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	PAGE
<i>Editorial</i>	1
THE GROUNDS OF POLITICAL OBEDIENCE IN THE INDIAN STATE.	
<i>T. G. P. Spear</i>	4
THE MISSION TO KANDHAR, 1857-58.	
<i>J. F. Bruce</i>	24
ROYAL TITLES IN THE PANJAB HILLS.	
<i>J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel</i>	44
MAHARAJA GULAB SINGH AND THE SECOND SIKH WAR.	
<i>R. R. Sethi</i>	51
THE RISE OF SANSAR CHAND.	
<i>Sri Ram Sharma</i>	63
ANDREW DALGLEISH.	
<i>C. Grey</i>	71
BACK NUMBERS	83

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EDITORIAL.

On 6th May, 1935, His Majesty, the King-Emperor George V, will have reigned for a quarter of a century and the occasion will be celebrated not merely with formal ceremony, but also with personal pleasure by many millions of his subjects, who altogether number about one quarter of the human race.

The sentiment of loyalty to the King-Emperor embraces several feelings. To Englishmen at home King George is in the first place the personification of a social and political system which has been slowly, instinctively achieved, and their loyalty to him is the measure of the value which they attach to that system. In the second place he is regarded by his people with personal respect and affection as "the first Englishman in the land"; he is admired for the possession in an outstanding degree of those qualities which Englishmen believe are characteristic of their race at its best. The Scots, the Welsh and the Scoto-Irish of Ulster have come to regard themselves in this common loyalty as Englishmen.

In the Dominions of the British Commonwealth the same dual sentiment prevails; but, because their personal relation is less immediate, the loyalty of his subjects is more a political principle, or perhaps the mystical perception of a vital political idea. That is the one clear fact defined in the Statute of Westminster, 1931. This sentiment has impregnated the French in Canada and is steadily percolating the Dutch in South Africa. It will probably capture the people of

the Irish Free State, as they realise that it is not the negation, but the guarantee of their freedom.

In the dependent territories, inhabited by backward peoples, over which also the King-Emperor reigns, the sentiment of loyalty is exchanged for a respect for the authority of which he is the symbol, for they are simply held in ward.

The position of India is peculiar. It has been an empire within an empire. It is now becoming a commonwealth of nations linked with another such commonwealth by this loyalty to the personal symbol of a social and political system which has been evolved by the English people. Indians can accept an Emperor as a personal symbol of union, for they have been ruled by great emperors—Asoka, Harsha, Akbar—in the past. The British people can more easily accept a king; the very word (kin-ing) is the symbol of the unity of kinsfolk. The title, King-Emperor, is thus the link in an evolving alliance. But there is something more, for we believe that many millions of Indians share the Englishman's personal regard for their common sovereign.

The present reign has covered the most critical period in the history of both peoples. Both have survived the greatest of all wars and are slowly digesting its consequences. Both have witnessed great political developments. Taken in conjunction with the Parliament Act of 1911, the Reform Act of 1928 has marked a great epoch in the progressive political achievement of the people of the United Kingdom. In a period of unprecedented instability their structure survives as strongly as ever without any essential alteration of its traditional principles.

During the same period India has experienced historical changes. His Majesty succeeded to the throne a little more than a year after the passing of the Indian Councils Act of 1909, which implemented the Morley-Minto constitutional proposals. This Act has proved to be the prelude to a rhythmical process of political evolution. Any review, however brief, of this fateful quarter of a century must record one deeply significant fact, namely, the steady, rapid growth of political consciousness in India, which is inextricably associated with one personality, Mahatma Gandhi, who has been so often and aptly called the Indian Mazzini.

Soon after their accession Their Majesties made a memorable progress through India and in December, 1911, held the great Coronation Darbar at Delhi, when the King-Emperor announced that that city was once more to become the capital of India, and that the administration of Bengal was to be re-arranged more in accordance with the wishes of the people of that province. Three years later came the World War. The great services of India in that War and the recognition of her political advance led to the momentous declaration by Montagu on 20th August, 1917, with which His Majesty strongly associated himself, of a programme by which India was progressively to achieve self-government through association of her representatives with the British Parliament. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report of 1918 in pursuance of that programme recommended the introduction of the hybrid system, known as *dyarchy*, which has survived until now, but has always been regarded as a "half-way house" towards self-government.

For fifteen years *dyarchy* has been subjected to active criticism, which led to the appointment and Report of the Simon Commission and subsequently to the series of Round Table Conferences. These culminated two years ago in the assembling of the political leaders of Great Britain and India in the Joint Parliamentary Committee, whose Report is the basis of the India Bill, which is now being passed through the British Parliament. His Majesty's Jubilee will thus coincide with the most notable political event in the history of India, namely, the establishment of a federation which will embrace the whole country and the inauguration of the first stage in the achievement of complete self-government.

THE GROUNDS OF POLITICAL OBEDIENCE IN THE INDIAN STATE.

[PAPER READ ON 26TH NOVEMBER 1934.]

In all the talking and writing which goes on to-day in India about politics there is one universal assumption, an acceptance of democratic theory, and one universal preoccupation, the control of patronage and the safeguarding of vested interests. Political theory is too often an accessory after the fact, something which is lightly dragged in to justify what is too often proposed on quite other grounds. In ancient Greece politics began as a branch of general philosophy; Plato stumbled on his Republic in the course of his search for the true conception of justice. His Republic is the social embodiment of the idea of the good life. Later, since the good life involves living together in society, politics developed with Aristotle into speculation on the nature of society, its end and purposes. What we nowadays dignify with the term politics was labelled by Aristotle the art of distribution of offices.

Never was there a time in Indian history when serious political thinking was more urgently needed. A constitution is being discussed and elaborated and will shortly be launched, a government which is to claim the allegiance of 350 million people is about to be established, and no serious thought has been given to the principles to which that government is to appeal. Statesmen discuss quotas and percentages, patronage and safeguards, but have not considered for a moment the basic condition of the existence of all governments, the fundamental goodwill of the people. The basis of all stable states is an underlying belief in the principles on which they rest, an acceptance by the community at large of the legitimacy of the government's claim to obedience. But we have been concerned with the activities of the state—the distribution of offices as Aristotle would say—rather than with its principles; for four years we have been decorating the facade and embellishing the interior without giving any thought to the less visible but still necessary foundation. Such a state can never be stable, and I believe it is the most urgent task to-day before

publicists and political theorists to undertake the study of this problem. Why should I obey the new Indian state? That is the question. Unless the reason for which the state compels me to obey it in the long run corresponds with my own convictions, unless, in other words, I obey the state of my own will and not out of expediency or fear, the authority of the state can never be stable and will collapse whenever the compulsive force is weakened or the sense of expediency dulled.

This problem will not be solved merely by working out "good principles." This is a mistake which I think is made by many universities to-day, which prescribe standard treatises of America and England, written for an utterly different political, economic, social and philosophic environment, and optimistically hope that the result will be the production of good Indian citizens. What lesson has Plato for the village community, or Aristotle for the problem of caste, or Laski for the communal problem? Politics studied in this way are no more than a hobby or a game. They lack all reality, because they lack contact with actual conditions of the country. All these authorities were written for our learning, but they do not exempt us from thinking out our own problems ourselves.

In any age the basic principles of a state are conditioned by the circumstances of the time. The principles which were effective in the Middle Ages would be fantastic and futile in Modern Europe, just as the democratic or nationalist ideas of the present would have been derided then. Twenty years ago it was widely believed that in representative democracy had been discovered the final and all-sufficing system of government, so that its progressive application to all sorts and conditions of people would automatically solve all the problems of government. The experience of post-war Europe has disillusioned us and we have learnt with Aristotle and Montesquieu that, whatever the abstractly best form of government may be, differing polities are necessary for differing peoples and civilisations. Democracy has broken down in Europe, because not enough people believed in it, with the result that when difficulties arose the people did not appoint fresh men to work the democratic machine, but constructed a new machine. To be stable, government must appeal to principles in which its subjects really believe.

The last twelve years have demonstrated in India that you cannot have diarchy without diarchists. The new democrato-communal-diarchic constitution will be no more successful, unless there are a sufficient number of democrat-communal-diarchists in the country. Is there a single such person existing to-day? The problem before us to-day is to find a set of beliefs shared by a sufficiently large number of people and to base government upon them. I am not here concerned with the details of the administrative machine, but with the fundamental principle of government. The problem is complicated by the fact that India is passing through a stage of transition not only politically but also culturally. The very beliefs upon which we seek to base political authority seem to be changing before our eyes. Something like mental anarchy has overtaken us.

On what principles then should governments be based? Governments may be based first on the motive of fear—fear of overmastering power, or fear of anarchy, if that power is withdrawn. Such was the thesis of Hobbes. Such governments can only be stable so long as the power is overmastering, or that “fear of something worse” persists. In other words, governments based upon the motive of fear rely upon a mental state which is in its essence temporary and fleeting. Secondly, they may be based upon inertia or indifference to political issues on the part of the masses, as was the case in Russia. But the case of Russia also shows the hollowness of such a principle. If the masses are really inert, the government will depend upon an active minority. If it rules them by force—as it did the middle class in Russia—it is really a government based upon fear, with all its instability. At any moment the masses may awake, as they did in Russia during the war and are beginning to do in India. You cannot to-day stimulate the peasant socially and industrially, turn him into a soldier and provide him with wireless, and expect him still to continue a political somnambulist.

Apart from these two bases there may be considered some positive principle which a man may accept with his mind and will, without which the State's argument for obedience by the individual can only be that of Belloc's nurse :

Always then keep hold of nurse
For fear of finding something worse.

This positive principle must vary with the circumstances of each nation and age.

Let us see what some of these principles have proved to be in practice. Most of the states of the ancient world had a religious basis. The state was the servant of the God and the King was the high priest. The country states of Egypt, Chaldea and Assyria, the tribal polity of the Hebrews, the city states of the Achæans and the Philistines were all on this basis. When states like Assyria and Persia blossomed into empires they were based frankly upon force and fear, and fell as soon as the central power decayed, as in the case of Alexander's empire; or a stronger than they arose, as in the cases of Assyria, Babylon and Persia. The Greeks were the first to develop beyond this principle, to regard politics as apart from religion; the good life, (rather than the glory and service of the city's patron god) was defined by philosophers as the end of the state. These states were founded on the democratic principle, and were made possible, first by the fact that the whole free population was educated and shared largely the same ideals, and second, by the institution of slavery, which gave the free citizen leisure to fill the public offices and to discuss affairs of state. The revolutions of Greek history, with their oligarchies and tyrants, were the result of economic crises rather than of any fundamental political instability. Dictatorships were temporary interruptions of an established order. The measure of the Greek belief in democracy is their use of the lot and the rotation of offices.

Rome, starting as a democracy, developed a new basis for her sovereignty—that of Law. Her systematising genius united with her conservative temper to bring about such a gradual and continuous modification of her divinely sanctioned customs as to cast over the highly developed law of the empire a halo of sanctity, which made it the cementing force of Roman society. The *imperium* of Rome combined a sense of awe—almost of the holy—with the sense of authority, and all the political disturbances of Rome were concerned, not with the modification or limitation of the *imperium*, but with its control by particular people. In Rome men talked about democracy but believed in law.

In the Middle Ages we find a situation wholly different. No *imperium* awed the feudal noble. The feudal king could exact obedience

only so far as his sword could reach. Even the strongest kings were often powerless, as the incident of Edward I and Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, shows. The earl refused to follow the king to France. "By God, Sir," said Edward, "you shall either go or hang." "Bigod, Sir," replied the earl, "will neither go nor hang"—and he didn't. The kings were the successors of the old Teutonic war leaders, and having lost the prestige of the old sacred families, who claimed descent from Odin, they tried to strengthen their authority by getting the support of the Church. The coronation service with its anointing with oil is a relic of this process. Belief in the Church was the real basis of authority in the Middle Ages. Its authority was universally accepted, its thunders universally feared and therefore effective, and so far as the State's authority stretched beyond pure force, it was because it had the sanction of the Church. The theoretical basis was the theory of empire and papacy, the practical the general conviction that there was no salvation outside the Church.

The Renaissance and the Reformation destroyed the position of the Church in northern Europe. But belief in religion remained, and so the doctrines of divine right became the working basis of political authority. National Churches, like those of England and Scandinavia, recognised the King as their earthly head and supported his claim to be God's divinely appointed representative upon earth. By 1600 this belief had ceased to be accepted generally in England, and the constitutional struggles of the 17th century form a study in what may happen to a state when it continues to claim obedience upon grounds which the people no longer accept. Custom carries on for a time, then force and repression, until some incident precipitates a crisis, which ends sooner or later in a new synthesis of popular belief and political authority.

All stable modern states rest their authority upon some claim which accords with deep rooted beliefs of the people. In France this belief is undoubtedly nationalism and the Rousseauite conception of democracy, which is more concerned with equality than with liberty, and which places more stress on popular sovereignty than on the manifestation of it. French institutions often seem designed as if for a breakdown, but the general belief in *la patrie* and democracy

has always proved strong enough to counteract the clumsiness of the political machine and to save the state almost in spite of itself. The rally to Poincaré in 1926 and Doumergue in 1934 illustrates this point.

In the United States men will still, as Dean Inge was fond of remarking, shout like the Ephesians of old for the space of about three hours, "Great is democracy." Though their voices are now perhaps a little hoarse, there is no doubt that the worship of the ballot-box has survived the eclipse of its rival, the dollar. Democracy is the political faith of America and this faith gives virility to American institutions in spite of all its defects.

In Germany the State has a different basis of belief, but one which has enabled it to survive in essential structure without any catastrophe the successive crises of the war, the peace, the collapse of the mark and the great depression. This is the German absolutist political philosophy, based on the teachings of Fichte and Hegel. What is only one school of opinion in England is the serious belief of most educated Germans. The State is a real mystic entity, a manifestation of Reality, which before all things must be obeyed. From the lecture room these ideas were disseminated through the schoolroom and the press until they became the basic belief of the mass of Germans. In Germany alone of modern states some of the awe surrounding the Roman *imperium* has been transferred to the State. This belief combined with Nietzscheism to form the philosophic foundation of German militarism and is at the root of the docility and orderliness of the Germans, which has stood them in such good stead in the last 15 years. Revolutions have swept away only institutions based on no deep belief—the Hohenzollerns who trusted in the legend of success, which was shattered in 1918, and in the doctrine of divine right, which no one besides William II took seriously; and the Republic, which was never more than the product of defeat and despair. Through all these changes the State is to-day stronger than it ever was.

In Italy the same philosophy is preached by Croce and Gentile and officially adopted, but the State is less stable than in Germany in proportion as this philosophy is less deeply rooted in the Italian people. This belief also explains the secret of the frequent revolutions

in centralised France compared to the stability of equally authoritarian Germany; Germans believe in the divine right of authority, Frenchmen in the divine right of the people.

Lastly, it is in England, the most stable of them all, that the working beliefs of the people are most nearly expressed in their political institutions. Parliament and Law are the Englishman's twin gods. An Act of Parliament is still something which the Englishman feels himself instinctively bound to accept; to pronounce a thing illegal is still the strongest deterrent you can place on the average Englishman. The General Strike was broken by Sir John Simon's speech pointing out that it was illegal. In France such a speech at such a time might have caused a revolution, in England it provoked a surrender. What Englishman in his heart would not be an M. P. if he could?

If from the contemplation of stable states we turn to unstable polities and periods of political change, we find that this principle still works—always there is an absence of any political consensus, or else a clash of two or more beliefs. In 19th century Europe governments like that of Metternich relied upon divine right at a time when the belief was dying and the educated were divided in allegiance between democracy and nationalism. The secret of Bismarck's internal success was that he perceived that nationalism was more deeply rooted than democracy, and in deft hands could be used to smother it. By making use at the same time of the fashionable Hegelianism, he transferred the Prussian monarchy from the antiquated divine right basis to its later nationalistic-militarist-authoritarian basis. Monarchies like Portugal, Spain, Austria and Russia, which could not or would not do this, fell one after another. Excellent eastern examples of a continuity of institutions accompanied by a radical change of basis are Japan and Siam. The measure of instability which does exist at the present day in the states we have just been discussing is due to the fact that there is a substantial body in each country which does not accept the political consensus of the majority; these are for the most part of course the advanced Socialists. Every state in every age to be stable must base its claim to political obedience upon the prevailing political beliefs of the people.

If with this principle in mind we now turn to India, one fact seems immediately apparent. It is that the present government is not based upon any fundamental popular beliefs. It is neither Hindu, Muslim, nor British, neither autocratic nor democratic. The only belief upon which it can seriously be said to rest at the present moment apart from expediency—is the traditional peasant belief that the *de facto* government must be obeyed just so long as it is strong enough to collect the taxes. This is what “the loyalty of the masses to the British raj” amounts to. But this negative loyalty is cold comfort to any government. It is only another way of saying with Sir John Harrington :

“Treason doth never prosper—what’s the reason ?
For if it do—it is no longer treason.”

Such a political foundation is one of sand. When the rains descend and the winds blow and beat upon that house, it will fall, and great will be the fall thereof. You cannot build up positive institutions upon a minus quantity.

A second fact seems equally obvious—that there is no consensus of political belief at the present time, but rather a confused jumble of conflicting beliefs and half-beliefs. There never was the uniformity of belief in India which 19th century historians assumed. But the problem has been immensely complicated by the incursion of western ideas and influence in the last hundred years. The significant movements in contemporary Europe were political and social ; in India they have been and still are essentially cultural. The movements in Europe have all been within the framework of existing civilisation, inherited from Greece, Rome and the Jews. Institutions have been modified, but the fundamental outlook on life has remained unchanged. Europe continues to be eagerly activist or world-accepting, empirical, critical. But in India it is the old views of life, the fundamental attitude, which have been challenged and are changing. This cultural transition, this flux of ideas about life itself, increases the difficulties of the political theorist tenfold, for besides the clash of fundamental beliefs many people profess new opinions and at the same time act upon traditional ideas.

For example, democracy is the political creed of most educated people to-day, and that it has taken real root is evidenced by the ease with which every new enterprise of the educated world transmutes itself into a committee—one of the essentials of democracy, as Dr. Lindsay calls it. That democracy influences many is obvious, but that it dominates the majority in modern India I take leave to doubt. Mahatma Gandhi calls himself a democrat, and the professed creed of the Congress is democracy, but does not his democracy transpose itself, by the process of inspiration, into the doctrine of the divine right of Mahatmas? And who will say whether the latter has not really a stronger appeal than the former? What happens to democratic theory when joint electorates are proposed? How can the frequent walk-outs and walk-ins of political conferences be squared with democratic practice? Many people will say, when confronted with such cases, "Yes, I believe in democracy, but it must not touch my religion, my private life, or my culture." Very well, in what sense do you believe in democracy? Democracy in itself is as vague a term as Socialism. What *kind* of democrat are you? It is questions like these which need the attention of thoughtful people to-day and so far have not received it. These are examples of professed theories which are not carried out in practice. But examples of the deeper clash of ideal and of principle are equally easy to find.

The Mahasabha for example, in so far as it represents orthodox Brahminism, is implicitly opposed in principle to the new outlook of the West. Congress conceals within its ranks two opposing tendencies—the world-renouncing Tolstoyan idealism of Mahatma Gandhi, and the robust industrialism of the Bombay and Ahmedabad magnates. The Arya Samaj is divided by the same clash of fundamental ideas, which we may call for convenience the world-renouncing and world-accepting attitudes.

Nor can we obtain much help from the study of India's past. In ancient India, as originally in Greece, politics were a part of theology, and there never arose an Aristotle to effect the separation. Kautilya's Arthashastra is the prototype of Machiavelli's "Prince," not of the "Republic" or the "Politics." It is concerned with means, not ends; the fundamentals are all taken for granted. This was because

the realm of ends was considered the province of general philosophy and not that of politics. Politics was a subordinate science, and Kautilya was only concerned with the means by which a ruler could attain certain already accepted ends within certain recognised and fixed limits. The grounds of political obedience were theological not political. The ruling principle was the theological principle of "dharma." It was the religious duty of the subject to obey, the religious duty of the king to rule well and promote the welfare of his subjects. What if he did not? The theoretical position was something like that of James I in his "Divine Law of True Monarchy."

In practice the religious duty of obedience was tempered by the possibility of resistance. If imperial Russia was an autocracy tempered by assassination, the average ancient Indian state was a theocracy tempered by hartals and rebellions. The great empires tended to borrow Persian ideas of divine right and to treat the monarch as semi-divine—but the fundamental principle was precisely the same, as it was in all those states of the ancient middle-eastern world which were not founded on conquest, namely, obedience as a religious duty.

The Buddhist states were much less bound by custom and religious hierarchies. Beginning as a revolt against Brahminism, early Buddhism was naturally much freer, at any rate at first, from priestly influence. Then, again, early Buddhism was a system of agnosticism touched by emotion, and as such gave little scope for theocratic theories. Hence the rise of contract theories of the state, perhaps the real beginning of political thought as an independent science in India, is quite understandable.

With the passing of Buddhism the old theocratic system of the Brahmins regained its sway. The new "sudra" dynasties who replaced the old Kshatriyas were naturally even more under Brahmin influence than their predecessors. A new period opens with the Mussulman invasions of India. The invaders brought with them the doctrine of the Islamic state—another variation of the theocratic principle. The rule of the Delhi Sultans was a mixture of Islamic theory and Turkish practice. It has been usual to lump the two together in a common condemnation, but I think it is one of the most urgent tasks of historical scholarship—and one for which the Panjab

should form a particularly favourable *milieu*—to distinguish between the Islamic and the Turkish or racial influence in the Delhi Sultanate. Most of the actions of these kings, and those usually the most open to criticism, were no more Islamic than many of the actions of the Crusaders were Christian.

No doubt some of these ideas are still living beliefs in the minds of many people throughout India, but none of them provides a satisfactory basis for an all-India government, for the simple reason that none of them is held throughout the country or even by the vast majority of the population. The ideas of ancient Hindu policy were inextricably bound up with the Hindu social and religious system, and are not only irrelevant to all non-Hindus, but to most educated Hindus as well. They are, perhaps, the theoretical basis of the already mentioned peasant belief in the duty of obeying the *de facto* government. The contractual ideas of the Buddhists have a much more modern ring, because they are much more secular, but with the disappearance of Buddhism they lost their traditional basis and must now compete along with modern political theories for the ear of the educated. In other words they have no root in the popular mind and little serious appeal to the educated.

The Islamic theory is perhaps more faithfully treasured in India to-day than in any other part of the Islamic world, yet it is unsuitable as a basis of an all-India polity. Whatever its value may be to the Muslims, and whatever its virtues may be in the abstract, it can only be irrelevant to all non-Muslims. However well non-Muslims may be treated in the theocratic Islamic State, they can never be other than a subordinate community, and can never be expected to obey the government, except from motives of convenience and expediency. It is the weakness of theocratic systems that they are only effective within the limits of the religions to which they belong. Theocracies can never coalesce. If the cases of Kashmir and Hyderabad, with ruling minorities and subject majorities be quoted, I should reply that they have only lasted so long because of the common peasant tradition of obedience to the *de facto* power. Once let western ideas filter in, or the traditional communities become conscious of themselves, and the trouble begins. The wars of religion in Europe are a

witness of what happens when government is based on theocratic ideas in a country of more than one religion.

Let us now consider for a moment the only government of the last thousand years in India that has appealed to the allegiance of something like the country as a whole—the Moghul Empire. For nearly two centuries it maintained its sway and it continued to influence profoundly the minds of men long after its actual power had disappeared. Like the Goths in the late Roman Empire, men venerated its august name, even while they were destroying it. Perhaps here, if nowhere else, we may find some light for the problems of the present.

The first basis of the Moghul empire was the personal allegiance of the Moghul chiefs to Babur, an allegiance depending upon the personality of the leader. Babur was the Moghul *Führer* and his system of government might have appealed to Hitler, though one wonders what the cultured warrior and lover of nature would have made of the world's champion speech-maker. The relation of Babur to his immediate followers was like that of Nelson to his captains; they were a band of brothers. Humayun's fall was due to his lack of driving personality, and his return to Delhi was due to Bairam Khan's loyalty to his house, rather than to himself. Akbar revived this element of loyalty from his immediate followers, but he introduced many other elements to the Moghul political dichotomy. First he extended the principle of loyalty from the Moghul clan to all communities, until it included not only Moghul *begs*, but Persian nobles, Panjabi Mussulmans, Brahmins and Rajput rajas. Loyalty was no longer first to the clan and then to the person, but to the person only. It was the "Leader" principle *in excelsis*. To this principle of loyalty he added the principle of Honour, by the institution of the Mansabdar system. Service of the empire was the best road to fame and fortune for the ambitious young nobleman, and many a youth, who might have striven like any mediæval noble for an obscure but disruptive independence, sought instead to win greater fame in the imperial service. Added to this was the policy of religious toleration, or one might almost say, of patronage of all religions (in the first half of his reign). The merchant was won by security, and the peasant yielded

his negative loyalty to the Moghul government as he did to all other *de facto* governments. By these means the basis of the Moghul empire was transformed from that of conquest into something like general consent. To sum up, it may be said that diverging principles, which might have disrupted the empire (Hindu and Muslim) were carefully respected, while the politically energetic elements in the country were nearly all secured by a system which appealed to their actual belief and practices.

The early Moghul state was neither a Hindu raj nor an outlying province of the Islamic state, but a government based on the political realities of the time. It was perhaps the first non-theocratic state, the first purely political government in India since the age of Harsha. Its distinguishing feature is that it appealed, and appealed for long successfully, not to the religion, nor to the fears of the people, but to their political instincts only. The distinction of Sher Shah was that he anticipated this conception, though he did not have time to work it out. It is true that Akbar tried to add a distinctively religious basis to the state by the institution of his new religion. But he himself (if that indeed was his intention) was never clear whether he was to be regarded as a god like a Roman Emperor, or as the prophet of a new religion, or only as the patron of a new cult, with the result that his religion died with him. Akbar's theory of divine right dissolved into an exhibition of sublime egotism. The so-called infallibility decree was an attempt to provide a religious basis for his government for only one section of his subjects by acquiring the prestige of the Khalifa, and as such it was not an essential part of the Moghul system of government.

Apart from these two largely abortive experiments, the Moghul empire was essentially a political state appealing to political motives from the time of Akbar to the reign of Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb, as Sir Jadunath Sarkar has shown, conceived the state once more in theocratic terms. He regarded himself as the head of the Islamic church-state in India and no more, and the inevitable though gradual result was that the non-Muslims came to regard the state as something to be obeyed only as far as needs must. Aurangzeb relied upon the Muslims, and they alone were not strong enough to hold down the rest of India.

Now I believe that the Moghul empire is not just "an old unhappy far-off tale," which can be closed with a snap in 1707, or dismissed with the terms "mediæval" or "barbaric." It is an integral part of the present, and many of the forces of the Moghul age are living forces still. We should not allow our eyes to be blinded by the sun in the West. What then can we learn from the Moghul political practice ?

The first principle which to my mind stands out is that the government of India must be built upon a political foundation. No appeal to religion can be made by the state, because any such appeal must sound differently in different ears. To base the state upon any one religion and hope for the allegiance of all the communities is like trying to put two eggs into one egg-cup. The Indian state must be political, not theocratic. The next lesson is that the state cannot rely upon any religious belief beyond the precept "Fear God and honour the King," and that if it interferes with religious liberty it will at once encounter opposition. This postulates religious toleration. This is so generally accepted at least in theory, that no more need be said. But the state, because it cannot appeal to a religious principle, must take care to appeal to secular interests. Such matters as Indians overseas, trade and commerce, development of all sorts, and the various kinds of welfare work, are matters of this sort in which men think as individuals, not as members of a particular group. Again, Moghul experience suggests that certain sentiments are specially deep-rooted and can be exploited politically. One such sentiment is that of loyalty and a ready response to vigorous leadership. Another is that of ambition and the hope of fame. Ambition often leads a man into the public service, and loyalty keeps him there against the ties of blood, community and even of race. A third such is what Lord Hugh Cecil calls "natural conservatism," a tendency to routine and an ingrained reluctance to change. The new India is much more likely to be afflicted with inanition and stagnation than with revolution. These are psychological factors which no statesman can afford to neglect. It would be interesting to work out, on the basis of these and other psychological traits, the reaction of India to the behaviour of various Viceroys, a Wellesley, a Bentinck, a Curzon and an Irwin.

Apart from these lessons from Moghul political experience, there is one lesson suggested by all Indian political experience, which may

be expressed in the admonition, "put not your trust in the villages." The village to the modern politician is like the land of Egypt to the ancient prophet—"they that go down therein shall not come up alive." As in the past the villagers still obey the authority which possesses most force and which demands fewest taxes. It was no love of Congress principles that prompted the average villager to the non-payment of taxes.

Besides these old factors which come from the past, we must take into account the new factors which fill so much of our attention at the present. These forces are political in the sense that they are not tied down to any one religion, and to that extent they are hopeful foundation-stones of the state ; but they are also to some extent superficial, because they are new, often half understood, and largely confined to the educated classes. They are conscious principles as distinct from the more deep-rooted subconscious political sentiments we have just been considering. Officials have often made the mistake of denying their existence, nationalists of assuming their omnipotence. These ideas are nationalism, democracy and the sense of ordered justice. The strength of the nationalist sentiment makes itself felt in every Indian when he goes abroad ; its limitation is felt when it comes into conflict with communal interests. Democracy is undoubtedly a force in modern India, but seems to me at present a sentiment rather than an idea, because while everyone professes belief in the *word*, very few have thought out what they mean by it, or are ready to follow out the implications of any definition they do accept. Here again the sentiment is present, but it is not all-powerful. The sense of ordered justice is at the root of the demand for fair play in all departments of public life. In the past the patron was expected to reward his client ; to-day he is expected to have some regard for justice and merit. It may be said that in practice he still rewards his clients, as in America under the "spoils system," but, at any rate, he is now criticised for doing it openly. And crime is expected to be punished, even if the offender is highly placed.

Taking into account all these considerations, we may venture to make a few suggestions towards the securing of a stable foundation of the new Indian State. Taking first the psychological aspect : the

marked responsiveness to vigorous leadership which exists suggests a strong executive, an authoritarian government, even if it has a democratic basis. The vogue of the *Führer* Principle in Germany is to a large extent artificial, an expedient accepted because the Germans see no other way out of their present difficulties; in Indian it has been the foundation of all successful governments. The great periods of Indian history are all associated with specific names—Asoka, Harsha, Akbar, Dalhousie. But the new nationalist sentiment demands that this leadership must be fundamentally Indian. This is the real case for Indianisation. It is not necessary that the leadership be entirely Indian in blood, but it must be so in sentiment. Foreigners have ruled India with general acceptance before, and may do so again. The Moghul service in its higher branches was even more foreign than are the services to-day, but its outlook and sentiment were Indian. In fact the period at which it was least acceptable to the mass of the people was probably the time at which it was most Indian—in the latter part of Aurangzeb's reign. This instinct of loyalty can also be given an obvious outlet in the public services, and this has to a large extent already been done. Another factor which promotes authoritarian government is inertia, the liking to have things done for one, in which India resembles Russia. This makes people more tolerant of authority than they otherwise would be, especially if on the whole that authority is working in accordance with their own wishes.

We now come to what is perhaps the core of the problem, the question of religion and its relation to democracy. If it is assumed that no one community is strong enough permanently to dominate the others, or to swallow them up, what is to be the attitude of the State towards them? If the State is to be strictly neutral and to impose upon itself a *taboo* in all matters of religion, where is the line, between religion and politics—a notoriously shadowy and difficult line to discover—to be drawn? If the line is drawn too sharply, it would render impossible such reforms as the abolition of *sati* and hook-swinging, or the suppression of *thagi*; if it is too wide, it might provoke a flood of religious passion, which would shake the State to its foundations. If the State is to be really democratic, how can it avoid dealing with matters touching religion?

The first step, I believe, is to recognise that in India religions are not only credal but cultural, that they are bound up with distinct cultures with long traditions, and that it is this cultural element which makes up half the value of these religions and gives to their followers half their tenacity. What Prof. Laski calls "the fundamental morality" of a people is in India bound up with religion and differs with each religion. In compact nationalistic states there is only one fundamental morality, and that often only loosely connected with religion, in India there are several. India from this point of view must be regarded as a *communitas communitatum*, a community of communities, each of which is more distinct and separate even than its mediæval prototype. Just as one estate in mediæval Europe could not legislate or vote taxes for any but itself, one community cannot expect to legislate for another in matters which concern itself only. For in India religion is not a matter merely of attending the mosque or going to the temple, but embraces the whole intimate ritual of home and social life, of eating and drinking, of dress and social intercourse and marriage. In other words, religion includes all that makes up the "fundamental morality" of the people, and if you touch one you touch the other also. The mediæval analogy is more useful than that of the *millats* of old imperial Turkey, for while they also recognised the oneness of culture and religion, and safeguarded the fundamental morality of a community by conferring on it a limited autonomy, yet these *millats* were always subordinate to the dominant power, subject communities with no voice in the affairs of the country as a whole. The communities of India must be essentially independent and equal partners in the affairs of the country as a whole.

The second step in considering these problems is the frank recognition that Rousseauite ideas of democracy and the Austinian conception of sovereignty are both out of place in such conditions as those of India. The Rousseauite democracy, with its sovereign people, its general will, and its implication of the infallibility of the majority, is the subconscious assumption of much political writing and talking to-day, and it is at the root of many political misunderstandings. If political leaders had given more attention to political principles than to the mathematics of voting and the distribution of seats, many

difficulties would have been avoided. In a society divided up into communities, each with its separate fundamental morality, there can be no sovereignty of the people in Rousseau's sense. Again Austin's "determinate human superior" may be all very well in England, where people really believe that Parliament represents themselves and must therefore be obeyed. But can we really expect people to believe the same of the Assembly? The omnipotence of Parliament is the result of centuries of slow political growth; the Assembly in India would be wise not even to talk of such a thing. The unthinking application of Rousseauism and Austinianism to Indian conditions has produced the joint-electorate controversy, the Temple Entry Bills and the Sarda Act *fasco*. People have been arguing at cross purposes and forgetting realities in their enthusiasm for academic principles. In Indian conditions the new Parliamentarism is but the old Absolutism writ large.

If then we accept the "real personality" of the great communities, and so cast aside all unitary and absolutist theories of sovereignty, what is the solution to the political problem? I suggest that it is to be looked for in a form of Pluralism adapted to Indian conditions. The conception of the real personality of various groups and the consequent curtailment of the old unrestricted sovereignty of the state was discovered by Gierke in his studies of mediæval institutions, popularised and developed by Maitland, and is now being applied in the West to a variety of bodies, economic, professional and religious. Syndicalism is one development of it, Guild Socialism another, the ideas of Dr. Figgis a third. Though not yet admitted in legal theory in England, its influence is shown in a measure like the Enabling Act of the Church of England setting up a Church Assembly, and in the powers accorded to professional bodies like the British Medical Association. May we not also see a foretaste of these ideas in the Gurdwara Act of 1924? The Government must control purely political questions only, appeal to political motives only; all that affects culture or religion must constitute the sphere of functional bodies and assemblies.

There is one difficulty which will at once occur to the mind. How can such a system, it may be asked, be contemplated in India where centrifugal influences are notoriously so strong? The question is

very pertinent, for it is on the matter of the central executive that pluralists are most vague. Writers like Baker and Laski, Cole and Lindsay, while very clear as to the limitations of sovereign power, are none of them explicit as to the province of its assertion. Cole indeed, like the Syndicalists, would seem to reduce the central power to a board of conciliation. But by none of them is the relation of the state to the various groups clearly worked out. The answer is two-fold. That is why first it is necessary to qualify the word "pluralism" with the adjective "modified." For if there is no such thing as both absolute and universal sovereignty—and in India less so than in most places—there must certainly be absolute sovereignty within a limited sphere. The fact that no power is so universal as to make *all* men do *everything* (as Parliament claims to do) does not deny the possibility of a power which can make all men do *some* things. A power is needed which can enforce its will in certain spheres of life and conduct, and which can control the various groups when they try to stray beyond their proper provinces, which can say to them "Thus far and no farther." A ready response awaits such a power in this country. But that power must also respect the inherent liberties of the various groups. In doing so it is only recognising the realities of the situation. Such a recognition is no more than common prudence; many of the disasters which have befallen Indian governments have been precipitated by the neglect of this rule. Two principles thus emerge. The government must be supreme within a limited sphere of activity, and it must at the same time recognise the limits of its legitimate authority, outside of which the regulation of life will be carried on by the various groups—cultural, religious, professional, etc. The task before us is to discover and to delimit lucidly these various fields of activity. We have to separate the purely political from the cultural and to limit the authority of government to the former. With that limit, however, the authority of government must be unquestioned, and its leadership vigorous.

What kind of groups should be recognised in this way? Here again is a question requiring much thought. First undoubtedly would come the religious groups, but there might also be many others, such as professional groups like medical or legal associations, economic groups like trade unions or industrial guilds, occupational groups, of

which in some parts the village is an example surviving from the past, and social groups. This last raises the difficult question of the recognition of caste, which is really a question as to how far the traditional social grouping of caste remains effective and valid in the minds of the people to-day. This is a specially intricate question, because current social ideas are patently in a state of flux and transition to-day. The different kinds of groups to be recognised, that is, the different groups which have an effective hold on the mind of the people, as well as the exact liberties to be accorded to them and their relations to the State as a whole, are all problems which will have to be worked out in detail.

A further question may here be asked : In such a system will not social progress be rendered difficult or impossible ? Would *sati* ever have been abolished, for example, under such a system ? One answer, I think, is that reform will have to come from within, instead of from without ; it may be slower, but it will be more certain, because voluntarily accepted by the community concerned itself. It is the old question, whether it was better to abolish slavery in the southern American states by force, or by the slower action of the South itself. You take your choice between a longer period of slavery, and the colour problem as it exists to-day in the Southern States. A second answer is that in present conditions the State could not carry a social reform in any other way. The present government is not so strong as Bentinck's ; the Sarda Act has shown that the State which is omnipotent in theory is in social matters impotent in practice.

Another question may be raised as to what these proposals have to do with the new federal constitution. The answer, I think, is very little. The federalism of the new constitution is artificial in so far as it is territorial, and still more so in so far as it treats the Princes as a serious political factor. Their power rests upon little more than the negative loyalty to which I have already referred. To be real, federalism in India must be functional and not territorial.

T. G. P. SPEAR.

THE MISSION TO KANDAHAR, 1857-58.

The lurid light of the Mutiny of the Bengal Army in 1857 has thrown into shadow a series of important contemporary events beyond the border of India, which were related to that constant bogey of the British rulers of India in the nineteenth century, namely, the south-eastern advance of Russia in Asia. A brief review of "the Russian menace to India" prior to 1857 is necessary to an understanding of the present subject.

The story begins in 1799, when Russia was at war with Persia over the disputed hinterland of Turkistan. The Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, observing the gradual Russian approach towards India, sent (Sir) John Malcolm to Teheran to arrange a commercial and political agreement between the Shah and the Government of India. But Russia was then in alliance with Great Britain in Europe against revolutionary France. Both feared the rapidly rising power of the young general Bonaparte, who had just returned from his audacious campaign in Egypt and Syria, to become First Consul and virtual dictator of France. Malcolm's treaty thus became valueless to the Shah.

During the next eight years the European kaleidoscope changed fantastically. General Bonaparte became the emperor Napoleon in 1804; in the following year he crushed Austria; in 1806 he overthrew Prussia; in 1807, after a bloody campaign against Russia, he met Alexander I at Tilsit and concluded that alliance of which we shall never know all the details. They included, however, a grandiose design of a Franco-Russian invasion of India, which profoundly disturbed the Governor-General, Lord Minto.¹ He accordingly despatched Metcalfe to conclude a defensive alliance with Maharaja Ranjit Singh; Elphinstone to Kabul to negotiate with the Sadozai Shah Shuja; and Malcolm to Teheran to arrange another treaty with the Shah of Persia; while Lord Minto also entered into a defensive agreement with the Amirs of Sindh (1809).

¹See "Lord Minto in India," pp. 100—131.

The ultimate outcome of all these negotiations proved equally melancholy. In 1810 the emperor Alexander I became estranged from Napoleon, whose power was now beginning to decline, and the French menace to India ceased to be, if it ever had been, real ; but the rulers of India continued for almost a century to dread the advance of Russian power. After some delay Charles (afterwards Lord) Metcalfe concluded the Treaty of Amritsar with Maharaja Ranjit Singh on 25th April, 1809.¹ By this treaty, which was faithfully observed by Ranjit Singh during the remaining thirty years of his life, a strong buffer state was established between Afghanistan and British India.

Elphinstone, however, had scarcely arranged a similar agreement with Shah Shuja before the latter was expelled by his Barakzai rival, Dost Muhammad, and the treaty became null. Russian pressure upon Persia and Afghanistan steadily increased, but the Amir, Dost Muhammad, was consistently refused the British alliance which had been pressed upon his predecessor, and was finally compelled to negotiate with Russian emissaries, who had not ceased to court him. While Alexander Burnes was at Kabul in 1838, ostensibly upon a commercial mission, the Persians with Russian assistance laid siege to Herat, the great " inland port " of Turkistan, Persia and Afghanistan. That city was only saved by the romantic action of Eldred Pottinger, who reached it in disguise and inspired its defence.

It is impossible to understand why the British Government in India refused until 1855 to entertain the overtures of the singularly able and friendly disposed Amir Dost Muhammad, who adroitly maintained his authority in Afghanistan from 1809—with the interlude of the First Afghan War—until his death in 1863 ; while it persisted for a third of a century in supporting the impotent and unpopular Shah Shuja at an ultimate cost of thousands of lives, millions of pounds and disgraceful failure. In his difficulties in 1838 the Amir again pleaded with Burnes for British assistance, which was again refused. On the contrary, Lord Auckland negotiated the notorious Tripartite Treaty with the moribund Ranjit Singh and the futile Shah Shuja, which was signed at Lahore on 26th June, 1838. Shah Shuja was to be restored and maintained by force upon the throne from which he

¹ See Kaye : *Life of Metcalfe*, vol. I, p. 222.

had been expelled some thirty years before. Meanwhile, under strong diplomatic pressure from England, the Russian government withdrew its agents from Kabul, and the siege of Herat was raised by British military pressure on the Persian Gulf. The grounds of military intervention in Afghanistan were removed. Nevertheless the project of the Tripartite Treaty was executed and the lamentable First Afghan War inevitably ensued, at the conclusion of which Dost Muhammad returned to his troubled throne!

The negotiations with Persia and the Amirs of Sindh produced equally deplorable results. A fresh treaty was concluded at Teheran in 1809 with the Shah of Persia by Sir Harford Jones—who had been despatched thither from London without any reference to Minto—and Malcolm. This treaty, revised in 1814, guaranteed British support to Persia against the aggression of any European power. When Persia was again at war with Russia in 1826, the British government in India declined to implement the agreement and afterwards purchased from the Shah exemption from its obligation. Thereafter the Persian ruler might reasonably assume that he had acquired what is diplomatically termed “freedom of action.”

The solemn agreement of 1809 with the Amirs of Sindh led by gradual stages to its unscrupulous conquest and annexation in 1843—an evil procedure which has since been atoned by its beneficent administration, though the original motives of the annexation were purely selfish, namely, to control the commerce of the Indus and to “turn the flank” of Afghanistan by providing an easy approach to Kandahar.

After the death of Ranjit Singh in 1839 the kingdom of Lahore rapidly lapsed into political chaos, though not into military impotence, for it continued to possess the most formidable army that ever threatened the East India Company. The conduct of the First Afghan War, the annexation of Sindh, and the political corruption of the Khalsa Army by its own greedy arrogance and the unscrupulous intrigues of factious leaders made the Sikh Wars and the annexation of the Panjab in 1849 inevitable. The Company's territory now extended to the natural boundary of India on the North-West and another phase of its relations with Afghanistan, Persia and Russia opened.

Dost Muhammad continued to maintain and even to extend his precarious authority. Afghanistan comprised four main provinces, Kabul, Kandahar, Herat and Balkh, but the Amir had hitherto been unable to assert effective control over any except the first of these. In 1850, however he seized Balkh, which he gave to his son M. Afzal Khan to administer, and four years later he added Kandahar to his dominion, placing it under the control of his son and heir, Ghulam Haidar Khan. But his position was more precarious than ever, for he was threatened by the Russians in the north and in the west by the Persians, with whom the dispossessed Sardars of Kandahar, his own half-brothers and nephews, were intriguing. In these circumstances he turned once more to the British and this time not in vain.

Dalhousie was now Governor-General and Sir John Lawrence, as Chief Commissioner of the Panjab, was in charge of the North-West Frontier and its external relations. Lawrence had already become convinced of the wisdom of that policy of "masterly inactivity" in respect of Afghanistan, the consistent maintenance of which would have spared the British government the grave loss of life, treasure and prestige, which was the only appreciable result of the Afghan Wars of the nineteenth century. This wise policy was strongly supported—perhaps even originated—by Herbert Edwardes, who had had several years' experience of the Frontier and, since the assassination of Colonel Mackeson in 1853, had been Commissioner of Peshawar.

Edwardes supported the Amir's overtures; Dalhousie welcomed them, and they resulted in the conclusion on 30th January, 1855, of a treaty signed at Peshawar by Sardar Ghulam Haidar Khan for the Amir and by Lawrence for the British government. "It guaranteed that we should respect the Amir's possessions in Afghanistan, and never interfere with them, while the Amir engaged similarly to respect British territory, and also to be the friend of our friends and the enemy of our enemies."¹ This was the treaty which Dost Muhammad had sought for forty-six years in opposition to the wishes of the Government of India and of his own suspicious subjects.

¹ Lumsden and Elmslie: "Lumsden of the Guides," p. 133.

Shortly after this event the British government became embroiled with Persia. Doubtless spurred on by the Russians, who were then engaged in war with the British and French in the Crimea, the Shah insulted and drove out the British Minister at Teheran and in the following year, 1856, still further improving the opportunity to fish in troubled waters, he sent his army to occupy Herat, in violation of a still subsisting clause of the treaty of 1814. These actions could not be tolerated. A British army was despatched in 1856 from India to the coast of Persia and inflicted a series of decisive defeats upon the Shah's forces. By a treaty concluded on 13th March, 1857, he offered atonement and undertook to evacuate Herat and abstain from further interference in Afghanistan.

The Amir was anxious for something more concrete and helpful than the words of his treaty of 1855 and so arranged through Colonel H. B. Edwardes to meet Sir John Lawrence at Peshawar. The meeting between Dost Muhammad and Lawrence took place at the mouth of the Khyber Pass on the first day of 1857. Five days later they signed a second treaty, by which the Amir engaged "on condition of receiving a monthly subsidy of one lakh of rupees, during the continuance of the hostilities with the Persians, to keep up a certain number of regular troops for the defence of Afghanistan, and agreeing that British officers should be deputed to any portion of his dominions to see that the subsidy was really applied to the purpose for which it was granted, and to assist the Afghans in every way in military matters when called on to do so."¹

Lawrence arranged that three British officers should set out as soon as possible for Kandahar to satisfy themselves that the subsidy was being applied to the purpose for which it was granted and to give the Afghans whatever military assistance they required. The mission consisted of Major (afterwards Lieutenant-General Sir) Harry Lumsden, who had raised and at that time commanded the famous Corps of Guides; his brother, Lieutenant (afterwards General Sir) Peter Lumsden; and Dr. H. W. Bellew, who was at that time attached to the

¹ H. B. Lumsden: "The Mission to Kandahar" (Calcutta, 1860), pp. 2-3. The Ms. of this Report is to be found among the papers in the Panjab Government Record Office: Proceedings, 23rd October, 1858, Nos. 26-28 (Political).

Guides. They were accompanied by Nawab Faujdar Khan and Ghulam Sarwar Khan and an escort of Guides and Multanis.

The story of this important mission can be read not only in the official Report and its appendices, to which reference has already been made ; but also in the " Journal of a Political Mission to Afghanistan in 1857," by H. W. Bellew, Medical Officer to the Mission, published by Smith, Elder & Co., London, in 1867 ; and in " Lumsden of the Guides," by General Sir Peter Lumsden and G. R. Elmslie, (Murray, London, 1899). The last named book is especially valuable, as it makes available not only Lumsden's diary of the mission and a number of his personal letters written from Afghanistan, but also a series of graphic letters written to Lumsden by H. B. Edwardes through the course of the mission, which informed him of other aspects of the matter in which he was engaged, and of the vicissitudes of the great Mutiny which ran its terrible course in his absence.

Finally Edwardes prepared the " Memorandum on the Report of the Kandahar Mission," which is here printed for the first time from the original manuscript, which is preserved in the Panjab Government Record Office¹ and appears now by the courtesy of the Keeper of the Records, Mr. H. L. O. Garrett.

The Memorandum is of great historic interest as a presentation of the argument, convincingly maintained by Edwardes and Lumsden and strongly asserted by John Lawrence, for that policy of " masterly inactivity " in regard to Afghanistan, the later departure from which by Lord Lytton resulted once again in the depressing failure of British policy in that sphere. It cannot but be felt that, if Lytton had studied carefully and dispassionately the sequence of events and documents which is the subject of this note, instead of emulating his father's romances and entertaining that " fancy prospect painted on the blank wall of the future of bequeathing to India the supremacy of Central Asia,"² he would have avoided one of the most tragic and unjustifiable of historical repetitions—the Second Afghan War.

J. F. BRUCE.

¹Proceedings, 23rd October, 1858, Nos. 26—28 (Political).

²Lord Lytton ; Letters, vol. II, p. 200.

ROYAL TITLES IN THE PANJAB HILLS

Titles bearing the meaning of authority, in one form or another, must always have been in existence among communities of mankind from the most remote times in human history ; we find many such titles in the hills. Most of them are known to be of ancient origin. Anterior to the advent of the Aryan tribes the hills are believed to have been inhabited by races of Kolarian and Dravidian stock, and traces of these are still found in the names and languages in use. That they had among them leaders bearing distinctive titles we may well assume, and it seems not improbable that one of the titles still current may date from those ancient times. We may conclude, for example, with a fair degree of certainty, that the titles borne by the Aryan rulers, on their arrival in India, were derived from one or other of the various dialects spoken among them, and may thus by a process of elimination, ascertain if any title, now in use, cannot be rightly included in those titles, as not being of Sanskritic origin. Of the many with which we are familiar there is only one that cannot be so regarded. This is the title of Thākur, meaning " Lord," of which the ancient form was *thakkura*, and in this sense it is applied to Vishnu and Krishna in Hindu Mythology. Thakkura is a Sanskritised rather than a Sanskrit word and of uncertain origin. It was in use in early times as the title of a petty chief in the hills, and is still borne by some of the chiefs among the Simla Hill States. It is also found in Kulu, Mandi and Suket, and other parts of the hills, as the designation of local landholders not now exercising any authority, but many of whose ancestors were traditionally and even historically petty chiefs. It is also in use as the title of a ruler in several of the principalities of Kathiawar, and is borne by the Rajput nobility in Rajputana. In ancient times it was prevalent over a wide area. In the *Rājataranginī*, or History of Kashmir, we read of the Thakkuras of the Chandrābhāga Valley and of Lohara, the ancient name of Punch State. There were also Thakkura dynasties in Nepāl in the early centuries of the Christian era, and from the widespread distribution of the title, as a caste name in the hills, it seems reasonable to regard it as of very ancient origin.

The suggestion seems admissible that it may have been the primitive title, or one of the primitive titles, among the pre-Aryan races of ancient India. As a caste name in the hills it ranks socially below that of Rājput and Thakkurs, as they are still called, do not claim equal social status with that caste. They rank as a superior section of the Rāthī caste, immediately below the Rājput.

The Rāthīs and cognate tribes, such as Kanets, Girths and others, were undoubtedly settled in the hills long before the Brahmans and Rājputs appeared on the scene. Even at the present time the census enumeration shows a great preponderance of the lower high castes over the higher, that came at a later time into the hills. In Chamba, for example, while the Rājput only number four or five thousand, the Thakkur and Rāthī castes form more than one half of the high caste inhabitants and are the backbone of the population. They are commonly regarded as almost indigenous to the hills or indigenous by the half-blood, and must have preceded the Rājput by a long period of time; as they themselves were preceded by the aborigines, now probably largely represented by the low caste tribes.

In popular tradition another class of ancient rulers—called Rānās—is also included in the Apthākuri period, as the period of their rule is called. They were of Rājput origin and must have acquired power at a later time, possibly by dispossessing many of the Thakkura rulers. It is a significant fact that their descendants at the present time bear only a small proportion to those of the Thakkurs, even if we allow for a probability that many of the Rāthīs now return themselves as Thakkurs. With all these considerations before us, it seems not improbable that the title of Thakkura was in force among the ancient peoples and is the oldest royal title in the hills. There can be little doubt that it was originally borne only by the rulers, but in time it lost its distinctive and restricted character and was applied to his kinsmen, and finally degenerated into a caste name. As such, however, it is still used in its ancient form, while the later form of Thākur is purely a title.

The period when these ancient rulers held sway in the hills is called Apthākuri or Apthākurai—that is, “independent lordship” and all tradition in the hills affirms that they ruled before the ancestors of the Rājput rulers appeared on the scene.

As already mentioned, tradition associates with the Thakkurs another class of petty rulers called Rānās, as having held power in ancient times, and in some places down to a comparatively recent period. The name is found in Sanskrit literature and copper-plate deeds and inscriptions, in the form of *rājānakā*.

This name is also a Sanskritised rather than a true Sanskrit word and seems to be derived from the accusative singular—*rājan*—now *rājā*.*

The title *rāna* in ancient times was not confined to the hills, for the rulers of Chitor bore it, as their descendant, the Mahārānā of Udaipur, does at the present time, as well as the ruler of Dholpur. It is mentioned in the *Rājataranginī* in its ancient form. The Rānās were widely distributed in the hills, and some of their posterity still remain in the possession of a portion of the family patrimony. Most of them have been reduced to the position of common farmers, recognisable only by the title they still bear, which is freely accorded to them, and is now a caste name.

Several of the rulers among the Simla Hill States bear this title, while some who formerly bore it have recently received the title of Rājā from Government. The Rānās were considered to be of Aryan descent and are called *Kshatriyas*, that is, Rājapūts, in the record, as they still are. They must therefore have acquired dominion in the hills at a much later time than Thakkurs, and their family histories and traditions confirm this conclusion.

In Kashmir the title borne by the local barons, corresponding very much to the Thakkurs and Rānās in other parts, was *Dāmara*, and they belonged to a class of cultivators called *Lavanya*, similar to the Rāthīs in social status. The *Dāmaras* are first referred to in the *Rājataranginī* about A. D. 700, as hereditary landholders, of whose growing influence the ruler of the time entertained well-grounded suspicions. Their power went on increasing for several centuries till they became a menace to the royal house, and Raja Harsha (A. D. 1081—1101) had many of them massacred. The title is of uncertain origin and was confined to Kashmir.

* The title *rājana* found on coins must stand for *rājanna*, the double consonant being commonly rendered by a single letter in early inscriptions. The Pali form *rājanna* corresponds to *rājanya*.

The independent rule of these ancient rulers came to an end at a much earlier period in some parts of the hills than in others. In Kāngrā for example this must have occurred at a remote time. But even after becoming subject to the Rājās they continued to enjoy great authority as "barons of the hills." The name by which they are then indicated in the inscriptions is *Sāmanta*. The domain of a Thakkur was called *Thakuri* and of a Rana—*ranhu*, and his son bore the title of *rānaputra*. Ferishta states that a Rājā of Kanauj overran the hills from Kumaun to Jammu and subdued 500 of these chiefs. This event is referred to the early centuries of the Christian era, but this number must have been only a moiety of the sum total, as there may have been 100 in the Chamba area alone.

In later times the title of Rānā bore an inferior meaning, as "almost a king," but at an earlier period it must have been on a level with that of Rājā, as an independent ruler, for it was borne by the rulers of Udaipur, originally Chitor, from an early period, as it still is.

Traditionally these petty chiefs have a very unfortunate reputation in the hills as quarrelsome and contentious among themselves, rendering them an easy prey to the founders of the Rājput States, by whom they were made tributary or expelled from their domains.

Of the royal titles of Aryan origin that of Rājā is the oldest and is found in Sanskrit Literature of the earliest Vedic times. The Latin *rex* corresponds to a shorter form, as *rāj*, which occurs in Sanskrit, but only in compound nouns, such as *dēva-rāj* (King of the gods), that is, Indra; and *nāga-rāj* (King of the Nāgas). Though in use on the plains from the earliest Aryan times, the title of *Rājā* does not seem to have been introduced into the hills till after the founding of the Rājput States, except in Kāngrā, originally called Trigarta, and Jammu, originally called Durgara, as it certainly also was in Kashmir from a very early period.

The title of Mahārāja is also very ancient as that of a paramount ruler, later also in the form of *Mahārājādhirāja* ("king of kings").

The title of an heir-apparent in ancient times and down to a later date was *Yuva-rājā* meaning "the young king." It is found in the great Epics but in a more or less restricted sense, as that of an heir-

apparent associated with the Rājā in the rule of the State. The full form of *Yuva* is *Yuvan*—the *n* being silent—at once suggesting its connection with Latin *juvenis* (comparative : *Jūnior*), Urdu *jawān*. This very ancient title is found in Sanskrit Literature and on the copper-plate deeds, and is still in use in some South Indian States, especially Mysore and Travancore. In the Panjāb it was displaced in favour of *Tikā* in the sixteenth century. It is now being restored under the abbreviated form of *Yuvrāj*—a more appropriate form would be *Yuvarāj*, in keeping with ancient custom, if the ancient form of *Yuvarāja* is not preferred.

The title of *Tikā* is derived from Sanskrit *tilaka*, the mark on the forehead at the time of installation—hence the term *rāj-tilak*, for the ceremony. The title *Tikā* is applicable only to the son of a ruling chief, as heir-apparent to his father ; other sons are called *Dothain*, *Tirthain*, etc.

The title of *Kumāra*, meaning infant or child, is also very ancient, though less so than *Yuvārāja*, and is found in Sanskrit literature. Like the Spanish *enfante*, it was applied to a king's son, but with a general meaning. In order to make it definite the term *Rāja-kumāra* or *Mahārājakumāra* was used in the Gupta period (A. D. 300—600) to denote a prince, and also in the same restricted sense as *Yuvarāja*, that is "Crown Prince," associated with the ruler in power. It is now in use as *Rāj-kumār* and *Mahārāj-kumār*.

It may be of interest to note that in the Gupta period references occur on title-deeds to a class of high officials or ministers called *Kumārāmatya* (*kumāra*+*āmātya*), attached to the person of the Crown Prince, in contradistinction to *Rājāmātya* or ministers attached to the Rājā.

The modern forms of *Kumāra* in use are *Kunwar* and *Kaūr*.

The oldest term of all applied to a Rājā's son was simply *rājaputra*, with a general meaning as including all the sons of a ruling chief. Originally it must have been restricted to them, but must soon have lost this significance by being assumed more generally by kinsmen, till it finally became applicable to anyone claiming royal descent,

and thus became a caste name. That this was the real origin of the Rājput caste there can be little doubt.

For three centuries the honorific title of Miān—a word of Persian origin—has been prevalent in the Western hills, between the Satluj and the Chinab, for Rājputs. It is believed to mean "Prince," and is said to have been conferred by Jahāngīr on the twenty-two young princes in residence at his court as hostages for the fidelity of the ruling Chiefs within that area. Originally restricted to them, it in time acquired a wider signification like other titles in India, and is now applied to all the kinsmen of these royal families, and even in a wider meaning. Sometime ago the late Mahārājā of Kashmir issued an order abolishing its use within his territory, and restoring the ancient title of Thakkura—in the form of Thākur, but the cognomen of Miān remains in use to the east of the Rāvī.

In the inscriptions where the name of a ruling chief occurs, it is usually combined with the word *Deva*, and in the case of a Rānī with *Devī*, in the same manner as *rex* and *regina* are in use in our royal family. The present forms are *dev* and *devī*, in common use in the general community.

Though never used as a title, the ancient name of the Warrior Caste has close association with the titles of the ancient rulers. That name was *Kshatriya*.¹ The name is derived from Sanskrit *Kshatra*, meaning "rule" and thus bears the meaning of "One who rules," or a ruler. The modern pronunciation is *Khatri*, and the members of the *Khatri* caste—mostly engaged in agriculture or trade and commerce—continue to pronounce the name as in former times, as they must always have done. They claim to be descended from the ancient caste, and possibly the change in name to *Chhatrī* was meant to distinguish them from the upper section, maintaining the old traditions of the caste. To the Rājput, as to the *Kshatriya*, his typical weapon was the sword and his typical occupation was war. Any other kind of handicraft was the insignia of an inferior calling, involving social ostracism on any member of the community who handled it in any way. To the present time, among the Rājputs of the hills, any member

¹ Down to the present day the Gaddis of the Upper Ravi Valley pronounce the letter *s* as *h* and *sh* as *kh* guttural initial and medial very much as *ch* in *toch*.

of the caste engaging in agriculture is called *hal-bāh* (ploughman), a stigma on himself and his family, and in former times it meant social ostracism almost amounting to exclusion from the caste. These restrictions have been much relaxed.

J. HUTCHISON.

J. PH. VOGEL.

MAHARAJA GULAB SINGH AND THE SECOND SIKH WAR

Sir Lepel Griffin makes the following statement in regard to the conduct of Maharaja Gulab Singh during the Second Sikh War: "Although the proof of Gulab Singh's complicity in the rebellion might fail to satisfy a court of law, yet there is sufficient evidence for history to decide against him."¹

In the first place, Griffin considers, there was the general belief at the time shared even by Amir Dost Muhammad Khan, that Gulab Singh was the instigator of the rebellion, and that against his will Chattar Singh Attariwala would not have raised his hand. Then the evidence of Hira Nand, the agent sent by Chattar Singh to the Maharaja, recorded by John Lawrence in October, 1849, though in many parts exaggerated and contradictory, bore the general stamp of truth. Hira Nand did not appear to have had any reason for accusing the Maharaja unjustly, and his evidence was confirmed in many important particulars by other witnesses whose depositions were subsequently taken. Finally, Sir Lepel observes no documentary evidence of any importance was discovered; but the most wily of men was not likely to commit himself by writing what might be verbally explained, or expressed by a sign or by the pressure of finger.²

As against the opinion expressed above we have the evidence of Sir George Clerk who, writing in March, 1849, immediately after the rebellion, stated that he had tried very severely the loyalty of Gulab Singh on many occasions and found him true.³

It is possible for us now to dispose of the question of the complicity of Maharaja Gulab Singh in the rebellion of 1848-49 by examining the Miscellaneous MSS. File No. 14 in the Panjab Government Record Office. The file which is entitled "Trial of Maharaja Gulab Singh of Kashmir" contains the following documents: (a) minute by the President of the Board of Administration on the evidence given by

¹ *Chiefs and Families of note in the Panjab*, Vol. I, p. 511. Civil and Military Gazette Press, Lahore. 1909.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Life of Sir Henry Lawrence* by Edwardes and Merivale, p. 388. Smith Elder, London. 1873.

Quoted also in *Gulab Singh* by K. M. Panikkar, pp. 127-129. Martin Hopkinson Ltd., London. 1930.

Hira Nand and others, and on the correspondence found in the houses of Chattar Singh and Hakim Rai,¹ (b) minute by John Lawrence,² (c) minute by C. G. Mansel,³ and (d) forty-one appendices containing the depositions of Hira Nand and others.

John Lawrence, in his minute, tried to implicate Maharaja Gulab Singh in the Second Sikh War by bringing two definite allegations against him, *viz.*, (a) that he aided the Sikh rebels by his advice, and (b) that he wished for their success.⁴ On the other hand, Sir Henry Lawrence tried to defend the Maharaja by saying that all his hopes and desires during the crisis of 1848-49 were for the success of the British cause, which he identified with his own well-being and very existence.⁵

The minutes of the President and the members of the Board of Administration together with the relevant papers on the subject were forwarded to the Governor-General on 1st November, 1850, for his consideration and final orders.

Lord Dalhousie after going into the papers carefully expressed his opinion that "it is impossible to pronounce with certainty what may have been in the Maharaja's mind during the progress of the late campaign, what his real wishes, his hopes or his fears. But it is only just to His Highness to admit that the documents contain no *proof* that the Maharaja's wishes were with our enemies, or that he was actively exciting them to the injury of the British power."⁶

The Governor-General, therefore, proposed merely to record the documents and letters which had been transmitted to the Government together with the reasons which induced him to determine that no action should be founded upon them, and that the then existing relations of friendship between His Highness and the Government of India should not be interrupted by anything contained in those papers.⁷

R. R. SETHI.

¹ A few extracts from Sir Henry Lawrence's minute which runs to 90 pages are appended to this note.

² John Lawrence himself recorded the evidence of Hira Nand and others. His minute is reproduced in full here.

³ C. G. Mansel has very little to contribute on the subject in his minute.

⁴ *Vide* minute by John Lawrence.

⁵ *Vide* extracts from the minute by Sir Henry Lawrence.

⁶ Letter No. 74, dated 13th November, 1850. From E. C. Bayley, Esqr., Under-Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor-General-to-The Board of Administration for the Affairs of the Panjab.

⁷ *Ibid.*

MINUTE BY JOHN LAWRENCE.*

Secret.

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| <p>1. Hera Nand's deposition.</p> <p>2. Bakshie Gowhar's ..</p> <p>3. Sobha Singh's ..</p> <p>4. Dulla's ..</p> <p>5. Hashoo's ..</p> <p>6. Mahmooda's ..</p> <p>7. Raja Fuzliad Khan's deposition.</p> <p>8. Bakshie Ruttun Singh's deposition.</p> <p>9. Bhaee Sobha Singh's deposition.</p> <p>10. Bakshie Jawahir Singh's deposition.</p> | <p>1. The evidence marginally-noted was recorded by me under the following circumstances.</p> <p>2. In the month of May, 1849, Hira Nand, a Brahmin, arrived at Lahore under escort from Maharaja Golab Singh. He was known to have been a vakeel from Sirdar Chuttur Singh to Maharaja Goolab Singh, and to have been several months in that capacity in Cashmere. As such, he was examined by the President of the Board, and, as he refused to make any explanations he was placed under restraint.</p> |
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3. I had no intercourse with the man, and, to my knowledge, I had never seen him until after Chutter Singh's arrest, when he sent me word that he wished to see me. I accordingly sent for him, when he said that he had heard of Chutter Singh's and his son's arrest; that hitherto he had kept silence, not wishing to hurt them but that now, if he was assured of a pardon for the past, he would tell all he knew.

4. I made him the desired assurance, on which he gave his evidence as recorded in the document marked I.

I was at this time in direct communication with the most Noble, the Governor-General, regarding the arrest of the Sikh Sirdars and other matters connected with their safe custody. I addressed His Lordship, and was authorized to pursue the investigation. I accordingly summoned the different parties, whose evidence Hera Nand asserted, would confirm the statement.

5. Maharaja Golab Singh had been written to more than once both by Sir F. Currie and Sir H. Lawrence to give up Hera Nand, but their requisitions were not complied with until May, 1849.

* The minute is in John Lawrence's own handwriting.

6. I fully admit that the evidence of Hera Nand is to be received with caution. He had, however, every inducement to tell the truth, but I cannot see that he had any to fabricate a story against the Maharaja.

No one at Lahore, that I am aware of, had sought, since the war, to fix any accusation on His Highness, and, if such was the case, I do not see why Hera Nand should conceive that a series of accusations against the Maharaja would gain him favor. Hera Nand, though intelligent, is nearly illiterate ; he can only write a little in Goormukhee. His evidence in my judgment bears internal evidence of being true in its main points.

7. Hera Nand's reasons for silence, in the first instance, and his subsequent admissions are consistent with probability.

He was Sirdar Chutter Singh's trusted servant, and, as such, as long as his master had a chance of benefiting by his silence, he refused to reveal the secrets of his mission. When Chutter Singh was arrested, Hera Nand naturally felt that the time was come when he might benefit himself without injuring his employer.

8. The evidence of Hera Nand is corroborated, in many essential particulars, by the depositions which were subsequently recorded. The majority of the witnesses were between two and three hundred miles distant from him and he could not have seen any of them for months. Moreover the documents found in Chatter Singh's house, selected translations of which accompany this memorandum, show that the individuals named by Hera Nand were employed and trusted by the Maharaja and Chutter Singh.

9. On the 30th October, 1849, I paid Sirdar Chutter Singh a visit, and, in presence of Major Edwardes and Dr. Login, questioned him and his son Raja Shere Singh, regarding Hera Nand's deputation to Cashmere, and regarding the documents found in the Sardar's house, subsequent to his arrest, by Lt. Hodson.

10. At this interview, the original of the documents marked I and A were shown to them. Chutter Singh cannot write, and read but indifferently. He remarked that he did not recollect having received the paper marked A and that it must have been received previous to

the war. The other paper in which the following expression occurs "the English shall go to their own possessions, and the Afghans to theirs," he denied all knowledge of.

11. Sher Singh, however, read the paper himself out loud, and at once admitted that it was written in Jawala Sahai's* handwriting, and must relate to matters which had occurred since the Sutlej campaign. On his father's asserting that the Maharaja had never written to him, the son replied that this was not correct, and instanced a letter signed "Ram Singh" and which had been received during the war, and was lost with other papers at the battle of Goojrat. Chutter Singh did not deny the receipt of such a paper, but remarked "verbal messages were sent, not letters," and that he had no proof that a letter signed "Ram Singh" was from the Maharaja.

Shere Singh replied, that his father knew very well where it came from.

12. It is objected that Shere Singh is a notorious liar. I am not aware that he is particularly obnoxious to such a charge. I believe that there are few Sirdars of any race in India, whose unsupported testimony would be worthy of implicit credence. But the fact is undoubted that the papers were found among Chutter Singh's effects in his own house, and that the remark in one of them regarding the British and the Afghans could only apply to a period subsequent to the Sutlej campaign, and most probably to one of a late date.

13. Lieut.-Col. G. Lawrence attests that during his captivity Shere Singh repeatedly stated that he did not receive letters from the Maharaja; and the President understood him to have said the same thing at the interview, when he first arrived at Lahore, after the war, and gave up the letter from the Maharanee.

14. I was present at the interview, and I simply understood him to say that the letter he produced was the only one he had then left. I recalled perfectly a remark of his on that occasion, to the effect that he had received communication from all parties, and that, had he got to Lahore, not two men would have remained with the English, one of whom he named as Raja Tej Singh.

*Jawala Sahai was Maharaja Gulab Singh's confidential agent in all diplomatic business—"Gulab Singh" by K. M. Panikkar (1930), p. 165.

15. The question, however, does not seem to me to hinge simply on his veracity.

16. The result of the interview with Sirdar Chutter and Raja Shere Singh gave Major Edwardes, Dr. Login and myself the impression that Shere Singh was bitterly hostile to the Maharaja, whereas Chutter Singh was unwilling to say a word against His Highness.

17. If the hostility of Shere Singh is adduced as a sufficient reason why he should falsely accuse the Maharaja, that hostility can only have been excited in consequence of His Highness' shortcomings during the war; for previously, as the cherished friend of his father, he could not have had any such feelings towards him. The ill-feeling equally existed when Shere Singh arrived at Lahore after the conclusion of the war.

18. If Shere Singh did, then, and before Lieut.-Colonel George Lawrence, assert that he had never received letters from the Maharaja, in the first place it is quite possible that his father had, unknown to him, for until a few days before the battle of Chillianwala, they had not met. Moreover, it is not impossible that, until Shere Singh's arrest in October, he still hoped that the Maharaja might one day be of use to them. It is, however, a vain task to endeavour to account for the reasons which induced a native to make this or that statement. They would often find it difficult to account themselves for a given line of conduct, and reasons, which to them are conclusive, appear to us to be absurd.

19. Both Sirdar Chutter Singh and Raja Shere Singh, during their interview with me, denied having received any money from the Maharaja. On the same evening, however, Dr. Login, wrote me a note saying that Chutter Singh had sent for him and explained that his son Autar Singh had received 10,000 Hari Singhee rupees, thus corroborating Hera Nand's evidence.

20. At the close of the conversation with Shere Singh he remarked "If the Maharaja was your friend, why did he not seize the Ladua Chief, and why did he allow him to remain two months in his Territory? He knew him to be criminal. The Maharaja allowed us to bring provisions from his territory, hundreds of our camels went daily to Meerpoor, where his troops were, and purchased food."

21. It may be replied that no chief will surrender a fugitive, that the Maharaja's army was in a false position, and might have been destroyed by the Sikh army. My answer is that Maharaja Golab Singh did surrender fugitives. Shortly after the battle of Goojrat, when the terms of that action were in full strength, he seized both Ram Singh and the Wazeer Ichhar Singh of the Juswan Dhoon, and, as regards his army, if it was in danger, he was an able enough soldier to take up a safe position in such a strong country as that he holds, if he conceived that the troops were in danger. That a chief so astute, and so experienced in warlike affairs, should keep his army within a couple of marches of an enemy of ten times his force, would lead one to suppose that he had little to fear.

22. Dewan Jawala Sahai, the alleged writer of some of the letters, is, as is well known, the confidential Minister of the Maharaja, and his brother Hari Chand commanded His Highness's Troops at Meerpoor during the war.

23. The term "Mooluk" (country) in the letter marked A would be used by a great chief rather than by a petty Sirdar.

The autograph Sri-ranjī is known to be that of the Maharaja, and there are counterparts in the Board's office and among the records of the late Durbar.

24. It is known that Chutter Singh was a sworn friend of Maharaja Golab Singh. When his brother Jye Singh died, His Highness induced Maharaja Ranjeet Singh to confer on him half Jye Singh's jaguar, to the prejudice of that chief's son; when the latter died, he got the whole made over to Chutter Singh. Chutter Singh in return supported the Maharaja in the difficulty of 1844. In fact the two men were sworn friends. It is the general opinion, not only that Chutter Singh would not have undertaken any great design without consulting the Maharaja, but that the latter could have dissuaded him from any enterprise.

25. From the letter found among Gooroo Maharaja Singh's effects, a translation of which was forwarded to Government with Major Burn's letter No. 79, dated the 28th of February, it is clear that Dost Muhammad Khan of Cabul considered the Maharaja to have instigated Chutter Singh in the late war.

26. From the published papers relating to the war, many selections can be made showing that Maharaja Golab Singh was not a true ally to us during that period.

I have no prejudice against His Highness, and at the time he was most loudly accused of complicity with our enemies, I publicly stated that I was satisfied with the aid his people had given me during one of Ram Singh's inroads into the Trans-Sutlej Territory. But I never conversed with a native, high or low, either during or since the war, who professed to know anything of the matter, who did not assert that the Maharaja was secretly abetting the insurgents.

27. Such was not a mere opinion, but people acted on it. Ram Singh of Noorpoor, on the occasion of both his inroads, marched through the Jummoo Territory, on the occasion of his defeats, he fled there.¹ Ichhar, the Juswan Wazeer, did the same. Meean Bijah Singh of Seba, who is a connection of the Maharaja's took refuge in Jummoo.

I may add that the Juswan Raja, one of the principals in the Juswan disturbances, is also a connection of his. Lt. Hodson² in the month of January, 1849, publicly reported that Umour Singh Munas and Ram Singh of Noorpore had marched through the Jummoo Territory, not only without molestation, but without notice being sent that officer. He also reported that the families of Dewan Hakim Rai and his sons were there living in security. These statements I have reason to know were correct. In looking over Dewan Hakim Rai's papers and accounts in October last, I found proof that his family had sought refuge in the Jummoo Territory.

28. On the 6th October, the Resident of Lahore states that, besides the "universal belief" and "assertion" of the rebels, one whole Regiment of Maharaja Golab Singh's and two hundred and fifty men of another joined the insurgents.³

¹ For fuller information on this subject read the article on "The Ballad of Ram Singh's two rebellions," published in the Journal of Panjab Historical Society, Vol. VIII, No. 1, pp. 1—9.

² *Vide* Parliamentary Papers relating to the Panjab, 1847—49, p. 534, Lt. Hodson to the Resident of Lahore.

³ *Vide* Parliamentary Papers relating to the Panjab, 1847—49, p. 382. The Resident at Lahore to the Secretary with the Governor-General.

29. In that letter the Resident says that he had permitted the Maharaja at his own request to attack the enemy, but we never hear that he did so.

30. Government subsequently called on him, in a most solemn way, to play the part, not of a neutral, but of an ally, and to act against the insurgents on their anticipated defeat and retreat across the Jhelum; I am not aware that he did anything.

31. In opposition to Hera Nand's evidence, corroborated as it is by the documents and evidence now filed with this paper, and to the facts recorded in the Resident's letter of the 6th October, added to the strong probability arising from the Maharaja's friendship to Chatter Singh, and his fear of us, I know of no substantial acts of His Highness in our behalf, except that he sent a sum of money and four guns to Captain (now Major) J. Abbott. He doubtless deserves credit for so doing. But it must be recollected that he owed our Government several lakhs of rupees at the time, and could not, therefore, have well refused to send the money, without virtually declaring war. Major Abbott himself asserted that the Maharaja's troops "had mutinied by orders from Cashmere."

32. I think that the Maharaja's conduct in supplying Major Abbott with guns and treasure on the one hand, and abetting the Sikhs on the other, however, inconsistent in our eyes, is consonant to the wily and tortuous line of policy the Maharaja has pursued through life. Though a good and brave soldier, he has invariably pursued his objects by fraud rather than by force, and has seldom fought when he could avoid it. His principle has usually been to put others forward, and to keep behind the scenes till success was secured.

However valuable, on moral considerations, was the defence of Major Abbott in Huzara, his success or failure, could not have affected the results of the war, whereas, by giving him a little aid, the Maharaja, as it were, was securing for himself one instance, in case of need, which he could truly point out as the proof of his having acted the part of a real ally.

That he is fonder of intriguing than fighting was clearly shown in the Cashmere affair of 1846, when he allowed himself to be beaten

by Sheikh Imam-ud-Din, and when he doubted and hesitated, neither refusing nor accepting our aid, until our troops, almost against his will, occupied his territory, and he was literally dragged up to Cashmere by our Officers.¹

In conclusion, I hereby record that, in my judgment, though no overt act of hostility is proven against the Maharaja, yet, I have no doubt from the above facts and reasons, that he was in correspondence with the Chief Sikh Sirdars in the late war; that he aided them with his advice, and wished for their success, and that, while offering his services to the British Government, and protesting in his allegiance, he allowed the enemy to draw supplies from his territory.

LAHORE :
4th May, 1850.

Sd./ JOHN LAWRENCE.

Extracts from the minute by Sir Henry Lawrence.

Para. 3.—As my judgment on those points, wherein I consider the Jummoo Government guilty, is much less severe than that of Mr. John Lawrence; and as without exculpating the Maharaja I find many palliating circumstances in his position and character, as well as in our own conduct of the war, I must, at some length, go over the ground already traversed by my colleague, premising, however, that I wholly protest against the third and fourth clauses of his opinion. I do not believe that the Maharaja aided the enemy by his advice, and I am, not only, not of opinion that he wished well to their cause, but I believe that he dreaded our possible discomfiture, as a sure prelude to his own.

The evidence adduced may enable us to judge of the fact, whether he did give advice or not, but I question its being within the province of a judicial inquiry, to pronounce decidedly on his, or on any man's wishes, although acts, probabilities and interests may assist us in coming to a reasonable conclusion; if he did little service for us, during the war, he did literally nothing for the enemy. If his scanty and partial supports of us be declared hostility, his absolutely negative aid to the enemy, cannot in fairness, be pronounced friendship.

¹ For a detailed account of the revolt in Kashmir in 1846, read the article on the subject published in the Journal of the Panjab University Historical Society, Vol. 1, Pt. 1, pp. 19—31.

Para. 4.—I am further of opinion that any shortcomings in the services the Maharaja ought to have performed, any civilities shewn to emissaries from the rebels, and any supplies sent through those emissaries, were solely and entirely caused by his fears for himself, arising from the scanty and imperfect success of our arms, during the early stages of the war ; and from apprehension that as the villages around our Head Quarter Camp were, up to the battle of Goojrat, abandoned to the mercy of the Sikhs, so might a temporary retirement of our troops from Lahore open a road into Cashmere and Jummoo to the Sikhs, the enemies of his family, and to the Afghans, panting to recover their own possessions.

Para. 5.—When we are told that a man, who has always acted with a view to his own interests, without respect to kindred, religion, or old friendship, who powerfully aided us at Peshawar, when the Sikh army jeered us to our faces, and sought only for occasion of hostility, who for his own purposes opposed his own nephew, when minister of Lahore, who separated himself from the Sikh cause, when it was strong, because he knew we were stronger, when we are told that such a man, on any pretext, whether of faith, friendship, or old connexion, has taken up that same Sikh cause when it was weak, forgetting old injuries, the blood of his son and of his nearest relatives, his own surrender, captivity, and heavy ransom, and equally unmindful, not only, of great and unexpected favours but (notwithstanding present appearances) of the undiminished power of the donors, when such strange conduct is asserted, we are bound closely to scrutinize the evidence, and to give the benefits of our doubts to the accused.

Para. 6.—But even assuming for a moment that the Maharaja is entirely devoid of gratitude, honesty, and all such human feelings, and further admitting that we cannot read the heart, or judge a native of India by European standards, we can at least judge of the present by the past, and if convinced by such a review that Gulab Singh had everything to hope from us, everything to fear from our enemy, we may fairly acquit him of the treachery laid to his charge, till we have conclusive proof of his guilt.

[Sir Henry Lawrence then proceeds in his minute to analyse the evidence taken by John Lawrence, as well as the letters found in Chattar Singh's and Hakim Rai's houses.]

Para. 37.—Mr. John Lawrence considers it clear that Dost Mohd. believed Gulab Singh to have stirred up the war. I will not say that the Amir did not, but I must say that, if he did he rested his belief on much slighter evidence than so sagacious a man might be supposed to demand, before entering on so hazardous a project. From his dilatory and cautious conduct at the beginning, as well as from the little respect he placed to Sikh or Hindu prejudices it rather seems probable that he emerged from the Khyber on a general venture, intending to be guided by circumstances as to which party he should join.

Para. 73.—I have now gone through a mass of conflicting evidence which bears a different aspect to me and to my colleague. Neither of us assume the inherent veracity of the witnesses before us. We can but sift and compare their testimony, and then judge how far it is borne out by facts and probabilities. This I have done attentively aided by considerable local experience, and the result is that I am compelled to differ from Mr. John Lawrence's opinion, that the Maharaja "aided the chief Sikh Sardars with his advice, and wished for their success."

Para. 80.—Sir Henry Lawrence concludes his minute by saying : "In fine though Maharaja Gulab Singh did not venture to cut himself off from all possibility of making terms with the rebels, had they succeeded, I am persuaded that all his hopes and desires were for the success of our cause, which he identified with his own well-being, and very existence. I do not positively assert that he is innocent of the offences laid to his charge, it is at all times difficult to prove a negative. But I have given many and cogent reasons why he should not have acted, as accused, and I believe that I have shown that the evidence and letters, now under review contain neither moral nor judicial proof of his guilt. Gulab Singh is now our friend ; and, if ever he becomes our foe, it will be from fears for his own safety."

THE RISE OF SANSAR CHAND.

(See *Journal*, Vol. III, Part I, April, 1934, p. 31.)

When Raja Ghammand Chand was leading his army to the subjugation of the hill states in January, 1765, his son Tegh Chand's wife bore a son to her husband at Bijapur, on the Beas, at that time capital of the Katoch Raj. It was then a fortified town, but town and fort have now dwindled into insignificance. The turrets looking down on the river, the old gateway and massive brick walls, which survived the terrible earthquake of 1905, indicate the site of the old royal palace. It has been marked by a marble tablet¹ in a wall inside the ruins of the palace, with the following inscription :

Birthplace of
Raja Sansar Chand
January, 1765, A. D.

According to local tradition, Raja Sansar Chand was born and brought up here to the age of five years.

Soon after his birth the foundation of the fort of Tihra was laid and the palace and gardens at Alampur were repaired. The capital was then shifted from Bijapur to Alampur in the year 1769, A. D.

Sansar Chand's education was interrupted at a very early age, when he witnessed the downfall of his grandfather at the hand of Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia and his death in the year 1773. Tegh Chand, his father, also died within few months, and in 1774 Sansar Chand was left a helpless boy of ten years.

Henceforward his career may be divided into four different periods.

The first of these began in 1774 with his attack on the stronghold of Kangra, in which he invited a foreigner to help him. But his ally, after reducing the fort, seized it for himself and ruled supreme in the hills. Sansar Chand governed his state as a dependant of this chief for some years and then entered into conflict with him. In the second

¹ The stone slab marking the birthplace of Raja Sansar Chand was put in the walls in 1905 by order of the Deputy Commissioner of Kangra.

period, having recovered his ancestral stronghold, Kot Kangra, in the year 1786, he asserted his independence, laid claim to the headship of the hill states of Jullundur circle and aspired to establish a kingdom from the Jumna to the Ravi which his ancestors had once governed. He maintained his power in the hills for twenty years (1786—1806).

In the third phase of his career reaction set in. The hill chiefs would no longer submit to his aggrandisement; they formed a coalition against him and invited a more formidable power from outside. Sansar Chand was defeated and Kot Kangra was besieged for three years. Sansar Chand secured the help of Ranjit Singh and expelled the Gurkhas from the Kangra Valley. In his last days he meekly submitted to Khalsa domination and passed his days as a tributary to the Government at Lahore.

We know nothing of the first period of Sansar Chand's life. The Panjab was in those days in the throes of anarchy. There were many rulers in different parts of the country and the Sikh Misals were gaining power every day. Sardar Jai Singh, head of the Kanhiya Misal, having contracted a friendship with Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, drove out Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia to the wastes of Hansi and Hissar and occupied a paramount position in the Panjab as the ruler of the Bari Doab.¹ The Ramgarhia Sardar had for some time been in possession of the Kangra Valley,² which again fell into the hands of its native rulers. Sansar Chand succeeded his father in the year 1774 when the Ramgarhia had been expelled from the country. He started as an independent ruler³ and soon after his accession he heard of the death of Nawab Saif Ali Khan in 1774 A. D. and laid siege to the fortress of Kangra, but, unable to reduce it himself, he invited the assistance of Sardar Jai Singh Kanhiya, who dispatched a considerable force under his son Gurbaksh Singh.⁴ It is said that Gurbaksh Singh bribed Jiwan Khan, the son and successor of Nawab Saif Ali Khan, and procured the surrender of the fortress partly by force and partly by diplomacy. He retained possession of

¹ The Transformation of Sikhism (G. C. Narang, p. 173).

² History of the Panjab, S. M. Latif, p. 101.

³ History of the Sikhs, Cunningham (ed. Garrett), p. 115.

⁴ J. D. Cunningham, p. 115, as above.

the fort for his master, and Sansar Chand, seeing no hope of resistance, submitted to the will of his ally¹.

The fort of Kangra was in those days the key to the whole valley of Kangra; whoever held the fort ruled the hills. It was not for nothing that Ghammand Chand had coveted it. The strength and reputation of the stronghold can easily be estimated, if we look to the career of its last Moghul commandant, Nawab Saif Ali Khan. He maintained his position for thirty years in complete isolation from Delhi and Lahore without any resource beyond the range of his guns, though he was surrounded by enemies on all sides. Thus by the possession of Kot Kangra Sardar Jai Singh became lord of all the hill states between the Satlaj and the Ravi, and ruled them for ten years.²

In 1780 a quarrel arose between Sardar Jai Singh Kanhiya and Maha Singh Sukarchakia. Sansar Chand fought on the side of Maha Singh and laid siege to the fort of Kangra.³ Jai Singh seems to have been helped by the Rani of Bilaspur. When in March, 1783, Forster passed through this part of the country, he found the two armies lying about sixteen miles apart.⁴ The Rani of Bilaspur was able to inflict considerable losses on Raja Sansar Chand, whose territories were pillaged.⁵ Her army was however at this time confined to her own borders, eight miles from the frontier of Kangra.⁶ Forster thus describes her forces:—

“About 300 horse and 8,000 footmen armed with matchlocks, swords, spears and clubs were huddled together on two sides of a hill in a deep state of confusion and filth. Having resided for the space of four months in the small sheds made of boughs of trees, the effects

¹ There are different accounts of this event. See below.

² With the present Raja of Guler I saw a painting of the Darbar of S. Jai Singh Kanhiya, in which different hill chiefs are placed in accordance with their seniority. The following is the order in the painting:—

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------|
| 1. Khalsa Jai Singh Kanhiya (on the <i>Gaddi</i>) | (<i>Left hand side</i>). |
| 2. Raja Raj Singh of Chamba. | 8. Khalsa Lal Singh. |
| 3. Raja Parkash Chand of Guler. | 9. Khalsa Lal Singh. |
| 4. Raja Jagrup Chand of Jaswari. | 10. Mian Sansar Chand Katoch. |
| 5. Raja Narain Singh of Siba. | 11. Jodha Ram Saunkhala. |
| 6. Khoshhala the Kotwal. | 12. Vazier Dhian Singh. |
| 7. Nathu the Wazir. | |

These names are given on the portrait in Dev Nagri character.

³ Forster, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 258.

⁴ *Ibid*; Vol. I, p. 258.

⁵ *Ibid*; Vol. I, p. 241.

⁶ *Ibid*; Vol. I.

resulting from the situation could neither have been pleasant nor salutary. In all were four ordinary tents. The Rani with her son, a youth of about ten years of age, and a favourite Sanyasi, had retired during the war to an adjacent fort, where she directed the general operations of the war. . . . I waited on the commander-in-chief, then sitting under a banian tree, and attended by his principal officers, the greater part of them clad in native buff. Some new levies were passing in review before him. All the power of a Prussian drill sergeant could (not) have impressed on them a competent knowledge of military discipline. On approaching the chief, I made an offering of a Rupee, laid on the corner of my vest.¹

When Forster was in the Bilaspur camp, negotiations for peace were about to begin. Two messengers were being sent to the Kangra camp to convey proposals of peace.² Forster's journey to the Kangra camp was attended with many adventures, but he reached it at last in safety. "A small body, chiefly of horse, was stationed at this camp, the greater part of the forces under the command of the Rajah being employed in the siege of Kot Kangra."³

If Forster is to be believed, this alliance between Sansar Chand and the Sikhs had already cost the former a good deal. "The ordinary revenue, which is estimated at seven lacks of rupees, has been much diminished by the chief's alliance with the Sikhs, who spread destruction wherever they go."⁴ He describes the territory of Kangra as "limited on the North and North-West by Haripur, on the East by Chamba, on the South by Bilaspur, and on the West by the Panjab."⁵

In the year 1780 a quarrel arose between Sardar Jai Singh Kanhiya and Sardar Maha Singh Sukerchakia. A battle was fought near Batala in the year 1784. Jai Singh was severely defeated in two decisive actions and fled with his assistants, Jemal Singh and Tara Singh, to Pathankot. The victorious army then took possession of the vanquished chief's territory. Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia

¹ Forster, Vol. I, p. 251.

² *Ibid* ; Vol. I, p. 255.

³ *Ibid* ; Vol. I, p. 258.

⁴ *Ibid* ; Vol. I, p. 260, 261.

⁵ *Ibid* ; Vol. I, p. 260.

recovered all his possessions in the plains, but the hill country still remained under the Kanhiya chief.¹

Meanwhile Sansar Chand Katoch continued the war in other quarters. His object was the acquisition of the fort of Kangra, but knowing his strength unequal to the work in hand, he thought it expedient to leave it for some better occasion. Leaving some contingents at Kangra to watch the movements of the enemy within the fort, he first fell on Hajipur and took the whole country between that town and the hills, including Mukerian. Next he laid siege to the fort of Atalgarh. It was gallantly defended by a slave girl of the Kanhiya Sardar, named Dasser. The siege continued for four months; all attacks of the enemy were successfully repulsed and Sansar Chand was obliged to abandon it. The war continued between Sansar Chand and Jai Singh for more than three years in different quarters.²

In 1785 a scheme to suspend hostilities was arranged by Mai Sada Kaur, widow of Gurbaksh, son of S. Jai Singh.³ She proposed to her father-in-law an alliance between the Kanhiya Misal and the Sukerchakia Misal by giving her daughter Mahtab Kaur in marriage to Ranjit Singh, son of Maha Singh. The proposal was no sooner made than carried out. She proceeded in person to Jawalaji and invited there Raj Kaur, wife of Maha Singh, and Sansar Chand. Mehtab Kaur was then betrothed to Ranjit Singh and perpetual friendship was cemented between the two misals. At the same time Sansar Chand pressed his claim to the possession of Kot Kangra. The matter was referred to a court of arbitration, which decided that the fort of Kangra should be given to him, while he on his part promised to restore the possessions of the Kanhiya Sardar, which he had conquered in the recent war. It was further agreed that the Katoch Raja should take the side of the Kanhiya Misal in the event of a war with the Ramgarhia Misal.⁴ Thus after a lapse of two centuries the stronghold of Kangra once more came into the hands of its legitimate prince, the Katoch Raja.

¹ S. M. Latif, H. S., p. 105-06 and Transformation of Sikhism G. C. Narang, p. 175.

² S. M. Latif, History of the Panjab, p. 106-07.

³ S. M. Latif, History of the Panjab, p. 107.

⁴ S. M. Latif's History of the Sikhs, p. 107. Latif is wrong in describing the event as the marriage between Mahtab Kaur and Ranjit Singh (394). Ranjit Singh was only betrothed; the marriage took place in 1795.

The current accounts of the acquisition of Kot Kangra by Sansar Chand do not agree. There is confusion as to the date as well as the methods by which he acquired it.

Drs. Hutchison and Vogel, relying on Mr. Barnes, are of opinion that the siege took place in 1781-2 and think that Latif, who gives the date as 1774 must be incorrect. They state :—

“ Sansar Chand’s chief ambition was the capture of Kangra fort, the ancient home of his ancestors, and soon after coming into power an attempt was made but without success. He then called in to his aid Jai Singh Kanhiya, and, in 1781-2, the combined forces again laid siege to the stronghold.” The old Nawab was then dying and on his demise the fort was surrendered in 1783, but by a stratagem fell into the hands of the Sikhs. The story of its capture as found in one of the records is as follows :—

“ The siege had lasted a year when the Nawab died and his remains had to be conveyed to the burial ground outside the fort. The Hazaris, or Mughal gunners from Delhi, were in secret league with Sansar Chand and had arranged to give up the fort to him for a suitable reward, when a favourable opportunity presented itself. As the Nawab’s corpse was being conveyed from the fort to the Imambara for burial by his sons, the Hazaris sent word to Sansar Chand to seize the opportunity for an attack. Jai Singh also, however, had information and, as his force was nearest the gate, some of his men secured an entrance first; Sansar Chand, though much chagrined, had to acquiesce and bide his time.”¹

Dr. Hutchison and Dr. Ph. Vogel seem to have been led astray by Barnes’ report and Forster’s account. I think Barnes is referring in that place to the second siege of Kangra in 1781, because in the report he admits Jai Singh Kanhiya as a paramount ruler in the hills and cites a document under the Kanhiya’s seal dated 1776 A.D., fixing the Chamba tribute at Rs. 400. Forster, who passed through the Kangra hills in March, 1783, and referred to a siege of the fortress as a recent event, is correct, but he too is probably referring to the second siege by Sansar Chand, when he, as an ally of the Sukerchakia and Ahluwalia Misals, made war upon the Kanhiyas.

¹ History of the Panjab Hill States, Vol. I, p. 177 and note I.

Vigne's account is misleading. He regards Kangra only as a jagir which was granted by the Moghul Emperor as a favour to some of his courtiers. He also tells us that Kangra was besieged by Sansar Chand and that Jai Singh Kanhiya, the father-in-law of Ranjit Singh, being a friend of the Vazir, came to his rescue, and that after he was recalled by Ranjit Singh and killed in a fray near Amritsar, the fortress fell into the hands of Sansar Chand.¹

Cunningham says: "In 1783 Kangra was besieged by Jai Singh Ghani, a Sikh leader. The old governor, Seif Ullah, died during the siege and after holding out for five months the fort was surrendered by his son, Zalfikar Khan. Sansar Chand, the titular Raja of Kangra, is said to have instigated this siege and to have been disappointed when the Sikh chief kept Kangra for himself. Four years later he obtained the aid of other Sikh leaders, and in 1787 Jai Singh was reluctantly obliged to surrender the fort into the hands of Sansar Chand."²

Diwan Sarb Diyal's account is still different:—

"Raja Sansar Chand was born in Sambat 1822. He succeeded his father at the age of ten, and first of all in Sambat 1837 (1780 A.D.) when he was about fifteen, he assaulted the fortress of Kangra, which was at that time in the possession of S. Jai Singh of Batala. The old chief not being able to stand against him, took his way home. The stronghold of Kangra after a lapse of centuries again came into the hands of Sansar Chand, its legitimate owner." (Para. 36).

This view has also been supported by local tradition, and a painting which I saw at Alampur shows Sansar Chand leading his forces to the siege of Kangra, and on its back bears the following inscription in Tamkari:—

"On the 23rd of Katak Sambat 1837 (November 1781 A.D.) Sansar Chand conquered the country and town of Kangra."

J. D. Cunningham, S. M. Latif, and the Kangra Gazetteer agree and give the date of the siege as 1774. Barnes cites a document (dated 1776) by Jai Singh Kanhiya, which proves that the hills were already under Jai Singh.

¹ Vigne's Travels in Kashmir, Vol. I, p. 137.

² Arch. Survey Report, Vol. V, p. 162.

To sum up, we come to the following conclusion :—

The document cited by Mr. Barnes fixing the Chamba revenue in 1776 A.D. proves that the hills had already come under the domination of S. Jai Singh Kanhiya, who occupied the Kangra Valley about the year 1775. As Sansar Chand was at this time only a boy of ten years, he could not be expected to have laid siege to the fortress and to have asked the assistance of the Kanhiya Sardar in its reduction. About the year 1780, when Sansar Chand had reached the age of sixteen, hostilities broke out between the Kanhiyas and Sukerchakias in the plains and Sansar Chand sided with the latter. It was about this time that he conquered the town of Kangra and began the siege of the fortress which continued for about three or four years (1781—1784). It is of this siege that Vigne and others wrote. It is to this assault that the painting already described refers. It is on this account that Diwan Sarb Diyal wrote of the first achievement of Sansar Chand at about the age of fifteen, in which he took the fort of Kangra from the old Sardar Jai Singh Kanhiya. The confusion has been caused by mixing two events and the whole situation becomes clear when we remember that the fort of Kangra was besieged twice, in 1774 and 1781—1784.

The assertion that Sansar Chand laid siege to the fortress in 1781, on the death of Nawab Saif Ali Khan, and then invoked the aid of Sardar Jai Singh does not tally with the facts, because from 1780 until the treaty of Jawala Mukhi in 1785 Jai Singh was occupied in a struggle against the Sukerchakias. Moreover, the picture referred to shows that Sansar Chand was not entitled to the position of a Raja when Jai Singh was paramount in the hills. This shows that Jai Singh had occupied the hills before 1776 A.D. ; that Nawab Saif Ali Khan died in 1774 ; and that Kangra was occupied by the Kanhiya Sardar about 1775, and was delivered to Sansar Chand in 1785.

MANSA RAM SUD,
Edited by SRI RAM SHARMA.

ANDREW DALGLEISH.

CENTRAL ASIAN TRADER AND TRAVELLER.

Just beyond the northern end of the grim Karakoram Pass over the Mustagh Range there stands besides the track amid an utter abomination of desolation a small rough stone pyramid, having on its truncated summit a marble tablet, bearing this inscription :

In Memory of Andrew Dalgleish
Central Asian Trader and Traveller
Who was treacherously murdered at this spot
By an Afghan on the
8th of April 1888

This humble monument, placed there by a French fellow trader and traveller, commemorates one of the most extraordinary personages in all the annals of British trade in the East, and the last of that great multitude, who, unsung and uncelebrated in history, have died in the remoter parts of the earth to further the interests of British business, themselves earning but a humble living.

Andrew Dalgleish, born at Edinburgh in 1853, was one of those able, silent, steadfast and kindly Scots who have made their nation trusted and respected throughout the world by those who do business with them. For some fourteen years, in ten of which he fared alone amongst Asiatics, Andrew Dalgleish ploughed his lone furrow through the snowy passes and upland plains of the most formidable mountains in the world, to gain the markets of Central Asia and especially Chinese Turkistan for the goods of his country and a scant living for himself. He could have gained a far better and easier living, but he chose rather this labour of love, that bound him to eastern cities and the wild lands where he left his bones, as perhaps he wished.

How Andrew Dalgleish, once of the British Mercantile Marine, came to spend and end his days in the heart of a continent many thousands of miles from the nearest seaport, was told after his death by Mr. Thomas Russell,* a founder and first travelling agent of the

* Letter, 7 May, 1889.

Central Asian Trading Company of Lahore, a firm started in the early seventies of the last century by some business men and investors of Lahore. The object was to introduce British goods, mainly piece-goods and hardware, to the markets of Central Asia, and to import from there and Kashmir silks, furs, shawls and other suitable articles. Srinagar was the half-way house, where the loads were changed from camels to ponies, the latter being the only animals capable of enduring a range of altitude often varying from 5,000 to 18,000 feet.

In the year 1874 Mr. Russell was at home in Edinburgh, where he found Dalgleish, a distant relative, recovering from the effects of an accident sustained when he was second mate of a British cargo steamer on the Far Eastern run. It was a broken shoulder, caused by the fall of a boat from the davits between Hong Kong and Yokohama, and though he was in hospital at the latter place for 12 months, the condition of the shoulder on arrival necessitated its opening and the extraction of some fragments of broken bone. His mother begged Mr. Russell to take him as a companion in the Yarkand journey, which was done. Accordingly in June 1874, the Yarkand venture with Russell in charge (they were going *via* Tibet) left Jullundur, arriving at Yarkand four months later.

In a letter written to the "Civil and Military Gazette" of Lahore after Dalgleish's death Mr. Russell spoke most appreciatively of the manner in which his new assistant speedily acquired Persian, Urdu and Turki, as well as the many dialects of the Kirghis, Argoons, Bhots, Wakkhanese and Yarkandis, and of his adaptability to all kinds of men and conditions of travel, by which he gained the respect and confidence of all and was able to make such a success of his dealings despite a Scottish capacity for driving a hard bargain. This indeed was admired by the Chinese and Yarkandis, no mean professors of the art themselves. He quickly acquired a knowledge of simple medicine and of rough surgery, which was also most valuable, for in those parts every European was expected to be a sort of doctor and to have plenty of medicine available. In this Dalgleish was especially good, as was vouched by all who spoke of him and by himself in a letter to the Church Missionary Society, urging the appointment of a medical missionary at Yarkand. He mentioned that, though he

gave up half his time to treating such cases as he could, there were many that required the skilled hand of a proper medical man and eye-doctor.

As to the physical difficulties of his enterprise and how he overcame them, we may quote Russell, Captain Younghusband and lastly Dalgleish himself. The physical difficulties of transporting goods over the Himalayan Ranges to Turkistan and the Eastern Khanates are very great and only to be overcome by a man like Dalgleish, who in the end paid with his life for bringing to a successful issue the trade in British goods far beyond Indian frontiers.

Just behind Leh is the Khardung Pass, the ascent of which to 17,000 feet is very abrupt, causing mountain sickness; after that comes the Sasser Pass, also about 17,000 feet, and then what must be the most dreary and desolate upland plains in the world, the Dipsang. They lie at an altitude of 17,000 feet and consist of barren gravel plains and mounds as bare as a sidewalk, over which even in summer, blow blinding snow storms. After crossing these plains you enter a shallow valley strewn with the skeletons of ponies, a veritable Valley of the Shadow of Death, and thence pass to the Karakoram, 18,850 feet high. "Descending the northern slope we came to the memorial to poor Dalgleish, erected by M. Dauvergne and Lieutenant Bower last year. No drearier spot can be imagined than this where fell the only Englishman who tried to make a home and livelihood in Central Asia and, after gaining success and the good-will of all he met, was murdered in a fit of passion or fanaticism by one who, like himself, was a stranger in the country."*

Dalgleish, who did this journey twice a year for some ten years, says very little about his difficulties, and that only casually, in the extracts from his letters to Russell and Mr. Ney Elias, Joint Commissioner at Leh, occasionally published in the Indian press, which took much interest in the daring and unique project, which by 1880 had become the sole property of Dalgleish, the others having dropped out or sold out. Russell, who had a general business at Lahore and Kashmir, still continued to act as a kind of agent, and it was to him that most of the extracts were due. They are all so descriptive of the

* Younghusband:—Heart of a Continent, pp. 224-25.

country and the people dealt with and withal so characteristic of this remarkable man, that I am confident they will be as interesting to readers as to myself.

“November 17th, 1881.—My letters of the 30th September will reach you in due course, as I hear that the bearer got safe over the Karakoram Pass. In those I told you of my friendly reception by the Chinese Amban and how I am progressing with my venture. The respect paid me by the Amban and the Chinese generally exceeds even the most sanguine expectations I entertained when I bade you farewell in Lahore in December last. But though the Chinese are friendly enough, the native Beks have to be conciliated and, as you can do nothing with these people unless you feed them, I am compelled to spend a round number of rupees each month on them, though I would much rather duck them in the river or tar and feather them. On my arrival the Amban gave orders that I was to be entertained to the best the country could afford and the whole of the notables of Yarkand were invited to meet the Englishman (I am obliged to drop the Scotchman here).

“I have now been eight months at Yarkand and well treated all the time. Yesterday, being the birthday of the chief Amban, Shanko Jew, he issued orders that the Englishman was to be suitably entertained. This invitation I managed to get extended to all the Indian traders and in consequence there were assembled some forty traders, two Chinese officials and several Beks and Tungchues. My own house was most gorgeously decorated at the expense of the Amban and after dinner everything was cleared away and in came musicians and dancing girls, the former shedding their wild music on the night air. The nectar was passed round freely and the usually silent Asiatic soon forgot his sorrows and woes in song and dance. One of the three dancing girls was distinctly pretty and her deportment, enhanced by flowing silk robes and a deep fur-trimmed turban, would have passed muster even in Merry England.

“19th November.—The Amban and his suite having returned from Kashgar, I waited on him to pay my respects. He greeted me most cordially and during the interview asked me how my venture was progressing. I told him well enough, but, not being completely sold

out, I did not intend to return to India this winter. He replied that he would never consent to my undertaking the journey in the winter, and I must *still* remain as his guest.

“January 22nd, 1882.—Winter in Yarkand is indeed dreary. With the fall of the leaves, every living thing seeks shelter from the biting blast. During the very severe weather there is a Chinese order that, should any beggar or traveller seek admittance after sundown, he must be admitted for the night. Any refusal entails the wearing of the wooden collar and, should the person refused admittance die, those responsible are executed. There are some drawbacks to this laudable order, for an old Yarkandi of my acquaintance, who gave a drunken Chinaman shelter, found that 400 silver tangas (£20) had departed with the guest.

“February 22nd, 1882.—I am afraid that I may shortly be ousted by Russian influence, though the Amban assures me of his support and the Lo Shay at Kashgar has sent me a fine Badakshani horse. Still, a man who is not even recognised by his own Government has small chance against Russians backed by all the power and influence of theirs, and these Chinese have a great idea of Russian might. As far back as 1837, the Governor of Yarkand told me, the Russian armies were within a few marches of Lahore. I have managed to get a Kashmiri released from slavery and shall take him back with me. He cost me little, save a silver watch to the Chinese Dalal who arranged the business.

“For several days past the Yarkandis have been celebrating their New Year on the plain outside the city. There were a great variety of races present, consisting of Bhots, Badakshanis, Baltis, Chinamen, Kashmiris, Kanjutis and Hindustanis, the latter very independent and virile men, very different from the specimens one sees in the Panjab. In the end fighting took the place of dancing, for all got drunk and several got killed. Trade is at a standstill, though I am not affected, being quite sold out.

“14th March 1882.—For the past three days I have been engaged in copying Captain Trotter's map of Chinese Turkistan, the Amban having provided me with silk paper. Communication between Leh and Yarkand has ceased for the past three months, the season being very

inclement, and Dad Mahomed Khan* had to turn back from the Karakoram and with him came back my letters for India. There is now a new Governor, who favours the Russians and having excused them all customs, the market is crowded with their goods, which sell at ruinous prices. I have managed to obtain some fine Ovis Poli head, one being 65 inches, and some snow leopards and Turkistan wolves, which I am taking to India with me.

“19th June, 1882.—I have paid my farewell visit to the Amban, who was good enough to forego all duty on my ten paods of silks, as he has always done on what I brought in. Yesterday I left Yarkand, escorted by all the Indian traders, some Chinese officials and Begs and Tungchues, there being in all 80 persons, who saw me as far as the Yarkand River and, when they bade me farewell, bestowed on me a number of presents, one being a sword, another a fancy pipe, etc. On the journey to Shahidullah Fort, which is the Chinese outpost, I was treated with the utmost courtesy by all and when I reached there on the 8th of July I found the Kirghiz tent presented to me by Hatim Beg nicely pitched by an old Kirghiz lady, who has taken quite a fancy to me.”

In October, 1882, Dalgleish arrived at Lahore after visiting Simla to press the importance of a British Agent at Yarkand, but uselessly, though he received support from all the Press, which adduced his having led caravans backwards and forwards successfully for so many years as a strong argument for his own appointment.

In March, 1883, he makes the first mention of any difficulty in getting over the Passes, though this only casually and lightly. “I had some difficulty in getting over the Karakoram. My Yarkandi servant broke down at the Sasser Pass and I had to put him on my own pony and walk alongside to hold him on for some 14 marches. Just under the Karakoram the two head pony drivers broke down through hard breathing caused by the rarefied air, 18 inches of snow on the ground and a breeze like to cut the sheepskin coat from one’s back. Though I am against strong drink, I gave each man a couple of stiff pegs and found the effect so wonderful that I took one myself. It was only this stimulant that got us over the Karakoram on that dreary January day. It is a grim pass.”

*Later his murderer.

He seems to have been quite indifferent as to the season, crossing the passes at any time of the year. His next trip was in November, 1883, with a mixed cargo, amongst which was a marble chair for the Amban, piecegoods, hardware and other goods, including a complete set of tennis gear and *some footballs*. His last letters are as cheery and descriptive as the others :

“September 29th, 1884.—Once more am I settled down in comfort within the walls of Yarkand, enjoying the best of health and treatment from both Chinese and Mahomedans. The journey from Leh was rather trying owing to the deep soft snow still lingering, but though I avoided the Kardung, Karawal and Sasser Passes by following the route by the Shyok, the grim Karakoram and the Suget and Killian Passes were still clad in white and gave us much trouble. However once across the Killian, the steep snow-clad mountains of Tibet are out of sight and after passing the Killian ravine the change is complete, gladdening the heart that leaves those howling wastes and enters the fertile lands of Yarkand.

“I was received with the same warm courtesy as of old, some of the officials meeting me five miles out and the Amban, who directed that I was to be the guest of the Government, gave a ceremonial dinner on a very grand scale with such a number of courses that I feared it would never end. I have seen the Imam, the Hakim Beg and all the Chinese officials, or they have been to see me, and I have been fortunate in disposing of most of my caravan. In short, the sun shines bright on the solitary Briton in Chinese Turkistan. But I fear that our trade will not long survive the Treaty of Kuldja and unless something is done by our government, neither I nor the many Indian traders who wander friendless and alone will survive against the Russian efforts, for we have no treaty with Chinese Turkistan and the power of our Joint Commissioner ends at the Karakoram. I should greatly like to see a medical missionary at Yarkand, for though I usually devote half the day to treatment, my resources in skill and medicine are both limited.

“November 19th, 1884.—I intend wintering at Yarkand and starting back in the spring, if nothing happens, for the Russians are ever pressing forward and increasing their influence. I have just

attended the weekly market at Yengi Shahr, riding slowly through the place and enjoying the scene. One is first struck by the boldly coloured robes of the women, contrasting with the ever moving sea of white turbans of the men. The gait and deportment of all is quite European, whilst the long loose robes of the women and their conical flowered caps, which cover a mass of escaping black hair, contrasting with their rosy complexions, are quite pleasing. The salutation of the men and the low courtsey of the women to passing friends remind one strongly of home customs.

“Here are to be seen the weekly labours of the poor nicely displayed for sale. The women with thread spun from the spindle and embroidered needlework of all kinds, the tailor, the bootmaker, the weaver and the hatter, with all their varied wares set out to advantage, the country people, aside by themselves, busy selling the fruits of their labour and making new purchases with the proceeds, the wandering jeweller selling old and new ornaments, the travelling baker edging his way through the crowd with his yard-long loaves, the dealers in silks and gold thread, and that very life of the markets, the Dalal (tout) plying his persuasive trade. It is a charming scene, as pleasing as picturesque, for, as the solitary Englishman passes along, no rudeness, nor incivility, no scowls, nor angry taunts greet him. On the contrary their usually passive faces are wreathed in smiles as the whisper of ‘the Feringi Sahib’ passes along.”

Dalgleish's apprehensions of Russian intrigue were well enough founded, for in March, 1885, he was ordered to quit Yarkand at once and return to India. On this occasion Dad Mahomed, who ran a carrying business between Yarkand and Leh, proved very useful, for he lent his ponies to Dalgleish free of charge save for their food. Fortunately on arrival at Leh, Dalgleish found there Mr. Carey of the Civil Service, an old friend and a great traveller, who induced him to accompany him on an extensive journey right into Tibet and thence around Chinese Turkistan. This lasted until May, 1887, by which time matters at Yarkand were again favourable enough to justify another trading expedition.

In November, 1887, he left Lahore for Leh with a caravan and left Leh at the end of February with thirteen ponies, accompanied

by some Yarkandi Hajis returning from Mecca, a few Addijanis and a Mahomedan fakir from Rawalpindi. A few marches this side of the Karakoram he was overtaken by Dad Mahomed travelling empty to Yarkand, and received him most cordially, a greeting returned in the same manner. He distributed some of his loads on Dad Mahomed's ponies, making him his personal guest for the remainder of the journey.

They proceeded in the utmost apparent amity until the evening of the day the Karakoram was crossed. That evening Dad Mahomed came to the tent of Dalgleish after the tents had been pitched as usual, but declined the proffered cup of tea, which was the first indication of anything wrong. He then went to his own tent, where ten minutes later Dalgleish, who had put on a thick coat, followed him. What now happened no one knew, for the men were alone; but according to the servants, almost immediately two pistol shots rang out and they heard Dalgleish expostulating with Dad Mahomed as they ran up. After a short silence Dad Mahomed rushed from the tent with a drawn sword in his hand and furiously attacked the unarmed servants, who fled for their lives. Luckily for them he stumbled over a tent rope, giving the men an opportunity of taking shelter with the Hajis, whose entreaties saved their lives. Dad Mahomed then went to Dalgleish's tent and ordered tea, first directing that the murdered man's dog, which was lying on his bed, should be taken to his dead master's head and strangled, which was done.

During the night his own men and the fakir, who had taken Dalgleish's gun and sword, kept watch over the servants, warning them that, if they moved from the numdah on which they were seated, they would be cut down. Indeed it would seem that, bearing in mind the long and intimate friendship of the two men until this time and that this was the only time that Dad Mahomed had ever called his old friend a "kaffir," the fakir may have raised a fit of fanaticism inducing the murder. However, the next day Dad Mahomed took possession of all the dead man's goods and left the camp with the servants, leaving the body lying where it fell.

Two marches further on he cut off the pigtails of the Bhots and cropped the beards of the Mahomedans, after which he dismissed them with a defiant message to the Wazir of Leh, to the effect that

any pursuit would be useless, for in a few days he would be "Lord of the Jungle" (far in the wilds). The next day he also left the camp, leaving there all the goods and ponies of the murdered man, save a few cups and saucers, and made his own way to Afghanistan, where he joined the army of Ishak Khan, a rebel against the Amir Abdurrahman Khan of Afghanistan.

Meanwhile the servants hastened back to the camp, where they found the body untouched and, on examining it found the right shoulder broken by a bullet, another shot having been turned by a coat button, the left hand nearly cut off and a great gash on the back of the neck apparently inflicted after the victim had fallen on his face. They placed the remains in a sack and left for Leh, which they reached on the 27th of April, 1888, and there made the body over to the Wazir, who on a further examination found a sum of Rs. 5,200 in the money-belt. The body was buried by the Reverend Redslote, a Moravian missionary, who was himself buried there two years later.

A party of soldiers was sent out in search of the murderer, against whom the whole country was raised by a reward of Rs. 500 dead or alive. But he was gone too far by the time the soldiers had crossed the Karakoram, though they recovered and brought back the abandoned goods. A week after their departure, M. Dauvergne, a French gentleman who had made Kashmir his travelling headquarters for some 22 years and was a great friend of the dead man, arrived at the camping ground of Yakasham and found the bloodstains where the body had lain, with a scarf frozen to them which he recognised as one he had seen with Dalglish. Having quickly decided to raise a memorial, he placed his stick upright and built a small cairn around it, tying the bloodstained scarf to the top of the stick.

In June, 1888, he was at Lahore to send home his collections and travel diaries, and whilst there had this tablet cut and inscribed, the cost being defrayed by small subscriptions amongst the personal friends of the dead man. He afterwards placed over the grave at Leh another tablet, paid for by himself, Major Cumberland and Lieut. Bower. In June, 1889, he left for the Karakoram from Leh in company with Major Cumberland and Lieut. Bower, the former being his travelling companion in a prolonged tour round all the Pamirs and the

latter intent only on the pursuit of Dad Mahomed. After much travel on wrong scents, Lieut. Bower realised the impossibility of a European finding an Afghan in these countries, and applied to the Wazir of Leh for native assistance, which was supplied in the person of one Shams-ud-Din, an Afghan following the same occupation as Dad Mahomed had done.

At Kashgar this man found Lieut. Bower, who supplied him with passports and letters to the Amir of Afghanistan, the Amir of Bokhara and other Khanates where Dad Mahomed might be found, a pony, and Rs. 250 in cash. The story of the pursuit is a veritable epic, ranging through Afghanistan, Bokhara, Balkh and part of Khorassan, up to Samarkhand, where Shams-ud-Din found his man, who had fled there with the remains of the Army of Amir Ishak Khan, when the latter was defeated by Abdurrahman. Having gained his confidence by pretending that he was the bearer of a letter and parcel of coin from the brother of Dad Mahomed at Yarkand, Shams-ud-Din induced his quarry to remain in a shop in the bazar whilst he returned to his lodgings to fetch the parcel. But instead he went to the Russian Court and the native Governor of Samarkhand, from whom he obtained permission for the arrest and a Russian official and two Mahomedan sepoys, with which to effect it.

Returning to the bazar he left the others a short distance away, going up to the unsuspecting Dad Mahomed alone and, as the latter held out his hand for the expected parcel, Shams-ud-Din seized both hands and shouted for the others who put Dad Mahomed in irons and took him to the Court. A plea of mistaken identity having failed, Dad Mahomed was put in jail to await extradition proceedings. As these were conducted from London and St. Petersburg, they were very long drawn out and in the end unnecessary, for Dad Mahomed hanged himself with his own turban two months after his arrest. Shams-ud-Din received a reward of Rs. 3,500 in all and the command of the body-guard of the Wazir of Leh.

The death of Andrew Dalgleish was also the end of the project to which he had devoted his life. The memorial still stands at the foot of the Karakoram and keeps his memory green, as M. Dauvergne prophesied, for the Yarkandis and Ladakhis accord it the same tribute

of respect as they do that of the Spirit of the Pass. Maybe the spirit of Andrew Dalgleish returns from Valhalla to hover over the scenes he knew so well and to dwell unseen amongst the descendants of the men he knew and loved, and who loved and respected him.

Note—Dalgleish's letters, from which passages have been quoted in this article, were published in "The Civil and Military Gazette," Lahore, on 2nd February, 1882; 19th November, 1882; 11th March, 1883; 19th November, 1884. An account of the murder of Dalgleish and of the pursuit, capture and death of the murderer, Dad Mohammad Khan, was published in the same newspaper on 2nd and 26th July, 1890. The provision of a memorial to Dalgleish is described in the issue of 6th September, 1889.

C. GREY.

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Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 97—184 (1914).

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History of Mandi State. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

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Vol. X, Pt. I, pp. 1—94 (1929).

Embassy of Mr. Johan Josua Ketelaar, Ambassador of the Dutch East India Company to the Great Moguls—Shah Alam Bahadur Shah and Jahandar Shah. *Translated from the Dutch by Mrs. D. Kuenen-Wicksteed and annotated by J. Ph. Vogel.*

Vol. X, Pt. II, pp. 1—70 (1929).

Akbar's Popularity. *Parmanand Arora.*

Surgeon Gabriel Boughton. *Abdul Wali.*

History of Chamba State. *J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel.*

Vol. XI, Pt. I, pp. 1—53 (1931).

Jaswan State, Guler State, Siba State, Datarpur State, Kutlehr State, Bangahal State. *J. Hutchison.*

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Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 1—85 (April, 1932).

The Trial of Bahadur Shah II. *H. L. O. Garrett.*

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Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 87—173 (December, 1932).

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Captain Manuel Deremao. *H. Bullock.*

Vol. II, Pt. I, pp. 1—96 (April, 1933).

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