined the country beyond Shurkee we returned to Kalabagh to proceed to Peshawar *via* Shucherdurrah; close to the latter is a high hill named the Onkine salt mine, in the country of Rasul Khan who derives a considerable revenue from it.”

At this stage their progress came to an end as they were attacked and plundered at Kohat by the Afridis as mentioned earlier. In the meantime at Mr. Clerk's request Maharajah Sher Singh sent an escort of horse to protect them and their reception in the Panjab was everywhere friendly. Captain Mackeson the Assistant Political Officer, managed to secure them protection from the Kohat Chiefs through the good offices of General Avitabile, then Governor of Peshawar, and they were received by the General at the latter place.

They then returned, *via* Hasan Abdal, to Pindi and thence, *via* Mianwali and Rohtas, to Jhelum without further incident.

The plundering of the Afridis had however caused a very heavy loss to Dr. Jameson—including most of his clothes, tents and books and transport animals and amounting to a total of Rs. 4,400/-.

FOUR FREE-LANCE FAMILIES.

BY H. BULLOCK.

In this article I will try to bring together a number of genealogical particulars regarding various families of European and Eurasian military adventurers in India. The importance of these particulars, the majority of which have not previously been collated, lies in the fact that a number of the more prominent adventurers were closely connected by ties of blood or of marriage. Such connexions must have sometimes had an influence on historical events.

THE DERRIDON FAMILY.

I will begin with the family of Derridon. The first of this name of whom anything is known was one Louis Derridon, who may have come from Pondicherry and, certainly, was dead before December 1782.¹ From statements to the effect that his grand-children by Perron were "Indians" or Eurasians,² it seems reasonably certain that he had an Indian wife. I have traced four of his children:—

- (1) Anne, who married Colonel John William Hessing of Scindia's service (of whom more later). She died at Digah, near Dinapur, on 21st October 1820, leaving issue.³
- (2) Pasquale, who married at Agra, on 20th September 1791, Captain Vitalis Duprat, of Scindia's service.⁴

¹ In his daughter Madeleine's *acte de mariage*, 16th December 1782, he is described as "le feu Deridan" (*sic*) (*Le Général Perron*, par A. Martineau, Paris, 1931, pp. 211-2). His connexion with Pondicherry may be conjectured from *ibid.*, p. 96; though M. Martineau is in error in supposing that Major Louis Derridon was father of Mme. Perron (see note 3 *post*).

² See, e.g., Herbert Eastwick Compton's *European Military Adventurers in Hindustan*, London, 1892, p. 329: "Two copper coloured children, the offspring of an Indian mother": and compare the portraits of these children given by Martineau, *op. cit.*

³ See article "The Hessings, Killahdars of Agra," in the *Calcutta Statesman*, 21st April 1912. For details of her will, see *post*.

⁴ *Vide* copy of Register (in Latin) of marriages celebrated by the Carmelite Father Gregory, now in the Agra Archdiocese Archives: extracts from which have been furnished me by the kindness of the Rev. Fr. Pius Lyons, O.C. The bride is described as "daughter of the widow of the late Deridon" (*sic*). For Duprat, see Compton, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

- (3) Madeleine, born at Bharatpur (Bhurtapore) in 1767 or 1768 ; married at Delhi, on 16th December 1782, Pierre Cuillier Perron, subsequently General and Commander-in-Chief of Scindia's forces (of whom more later) ; and died at Chinsura on 23rd August 1804, aged 36, leaving issue.¹
- (4) Louis Derridon, born in 1769 or 1770 ; Major in Scindia's service, married Ellen, daughter of Colonel E. Pedron, of Scindia's service (she was born at Entree, Gwalior, 23rd March 1777 ; and died at Agra, 25th September 1865, aged 88 years, 6 months and 3 days) ; he died at Koil (Aligarh), 5th April 1845, aged 75.²

The last-mentioned, Major Louis Derridon, had at least twelve children, of whom I have traced the following:—

- (1) Thomas, died at Agra, 29th January 1804, aged 10 months, 15 days.³
- (2) Ann, died at Agra, 28th July 1809, aged 9 months and 9 days.⁴
- (3) Mary (hiseleventh child), died at Agra, 17th October 1813, aged 4 days.⁵
- (4) John, died at Agra, 17th July 1817, aged 1 year and 6 months.⁶
- (5) Madeleine, born in 1807-8 ; married at Koil, "in the spring of 1836," as his second wife, Richard Roche Sturt, B.C.S.,⁷ son of Thomas Lennox Napier Sturt, B.C.S.,⁸ by his wife Janette, daughter of

¹ See Martineau, *op. cit.*, pp. 211-3 ; and *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XLIV, pp. 62-3, correcting M. Martineau's account.

² For Derridon see, e.g., Compton, *op. cit.*, p. 345 ; and *Statesman*, 21st April 1912. For Pedron see *B. P. & P.*, Vol. XLIII, pp. 34-6. For Ellen Derridon, see *Christian Tombs and Monuments in the United Provinces*, by E. A. H. Blunt, Allahabad, 1911, No. 169.

³ Blunt, *op. cit.*, No. 147.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 151.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 154.

⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 155.

⁷ *Statesman*, 21st April 1912. Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 11th edition (1906) does not show this second marriage.

⁸ Burke's *Peerage*, under Alington, B. ; and Burke's *Colonial Gentry*. Madeleine Derridon was thus sister-in-law of Charles Sturt (1795—1869), the Australian explorer ; and a connexion of two Viceroys of India, Lords Northbrook and Hardinge. For her adventures in 1857 see *Fatehgarh and the Mutiny*, by Lt.-Col. F. R. Cosens and C. W. Wallace (Lucknow 1933), *passim*.

Andrew Wilson, M.D. She died at Agra, 19th August 1859, aged 51 years, leaving issue.¹

(6) Alexander, killed by rebels at Kala Mahal, Agra, 6th July 1857, together with his wife, son and daughter: a third child (son) escaped.^{1a}

(7) George, alive in 1823.^{1b}

The following would appear to have been either children or, more probably, grandchildren of Major Louis Derridon:—

(8) William A. Derridon, died at Agra, 25th July 1878, aged 56 years.²

(9) Miss Anne Derridon, died at Agra, 9th April 1877, aged 79 years.³

(10) G. S. W. Derridon, died at Agra, 5th September 1905, aged 66 years.⁴

According to various authorities the Derridons are now extinct in the male line. This is corroborated by statements made to me by representatives of former free-lance families at Agra.

An apparent member of the family whom I have been unable to place is "Esperanza Doridon,"⁵ who died at Agra, 7th May 1801; and is buried next to the four infant children of General Perron. She may have been a sister of Mme. Perron.

THE HESSING FAMILY.

We will now pass to the Hessings. The first member of this family with whom we are concerned was Colonel John William Hessing, born at Utrecht, Holland, on 5th November 1739; who after a varied career (related at length in his epitaph)⁶ became a Colonel in Scindia's service; and died at Agra, 21st July 1803, aged 63, being

¹ Blunt, *op. cit.*, No. 246.

^{1a} *Annals of the Indian Rebellion*, Calcutta, 1859-60, pp. 766, 788: *Statesman*, 21st April 1912.

^{1b} See section "Some Hessing Wills," *post*.

² Blunt, *op. cit.*, Nos. 250 and 252: *B. P. & P.* Vol. XLIII, p. 93.

³ Blunt, *op. cit.*, No. 251.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Nos. 172 and 174.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 140.

⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 145: *Statesman*, 21st April 1912: Compton, *op. cit.*, pp. 364-5.

then Commandant of the Fort and City of Agra. As already noted, he married Anne Derridon, by whom he had issue :—

- (1) George William Hessing, born 1781/2 ; Colonel in Scindia's service ; died at Garden Reach, Calcutta, 6th January 1826, aged 44 ; buried at Barrackpore.¹ Married twice and left issue, of whom more later.
- (2) Thomas William Hessing, died at Digah, near Dinapur, without issue, about 1823.² Note : Amelia Hessing, widow of Thomas Hessing, " up-country trader," who died at Calcutta, 1832, aged 36, was probably his widow.³
- (3) Madeleine, married Colonel Robert Sutherland of Scindia's service (of whom more later), by whom she had issue.

GEORGE HESSING'S CHILDREN.

Colonel George William Hessing appears to have been twice married.⁴ The name of his first wife has not been traced : by her he appears to have had the following child :—

- (1) R. W. Hessing, died at Chinsura, 27th July 1806, aged 3 years 8 months and 21 days.⁵

His second wife, Anne—, survived him and died at Barrackpore, 31st August 1831, aged 38.⁶ The first three of the following children were undoubtedly by her : others may have been by the first wife :—

- (2) John Augustus Hessing, born at Bharatpur (Bhurtpore) " on or about " 11th October 1803 ; ward of Lt.-Col. Hugh Sutherland ; educated at Royal Academy, Inverness ; rejected for an E. I. Company's military cadetship, 15th December 1819, owing to his being of

¹ *Bengal Obituary*, 1848 edn., p. 123 : *Compton, op. cit.*, pp. 363-4.

² His M. I. at Dinapur has been transcribed by Mr. Justice James of the High Court, Patna ; and will I understand appear in the revised list of M. I. in Bihar and Orissa which that gentleman is editing.

³ *Statesman*, 21st April 1912.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Bengal Obituary*, 1848 edn., p. 354.

⁶ *Statesman*, 21st April 1912.

- mixed blood;¹ married at Calcutta, 1826, Jane, daughter of Edward Brightman, a well-known merchant;² by whom he had issue.
- (3) George William Hessing, Ensign H. M. 41st Foot, died or was killed in action in First Afghan War, 1841/2. Married M. Behan: *d. s. p.*³
- (4) William Walter George Hessing, died unmarried.⁴
- (5) (?) Thomas Augustus Hessing.⁵
- (6) (?) Miss Jane Harriet Hessing, head teacher, Calcutta Central School, died at Calcutta, 1840, aged 40.⁶
- (7) Madeleine, married at St. Margaret's, Westminster, 1832, Colonel John Geddes, late H. M. 27th Foot.⁷

SOME HESSING WILLS.

Copies of the wills of Colonel G. W. Hessing (dated 22nd December 1823: proved Calcutta, 11th January 1826) and of his (? second) wife Anne (dated 6th August 1831: proved Calcutta, 19th August 1831: she styles herself Anna therein) are at the India Office.

He mentions three of his children in his will: John Augustus, his eldest son (to whom he left lands, tenements, &c., and whom he appointed one of his executors); William Walter George, his son; and his youngest son who had not been baptized at the date of the will. Other persons who received legacies are Magdelina Hessing (presumably his grand-daughter, daughter of John Augustus); his friend Lt.-Col. Hugh Sutherland; his sister-in-law Louisa Finglass, widow; his friend George Derridon, son of Major Derridon; his friend William Sutherland, "now residing with me";⁸ his nephew John William Sutherland; and his wife, who was appointed guardian of his children.

¹ Major V. C. P. Hodson has kindly furnished this information from the Cadet Papers at the India Office.

² *Bengal Obituary*, p. 146.

³ His name appears (as C. Hessing) on a tablet in the Afghan Memorial Church, Colaba (*Revised List of Tombs and Monuments. . . . in Bombay. . . .*, Bombay, 1912, No. 282). He appears correctly in the *Army List*, January 1840, as G. W. Hessing.

⁴ Martineau, *op. cit.*, Table V.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *Statesman*, 21st April 1912.

⁶ *Statesman*, 21st April 1912.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Martineau, *op. cit.*, Table V.

⁸ A nephew of Robert and Hugh Sutherland; see note 3 on p. 20, *post*.

The other executors were John William and William Sutherland, and "my friend James Calder, Esquire" of the firm of Messrs. Mackintosh & Co. of Calcutta, Agents. Testator describes himself as of Digah near Patna in Bihar, "at present residing at Garden Reach near Calcutta."

By Mrs. Anna Hessing's will she left her property in trust to James Gordon of Calcutta, Esq., a member of the firm of Messrs. Mackintosh & Co. of the same place, Agents; and Peter Turnbull of Calcutta, gentleman, an assistant in the Custom House,¹ for the benefit of John Augustus Hessing, her eldest son, and her two minor sons, William George and George. The joint trustees were appointed executors also.

The only other Hessing will, of which I have traced a copy at the India Office, is that of Mrs. Anna Hessing (senior), widow of Col. J. W. Hessing. It is dated 20th October 1820, and was proved at Calcutta on 30th January 1821. She describes herself as "of Deegah in Behar near Bengal," and leaves all her property to her three children, Magdalene Sutherland, George William Hessing, and Thomas William Hessing; the last two being appointed executors.

J. A. HESSING'S DESCENDANTS.

John Augustus Hessing, mentioned above, had a daughter Madeleine, who married Captain (afterwards Colonel) John Geddes (nephew of Colonel John Geddes, mentioned above).² She died in 1870, leaving issue:—

- (1) Lt.-Col. Gordon Geddes, R.A.³
- (2) Lt.-Col. George Hessing Geddes, C.B., C.B.E., R.A. (retired 1919), born 13th November 1864; died Coker, Somerset, 21st February 1933.⁴
- (3) Lt.-Col. Augustus Geddes, The Buffs, killed in action at Ypres, April 1916.⁵

¹ This must be Captain P. Turnbull, formerly an officer in Scindia's service, who was living in the Bengal Presidency and receiving a pension of Rs. 150 monthly from the Government of India, till 1840 or later.

² Martineau, *op. cit.*, Table V: *Statesman*, 21st April 1912.

³ Martineau, *op. cit.*, Table V.

⁴ *Ibid.*: *Who's Who*, 1926: half-yearly *Army Lists*,

⁵ Martineau, *op. cit.*, Table V.

- (4) Edith Geddes, unnm.¹
 (5) Beatrice Geddes, married J. Copeland.²

THE SUTHERLANDS.

I will now pass to the Sutherlands. There were two brothers in Scindia's service :—

- (1) Hugh Sutherland, born 1765 ; Lieut. H. M., 73rd Highlanders, 24th September 1787 ; Captain in same Regiment——; subsequently Lieut.-Col. in Scindia's service ; married Ann——; died Stockwell Green, Surrey, 25th January 1835, aged 69.³ His only child, Georgiana Madelina, married at Brixton Church, 18th February 1836, William Spencer, Bar-at-Law of the Inner Temple.⁴
- (2) Robert Sutherland, born 1768 at Tain, Ross-shire ; ensign H. M. 73rd Foot ; cashiered ; became Colonel in Scindia's service ; married Madeleine, daughter of Colonel John William Hessian ; died at Muttra, 20th July 1804, aged 36.⁵ He had three children :—
- (1a) C. P. Sutherland, died Hindia, 14th October 1801, aged 3 years.⁶

¹ Martineau, *op. cit.*, Table V.

² *Ibid.*

³ It is curious that none of the books on the military adventurers should mention that there were two Sutherlands. They give much detail about Robert but none about Hugh. For Hugh's death see *Gent. Mag.*, 1835, Vol. I, p. 330. His will (P. C. C. 388 Gloster) mentions his nephew Alexander Mackay of Stockwell and his niece Helen Sutherland, sister of William Sutherland " lately deceased." (This must be the William Sutherland mentioned in note 8, p. 18). The will is dated 11th December 1828 with a codicil of 4th June 1834 ; and was proved 13th June 1835. The testator mentions landed property of his on Lake Coniston, Co. Lancaster. One of the executors was John William Sutherland " of Harley St., Westminster."

⁴ *Asiatic Journal* N. S., Vol. XIX, p. 232. This reference with several others has kindly been furnished by Major V. C. P. Hodson. See also *Asiatic Annual Register*, 1800, Chronicle, p. 79 : " 74th Foot. Lieut. St. McDonnell Murray to be Captain-Lieutenant by purchase, *vice* H. Sutherland, who retires, 16th August 1799."

⁵ Blunt, *op. cit.*, No. 367; Compton, *op. cit.*, pp. 410-6 ; Keene, *Hindustan under the Free-Lances, passim*. His will (copy at India Office) is dated 12th July 1804 : proved at Calcutta, 9th August 1804. He leaves an annuity to his sister Catharine Munro ; and states that his daughter Isabella is " at present residing in England " under the care of Mrs. Susan Carnegie (*sic*) being under 21 years of age. Testator desires to be buried in his own garden, which was done,

⁶ Blunt, *op. cit.*, No. 367.

(2a) John William Sutherland, born 1798; married 1827, Mary James (she died 1891); died at Coombe, Croydon, 14th August 1871.¹ Father of Charles Leslie Sutherland, C.I.E. (1839—1911), and of Stewart Sutherland (died 1916). J. P. & D. L. for Co. Surrey.

(3a) Isabella.

PERRON.

As has been stated above, Pierre Cuillier, better known by his *nom-de-guerre* of Perron, married Madeleine Derridon at Delhi on 16th December 1782. By her he had twelve children, of whom ten had died in India before March 1803.² Four of them lie in the Padres Santos cemetery at Agra, with an epitaph dated 1793.³ The graves of the remainder are unknown. I have traced the baptism of one only of these children, a son who was christened at Agra on 7th October 1787.⁴ The two survivors were:—

- (1) Madeleine-Barbe Perron, born 1802; married 1817, Charles-Alfred, Comte de Montesquiou-Fezensac (1794—1847). She died 1869, leaving issue (of whom more later).
- (2) Joseph François-Réné Perron, born 1804; married 1842, Caroline Oudinot de Reggio (she died 1896). He died without issue, 1869.

Perron married again in France in 1807; of his second wife and his children by her full details are given by M. Martineau. He died at his Chateau de Fresne (Loir-et-Cher), on 21st May 1834. It was thus through his eldest surviving daughter only, Madeleine-Barbe, that the Derridon line was continued. M. Martineau gives an elaborate table of her descendants, from which we may extract the following. She had six sons and three daughters, of whom only one son and the two

¹ Information from the Chief Librarian, Croydon Public Libraries, who kindly furnished extracts from *Transactions of the Croydon Natural History and Scientific Society*, 1915-16; *Croydon Chronicle*, 19th August 1871; and *Surrey Archæological Collections*, Vol. II, p. 275. See also Martineau, *op. cit.*, Table V.

² Martineau, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

³ *B. P. & P.*, Vol. XLI, p. 149; Blunt, *op. cit.*, No. 136.

⁴ In the registers mentioned in note 4, p. 14.

daughters had issue. These last three were :—

- (1) Zilia de Montesquiou (1818-1899), married 1839, François Comte de Cessac (1812-1885), by whom she had issue (besides other children who died without issue) : Louise de Cessac (1842-1914), who married in 1868 Roger Sauvage de Brantes (1834-1875). The latter pair have issue—one son (Général de division Paul, Marquis de Brantes) and one daughter, Françoise de Brantes, born 1866, married 1891, Abel Comte Armand ; both these are still living and have issue.
- (2) Cécile de Montesquiou (1823-1886), married 1844, Gérard Comte de Cessac (1819-1886) ; by whom she had issue one son (who died without issue) and one daughter, Alice (1845-1920), who married 1879, Oscar Comte de Reinach (1846-1922). These latter had three children of whom the eldest, Pierre Comte de Reinach-Cessac, is married and has issue.
- (3) Arsieu de Montesquiou (1825-1883), married 1851, Cécile de Charette de Boisfoucauld. They had one daughter Jean (1852-1912) who married (1) in 1874, Camille Forestier de Forestier (by whom she had a daughter whose descendants survive) ; and (2) in 1881, Léon Comte de la Ruelle (1839-1905), by whom she had a son who is married and has children.

CONCLUSION.

It will thus be seen that the following officers in Scindia's service were connected by marriage :—

1. General P. C. Perron (Commander-in-Chief).
2. Colonel J. W. Hessing.
3. Colonel G. W. Hessing.
4. Colonel R. Sutherland (Brigadier).
5. Lt.-Col. H. Sutherland.
6. Colonel V. Duprat (Brigadier).
7. Colonel E. Pedron (Brigadier).
8. Major L. Derridon.

Indeed, there were probably other connexions amongst the military adventurers ; for example, Col. G. W. Hessing in his will speaks of his sister-in-law Louisa Finglass (*sic*), widow ; and she must surely have been connected with the celebrated Colonel Michael Finglass of the Nizam's service.¹

Though the Derridon family is extinct in the male line, it will be seen that in the female line it is represented by families of repute in France and England.

¹ Died Hyderabad 17th July 1800, aged 36. See Compton, *op. cit.*, p. 356.

THE MULTAN OUTBREAK OF APRIL 1848.

BY K. C. KHANNA.

[*Paper read on 30th October 1933.*]

The outbreak at Multan, which led to the Second Sikh War and consequently the annexation of the Panjab, forms an important event in British Indian history and has always claimed considerable attention. In the recently published monograph on the Trial of Diwan Mul Raj, Mr. S. R. Kohli has attempted to re-examine the circumstances of this outbreak.¹ His account, though true in the main, is not exhaustive. In that portion of the introduction to the monograph, which deals with the events previous to the outbreak, there are several inaccuracies of facts and figures as I can judge from a fuller knowledge of the records in London. Mr. Kohli's reading of the military policy of the Second Sikh War is defective. But in this article I only wish to place before the reader an important document concerning the outbreak, which I discovered in the India Office, London, and to which, unfortunately, Mr. Kohli had no access.

It is an account rendered by Jamadar Kesra Singh who was a servant of Mr. Vans Agnew. He accompanied his master through all these events, and only left him on 20th April at Mr. Agnew's bidding, a short while before Agnew and Anderson were killed. The next day he made for Bahawalpur, and, reaching that place on the 22nd, gave his account to Pir Ibrahim Khan, the Assistant Political Agent at that station. Pir Ibrahim Khan at once forwarded it to Sir Frederick Currie at Lahore, who sent it in his demi-official correspondence to Lord Dalhousie on the 25th. The Governor-General sent it to the Home Government, which did not let it pass unnoticed.

The historical importance of this document cannot be exaggerated. It is the account of an eye-witness reported within two days of the occurrence. It would be idle to suggest that the Jamadar was inspired to give a partial and coloured account of the outbreak, or that Pir Ibrahim Khan, in any material way, garbled the

¹ Reference is made in this article to Mr. Sita Ram Kohli's "The Trial of Diwan Mul Raj," 1932.

the Jamadar's statement. The document speaks for itself and a critical study of it belies such a suggestion. The account is impartial and contains evidence both for and against Mul Raj. Altogether, it supplies an abundance of detail, and makes the picture vivid, clear and, in some respects, different for us.

An article of this nature precludes my giving a detailed narrative of the outbreak. My purpose is to emphasise and discuss some of the more salient points in the Jamadar's statement, to check his inaccuracies if any and to show in what respects his account is different from that of the monograph. To begin with, Mr. Kohli tells us on page 5 that the three officers proceeded from Lahore to Multan by the river Ravi. This is incorrect. The two British officers proceeded by river, while Sardar Kahn Singh, the governor-designate, with the troops, went by land. Kesra Singh's account on this point is verified by what we read elsewhere, in Lee Warner's *Life of Lord Dalhousie* and in the records. In fact, the Home Government, later on, criticised the procedure on the part of the British officers which had removed any chance of their knowing the troops on the way.

This want of forethought is further illustrated by the fact that the party had not decided where to encamp when they reached Multan on 17th April. Mul Raj did not know anything about it; the British officers suggested the Idgah if Kahn Singh approved. This reliance on Kahn Singh's power and understanding was more formal than justified by later events. Mr. Kohli's account does not refer to this.

Kahn Singh advised Agnew on the 18th to 'get the fort as soon as we can.' Accordingly, the two British officers and Kahn Singh, together with two companies and 25 soldiers, went on 19th to receive charge of the fort. Mul Raj met them at the gate. It appears that he had not, as Mr. Kohli would have us believe, accompanied the party from the Idgah. The behaviour of the Jamadar stationed at the Kumar Kot Gate, by which the party entered the Fort, was noteworthy and suspicious. His question as to what Mul Raj's orders were with regard to the British officers entering the Fort was significant, and

Mul Raj's suggestion that the people in attendance on the British officers might not be allowed into the Fort for fear of causing *annoyance* was equally significant. It is surprising to note that Mul Raj took all his men inside in spite of Agnew's suggestion to the contrary.

The party visited several places in the Fort, placing British guards where necessary and encouraging the infantrymen in Mul Raj's service and assuring their officers of their old positions. As they emerged out of the Sikki Gate the same Jamadar seemed to be indignantly restless about his change of masters, and it appears Agnew took his remarks more lightly than he might have done.

There appears to be an inaccuracy in Kesra Singh's account with regard to the position of Anderson and Kahn Singh. At first it is said that they were both following Agnew and Mul Raj. Later, it is stated that both of them moved ahead of Agnew as the road was narrow, and they were afraid of falling into the ditch on either side of the draw-bridge. It is important to locate these two officers at the time of the happenings, though Mr. Kohli's account on page 6 takes no notice of this matter. Evidently, they must be in advance, or else how could they be ignorant of the attack on Agnew? It may be that Anderson and Kahn Singh, who were at first behind, rode past Agnew and Mul Raj later on.

Kesra Singh's evidence fully supports the view that Agnew did not accuse Mul Raj of the crime, but required him to make his appearance which was not done at all. Kahn Singh and officers of his force with him threw the first suspicion on Mul Raj's intentions, and also persuaded Agnew not to leave the Idgah for a camp in the open as he wished to do.

Firing began on the Idgah on the 20th. The Sikh officers assured Agnew that their troops would sacrifice their lives for him. As a matter of fact, throughout the day they did so by firing their guns in reply to the attack on the Idgah.

Jamadar Kesra Singh's account is radically different from Mr. Kohli's narrative in regard to arranging an interview between the parties. According to the Jamadar it was Mul Raj who took the

initiative. The Diwan sent a message to Colonel Isra Singh, who held military command of the Lahore forces, to stop firing. Agnew interfered, and required Mul Raj to cease firing first and then send some confident for an interview. The firing on the Idgah was not stopped but renewed with great vigour, with the result that Colonel Isra Singh and his men deserted Kahn Singh and the British officers, and joined the enemy.

Thereupon a section of Mul Raj's troops advanced against the Idgah. At this stage Agnew advised Kahn Singh to hold an interview with Mul Raj if the latter so wished, as there was no use spilling unnecessary blood. The Sardar was imprisoned. The soldiers then advanced. Kesra Singh was ordered by Agnew to leave his side. Agnew and Anderson were first shot dead on their *charpoy's*, and then their heads were cut off and their bodies barbarously mutilated. Agnew who was in charge of the position had behaved throughout with admirable courage and confidence in a difficult situation.

When these soldiers returned to Mul Raj he joined Isra Singh's artillery with his own, took possession of the plundered property and rewarded the soldiers who brought the heads of the officers. In other words, it was now that he completely joined the insurgents. Mr. Kohli does not mention the subject of rewards at all. Later, all the other property was taken and Kahn Singh was imprisoned in the Am Khas.

It is necessary to refer to a point in Mr. Kohli's introduction before passing on to the text of the Jamadar's letter. On page 7 of the monograph it is stated that Mul Raj sent Raizada Tulsi Ram to wait upon Mr. Agnew with a letter of excuse and *warning*. Kesra Singh is silent on this point. Nor is there any trace of the *warning* in Tulsi Ram's evidence given on pp. 108-17, or of Ram Rang's on pp. 118-23 of the monograph.

Statement of Jamadar Kesra Singh, servant of Mr. Vans Agnew. (Currie to Lord Dalhousie. D. O. 25th April. India Office Records, Secret Consultations, 7th October, 1848, No. 43.)

“ On the 22nd April, Jamadar Kesra Singh came to me (Pir Ibrahim Khan) at Bahawalpur and gave me the following statement :—

“ On the 17th April in the morning Mr. Vans Agnew accompanied by Lieut. Anderson and Sardar Kahn Singh Man arrived at the landing place called Rajghat at Multan. Megh Raj, Diwan Mul Raj's munshi, came to pay his respects and stated that the Diwan had sent an elephant to convey the party wherever they may wish to pitch their camp. Mr. Vans Agnew said, ‘ We will encamp here to-day and to-morrow, if Sardar Kahn Singh approves, take up our quarters at the Idgah.’

On the 18th they went in the morning to the Idgah. An hour afterwards, Diwan Mul Raj accompanied by Lala Rang Ram and other attendants had an interview which lasted for a quarter of an hour. At 12 o'clock he sent a *ziyafut*. In the afternoon, he paid a second visit, remaining for two hours. In the course of the conversation he requested Mr. Vans Agnew to inspect the Fort, the troops, stores, etc., to which Mr. Vans Agnew replied that he would come the next day. The Diwan then took leave.

On the 19th at sunrise Mr. Vans Agnew accompanied by Lieut. Anderson and Sardar Kahn Singh Man and attended by two companies of the Gurkha Regiment and 23 (25 ?) sowars went to the Fort. The Diwan came out to the Kummur Kot Gate to meet them. When they arrived at the outer Gate, the Jamadar stationed there asked the Diwan what were his orders as to letting the British officers enter the Fort. The Diwan replied ‘ The Sahib is master.’ The Diwan then said it would not be advisable to allow the crowd in attendance to enter also, as it would cause annoyance. Mr. Vans Agnew upon this, left behind one of the companies and the 25 sowars, and took in with him only one company. The Diwan was requested by Mr. Vans Agnew to leave some of his people behind also, but he did not do so. The British officers inspected the Fort, and among other things requested to see the place known by the name of Muzaffar Khan's cutcherry. The Diwan said it was used for confining prisoners and that it was not in a fit state to be seen. Mr. Vans Agnew replied, ‘ It is no matter.’ They then visited a place belonging to the late Diwan Sawan Mal, and Mr. Vans Agnew directed the officer in command of the company, which they had taken in with them, to place his guards in the same positions which the Diwan's soldiers held previously.

After taking a parade of the golundazes and other soldiers Mr. Vans Agnew spoke a few words of encouragement to them, telling them that all their officers would maintain the same positions which they then held. When they came out by the Sikki Gate, the same Jamadar who had accosted Mul Raj on entering asked what his orders were, to which the Diwan replied, 'you were formerly my servant, you will now serve the *sahib* who will treat you as well as I have.' The Jamadar said 'I am now your servant, but when I have been removed from your service we shall see.' Mr. Vans Agnew laughing said, 'Don't fear, the Diwan's servants shall be as mine, and mine as his.'

Mr. Vans Agnew and Diwan Mul Raj then proceeded side by side on horseback, while Lieut. Anderson and the Sardar Kahn Singh Man followed behind. On arriving at the drawbridge a soldier of a dark complexion advancing forward, thrust a spear at Mr. Vans Agnew's side which slightly wounded him. He fell off his horse, Diwan Mul Raj's horse reared. The Diwan then pressed on his horse and proceeded to the Am Khas. The road being narrow, Lieut. Anderson and Sardar Kahn Singh moved on a little ahead of Mr. Vans Agnew in order to avoid falling into the ditch. With the exception of the Diwan no one knew that the soldier had thrust the spear at Mr. Vans Agnew, nor did that officer mention it. The sepoy then made a rush and cut Mr. Vans Agnew over the shoulder behind with his sword, upon which Mr. Vans Agnew struck him with a stick he had in his hand and broke open his head. The sepoy then cut Mr. Vans Agnew upon the arm, while other sepoys, Mussalmans, attacked Lieut. Anderson, sword in hand. That officer closed with them, and was wounded on the forehead and on the back. He was immediately set upon by more sepoys and wounded both in the thigh and under the arm. Mahkim Naik and Sumand Khan sepoy took him up and carried him off to the camp in the Idgah. Mul Raj's soldiers all stood up and drew their swords.

Sardar Kahn Singh dismounted and came up to Mr. Vans Agnew, who after having his wounds bound up (by) Kesra Singh, got on an elephant with Kahn Singh and returned to the Idgah. As they passed the Am Khas in which Mul Raj was, they observed his people bringing

out three large and four small guns in front of the place, upon which Mr. Vans Agnew asked whose guns they were? Kesra Singh replied that they were Mul Raj's. Mr. Vans Agnew then turned off from that road and proceeded in another direction to the Idgah. The golundazes then fired a gun, the shot of which passed over their heads.¹

Mr. Vans Agnew and Lieut. Anderson had their wounds dressed in the Idgah during which occupation Mr. Vans Agnew wrote letters to Lahore and Bunnoo which were sent off through the news-writer. At the same time he sent information to Pir Ibrahim Khan at Bahawalpur.

At 9 o'clock he sent a message to the Diwan informing him that he did not consider the Diwan was to blame for what had taken place. In an hour and half an old munshi came on the part of the Diwan, and said that his master had intended to pay him a visit, but had been prevented by the sepoys, who had even wounded Rang Ram, a relation of the Diwan's. Mr. Vans Agnew remarked that he did not attach any blame to the Diwan, but desired that the soldiers who had wounded himself and Lieut. Anderson might be seized and imprisoned.

The munshi observed that the Diwan would certainly make his appearance before evening. In the evening a follower of the Diwan arrived and stated that his master could not just then make his appearance, but would come as soon as might be in his power. His arrival was expected during the whole night. In the evening Sardar Kahn Singh, Colonel Isra Singh of the artillery, and the other Colonel commanding the Gurkha Regiment remarked that it was strange that the Diwan did not arrive, and expressed a suspicion that he intended to make a disturbance.

Mr. Vans Agnew said that it would be advisable to leave the Idgah and encamp in a place where they would be beyond the reach of the guns in the Fort, to which the Sikh officers replied that the Idgah would stand battering from balls, and that water and provisions were both procurable, while perhaps they would not be in another situation. Mr. Vans Agnew agreed with them. This indicates that an attack on the Idgah was feared.

On the 20th April at 9 o'clock, a gun was fired from the Fort, which struck the mosque where the British officers were. The Sikh

¹ Later reports indicated that the gun was not shot. *cf.* Currie to Dalhousie, 22nd April [India Secret Consultations, 7th October, 1848, No. 41.]

officers came up to Mr. Vans Agnew and said, ' you observe that you did not think that the Diwan was to blame ; there can be no doubt about it now. ' Mr. Vans Agnew remarked, ' we must now look after our position. ' The Sikh officers said that the whole of the troops under them would sacrifice their lives in his service. They then went off to take measures for the defence of their several positions, while about this time shots began to pour in from the guns in the Fort. Mr. Vans Agnew said to Kahn Singh, ' What ammunition have you ? ' He replied, ' enough for 3 or 4 days. ' Mr. Vans Agnew advised the Sardar not to fire a gun as long as the guns were being served from the Fort, but to commence as soon as the Diwan's soldiers quitted it. The golundazes took two of their guns to a raised place to the south of the Idgah, from whence they served their guns, Colonel Isra Singh, however, brought his guns to bear on it, and they were obliged to remove theirs. In the afternoon four or five guns were again brought up to the same place while others were taken to the east of the Idgah. The artillery men in the Idgah continued their firing.

A man then came on the part of Mul Raj to Colonel Isra Singh with the following message : " The Diwan desires you to stop your firing and to pay him a visit. The Colonel informed Mr. Vans Agnew, on which that officer remarked that no confidence was to be placed in the Diwan's word, but that if he would silence his own guns, and send one of his confidants, Mr. Vans Agnew would hold an interview with him. After the man had taken his departure and re-joined the Diwan's troops, the firing was renewed with greater vigour than ever and continued till evening on both sides. Two golundazes in the Idgah were wounded as well as several horses and (an) Akali's son was killed on the other side. After dark an attack was made by all the troops, on the Idgah, on the east, west and south sides.

Colonel Isra Singh and his artillery men then went over to the enemy.

Sardar Kahn Singh immediately informed Mr. Vans Agnew that these troops had joined the Diwan's soldiers. Mr. Vans Agnew remarked that there was no remedy.

When the Diwan's people approached the mosque, Sardar Kahn Singh said, ' There is nothing left now but to die. ' Mr. Vans Agnew

recommended him if it should be the Diwan's wish, to hold an interview with him as there was no remedy for the troops having gone over, and resistance would involve an unnecessary loss of life. Sardar Kahn Singh then advanced ten paces and begged for quarter.

A soldier upon this fired at him but without hitting him. The Sardar then fired a pistol at him in return. The other sepoy then seized the Sardar, and began to plunder the place. Mr. Vans Agnew by the assistance of Kesra Singh raised himself up and shaking hands with Lieut. Anderson, bade him a last farewell. Kesra Singh took Mr. Vans Agnew's gun and fired it at the Diwan's soldiers, one of whom was wounded.

On the insurgents coming close up to the mosque, Kesra Singh, Mr. Vans Agnew's khidmatgar, left the place by that officer's order. Diwan Mul Raj's soldiers came up to the *charpoy*s on which the two officers were lying, upon which Mr. Vans Agnew taking a pistol fired it at them, but it hung fire. He then took out a sword and wounded one of them. A sepoy then fired off a gun at Mr. Vans Agnew the charge of which, striking him on the left side, killed him.

The soldiers cut off his head, as well as Lieut. Anderson and mutilated their bodies in the most barbarous manner.

They then took away the two murdered officers' heads, together with the guns and all the property they could lay hands on, to Diwan Mul Raj, who joined the artillery with his own, took possession of the property, and gave presents to the soldiers who brought in the two heads.

On the 21st Diwan Mul Raj ordered all the remaining property to be brought into the Fort, and gave directions for imprisoning Sardar Kahn Singh in the Am Khas.

Kesra Singh visited Sardar Kahn Singh and asked what he was to do. The Sardar advised him to get off to Bahawalpur and then to go up to Lahore by Ferozpoore. The Jamadar left the city and on his way saw a sepoy holding Mr. Vans Agnew's head in his hands while he was treating it with insult. The Jamadar then traversed the jungle for twelve *kos* and succeeded in reaching Bahawalpur."