

SINDH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

RESEARCHED AND COMPILATION BY DR. DUR MUHAMMAD PATHAN

INTRODUCTION:

It is proper place and time to put on record some very important and interesting facts on record. I am controversial figure of my Society and Literary circle. Reasons for it, are:

1. I am over busy in my work consisting of Creative work, Research, Collection and Documentation of Source-Material, Data and Information. Hence, cannot spare time for explanations, clarifications about myself.
2. Most of Scholars and writers cannot compete with me in quantity and quality of my work. Hence, they have adopted strategy of my character-assassination, undue criticisms and defaming me. It has brought bad name to me.
3. It has badly affected the reading and listening habit of those, who without any verification, have believed that I am controversial.
4. Love for history and requirement of my integrity never discouraged me and I have never stopped working hard.
5. The quantity and quality of my work has beaten record of so many writers and scholars. But, I have never found myself in position to get my work published. Hence the only option left for me is to publish my works on my website. May be some time my country-men visit this website and get valuable information for redesigning their personal and national concepts.

Here is my work on the Sindh Historical Society. When I was doing Ph.D, I did my level best to obtain, purchase and collect material. One day, I purchased a file of the Sindh Historical Society from Old Books Market. The File consisted of Correspondence made by Billimoria , between him and other literary figures besides, Learned Bodies of that time.

It paved way for more hunting for information. I went through so many Journals of the Historical Society and collected information on Who's Who of Society's Office-bearers and members. I also compiled a comprehensive list of members besides, selected a few Articles of my interest from the Journal of Sindh Historical Society.

My work on the Society is combination of compilation and research at the same time. It consists of:

1. Constitution and Bye-Laws of the Society.
2. Alphabetical list of members ,
3. Councils, Office-Bearers and members of the Managing Committees.
4. Who's Who of Members,
5. Correspondence,
6. Annual Reports,
7. Coordination and Cooperation with other Learned Bodies,
8. Index/List of Important Papers read in literary sittings,
9. Selection from Papers published in the Journal of the Society

SIND AND THE INDIAN MUTINY OF 1857.

BY C.L. MARIWALLA, B.A.

(Read before the Sind Historical Society on 21st August 1940)

The mutiny of 1857 was the last armed upheaval to overthrow the British in India. It was not only a sepoy mutiny but the mutiny of the Indian people as a whole. Thus wrote the Press, London, dated 1st August 1857:—"If the disaffection is confined to the sepoys and the civil population are with us what on earth does the Government of India mean by troubling us with its calls for European troops and its telegraphic alarms? There are men enough within its reach to raise ten armies from, if the people be only well affected to us, as the ministers and directors state". And it makes an interesting account to be recapitulating the part Sind played in that futile attempt.

Before we recount the incidents of this unsuccessful attempt in Sind, it would not be out of place to consider the immediate causes of the rebellion and the elaborate arrangements made, in spite of a vigilant Government. Here is a version of how the army discontent was roused, as given by the *Bombay Times*, dated 2nd June 1857. Cartridges for the Enfield rifle were contracted to be made at Dum Dum in India. One day a Clashee who was engaged in making the new cartridges, met a Brahmin sepoy, lotah in hand. The Clashee asked for a drink which the Brahmin declined to give as he did not know the other's caste. "Caste", replied the Clashee, "In a few days, you will have no caste for you will have to bite cartridges greased with the fat of the bullocks and pigs". The Bengal army contained high class men and this news soon spread among them. Pollution and conversion to Christianity was thought to be the aim of the introduction of the new cartridges. But that could not be the only cause of the mutiny, though it was the main cause. In the houses of Parliament it was brought to the notice of the members that contrary to contract, some fat in question had really been used and this information resulted in a retort from Mr. Disraeli who was in opposition at that time. The second and the final cause, in the words of the "*Bombay Times*" is as follows:—"What lies at the bottom of the existing contumacy is a desire for increase in Pay." Increased heaviness of duties due to the attempt at extension of the British Empire made the sepoys feel that they had a claim to higher pay. Whatever might have been the ulterior motives of the leaders of the mutiny, these two were quite potent causes and it is surprising that no active steps were taken to nip the trouble in the bud; instead, some interested persons were fanning the fire successfully.

The success of a country-wide mutiny greatly depended on the speed of communications. For this purpose a novel plan was put into force which proved to be immensely successful. Here is the story and a comment thereon from the *Tribune of India*, dated 24th March 1858:—"One morning towards the end of the last month the officials of Fatehgarh were

all in commotion. From Thana after Thana there arrived little chappatties, about 2 inches in diameter. It appeared that a few evenings previous, a Chowkdar from Cawnpore ordered a Chowkdar at Pachgharh to make and bake 12 Chappatties such as the one he showed. Two, he was to retain. Two more were to be given to each of the five nearest Chowkdar. The order was obeyed and long there was rolling and baking of Chappatties. The five obeyed orders also and distributed their message to 25 and so the affair went on, the cakes sweeping over the district at a speed at which no Indian post yet travels. The wave has not stopped yet. Is there to be an 'explosion of feeling', or only of laughter? Are the Chappatties of the Fiery Cross or only an indigestible edible, a cause of revolt or only of the Colic? Having seen that the communications were prompt, and the people willing, thus armed, the mutiny broke out at Barrackpore.

Sind had just been relieved from its chaotic state under the Talpurs, in 1843. It was enjoying the benign rule of Sir Bartle Frere. The people had just settled down to a normal Peace-Time when the mutiny broke out. They were fully conscious of the great advantages of the new rule. They hardly mutined. Not that alone. They helped the rulers considerably, to quell the rising.

Here is a short diary of the events that took place in Sind during the mutiny:—

Early in 1857, soon after the out-break of the mutiny at Barrackpore, the harrowing tales of the butchery of the Europeans reached Karachi. The community was up and alarmed. They met in a public meeting on the 29th of June, under the Presidency of Sir Bartle Frere. All bore anxious faces. It was a tense atmosphere. At last Sir Bartle broke the ice. He gave a brief account of the mutiny as culled from the official information received by him. He assured those present that they need not be afraid since there was no danger of an out-break in his province. This greatly relieved those present and the meeting dispersed.

As soon as the mutiny assumed an All-India form, the Government of India passed the Press Gagging Act. This greatly handicapped the Press, who contemptuously termed it as the Black Act. Here is what the *Sind Kossid*, a Bi-weekly of Karachi, of those days, says about it:—Never was a gubernatorial act more ill-timed or ill-judged than that which has placed a tyrannical censorship over the Indian Press." And in Sind the axe first fell on the *Sind Kossid* itself. This is how an editorial dated Friday 18th September 1857 details out the incidents:—The proprietor, printer and manager of the *Sind Kossid* were summoned on Tuesday last to attend the Magistrate's office to answer for 'an article' that appeared in our journal. The summons being for 'immediate' attendance and the vague allusion to 'an article' put us about not a little—first to procure swift steeds to do ourselves the honour of 'immediate' attendance and secondly at looking over all the paper in question and wondering what article it might be that we were called upon to answer for. However the several parties attended, being escorted by the Editor who had

fearlessly taken the brunt upon himself to answer all enquiries. The Magistrate, having received the usual salutations from the men of the Press, proceeded, with paper in hand, to read a part of our Kotri correspondent's letter regarding an incident that had taken place at Kotri. Having accomplished this task of reading aloud, the authority before whom we were standing assured us that there was not the slightest truth in the statement, and that such mis-statements would oblige him to 'stop the press'. He desired to be acquainted with the authority for the statement, which of course we declined to furnish under any circumstances. We on our part assured the Magistrate that the statement had been conveyed to us through a gentleman upon whose veracity we had the utmost confidence and that it found a place in our columns under the impression that it was correct, that we were sorry to find, from the Magistrate's assurance, it was not so and that we should be careful in future not to lay ourselves open to any such statements. The Magistrate exerted again and reiterated his intention of "stopping the press" should any mis-statements again find their way into our paper."

As the distress of the European community increased, a demi-official voluntary aid fund was started at Karachi, to which all ungrudgingly subscribed. This proved of great avail to the refugees.

As the circumstances required, the Commissioner issued proclamations prohibiting sale of fire-arms and ammunition to the native population without previous Government permission, as also transmission of lead, sulphur, salt-petre, gun-powder etc. except for Government purposes.

The Commissioner ordered a recruiting depot to be established in Upper Sind, which in a short time, recruited battalions of Beloochees for active service against the mutineers. Seth Naumal of Karachi made a gesture of loyalty by promising to furnish a loyal and sturdy force of 3000 strong from Africa, if the Government provided the conveyance. He and the other Sethias of Karachi gave all the facilities that the Europeans mostly needed at this time.

The Government also opened a camel train from Karachi to Multan, having stations after every 20 miles or so, where at each station were stationed about 50 camels ready for work. By means of this arrangement and the Indus Flotilla, the regiments were sent to the Punjab to suppress the rebellion there.

But all was not quiet in Sind. Lieut: Battis Combe received news on the 9th September of a plot at Hyderabad fixed for the 12th instant. "The cool courage of Brigadier Morris, and a timely gallop of the mounted police sufficed to prevent the signals of the disaffection taking effect." The Native Infantry was ordered a special parade immediately, where they were disarmed and the ring-leaders arrested. Even the native guard on the Fort was replaced by the guard of the Royal Fusiliers and the fort guns were mounted for any emergency. A court-martial was held where the

arch conspirator Havaladar Coombarsing was ordered to be shot from the guns, his accomplices were either to be hanged or were transported for life, only two being acquitted. "When the Havaladar came to face his ordeal, he lashed his back to the muzzle. The port fire was lighted—ready fire—and away he went full sweep, a portion of the back-bone nearly knocking the Deputy Collector from his camel."

A dreamy but dark suspicion of the fidelity of the 21st. N.I. stationed at Karachi, had been entertained due to its containing a number of Bengalis. On Sunday 13th September at 11 p.m. two Oudh Brahmin native officers of the 21st N.I. betrayed their comrades by informing their officer Major McGregor about the mutiny planned by the regiment at 2 p.m. on Monday morning. An orderly of the 21st. N.I. independent of the Oudh Brahmins, had similarly informed the Major. It had been decided to capture the treasury, murder the officers and proceed to Hyderabad. Prompt arrangements were made to meet the situation. Major McGregor immediately "consulted the Brigade Authorities, who without a moment's delay ordered the whole of the European troops to be assembled and marched to the scene of anticipated revolt. The troops were lined up at the parade ground of the 21st N.I., with two Artillery guns on each flank. After due arrangements, the assembly of the 21st N.I. was ordered, which met after due reluctance. This necessitated two Nine Pounders to be summoned for any eventuality. The roll was called and after a few words being addressed to them, the order to file arms was given and was promptly obeyed, without a murmur. The European Infantry took charge of the arms and on inspection, 40 fire-locks were found loaded. After the disarming a strict search was made of the huts of the 21st N.I. and nothing beyond a few swords were recovered". "All this was done within three quarters of an hour" and 'so quietly that the majority of the town-folk were not even aware of the military movements, until after many hours.' All this points to the prompt way in which the situation was handled by the authorities. 36 men of the 21st N.I. were found missing. Of these 6 were caught immediately, 3 were secured in camp the next day, and 11 more were captured while crossing the Hubb; but still some ring-leaders were at large, specially the chief conspirator Color Havaladar Ramdin Pandey.

The police force of 150 and 4 companies of drilled infantry under Major Marston, assisted by captain Pirie and Khan Saheb Ghoolam Hussain, the adjutant of the force, pursued the 36 fugitives and brought in or otherwise accounted for them all. Immediate steps were also taken to safeguard every European resident. Ladies found a fine rendezvous in the capacious mess room of the Second European Light Infantry and the Civilians armed themselves against any attack. The principal roads of the Cantonment were lined in the twinkling of an eye with a complete chain of foot and horse patrol, who kept open the communication and prevented stragglers or bad-characters from perambulating the streets or looting the deserted Bungalows. Volunteer Corps for night patrol were started in Camp to relieve the European troops for a state of efficiency in emergency. Here is a circular issued by the commissioner to that effect dated 16th September

1857:—"By the desire of Major General Scott, commanding the Division, all able-bodied non-military men possessing a horse and arms and willing to volunteer for patrol duties in and about the station, are invited to report themselves to Major Goldsmith or to Captain Johnstone who will give them instructions regarding the duty to be performed. It is suggested that for the present none should offer themselves who have family ties which render it a primary duty to remain at home and protect their household." Sd: H.B.E. Frere. European residents were promised easy supply of fire-arms for defence. The 14th N.I. was not touched due to their proven loyalty. At the time these incidents took place, the Commissioner Sir Bartle Frere was at his Bungalow at Clifton. Major Goldsmith was with him at that time. The Commissioner was immediately informed of the situation by Captain Johnstone. On hearing of the disturbance Sir Bartle came to town and inspected the Native lines. He found the state quite satisfactory.

Out of the deserters 10 were caught and Court-Marshalled on the 16th and 17th of September. Of them 7 were sentenced to be hanged and the rest were to be shot from the guns. Seven more were captured and 3 others died during the capture. At long last the Arch-conspirator Ramdin Pondy was secured and shot from the guns on the 23rd September, while his remaining accomplices were transported for life. They were marched along the Bunder Road under police escort to the Bundar to board the "Chusan" bound for Bombay.

There was a semblance of a mutiny in the 16th Native Infantry at Shikarpur, but the trouble was nipped in the bud. The battery rose at mid-night and from their barrack-square commenced firing in all directions from which that place was accessible; but the prompt action of Colonel Stewart, the collector, and Colonel Montgomery, the police chief, out-witted and captured them.

Soon after the force sat down before Delhi, the Frontier tribes planned their rising. Their leader Durriah Khan, the Chief of the Jakranis was to come to Jacobabad at 5 p.m., and his co-traitor Dil Murad, the chief of the khojas, was to follow at 10 a.m. the following day, when they had decided to butcher Major Merewether and his officers who were to sit in durbar on that day. But at 5-30 p.m., half an hour after his arrival Dhurriakhan was on a fast trotting camel on his way to Sukkur, heavily ironed, to be placed on board the steamer lying ready to start for Karachi. Two days later Dil Murad Khan, who made off for the hills on hearing of his fellow-traitor's fate, followed in the same manner and the out-break was prevented.

On the whole there was no serious trouble in Sind. For this the Commissioner was chiefly responsible. He had so pleased the populace that they willingly recruited and formed into those brave Balooch regiments which were responsible for the capture of Delhi by the Government. Here is what Seth Naumal says about the attitude of the Commissioner during

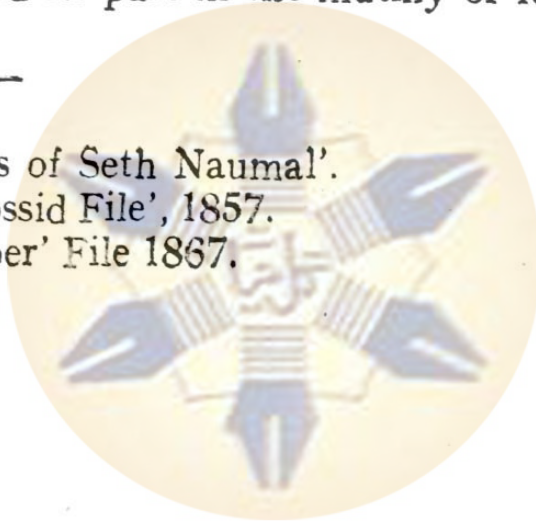
the days of the mutiny:—"I cannot sufficiently admire the patience, thought, judgment and courage evinced by Sir Bartle Frere during these troublous and trying times". But Sir Bartle had to seek the co-operation of the people. In spite of the fact that "the generality of people in Sind said that the English rule in India had well nigh come to a close", they fully co-operated with the Government. Sir Fredrick Goldsmith wrote in the Asiatic Quarterly Review as follows:—When speaking of the dead, those natives must not be forgotten who enabled Frere in the hour of danger to British Rule to dispense with his legitimate garrisons and trust to the resources drawn to himself from the hearts of the people he governed.

That has been the tendency of Sind all along.

Thus Sind played its part in the mutiny of 1857.

Authorities quoted:—

- No. 1 'Memoirs of Seth Naumal'.
- No. 2 'Sind Kossid File', 1857.
- No. 3 'Our Paper' File 1867.



Gul Hayat Institute

THE FIRST RAILWAY IN SIND.

BY C. L. MARIWALLA, B.A.

Read before the Sind Historical Society on 8th January 1944.

Commerce assumed an extraordinary aspect in the nineteenth century. Its paramount importance lay not merely in the profits of trade, but its being used for furthering political ends. Russia and England were running a neck to neck race for mastery in Asia. England had already acquired a large portion of India. Russia came later into the field. But its "secret systems" created a great suspicion in the minds of many English statesmen that the results of Russian mechanisations were bound to succeed against the "ostentation and noise of our movements." In spite of all suspicions however the English never lost heart. They kept up an incessant vigil over their frontiers and adopted other adequate means to meet the situation. The construction of railways in India was one of the moves in the right direction and that of a line from Karachi to Kotri, the first in Sind, in particular, was mooted to answer an important end. In this paper an attempt will be made to study the motivating factors that gave rise to the construction of the first Railway in the Province and under what circumstances the line was completed and utilized.

Sind was annexed by the British in 1843. When in March of that year the Amirs of Sind surrendered their sovereignty to the British General—Sir Charles Napier—his eagle eye at once perceived the potentialities of the Indus from a military as well as a commercial standpoint. His observations soon bore fruit and he could then declare without fear of contradiction, "the march of Alexander from the Beas to the Ocean with the voyage of Nearchus marks the coming line of European trade with India." He became more explicit with regard to British commerce when he declared "India should suck English manufactures up her great rivers and pour down those rivers her own varied products." It was not only the hero of Miani who realised the importance of his conquest. One of the most eminent French political writers of the day is said to have exclaimed when news reached Europe of the annexation of Sind to the British Empire in India: "The Indus henceforth is a British River. Who can foresee the consequences to the destinies of mankind." Sir Charles Napier did not believe in empty platitudes. He was essentially a man of action and soon after Sind had settled down to bask in the sunshine of British rule, the General set himself the task of seeing that the Indus did fulfil the high hopes entertained about its commercial possibilities by men like Moorcraft and Burnes. He had long realised that there were certain causes which greatly hindered the free flow of commerce by the Indus and he sought to set things right so that nothing should hereafter impede commercial enterprise by the river. His answer to the question as to what a civilized man would do if he became the ruler of Sind supplies the clue to the endeavours he put forth in encouraging commerce. His reply to the query was characteristic of the man: "I would abolish the tolls on the river, make

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Karachi a free port, protect Shikarpur from robbers, make Sukkur a mart for trade on the Indus, I would make a track-way along its banks. I would get steam boats." By the establishment of a Police Force in Sind, by organising campaigns against hilly tribes, and by his salutary punishments to criminal offenders, he succeeded in striking terror in the heart of the heartless dacoits of Upper Sind. His next endeavour was to use the Government Flotilla on the Indus for commercial purposes. He carried on correspondence with the Governor-General in this connection and in 1847 orders were received for an experimental voyage from Karachi to Kotri. H. C. steamer 'Nimrod' undertook the trial journey. But it did not prove a very great success as was expected, and, therefore, regular steam service on the Indus did not come into force earlier than 1851. Prior to this, however, in individual cases, permission was occasionally granted for travelling or conveying merchandise by the Government Flotilla vessels which were mainly utilised for carrying troops, grain and Government stores. Mr. E. L. Mitford was allowed to use the Indus Flotilla steamer for his journey from Sukkur to Tatta for Rs. 90 in 1843. In 1848 permission was granted to Messrs. Jehangir Nusserwanjee & Co. of Karachi for conveying their merchandise by the Government Flotilla vessels, and again a similar convenience was granted to the same firm early in 1851. But the greatest need of the time was for a safe haven, a land-locked harbour on the sea-board of Sind. Past experience had shown the futility of creating a port at the mouths of the Indus and before the British conquest, the sagacity of the native commercial enterpriser had suggested Karachi as the most suitable site for the required port. Karachi had already eclipsed all the delta ports and, after the conquest, the conqueror invested all his energies to make of Karachi a real good port which could afford anchorage to all types of vessels at all seasons of the year. In the channel the water was shallow; the landing at the Jhuna Bunder was tedious and dangerous, and, above all, a bar at the mouth of the harbour was a ticklish problem for the navigator. Sir Charles succeeded in removing the first two difficulties by the erection of the Napier Mole connecting Keamari island to the mainland. At the same time it was necessary to maintain communication between the Indus and the port of Karachi. The Gharao creek was utilised for the purpose. The four Flotilla vessels assigned by Government to ply on the Indus for commercial purposes after reaching Tatta entered the Gharao creek and reached Gizri Bunder in safety. Thus in the words of Napier the line of commercial communication by the Indus proved to be "the best, the quickest, the safest and the cheapest." Sir Charles Napier had many more plans for the improvement of the harbour of Karachi, but unfortunately he left Sind in 1847 and the plans were not put into operation. He did make an effort for the removal of river tolls but during his regime the proposal was vehemently opposed though the river dues were abolished early in 1852. On the whole the conqueror of Sind put forth his sincere efforts to encourage commerce and though the results were not so edifying during his regime, he had every reason to declare "Karachi, you will yet be the glory of the East. Wouldst thou could come back alive to see you, Karachi in your grandeur." It must be said to the credit of Sir Charles that he was the first to propose the modern port of Karachi and his scheme of the Napier

Mole and harbour works along with the opinions and observations of Commodores Young and Rennie of the Indian Navy, the personal experiences of Lt. Leeds, the Karachi Port Officer, and Capt. C. D. Campbell of the Indian Navy in piloting large ships into the harbour and leading them out, and the experiments of Col. Turner to study the material composition of the bar at the mouth of the harbour and the improvements suggested and carried out by James Walker, the eminent harbour engineer, presented to the world a "creation" of which they could well be proud. "The rise or rather the creation of the port of Karachi" wrote the Sind Kossid of Karachi editorially "is a feat to be compared with San Francisco or Chicago or any giant creation of the Far West." Thus Napier had succeeded in affording fresh impulse to commerce by affording every possible 'increase in facility and safety of transport.' And with the regular working of the Indus Flotilla for commercial purposes may be marked the regular rise in the trade figures of Karachi. The steadiness of the rate of increase is not less remarkable than its large amount. In 1843, the year of the conquest, Karachi registered imports worth Rs. 12,11,500 as against exports amounting to Rs. 10,100. In 1853 through the same port goods worth Rs. 50,87,930 were imported and Rs. 37,63,100 worth articles were exported. Thus within ten years, the imports had multiplied more than fourfold and the exports had risen 372 times. On the whole there had been a rise of nearly 600 per cent. in the trade of Karachi within the first decade of the conquest.

Now that the monthly service had been established between Multan and Karachi by the Indus and commerce came to adhere to the old channel pointed out by the ancients, Karachi was pointed out to be "not only the port of the Indus and Central Asia" but was sure to be "if not the future metropolis of India, most certainly the second city and the European port of that Empire." Thornton in his Gazetteer had remarked long ago "In a commercial point of view it (Karachi) may be defined as the gate of Central Asia and is likely to become to India what Liverpool is to England." The commercial trend, as years went on, showed a regular rise and this had been achieved when the Government had by themselves done nothing to give impetus to developing the resources of the provinces of the Indus. They had merely provided peace and tranquility in the land and had introduced the commercial enterpriser to use the river as the highway of commerce. And yet, reported the late Mr. Macleod, the meritorious Deputy Collector of Customs at Karachi in 1853, "the commerce of the port has been progressing during the past few years and there is every reason to expect a continuance of the progressive ratio." In assigning reasons for the future of the port, the same writer pointed out "the residents in the Punjab have shown a desire to procure their supplies by the Indus in preference to the line of the Ganges and in a few years their desire will be gratified to the fullest extent." He noted the same tendency with regard to the "extensive" Afghan traders. Sir Charles was also conscious of similar gains when he wanted the Indus to become the channel of commerce as of old, when he wrote "I am taking or rather trying to take advantage of our lull to push a steamer to Perozpur with good and cheap things for the troops from Bom-

and Liverpool. If we would command Central Asia, that dominion must be established by opening up a ready market for their raw material and subjecting them by the force of their own material interests." In addition to establishing English influence in Central Asia through commerce, it was essential to facilitate communication throughout the valley of the Indus for easy and quick military movements to make it possible to concentrate troops on any point that may be threatened, or if need be, to move and force to either of the two great passes—the Bolan and the Khyber. "Should however one of these be closed to our forces, they could be moved with rapidity to the other and in either case the enemy would be taken in flank or rear." The Indus route was also to be utilized for sending to any station in India the new recruits from England and every invalid who was sent back shattered to his home as this route alone was the most convenient and economical, and, therefore, politically preferable.

But the most important question was if the Indus and its existing means of communication would be able to bear the strain of the many possibilities of utilizing it for commercial and political purposes. The normally growing commerce without the Government's impetus to exploit the resources of the country bordering on the Indus; the intensification of commerce with Central Asia, using the Indus as a military highway and keeping up the inter-communication between England and the North-West Frontier of India from a military standpoint and above all accommodating the growing pilgrim traffic by the Indus could hardly be managed by the existing means of communication or even augmenting the same to any extent. The means of communication employed on the Indus had already been found unable to cope with the task. Improved means were found essential even if the Indus was to be utilized merely for the existing commerce. The limited number of Flotilla vessels could be utilized only for a negligible portion of the actual commerce by the river, the rest being undertaken by native boats. "The steamers at present on the river," observes Andrews, "are quite inadequate to meet the pressing demands for passage and freight in ordinary times. Goods frequently remained for months at Karachi and Multan from the want of means of transport." I have known, writes another authority, instances of goods at Karachi intended for the Punjab being sent back to Bombay with a view to being forwarded by the Peninsula and Oriental Company boats via Galle and Calcutta, and so up the Ganges to the Punjab, because there appeared no hope of tonnage being available for them for several months together. Besides even when the goods could be sent up, the progress of the boats was exceptionally slow with the result that on many occasions when the goods reached their destination, they proved hardly worthy of any use. "Large quantities of stores, particularly porter, was obliged to be sent by country boats are found to be worthless on reaching the Punjab, the voyage of 800 miles from Karachi to Multan lasting 5 months." At the same time the cost of transport was pretty heavy.

In order to face the situation boldly and make the line of the Indus answer the commercial, military and political requirements of the times

the solution lay in erecting a line of Railway from Karachi to Kotri and engaging a large number of river steamers suited to the Indus. The one great handicap in the progress of river transport had been the difficult and dangerous navigation in the delta of the river. This had to be avoided at all costs to save time and make the journey safe and cheap. "From the sea coast to the head of the delta just below Hyderabad the course of the Indus is tortuous in the extreme, the delay is unavoidable and the losses most serious. The country, however, between the sea-board and Hyderabad is all but a dead level offering every facility for a line of Railway, thus overcoming the delay, the losses and the danger incident to the navigation of the delta." The importance of the railway-cum-river transport to the northward could not be over-rated specially when considered in relation to the extensive commerce and the existing position of the British Empire in the East and the urgent necessity which existed for carrying out without delay every project capable not only of increasing the means of inter-communication in India but of shortening the distance from England to the most important and the most vulnerable portions of the Empire in the East. That the Railway from Karachi to Kotri will be able to avoid the delays and dangers of the delta and debouche on a point of the river above which there existed a permanently open navigation up to Multan was realised quite early by Sir Bartle Frere, the Commissioner in Sind, and he left no stone unturned in presenting sufficient data for inducing the formation of a company to undertake the construction of a railway line from Karachi to Kotri—the first in Sind. Under the guidance of the Commissioner-in-Sind, Mr. Hardy Wells began to collect information bearing on the Railway early in 1853. And he at once realized the advantages of the line. In the same year that able and scientific officer, Lt. Chapman of the Bombay Engineers carried out a survey of the same line and submitted his highly commendable report. Sir Bartle Frere had now in hand sufficient information with regard to the Railway and he with the help of friends at Home diffused that knowledge. Many realised the utility and the profitable character of the line. The country through which the line had to run was quite adapted for the purpose. The line connected two important towns, one, the old capital, and the other the new one guaranteeing fat dividends as there already existed a paying goods traffic all the year round, which was bound to increase enormously with improved means of transport. The line also enjoyed importance from the military point of view since the Government was bound to take advantage of the new mode of transmitting stores and troops to the northern provinces to avoid the tedious and tiresome travel in the delta of the river. This alone could hold out a prospect of high profits to the shareholders of the company undertaking the line. Early in 1856 the Scinde Railway Company was formed with its offices in Gresham House, Old Broad Street, London. The Company was a joint stock organization with a provisional capital of £500,000 divided into 25,000 shares of £20 each. Out of this lot only 5,000 shares were reserved for being sold in India. The Company was, however, allowed to double its capital in December 1857. In spite of the very bright prospects of the line, the Scinde Railway Company requested the East India Co., for the guarantee of a minimum rate of interest, on the capital,

of 5 per cent. for the first five years and 4½ per cent. for the next 94 years and for the lease of land necessary for the railway and works for a similar period, free of charge. In return for the guarantee of interest and leasing the requisite land, the East India Company reserved the right to regulate the trains and fares and to lower the fares in case the dividend exceeded 10 per cent with this proviso that the fares shall be so reduced as not to lower the dividend of 10 per cent. On the opening of the line, the net profits, after deducting the guaranteed interest were to be divided equally between the shareholders of the Railway Company, the East India Co. getting the share in liquidation of the interest advanced by them. The East India Co., was also to enjoy the power after the first 25 or 50 years to purchase the line at the average market value of all the shares during the period of the last three years. On the other hand "the Railway Co., have the power, at any time after the line has been three months in work, to require the East India Co., to take it off their hands at six months' notice and repay them the capital expended." But the East India Co., did not enter into contract with the Sind Railway Co., without ascertaining the advisability of guaranteeing interest on such a venture. Accordingly they invited objections to the proposed line of Railway. Major Treemenheere put up his note of opposition on the ground that "the Railway would be an incubus under which the province will sink." Colonel John Jacob was opposed to the line as it was being projected with a view to extend it up to Lahore while he advocated the desirability of the line having the Bolan Pass as its northward terminus with a line from Sehwan—the distance between Kotri and Sehwan to be traversed by the Flotilla vessels. The observations of Col. Jacob were carefully considered and though his suggestions found favour and the Commissioner in Sind ordered a survey for a branch line from Sukkur via Shikarpur and Jacobabad to the Bolan Pass in 1858, his objections were not deemed such as to deter the East India Co., from guaranteeing a fixed rate of interest on the company's capital. Accordingly the Sind Railway Company entered into a contract with the East India Company in December 1856. A little more than 2 years were taken to undertake extensive surveys and other preliminaries before the actual work was commenced. Mr. W. P. Andrews was elected Chairman of the Scinde Railway Co., and Mr. J. Neville Warren was appointed Agent of the Railway to supervise the works. In December 1856 the Scinde Railway Co., entered into a contract with Messrs. James and Edwin Bray, the eminent contractors of Leeds, for the construction of the Railway and they undertook to complete the works in just two years. On 29th April, 1858, the work of the First Railway in Sind was commenced with much imposing ceremony by the then highly respected Commissioner in Sind, Sir Bartle Frere, K.C.B.

The work of constructing the First Railway in Sind began in right earnest as every one realised the importance and utility of the undertaking. As Mr. John Brunton, the Chief Engineer of the Sind Railway justly remarks: "The formation of the Scinde Railway will open up a magnificent field for commercial enterprise introducing civilization with all its attendant benefits." Though the Railway from Karachi to Kotri formed but the shortest section of the extensive scheme of communications con-

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necting Karachi with Calcutta—railway from Karachi to Kotri, then the Indus to Multan and again by rail to Lahore and Amritsar, the rest of the distance being traversed by the Delhi and the East Indian Railway—its peculiar importance was never put in the shade. It was graphically described as the 'neck of the funnel,' and it was rightfully observed that "over it must pass not only the whole of the existing traffic, but as other sections are completed, the developed commerce of this vast territory (covered by the communication scheme) hitherto locked up will pour upon it taxing its capabilities as a means of communication and doubtless realising the sanguine anticipations of its promoters." Though the work commenced under encouraging auspices, all did not go well with the erection of the Sind Railway and it was doubtful if the line would be ready for traffic within the prescribed period of two years. However, by January 1859 the line from the landing place at Kiamari to the company's workshops was completed without hitch or hindrance. Some time after this the contractors and the Sindh Railway Co. developed differences on important issues which forced the Company to put an early end to getting the whole works of the line executed by a firm of contractors and in June of that year undertook to get the line done departmentally by the company's engineers, inspectors, etc. The various officers of the company undertook the new arrangement with renewed vigour, but they had to contend with initial difficulties. The Sindhi born and bred as he is on the alluvial plains of the Indus where he obtains his daily requirements with the minimum amount of labour is indolent and devoid of muscular labour though 'he is not deficient in talent or easily acquiring a knowledge of account-keeping and writing.' Thus Sind could not supply the required type of labour, and labour, skilled or otherwise was to be imported from the adjoining lands. The Cutchi was superior to the Sindhi in this respect. Cutch sent out carpenters, masons, smiths and skilled craftsmen to the whole of the northern regions of the Bombay Presidency. So, skilled labour for the Sind Railway was secured from Cutch. On the other hand the hills of Baluchistan and Afghanistan bred a hardy race of labourers—men of great stature and personal strength but unaccustomed to using any other tools than the powrah—(a kind of hoe)—and the basket for carrying loosened earth. Lands to the immediate west thus easily supplied the large mass of unskilled labourers for the Railway. Though the required labour had been secured, there had taken place a lot of mismanagement which resulted in a lot of discontent among the labourers. Discontent drove labour away and the wages rose as the demand for labour was more than the supply. Wages shot up pretty high which made the execution of the line pretty costly. The main cause of labour dissatisfaction was the irregularity of payment to labour. The labourer's confidence can be retained only by paying him regularly. Once that was shaken, the retention of requisite labour became impossible. When the Company undertook to get the line laid by its own officers, the labour problem had already become acute. The energetic officers of the Railway Co. put their heads to meet the situation and they came to the ready conclusion that for securing an economical execution of the works a fair tariff of wages with a guarantee of regular daily payments was all that was necessary. Accordingly a sche-

dule of wages with a guarantee of payment under the signature of the Company's engineers was issued and labour returned to work. The Company's officers had to face another initial difficulty which arose out of the great dearth of the ordinary railway plant, but this too was soon got over.

Soon after the work had been renewed under the new management, some problems presented themselves which were however easily solved by the co-operation and concerted action of the Railway officers and the Sind Government. For the easy securing and maintenance of a large mass of men offering inducements to labour was a matter of necessity and the Railway management were ever alert to keep the labourers happy. The best of all inducements to labour is the lure of higher wages than the average. This the Company's engineers offered to their workers, though the schedule of wages published by them fell short by full 25 per cent. than the rates Messrs. Bray & Co. used to give—of course irregularly. Other inducements which policy no less than humanity required referred to the food, shelter and general health of the labourer. All such attentions the labourer was bound to appreciate whatever his race, for they amounted to unheard of luxuries for him and thereafter he was likely to put forth an effort converting his work into a labour of love rather than a mere compensation for his sweat. It was rather difficult to obtain good food on the line as it avoided all the towns and important villages of the district so that the Railway may not have to cross too many canals and such other works. On this account procuring good quality foods for labour at reasonable rates along the line was found requisite. The company accordingly licensed a number of banias to open shops at various points on the condition that the rates they would charge would be controlled by the nearest kardar in consultation with the Railway Magistrate. At the same time the water supply problem had also to be solved. Due to the bad quality of water obtained at various points labour suffered from all types of recurrent fevers and cholera which greatly hampered the progress of the line. For removing this difficulty and thus warding off disease a regular system of water carts and bullocks, and subsequently when the line permitted, water trains, were organised from Malir, the Baran and the Indus to supply the various gangs working on the line with wholesome water—to the great relief of the workers. Another fruitful source of disease was the heavy dews at night and this problem was got over by providing the labourers with mat-huts. And yet disease persisted though rudely and had to be combated. For this purpose permanent hospitals for medical aid were established at the two termini Karachi and Kotri and two temporary hospitals were organised at Dabeji and Jungshahi with a resident apothecary at each place. Thus the health of the workers was well-preserved. Above all "half wild and unaccustomed to the restraints of a more civilized state" labour required to be handled tactfully and a strong arm was found necessary to keep them in order. To answer this requirement a Railway Police Force of 80 men was organised and distributed into several Police Stations all along the line. For facilitating administration of justice the Government appointed a special Railway Magistrate who was required to be moving up and down the line dealing with the offenders at each station. This facility for obtaining justice and

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the rapidity with which punishment followed crime had a salutary effect on the workers and only a few outrages of a serious character were ever reported during the long period of three years that the line was under erection. Majority of the cases reported were of petty thefts and attempts at illegal impositions.

The work on the line proceeded satisfactorily and systematically. The workmen worked in gangs under a self-elected mukadam or ganger whose orders they cheerfully obeyed and to whom they willingly paid a small percentage from each rupee they earned. Thus the work of the engineers was greatly facilitated as they had to deal with these few gangers instead of the large number of individual labourers. They entered into agreements for work to be done with these gangers. This greatly lightened their task as most of the responsibility for getting work done lay on the mukadams. Although labour on daily wages would have been economical but in such cases everything depends on the honesty of the mukadams. Experience however taught the Railway management to resort to the piece-work system as this scheme obtained more favourable results.

The distance traversed by the First Railway in Sind was 108 miles and 10 chains. (80 chains=1 mile). For 32 miles and 50 chains the line passed through a level plain while the remaining distance of 75 miles 40 chains was covered by inclines more or less favourable. The total length of the line running straight was 74 miles 22 chains, the remaining distance of 33 miles 68 chains being taken up by curves. In light of the railway lines to be seen these days the erection of the first Railway in this Province may seem a very small undertaking, but if one directs his attention to the Railway lines in England of that day, the first Railway in Sind compares very favourably. The Karachi-Kotri line had the same length as that of the Great Western from London to Bath, 108 miles. The Sind Railway was very nearly equal to the line from London to Birmingham (113 miles) and was nearly twice the length of the London-Brighton line. The first Railway in Sind had earth works for accommodating a single line, but all the bridges, culverts and stone girder viaducts and stone piers were constructed to carry a double line though only a single line was actually laid. The only portion of the double line attempted on this Railway was between the workshops at Ghizri Junction and the terminus at the Bunder Head—a distance of 3 miles and 15 chains. The Sind Railway gave off only one branch line worth the name, that leaving the main line near the Railway workshops to the Timber pier at Ghizri for accommodating the traffic coming to Karachi from the Eastern Delta of the Indus in the period of the South West Monsoon during which the delta was closed for traffic. (In the Gazetteer of Sind of 1876 it is mentioned that there were six branch lines and there were 45 miles of sidings. The rest of the direct line measured 100 miles). The permanent way consisted of ordinary double-headed rail, weighing 65 lbs. per yard, fixed by compressed wooden keys in chairs each weighing 22 lbs.; the joints being fished in the usual way, the fish plates being secured by four bolts each one inch in diameter. The whole was laid on the sleepers of redwood or white pine creosoted.

sent from England and deodar timber of the Himalayan slopes, 10" broad and 5" deep at intervals of 3', the distance being reduced to 2 at the joints. The line was enclosed throughout. The majority of the fencing consisted of a dry rubble stone wall 4' high 1' 10½" thick at the base and 15" at the top with a coping of stones on edge set in mortar. But since the requisite materials were difficult to obtain, the fencing from Landhi to Guggur, a distance of 15 miles was done in five strand wire. (Sind Gazetteer mentions 30 miles of wire fencing).

Although the particular route taken by the Railway was adopted with a view to avoid the crossing of canals and consequent creation of many bridges, etc. the Railway was allowed to cross the natural drainage of an extensive hilly tract, necessitating the building of a large number of culverts and viaducts. The provision of water ways proved to be quite a tough problem for the engineers as the rainfall in the region was irregular and the records throwing light on the subject were not available. All that the engineers had to rely upon was the careful examination of the old flood marks. On the Sind Railway were erected 46 culverts with 191 openings of 2'6" each; 2 culverts with 2 openings of 3' each; 2 culverts with two openings of 6' each; 113 culverts with 329 openings of 8'6" each; 5 culverts with 9 openings of 10' each; 18 culverts with 53 openings of 12' each and 2 culverts with 2 openings of 15' each. The smaller opening culverts were erected by the rails being carried over by placing ordinary sleepers upon stone piers, the rails themselves bridging the opening. In the case of bigger openings the ordinary permanent way was carried upon teak timber beams 12 inch square in section supporting a platform of planks 4" thick below the sleepers to carry a thin layer of ballast, protecting the platform from fire and forming a footway across the openings. In such cases the timber was carefully painted over by dammar or pitch laid very hot. The culverts with the biggest openings were built of stone with pitched invert and aprons. There had to be erected on the line 19 bridges containing 48 arches, each of 20' span, one bridge of 3 arches each of 30' span, two bridges of 10 arches each of 40' span and two bridges of 4 arches each of 45' span. There were also viaducts with iron girders 80' span each erected over the Malir river with 21 spans, the Guggur with 3 spans, the Dabeji with 2 spans, Ranpitiani with 6 spans, Loyet with 8 spans and Radh with 3 spans. The bridges over the Malir and the Baran take the first rank both as regards their size and importance. The viaduct across the Baran was 1728' in length. Its greatest height from the bed of the river to the rails was 31'6" though the average height was only 25'6". The superficial measurement of the bridged area was 44,064 sq. ft. It consisted of 32 arches 45 ft. span each. It was a stone viaduct, the heaviest piece of masonry along the line and the builders took 22½ months to complete it. The stone used in this viaduct and at all places on the line where masonry work was resorted to was obtained from the hills lying north of the Indus and at the foot of the Hala range specially the Khetriani hills, which were composed of pale arenaceous limestone containing but few nummulites, easily workable and admirable building stone hardening with exposure. The total cost of the Baran viaduct was Rs. 2,71,856-6-8. The Malir viaduct was the most extensive iron girdered via-

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duct on the line with 21 spans 80' each. It cost Rs. 4,82,250. Many of the bridges and culverts on the line proved to be a source of endless trouble and expense to the Railway Co. owing to the violent nature of the freshes after rainfall and insufficiency of the water way to carry off the flood water. The line suffered from floods in the very year it was opened for traffic and again in the following year costing Rs. 7 lakhs as repair charges. In 1866 several bridges on the line suffered severely on account of floods. The 10 piers of the Malir viaduct had to be rebuilt and raised 6' in height costing more than 3½ lakhs of rupees. Again in 1869 the Malir Bridge was seriously damaged, the repairs on the occasion costing Rs. 1,12,719.

On the Sind Railway there were only 7 stations exclusive of the 2 termini Karachi and Kotri and they were the Frere Street Station or the Cantonment Station, Jamadar ki Landhi, Dabeji, Doraji Gore, Jungshahi, Jhimpir and Radh. There were also some passing places such as Meting and Bolari (the Sind Gazetteer says that there were only six stations, viz., Malir, Dabeji, Jungshahi, Jhimpir, Meting and Bolari). Except for the Karachi Station buildings, the rest were of masonry construction, the Jungshahi station being a solid stone construction, and being midway between Karachi and Kotri was provided with a refreshment room. Karachi and Kotri station buildings were temporary erections and were to remain as such till the contemplated through traffic came into force and justified more substantial edifices. Karachi was provided with two stations to accommodate the people of different localities. For the people of the Old Town and Garrikhata was meant the McLeod Road Station or the present City Station. And to the residents in the Cantonments, Saddar Bazar and Civil Line quarters and above all for the elite of the Frere Town Quarter was to be made readily accessible the Frere Street Station or as it is now called the Cantonment Station.

The Railway was also provided with two lines of wire all along the line carried on deodar timber posts, fixed in cast iron sockets. The block system of working trains was adopted on the Sind Railway and the needle speaking instruments were utilized for conveying information required between several stations and passing places. The combination of the train signalling machine and the speaking telegraph on the Sind Railway followed as a measure of economy was a great source of danger. The signalman had to trust to the verbal instructions he received from the telegraph clerk who invariably combined the offices of the telegraph clerk and the Station Master, and, therefore, his superior. The telegraph clerks were generally found occupying the speaking machine and at the same time amusing themselves with a conversation, oftentimes never minding the delay in transmitting or conveying even important messages, and when it is noticed that the clerks appointed were often "deficient in the important point of understanding the messages they transmit or receive" though they were employed after passing a preliminary test, there was every likelihood of the mis-carriage or misinterpretation of the message for the signalman with far-reaching consequences when the telegraph clerk could well afford to put the blame on the signalman. There was another deficiency in the organisation

tion instituted by the Sind Railway Co. with regard to signalling. Economy had dictated the appointment of only a single signaller at each station even when the signalling stations were situated in isolated places with the result that if the signaller of a station fell ill or otherwise was rendered unable to perform his duties, the messages which were necessary for being conveyed could not be sent in time. These deficiencies were noticed quite early and were soon remedied. There arose another difficulty and that was with regard to the scarcity of water fit for use in the locomotive engines. Though there were nine stations on the line, the question had finally to be decided only by analysing the water specimens and deciding which stations could provide the best suited water with least consequent harm.

The Sind Railway Co. in laying down the line from Karachi to Kotri had found it necessary to erect extensive workshops without which unnecessary delay and excessive costs were likely to be incurred as the nearest place for all repairs, even petty ones, and for obtaining even the ordinary railway parts was Bombay which place also offered only a few facilities in this respect. The pushing forward of goodly and tolerable workshops proved of great avail in the construction of the line. At the junction of the main line and the Gizri branch on a generally rising ground in the Frere Town Quarter were situated the extensive locomotive erecting and repairing shops of the Sind Railway Company. The blacksmith's shop alone measured 245'x47' and the Carriage Department Shop was even larger being 245' long and 137' broad. The workshops consisted of a saw mill, smiths', fitters, heavy and light tool shops, iron and brass foundries, with engine and carriage erecting shops all furnished with the requisite machinery and with tools driven by steam power. The rolling stock of the Sind Railway, when it was ready for traffic comprised of 25 engines and 140 vehicles. The goods traffic wagons outnumbered those for public traffic. The efficient organisation of the works was surrounded with many difficulties as due attention had to be paid to economy. It was not possible to man the shops by Europeans only as it would prove too costly for the Company. Hence efficient Indian assistance became necessary. The Cutch carpenters and other skilled workers were found suitable but were very conservative. They would work only with their own tools and in their own manner though more efficient and easily workable western tools were offered to them and a new mode of work which would cause less strain to the body was at their disposal. It was found that the Indian method of work was comparatively slow and was proving costly and at the same time the workers occupied a larger area for their work. It was therefore an uphill task for the English foreman to induce the Cutch workers to take to European tools and mode of work and at long last he succeeded in the attempt. Henceforward the carriages that the Indian skilled workers erected displayed workmanship which would have been a credit to the best European manufactory of the times. For keeping up a supply of European foremen, fitters, engine erectors and drivers, the system of taking apprentices on the following liberal terms proved a success as the sons of European soldiers and clerks in Government offices, intelligent lads with a goodly bit of knowledge, were anxious to join the new enter-

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prise. Four months preliminary trial Rs. 4 per month, first year from the date of indentures Rs. 30 per mensem, second year Rs. 40 p.m., 3rd year Rs. 50 per mensem, 4th year Rs. 60 per mensem and 5th year Rs. 80 per mensem.

The total cost of the Sind Railway came to be about Rs. 1,60,000 per mile. The average cost per mile of Railways in India at the time was Rs. 1,50,000. The slight excess of cost of the Sind Railway was due to a number of peculiarities and difficulties. The following were some of them:—(1) Considerable difficulty in procuring from England freight for the materials, since the port of Karachi was not much known at the time and it became necessary to investigate and publish the capabilities of the port to resolve the initial difficulty.

(2) The Sind Railway comprised in proportion to its length a more than usually large number of such works as piers, wharves, etc. which did not originally belong to the railways. The Railway had two expensive termini and for the accommodation of the Flotilla vessels at Kotri alone 3,000 to 4,000 feet of wharves had to be constructed.

(3) There arose difficulties when the materials arrived in India. The Railway Company had even to provide its own boats in unloading the vessels.

(4) There was considerable amount of earth works on the line. The earth works were not of a soft character as is usually the case in alluvial plains. Majority of the excavations were through hard rocks requiring the use of gun powder. Many of the embankments were formed from side cuttings in rock, as no softer material could be obtained and the embankments were built up with the stone so quarried from the side cuttings.

(5) Haulage of materials was an important item of expenditure.

(6) The line crossed the natural drainage of an extensive hilly district requiring large viaducts, bridges and culverts.

(7) And above all due to a deficiency of obtaining requisite labour locally, higher wages had to be paid to induce outside workers to complete the required quota. At a meeting of the Institute of Civil Engineers held in April 1863 when a paper on the Sind Railway was read by Mr. John Brunton, Mr. Bruce objected to the high cost of the Sind Railway. He felt that it was too much for a poor country like India! He suggested reduction of cost but when the author of the paper and Mr. W. P. Andrews, the Chairman of the Sind Railway Co. pointed out the difficulties the Company had to face, Mr. Bruce sought refuge in the observation that the pioneer works had always to bear the brunt and pave the way for future economies.

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One Deputy Agent who was also to be the head of the Indus Flotilla, one Chief Engineer with an Assistant; one Superintendent of Railway Workshops; one Traffic Assistant; an Auditor; a Store-Keeper and one Deputy Consulting Engineer who was to be an officer of the Government. The first Railway in Sind came to be ready for traffic after three years of insistent labour and the line was opened for traffic on 13th May, 1861 by J. Duncan Inverarity, Esquire, the Commissioner in Sind.

As soon as the first Railway in the valley of the Indus had started on its career, the people of the province became alive to the advantages which would accrue to them by using the Railway. So much did the people appreciate the regularity and the certainty of railway communication that the boats on the Indus which were formerly in the habit of coming to the delta port Kotri, the port of transshipment both for Bombay and Karachi, now no longer came below Kotri where the goods were transhipped and conveyed by rail to Karachi. Within 2 years of the working of the Sind Railway the chairman of the Railway Co. could observe at a public meeting that there was a length of 2 miles of boats collected at Kotri to unload their cargoes for the Railway. The traffic on the Sind Railway can be gauged from the following figures:—

In 1861, 40,729 passengers, 223 belonging to the 1st class, 2,459 to the II class and the rest to the III class travelled by the Railway. In the same year 16,520 tons of goods were carried by the Railway. In 1865, 111,180 passengers, 1,809 1st class, 4,426 2nd class and the rest III class utilised the Railway for traffic. In the same year the Railway was responsible for conveying 112,726 tons of goods. In 1870 the Railway carried 95,175 passengers, 1,786 1st class, 3,970 IIInd class and the rest IIIrd class and 75,495 tons of goods. In 1874 the Railway was responsible for conveying 73,668 passengers, 1,660 1st class, 2,899 IIInd class and the rest IIIrd class and correspondingly conveyed a load of 99,358 tons of goods. Passenger and goods traffic was particularly heavy during 1867-68 on account of the military expedition organised against Abyssinia. The income of the Sind Railway Co. during the years referred above was as follows:—

In 1861 receipts amounted to Rs. 164,043, Rs. 76,295 being the contribution of the goods traffic. In 1865 the receipts came to Rs. 9,03,471, the goods traffic share being Rs. 6,75,581. In 1870 the total receipts of the Sind Railway Co. came to Rs. 8,46,494, the goods traffic accounting for Rs. 6,86,721. And in 1874 the total realisations were Rs. 8,18,604 of which Rs. 6,67,323 were contributed by the goods traffic. Thus the Sind Railway had served the objects contemplated—it had succeeded in relieving the commerce of the country from its greatest dangers by substituting a Railway of 108 miles for the 230 miles of creek navigation. In the like manner it had proved its utility from a political and military point of view by making it possible to move troops in a few hours from Kotri to Karachi or *vice versa* where a week was required formerly.

Thus brought into operation, the Sind Railway has been extending its helping hand to larger masses of humanity with the passage of time.

BY A. B. ADVANI, M.A., LL.B.

(Read on 31st May, 1936).

After overthrowing the Kalhora dynasty in 1783, the Talpur Chiefs became the rulers of Sind. By mutual agreement Sind came to be divided into three divisions among three chief Talpur families. The Hyderabad family with Mir Fatch Ali Khan as the head, took charge of lower Sind with Hyderabad as their capital. Mir Sultan Khan went to Upper Sind and made Khairpur as his capital. Mir Tharah Khan occupied a small territory in the east and Mirpur became the capital of this family. The English Missions of 1808, 1809 and 1820 had their dealings with the Talpur family which was considered as the most important and most powerful family of Talpurs in Sind. The head of this family Mir Fatch Ali Khan, very wisely associated with himself, in the government of the country, his three brothers, Mir Ghulam Ali Khan, Mir Karam Ali Khan and Mir Murad Ali Khan. These four brothers owing to great attachment for one another came to be known as *Char Yar* or "Four Friends." Thus there arose in Sind, the extraordinary scheme of a joint rule. It was however a joint rule only in name, for during the life time of Mir Fatch Ali Khan, all the *sarads* and *purwanas* bore his single seal. It was during the rule of Mir Fatch Ali Khan that the English trade with Sind which had languished and then ceased during the rule of Mian Sarafraz Khan Kalhora, came to be renewed, at the desire of Lord Wellesley, the Governor-General of India. [1] Mr. Nathan Crowe, of the Bombay Civil Service, was accordingly sent to Sind in 1792, to establish English factories in Sind, [2] Mr. Crowe's stay in Sind was most unhappy, though very promisingly begun. Trade affairs went on well up to August 1800, when suddenly without the slightest hint, a peremptory order was issued, directing Mr. Crowe to leave Sind immediately, without fail or delay. [3] It is believed, the Talpur Mirs got alarmed at the growing power of the British Government in India. Persian and French spies were also responsible for

[1] Cox, *A Short History of the Bombay Presidency*, p. 296.[2] Hughes, *Gazetteer of Sind*, 2nd. Edn., p. 35.[3] Burnes, A.—*Navigation of the Sindhus*, p. 2.

J. H. S.

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arousing the fears of these Chiefs against the British agents in Sind. The Honourable East India Company suffered in addition to this insult, a loss of about one lac of rupees worth of property [4]. Serious notice was not however taken of this affair in Sind at that time, as the East India Company had sufficient trouble with the Mahrattas to engage all its attention. But the matter was neither forgotten nor forgiven.

Napoleon Bonaparte's phenomenal rise to power and his professed hostile schemes to conquer India gave no peace of mind to the English statesmen in India and England, in the beginning of 19th Century. Mir Fatch Ali Khan had died in 1802, and when his brother Mir Ghulam Ali Khan, soon after his accession to the *Gadi*, sent an agent to the Bombay Government, apologizing for the expulsion of Mr. Nathan Crowe from Sind by his late brother and desiring the renewal of friendly connections with the British Government, the British Government readily agreed. The Hyderabad Mirs sought this alliance with the British as they hoped thereby to so strengthen their position, that they could defy Shah Shujah of Kabul, an unwelcome visitor to Sind in 1803, whose nominal sovereignty the Talpur Mirs acknowledged. On the other hand the British Government deemed it expedient to renew friendly connections with Sind and thus check the intended invasion of India by the French and the Persian, by way of Afghanistan.

In July 1808, Captain David Seton was despatched by the Bombay Government to the Court of the Mirs at Hyderabad. At the time of Captain Seton's coming to Sind, there was actually a Persian ambassador at the Hyderabad Court, inducing the Talpur Mirs, to form a close alliance with Persia, [5] "the bait being, military aid, to throw off the yoke of the King of Cabul, and the possession of the Afghan fortress of Candhar" [6].

The Mirs willingly entered into an agreement with Captain David Seton, on 18th July 1808. The Deed of Agreement reads thus :—

This Agreement has been drawn up in consequence of Captain David Seton, on the part of the Honourable Jonathan Duncan, Esqr., Governor of Bombay, having arrived at Hyderabad, and having formed

[4] Pottinger, *Travels in Beloochistan and Sindh*, p. 402, f.n. 2.

[5] Kaye, *History of the War in Afghanistan*, Vol. I, p. 93.

[6] Basp, *Rise of the Christian Power in India*, Vol. IV, p. 53, f.n.

a firm alliance between the Government of Sind and the Honourable Company and Honourable Governor aforesaid.

ARTICLE 1.

That a firm alliance shall exist between the two States, and the friends of one the friends of the other, and the enemies of one the enemies of the other; and this shall remain for ever.

ARTICLE 2.

When the assistance of troops is required by either of the parties, it shall be granted when asked.

ARTICLE 3.

That the disaffected of one Government shall not be protected by the other.

ARTICLE 4.

That when the servants of the Sind Government shall wish to purchase warlike stores in any of the ports belonging to the Honourable Company, they shall be permitted to do so, and be assisted in their purchases, and on paying their value be allowed to depart.

ARTICLE 5.

That an Agent on the part of the Honourable Company, for the increase of friendship and goodwill, shall reside at the Court of the Mir of Sind.

ARTICLE 6.

The claims on account of former loss in the time of Mr. Crowe shall be dropped.

ARTICLE 7.

That a British factory in the town of Tatta only, on the same footing as in the time of the Kalhoras, shall, after the full satisfaction, perfect confidence, and with the leave of this government, be established.

AND through the blessing of God there shall be no deviation from this firm alliance.

Dated 1st Jamadi-us-sani 1223 or 24th July 1808 [7]✓

The agreement was both political and commercial in nature. Through misconception of his instructions from the Bombay Government, Captain David Seton had bound the British Government, according to Article 2 of the above agreement, to render assistance of troops whenever required. The Mirs were overjoyed. They believed that according to the agreement they were entitled to seek military assistance from the British Government against the State of Cabul. Captain Seton now realized his folly. How could the British Government assist the tributary State of Sind against the King of Cabul, "whose good offices," the British Government "were so anxious to conciliate?" This agreement therefore was not ratified and Captain David Seton was officially recalled [8].

To annul Captain Seton's offensive and defensive alliance, to debar the agents of the French from admission into Sind and to re-establish the proper relative rank of the British and Sindian governments, another Mission was sent to Sind in the following year under the leadership of Mr. Nicholas Hankey Smith. The Mission consisted of seven members namely Mr. H. H. Smith of the Bombay Civil Service as the Envoy, Henry Ellis, Esqr., of the Bengal Civil Service as the first Assistant, Lieutenant Robert Taylor of the Bombay Native Infantry and Lieutenant Henry Pottinger as the second and third assistants, Captain Charles Christie to command the escort, William Hall Esqr., surgeon and Captain William Maxfield of the Bombay Marine to act as marine-surveyor. The Mission left Bombay on 27th April 1808, in *Maria*—a country-ship hired for conveying the Envoy and his suite to Sind, attended by the East India Company's cruiser the *Prince of Wales* under the command of Captain Allen. On 9th May 1809, the Mission reached Karachi harbour and anchored in twelve fathom water. On the next day the ships of the Mission crossed the sandy bar at the entrance of the harbour, the Manora fort garrison saluting them with two guns which salute the *Prince of Wales* returned. The native governor of Karachi soon after came on board and gave the Mission a half-hearted welcome. He seemed anxious to protract while waiting for instructions from the Mirs of Hyder.

[7] Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. VII, 4th Ed., p. 59, f.n.

[8] Kaye, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 93-94.

abad. Few days later tents and stores of the Mission were landed on shore and with great eclat the Envoy landed distributing generously money among the poor natives on the shore according to Oriental traditions. The party remained for a month at Karachi and frequently experienced indirect hostility from the governor of Karachi. The native servants who were serving the Mission were for instance expelled from the fortified town of Karachi, some of them were tied to a post and some lascars filling fresh water for the consumption of the crew were beaten. The Envoy sent a letter of remonstrance to the governor of Karachi but received an unconvincing and an unsatisfactory reply. The letters of the Mirs to Mr. Smith were penned in a very arrogant style and Mr. Smith was advised by the native governor to address the Chief Mir in his correspondence as *Hoozoor* (the Royal Presence) which Mr. Smith sturdily declined on the ground that the term *Hoozoor* was only applicable to an independent sovereign and not a tributary government like that of Sind. Before sailing for Sind, Mr. Smith had received pointed instructions from the Governor-general to repress any attempts on the part of the Mir to claim equality with the British Government and to claim from the Sind rulers the respect due to the British power in India. It was apparent to the members of the Mission that the Mirs were apprehensive of the British Government having designs on their territories and that their arrogance and bustle were a mask to cover their dread. Political considerations made the Envoy to overlook the affronts to which they were all subjected. On 10th June 1809, the Mission set out for Hyderabad and after five marches reached Tatta where they took up their quarters in the East India Company's factory [9]. Delay in receiving permission to proceed forward, not coming of the state barge which the Mirs wrote was to convey the Envoy and his party to their capital, heavy rains and other reasons caused the Mission to remain at Tatta up to the end of July 1809, affording the party leisure and opportunity to study the surrounding district. The *junkies* (state barge) sent by the Mirs proving too small to accommodate all the members of the Mission, two parties were made, one to travel by water and the other by land-route. This was indeed welcome as it did not necessitate the fabrication of some plausible excuse for proceeding to Hyderabad by two routes and thus acquiring the utmost geographical knowledge of the country. Both the parties reached Hyderabad safely and pitched their

[9] In spite of my persistent inquiries made at Thatta on several occasions, I have been unable to locate the site of the East India Company's factory at Thatta, of which no traces remain. The local scholars and inhabitants are not only of no help but are even credulous of the existence of such a factory.

tents on the bank of the Phuleli canal, about one mile south-east of the fort of Hyderabad. The second day after Mr. Smith's arrival at Hyderabad, the permission for audience was granted. But here arose a little difficulty. Mr. Smith was given to understand that the Mirs would sit on the *Miswad* or throne, considerably elevated from the ground. He therefore deemed it proper that he should have a chair to sit upon. He also insisted that the three Mirs should rise from their seats on the entrance of the Mission. The stipulation regarding the chair was however withdrawn on learning that the Mirs usually sat on a carpet, not more than two inches above the ground. As for the Mirs standing up a compromise was effected by Wali Mohamad Khan, one of the trusted ministers of the Mirs, by which the Mirs were to "stand up on the first appearance of the envoy and remain in that position till he had advanced to the spot at which he was to be seated, on the right hand of the Umeers; and that they were to observe an equal token of respect when we took our leave." The next day, escorted by Alihund Mohamad Buka Khan the Mission went to the Hyderabad fort, the roads, the tops of the houses, fortification, etc. all being covered by curious and applauding humanity. Inside the fort, the path was lined on both sides by fierce-looking matchlock men and the residents of the fort. Making their way with difficulty through the vast crowd, Mr. Smith and others entered the place where the audience was to take place. After dismounting and putting off their shoes the Englishmen advanced and the Mirs stood up to receive them. The audience hall was soon filled by a mass of attendants, matchlock men and swordsmen who unceremoniously crowded everywhere and some of them placed their feet on the scabbards of the swords and the skirts of the coats of the Englishmen. It is difficult to guess whether this was done designedly or by accident. Pottinger however felt that all this was intentionally done, the Mirs fearing treachery. In fact before this meeting they had suggested that the members of the Mission be disarmed before entering the Audience Hall. This, Mr. Smith, flatly refused to do. The first audience was merely an audience of ceremony, where compliments and expressions of politeness were exchanged. The members of the Mission were favourably impressed with the jewels the Mirs wore, the costly swords and daggers they carried, the rich carpets, the embroidered pillows, the general personality of the three Mirs. "The general splendour and richness of the scene" wrote one of the members of the Mission, "far surpassed anything we had expected to see at the court of Hyderabad." A few days after this introductory interview the Mission had another audience

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"at which everything was conducted with utmost regularity and comfort." At the end of the second audience, Mr. Smith had a private interview, the Mirs left aside their tone of imperious superiority and listened to Mr. Smith who explained to them that the objects of the Mission were to annul Mr. David Seton's agreement which had been concluded in the previous year and to enter into a new treaty with the Sind Government. The Mirs willingly assented and deputed three of their trusted officials namely (1) Wali Mahomed Khan, (2) Akhund Buka Khan and (3) Mushtak Ram, to conduct on their behalf the consideration of the various matters pertaining the proposed treaty. The results of these discussions were quite satisfactory to both the parties and on 22nd August 1809, the following treaty of four articles was concluded with the Sind Government:—

Treaty with the Ameers of Sindh, August 22nd, 1809.

ARTICLE 1.

THERE shall be eternal friendship, between the British Government, namely Meer Gholam Ali, Meer Aslam Ali, and Meer Morad Ali.

ARTICLE 2.

Enmity shall never appear between the two States.

ARTICLE 3.

The mutual despatch of the Vakeels of both Governments, namely the British Government and Sindhian Government, shall always continue.

ARTICLE 4.

The Government of Sindh will not allow the establishment of the tribe of the French in Sind.

WRITTEN on the 10th of the month of Rujeeb-ool-Moorjib in the year of the Hegir, 1224, corresponding with the 22nd of August 1809.

The Mirs sent Mirza Muzahar, as their Envoy, to Calcutta and the **treaty** was ratified by the Governor-general at Fort St. George, on the 10th November 1809 [10].

[10] Aitchison, *op. cit.*, Vol. VII, pp. 20-21.

Mr. N. H. Smith and the other members of the 1809 Mission now took leave of the Mirs of Hyderabad and embarked on the *jumptees* for the return journey and reached Bombay at the end of October 1809 [11].

In 1811, Mir Ghulam Ali Khan died on account of a wound caused by a wounded buck grazing the Mir's foot with its horn. Of the *Char Yar* only two remained—Mir Karam Ali Khan and Mir Murad Ali Khan. Mir Karam Ali Khan was a genial sort of person during whose reign prosody was more popular than politics. Though known as *Rais* or Chief, yet the administration of the country was mainly carried on by his brother Mir Murad Ali Khan.

After concluding a treaty with the Rao of Cutch in 1816, the power of the British Government had been steadily rising in Cutch [12]. As Sind borders Cutch, the British Government deemed it politic to renew the treaty with Sind in 1820. An opportunity came along in 1820 for negotiating a new treaty, when the soldiers of the Mirs of Hyderabad, attacked by way of retaliation, the British force, which while pursuing a band of plunderers of the *Thosa* tribe on the eastern border of Sind, had fallen on a party of Sindian soldiers, by mistake. Taking advantage of this incident, the Bombay Government demanded satisfaction from the Mirs "for the unwarrantable acts of hostility committed by the rulers of Sind" [13]. A Mission consisting of Captain Sadlier, Mr. W. Simon, Dr. Hall and Major Wood House was despatched to Sind, to conclude a fresh treaty with the Mirs of Sind [14]. These four gentlemen were hospitably received and the following treaty was concluded with Mir Karam Ali Khan and Mir Murad Ali Khan, on 9th November 1820.

Treaty between the Honourable East India Company on the one hand and the Amciers of Sindh on the other, November 9th, 1820.

THE British Government and the Government of Sindh having in view to guard against the occurrence of frontier disputes, and to strengthen the friendship already subsisting between the two States, Mir Ismael Shah invested with full power to treat with

[11] The account of the Mission of 1808 is mainly taken from Pottinger, *Travels to Beloochistan and Sindh*, p. 331 and 332.

[12] Burnes, J., *Visit to the Court of Sindh*, p. 194.

[13] Malcolm, *The Political History of India*, Vol. I, p. 548.

[14] Eastwick, *Speeches on the Sindh Question*, p. 74.

the Honourable the Governor of Bombay, and the following articles were agreed on between the two parties :—

ARTICLE 1.

There shall be perpetual friendship between the British Government on the one hand and Meer Kurreem Ali and Meer Murad Ali on the other.

ARTICLE 2.

Mutual intercourse by means of vakeels shall always continue between the two governments.

ARTICLE 3.

The Ameers of Sindh engage not to permit *any European or American to settle in their dominion*. If any of the subjects of either of the two States should establish their residence in the dominion of the other, and should conduct themselves in an orderly and peaceable manner in the territory to which they may emigrate, they will be allowed to remain in that situation; but if such fugitives shall be guilty of any disturbance or commotion, it will be incumbent on the local authority to take the offenders into custody and punish or compel them to quit the country.

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The Ameers of Sindh engage to restrain the depredations of the Khoosas and all other tribes and individuals within their limits, and to prevent the occurrence of any inroad into the British dominions.

(Sd.) M. ELPHINSTONE.

Bombay, 9th November, 1820.

IN the name of the Merciful God. This is the Treaty which I, Meer Ismael Shah, Vakeel of Shah Meer Kureem Ali Khan Rookn-ood, Dowla and Meer Shah Murad Ali Khan Ameer-ood-Dowla, concluded with Mr. Elphinstone, Governor of the populous

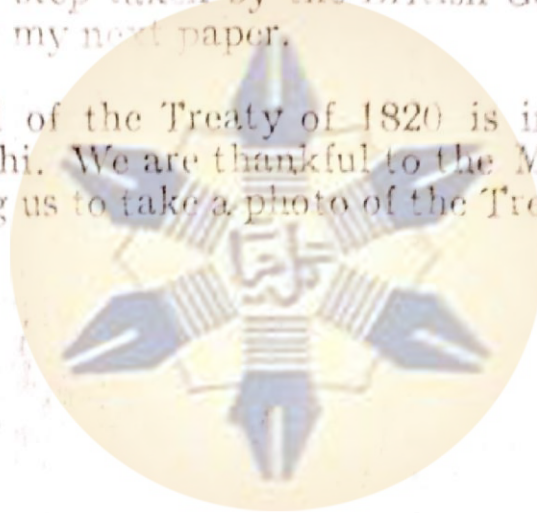
port of Bombay, in the month of Suffer 1236 He-
gira. If it pleases God, there will be no difference
to a hairs breadth.

Seal of
Ismael Shah.

This treaty was aproved of by the Supreme Government
and ratified on the 10th February 1821 [15].

A study of these three treaties shows that they are all of a
political nature and were entered unto with the Sind Govern-
ment to safeguard the interests of the British Government in
India against the French, the Americans and other Western
powers. From treaties of political nature to commercial trea-
ties was the next step taken by the British Government—but
I am anticipating my next paper.

[The original of the Treaty of 1820 is in the Victoria
Muséum at Karachi. We are thankful to the Municipal Corpo-
ration for allowing us to take a photo of the Treaty.]



Gul Hayat Institute

[15] Atchison, op. cit. pp. 352-353.

CHRISTIANITY IN SIND AND BALUCHISTAN, FROM THE PORTUGUESE INVASIONS TO THE BRITISH CONQUEST.

BY FR. ACHILLES MEERSMAN, O.F.M.

J.H.S. P. No. 4

V-11/Dec-38

Daily 4-10-11
1.6.11 to 8.11.11
21.11.11 to 12.12.11

The theme which we have chosen as the subject of this paper is one, which, as far as we have been able to ascertain, has never been attempted before. Several histories of the Archdiocese of Bombay, to which Sind and Baluchistan practically and theoretically belonged up to the year 1934, have been written, but they fail to give anything about the Catholic Church in these regions before the British conquest. Father E. Hull, who has compiled the best history of the Bombay Archdiocese merely states: "Previous to this date (1842) we have found no ecclesiastical record, except that the Carmelites at one time had a station at Tatta." (1) Father A. Vāth, who wrote more a contemporary history of the Bombay Archdiocese, but who gives many details from off the Portuguese times says nothing about the Catholics in Sind and Baluchistan before the British occupation. (2) We therefore feel justified in attempting this subject, and co-ordinating what we have found in the course of our studies. We are, however, aware that the result is not as finished as could be wished, but we hope that another will come forward to perfect and complete it.

Many historians have claimed that the chief motives that led Portugal to come to India and endeavour to conquer it, were of a purely religious nature. There is no doubt that this statement is partly true. They wished to propagate Christianity, and also liberate the Christians, who, according to the reports current in the Europe of those days, were being oppressed by the Mohammedans in the East. (3) But these religious motives were not the only ones. There were others of a political and commercial nature. The Mohammedans had so long dominated great parts of Europe, and now that part of East Europe, and the Iberian Peninsular, had thrown off the yoke of Islam, they wished, so to speak, to get back at them. At the same time they wished to wrest from their hands the commerce which had enriched them and had partly enabled them to carry on their wars. They sought therefore to attack the Mohammedans from behind and in their own country.

To these two last motives, rather than to the first one, we can reduce the first invasion of the Indus valley by the Portuguese. Nuno Da Cunha, at that time viceroy of India (4), was anxious to capture Diu, and erect a fort at that strategical point. Several times Diu was attacked by the Portuguese, but every time they were repulsed. In 1534, however, the King of Cambay, whose territories were being invaded by

- (1) E. R. Hull, S. J., *Bombay Mission History* Vol. II, Bombay (1930) 364.
- (2) A. Vath, S. J., *La Mission de Bombay*, translated from the German Original by J. Montserrat, S. J., Barcelona, 1924.
- (3) G. Goyau, *Missions et Missionnaires*, Paris, 1931, 43.
- (4) Nuno da Cunha was the ninth Viceroy of India. He governed from 1529 to 1538 in which year he died. *Tcfr. O Oriente Portuguez*, II (1905) 435.

the Mogul armies, wished to secure the assistance of the Portuguese, and for this reason allowed them to build a fort at Diu.

At this time the Moguls had occupied the fort Varivene on the river Indus, which belonged to the King of Cambay. In 1535, in consequence of the treaty between the Portuguese crown and the King of Cambay, Vasco Pires de Sampayo was despatched to recover the fort, which he actually did, and handed it over to one of the King of Cambay's men, with instruction to put it once more in state of defence (5). In this way the Portuguese had been able to help against the Moguls, the great Mohammedan Power in India, and gain some control over the commerce coming through the Persian Gulf.

The second time we hear of a Portuguese invasion of the Indus Valley was when Pedro Barreto Rolin in 1556 came to the assistance of Mirza Isa Tarkan ruler of Tatta. Mirza Isa Tarkan desirous of chastising Sultan Muhammad of Bakkar in upper Sind, had sent for help from the Portuguese of Bassein. The Portuguese promised the requested assistance, and in due course Barreto Rolin was despatched to Tatta. On his arrival he was asked by Isa's son, Mirahan Baba, a boy of twelve who in the absence of his father was governing Tatta with his tutors, to wait for orders from his father, who already had departed for Bakkar.

In the meantime Isa and Sultan Muhammad came to terms and the fort at Bakkar was handed over to Isa. Isa however did not hurry back to the Portuguese to defray the expenses they had incurred in coming up. He simply left them wait.

This waiting had a very bad effect on Barreto Rolin's troops. The soldiers were getting out of hand, and they planned to pillage. They had already resolved to attack Tatta when the following took place. A Portuguese soldier refused to pay for a few small items he had taken from a Sindhi Merchant who had gone to the Portuguese camp to trade. The Portuguese soldier even went so far as to strike him. During the night a party of Tatta-citizens, in order to avenge this treatment, began to bombard the Portuguese Fleet. The following day Tatta was attacked and razed to the ground, and both sides of the Indus for miles pillaged. This inglorious feat need not be described in detail here. It is too well known. (6) Even though the Portuguese had not been

(5) Fernão Lopez de Castanheda, *Historia do descobrimento e conquista da India pelos Portuguezes*, Lisboa, 1561. We have used the edition Lisboa, 1833, Vol. VIII, cap CVII, 256-8; Fr. João de Barros, *Dos feitos que os Portuguezes fizeram no descobrimento e conquista dos Mares e Terras do Oriente*, Lisboa, 1777, D. IV, P. II, Vol. VIII 84-9; F. C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, London, 1894, I, 406-8.

(6) *Da Asia de Diogo de Couto*, Lisboa, 1787, D. VII, P. I, Vol. XVI, 270-84; F. C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, l.c., I, 508. When Mr. A. B. Advani, B.A., LL.B. visited Goa, he discovered Sindhi tiles in the Bom Jesus Church built in 1594 by the Jesuits. He states that these had formed part of Barreto Rolin's Booty: "These tiles in the church of Goa are a distinct proof of Portuguese Vandalism of 1555." Cf. A. B. Advani, *The Sack of Thatta*, *The Young Builder*, July 1932, 22. We cannot agree with this statement of our illustrious friend. We possess no list of what the Portuguese took along from Tatta, and then to wait from 1556 to 1594 to utilise these tiles seems rather a long time. Further it would have been possible for the Jesuits to have obtained them in another manner and at another time.

fairly treated and the attack by a party of Tatta-citizens had probably gloated them on to more cruelty, even though we may take into consideration the war-methods and the treatment allotted to the conquered in those days, we cannot do anything else but condemn the cruel and unchristian massacre, the general destruction to which they submitted Tatta and all the surrounding country.

These are the two invasions we read about in history. Later the Portuguese built their factories in Sind and began trading. Just when this took place we have been unable to discover. We know that Akbar in the beginning was not overfriendly towards the Portuguese. He had even protected the harbour, the Bandar of Tatta, and promoted its shipping to draw away from Diu, the Portuguese harbour, the monopoly of cotton, indigo and opium they possessed there. (7) Later he became more friendly, and eventually towards the end of the sixteenth century, probably between 1580 when he invited Catholic priests to his court and 1600, the Portuguese opened their trading ports at Tatta or Tatta's harbour, Lahri Bandar, or Diulsind, as the Portuguese in those days termed it.

Definite dates as to their establishment in Sind we have been unable to discover as we have said above, but we know that around the year 1600 the way through Sind way up to the Mogul court was open to the Portuguese. In those days a group of Portuguese seem to have been in the habit of wintering in Sind (8).

From the establishment of their factory in Sind, their influence seems to have grown, so much so that when Ruy Freire about the year 1623 was besieging Ormuz, he sent a ship to Sind in order to obtain provisions and to warn the ministers of the Mogul not to send any ships to Persia, under pain that they would otherwise be seized (9). Trade in these days was also very brisk. Antonio Bocarro, who finished his Description of India in 1635, tells us that in 1633 in one season 21 ships had gathered at Sind's harbour (10).

So far we have only spoken about the coming of the Portuguese to Sind. We will now go over to the question whether any Catholic priests established themselves in the Indus-valley. About the priests who as naval chaplains accompanied the Portuguese on their expeditions to Sind, we will not speak. ✓

The first Catholic priests to reside permanently in Sind were the Italian discalced Carmelites. In 1613 Father Joannes a Jesu Maria sent Father Ludovicus Franciscus a Matre Dei from Persia to found a house

(7) Note by H. Hosten, S. J., The Examiner Vol. LXX, 1919, 408.

(8) Cfr. Letter of Fr. N. Pirvonta, S. J., dd. Goa 1, Dec. 1600. Published in The Examiner, Vol. LXX, 1919, 407-8.

(9) J. A. Ismael Gracias, A. India em 1623-1624, Excerptos das memorias do Viajante Italiano Pietro della Valle, O Oriente Portuguez, II (1905) 3.

(10) Antonio Bocarro's Description of India was published by A. B. de Braganca Pereira in: Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, Vol. II, Parte I, Eastern (Goa), 1937. Cfr. page 98.

at Tatta (11). How many priests or brothers accompanied him we do not know, neither do we know the names of any of his companions or early successors. The only one we know anything about is the Blessed Brother Redemptus.

Blessed Brother Redemptus was born about the year 1598 in Portugal and when still quite young came to India and joined the Portuguese army. Later he abandoned the army and resolved to join a religious order. He entered the order of Discalced Carmelites at Tatta and made his noviciate there. Which year he joined and how long he remained in Sind is unknown. Later he was sent to Diu and Goa, in which last mentioned place we meet him in 1631. In 1638 he was sent to Achim in North Sumatra together with Blessed Dionysius a Nativitate O.C.D. Manoel do Desterro, O.F.M., Francisco da Conceicao, O.F.M. and a group of Portuguese (12), where the 29th of November 1638 he was martyred with his companions before a vast multitude of natives and English and Dutch traders. He was beatified by Pope Leo XIII in the year 1900 (13).

The second Order to establish itself in Sind was that of the Augustinian Friars. They came after the year 1623. This we deduce from a memorial written by the Augustinian Friar Simon da Graca about the year 1680, in which he gives a list of the Augustinian houses, superiors etc. in India. He says: "Fr. João da Rocha succeeded (as Superior of the Augustinian Friars in India) Fr. Diogo de Sant'Anna in 1623, founded the Monastery at Bassora and the Vicariates of Sind and the Seminary (of the Augustinians) at Goa" (14). Whom he sent, and who were the first Augustinian Fathers in Sind we do not know. They must have all been Portuguese, since they came from Goa and their house belonged to the Diocese of Goa (15).

But where did the Augustinians fix their residence? The Carmelites, as we have seen, settled at Tatta. The Augustinians seem to have built their house at Lahri Bandar. At least we know that in 1635 there

- (11) *Elisée de la Nativité C. D., Les Missions des Carmes-Déchaussés, Extract from the Etudes Carmelitaines, 1830, 27. Berthold Ignace de Saint Anne, Histoire de l'établissement de la Mission de Perse par les Pères Carmes-Déchaussés, Bruxelles (1885) to which the translator and editor of Manucci refers (Vol. I, 324) gives only that the Carmelites had a residence at Tatta in 1613 (p. 364). These references we have obtained through the kindness of our confrat Fr. Egfried Stokman, O.F.M. of Louvain. M. Mullbauer, Geschichte der Katholischen Missionen in Ost-indien, Freiburg i. B., 1852, 247 gives 1615 as date of the establishment of the Carmelites at Tatta. C. C. de Nazareth, Mitras Lusitanas no Oriente, 2nd. Ed., Lisboa, 1894, 122 says that Fr. Basilius a S. Francisco, a Portuguese, founded the house of the Carmelites at Tatta.*
- (12) Jacinto De Deos, O.F.M., *Vergel de Plantas e Flores da Provincia da Madre de Deos, Lisboa, 1690, 446.*
- (13) *Henricus a S. Familia O.C.D., Leven van den Zaligen Vader Dionysius a Nativitate en van den Zaligen Redemptus a Cruce, Yper-Amsterdam, (1900) 96ss.; P. Spardione di Maria Immacolata, O.C.D., Vita dei Beati Martiri P. Dionisio della Nativita e P. Redento della Croce, Carmelitani Scalzi, Milano, 1900, 163-4.*
- (14) *Memorial do Convento de Santo Agostinho de Goa, published by J. M. do Carmo Nazareth, O. Oriente Portuguez, IV (1907) 350.*
- (15) "The Vicariate of Synde, in the harbour of Synde near the Indus. Belongs to the Diocese of Goa." *Notes on the Augustinians in India. Cfr. The Examiner, 1809, 488.*

were priests at that place. The Third of December 1635 the English man Fremelen arrived at Lahri Bandar. In the town, he says, a Portuguese Factor dwell in a decent house, whereas three or four padries had poor dwellings "to exercise their devotions in." (16)

Further we have the following quotation from Antonio Bocarro's work regarding the places the Carmelites and the Augustinians chose. "We have in the said Big City of Sind (17) a church of the Carmelites, well arranged and in good repair, which although it does not convert any of the natives, because nobody becomes Christian in that country, except when we take him outside, because then it is easy, anyhow is of great help to the Portuguese and other Christians and their vassals, because married Portuguese have lived and live in said city and ordinarily about 15 or 16 Portuguese winter above, when there is no navigation, and about the same number down below in the harbour—the said church with two Carmelite Fathers is sustained by alms of the Portuguese, with which they are able to live quite well in the Harbour down below, where the custom-house is, we have a church in which two Augustinian Religious live, to whom His Majesty pays a salary (18), but their chief maintenance comes from the alms of the Portuguese, although they do not give to them with the same generosity as to the Carmelites" (19).

Regarding the place where the Augustinians lived, Bocarro say literally "No bandel de baxo." Bandel is not a pure Portuguese word. Bandel must have had something to do with Bandar, and here Lahri Bandar must have been meant (20). We therefore conclude, taking into consideration the testimony of Fremelen that the Catholic priests at Lahri Bandar must have been Augustinians, although his number does not agree with that of Bocarro. But Bocarro mentioning only two might have made a mistake, since in the documents published in a second volume as a kind of commentary to Bocarro we find that there were three Augustinian Friars in Sind (21).

That the Augustinian Friars possessed a house at Lahri Bandar is further clear from the "Travels of Fr. Sebastian Manrique." In 1641 the Augustinian Friar Sebastian Manrique came to Sind with permission to rebuild the churches and residences which had been destroyed by order of Shah Jahan. In these days Shah Jahan was very much embittered against the Portuguese, especially against those at Hubli. In 1632-33, by his order, Hubli was attacked and razed to the ground by Kasim Khan. Four priests, amongst whom two Augustinians and

- (16) This was taken from Foster, The English Factories in India and quoted by A. B. Advani, The Early British Traders in Sind, Journal of the Sind Historical Society (J. S. H. S.), Vol. I, Part I, 43.
 (17) Here Tatta is meant. Fr. Sebastian Manrique, about whom more will be said further on, calls Tatta simply "The Metropolitan City of the Kingdom of Sind." II, 236.
 (18) The reason why these Fathers received a salary from the Portuguese Crown was that they belonged to the Padroado, whereas the Carmelites belonged to the Propaganda.
 (19) Antonio Bocarro, l.c., 98-9.
 (20) N. M. Billimoria, Disind, The old Port of Tatta, J.S.H.S., Vol. I, Part I, 10.
 (21) Archivo Oriental Portugues, Tomo IV, Part II, 60: "No Sinda tem hum convento com tres Friades."

4,000 christians were taken prisoners and brought to his court. He further ordered all incompletely destroyed Hindu temples to be entirely demolished, and finally ordered the Churches of the Jesuits at Lahore and Agra (22) to be closed, and those of the Augustinians in Sind to be destroyed. Some have said that at this time, after the death of his wife in 1631, Shah Jahan was suffering from qualms of conscience that he had allowed religions other than Islam to flourish in his realms.

The real reason why Fr. Sebastian Manrique came to the Mogul Empire was to see whether it would not be possible to effect the release of his confriar Antonio de Cristo, who had been taken prisoner at Hubli and was still in captivity. When at the Mogul court Manrique became a great friend of Asof Khan, Shah Jahan's father-in-law, and through his influence before the Emperor was able to free his confriar. Through this influence he also obtained permission to reconstruct the churches in Sind. "I also carried out what had never even entered my head as being wholly out of the questions. But encouraged by the breezes of his friendship, I took advantage of the occasion and so obtained an ample forman over the imperial seal, granting permission for the reconstruction in the Principality of Sind of our churches and residencies, which the Emperor Corrombo had himself a few years earlier ordered to be razed to the ground and destroyed." (23).

But Manrique came to Sind not so much to visit his brethren as to carry out certain negotiations imposed upon him by Asof Khan: "Finally after carrying out the Fathers' liberation (Fr. Antonio de Cristo) I found that I had to visit Sind, not so much in order to carry the forman into effect as it would have sufficed to make it over to the brethren there, as because Prince Asoffo Khan had intimated his wish that I should personally undertake certain negotiations and business which he had to carry out with the Viceroy of India in connection with the Portuguese who lived in the factory there. As it was very important to give him an interest in looking after and safeguarding the Christianities in that Empire, I decided to undertake the journey, although it would deflect me from my route for six or seven months." (24)

Fr. Manrique having made all his preparations for his voyage left Lahore August the 10th 1641. The 11th of September he arrived at Bakkar and the 21st of the same month he landed at Tatta. He did not remain long at Tatta, but proceeded to Lahri Bandar: "As soon as I had repaid this necessary obligation I went to the Bandel, two days' journey away, to visit Fr. Jorge de la Natividad who was at that time superior of the mission. I told him about the formon I had brought regarding the rebuilding of that church. We then both returned to Tata to arrange with the Nababo about carrying this out. When I had set-

(22) Cfr. Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique. 1629-1643. A Translation of the Itinerario de las Misiones Orientales with introduction and notes by Lt. Col. C. Eckford Luard, C.I.E., M.A., assisted by H. Hosten S. J., Oxford, 1927 Vol. II, 152; Si Edward MacLagan, The Jesuits and the Great Mogul, London, 1932.

(23) Fr. Sebastian Manrique, l.c., II., 211.

(24) Fr. Sebastian Manrique, l.c., II, 212.

tioned this and seen also the erection of the church commenced, I took steps after completing the business which had been entrusted to me, to return to Laor." (25)

This is all Fr. Manrique tells us about the Augustinians in Sind. It is strange and much to be lamented that he does not mention the Carmelites nor tell us whether their churches had been destroyed, and whether they also had obtained permission to re-erect them.

On his way back Fr. Manrique did not proceed up the Indus river. He chose the Land route: Hyderabad, Mirpurkhas, Khipro, Ranahu, Jaisalmer and then up to Multan. (26) The following year he returned to Europe. On his way thither he crossed over from Multan, through Baluchistan on to Kandahar, and followed the route: Multan, Duki, Quetta, Pishin, then through the Kojak Pass to Kandahar (27).

What Manrique has told us about the Augustinians at Lahri Bandar is the last we know about these Fathers in Sind. Regarding the Carmelites we have been able to find a few items of interest. This we owe to that indefatigable traveller and chronologer Manucci.

In 1655 we find Manucci in Sind. He arrived at a port which the editor of Manucci's Travels identifies with Lahri Bandar. Then he journeyed up the river to an inhabited place which stood twelve hours' journey from the sea: "In the town were three small factories, one English, another Dutch and another Portuguese. A bare-footed Carmelite Father also dwelt there in his little hermitage (28)." He then continued his journey to Tatta. About the Carmelites in this city he says nothing. Had the Carmelites in those days already abandoned Tatta?

Manucci supplies us with a second item of interest regarding the Carmelites in Sind. He tells us about an interview which Prince Dara, who was fleeing from Aurangzeb, had about the 23rd of October 1658 with the Carmelite father at Bakkar: "There happened to be there (Bakkar) a bare-footed Carmelite monk, Frey Pedro de Santa Tereza by name, Flemish by race, whom I had met in the city of Espão (Ispahan, Persia). He was a man of much virtue and learning, well acquainted with the Arabic, Persian, and Indian languages. Hearing about this man Dara sent for him, and had divers conversations with him on the Gospel and the Articles of our Faith. After listening to his arguments, he became for a time thoughtful, then raising his hands to heaven, he said: If there is any true faith in the world I believe it to be that of the Catholics. For many a time I have talked about it to different Roman Padris from different countries, and it always came out the same with-

(25) Fr. Sebastian Manrique, l.c., II, 237-8.

(26) Fr. Sebastian Manrique, l.c., II, 231.

(27) Fr. Sebastian Manrique, l.c., II, 253-9, 365.

(28) Storia de Mogor, Vol. II, 1653-1708, by Niccolao Manucci, Venetian, Translated with introduction and notes by Major-General Sir John Malcolm, London 1845, Vol. I 84-89.

out the slightest difference. This is not so with other religions, such as those of the Hebrews, Hindus and Mohammedans, in which I have found many variations. Turning towards the Friar he said to him: Father, I pray Jesus, who is the Messiah, to make me King, and I give you my word, I will issue orders for the erection, in Agra city, of a temple to Her Majesty (Hazrat) Bibi Mariyam—that is to say the Holy Lady Mary—and furthermore I will permit the Fathers to build churches and preach the Gospel freely throughout my Empire." (29)

About this time we must place the visit of two Jesuit Fathers to Sind. Father Grueber who was on his way from China to Rome arrived at Agra. Here Father Roth was appointed to accompany him farther. Together then they departed from Agra, reached Lahore and Multan, passed through Sind and Persia, and finally reached Rome in 1664 (30).

To return to the Carmelite Fathers, we must confess that we have not discovered anything more about them. The question now arises: When did they leave Sind? Mullbauer states that they left somewhere before 1712 (31). Manucci says that the Carmelite Father whom he had met between Lahri Bandar and Tatta in 1655 was not there any more in 1698-99 (32). At this time there were no Carmelites at Tatta either. Captain Alexander Hamilton, who visited the place in 1699, says: "The Portuguese had formerly a church at the East end of the city. The house is still entire, and in the vestry are some old pictures and some holy vestments, which they desired to sell; but I was no merchant for such bargains" (33). From this we deduce that the Carmelites had left Tatta a number of years before 1699.

Certain it is that by the year 1703 there were no Carmelites in Sind at all, neither in Backar, neither anywhere else. In 1703 Fr. Leandro de São Francisco, O.C.D., writes that in the mission of the Great Mogul, which as he says, extended from Sind to Bengal, only one Carmelite was working, namely Fr. João de Santa Maria, and that at the time he was working at the "Arreal do dito Mogor" at the chief city of the said Mogul, which must be Agra or Delhi.

The reason why they left must be sought in the fact that they suffered from lack of men, and also in the difficulties they encountered. Fr. Leandro tells us that Fr. João had to work secretly. He even speaks about two Frenchmen, who had become Mohammedans and were attached to the Mogul Army, when they wished to return to Christianity, were obliged to be smuggled away by him and brought to Goa. (34). Still we must not deduce from this that the Carmelites in the course

(29) Manucci, l.c., I, 324.

(30) MacLagan, l.c., 110.

(31) Mullbauer, l.c., 347.

(32) Manucci, l.c., I, 60.

(33) Quoted by J. W. Smyth, Gazetteer of the Province of Sind, B Vol. I, Karachi District, 111.

(34) Cfr. Report of Fr. Leandro de São Francisco, O.C.D., to the King of Portugal, dd. 16 Jan. 1703, MS public Archives of Goa, Livro de Monções, 66, 325.

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of their stay in Sind did not make any conversations at all. We have quoted above from Bocarro that the Carmelites did not make any conversions or at least very few, in his time. Later they seem to have worked with more success. It is reported that at one time the Carmelites baptized 400 a year at Tatta alone. (35) In which year we must place this we do not know.

The last reference to visits of Catholic priests to Sind is the following: "The Christian Community of Lahore consisted mainly of soldiers in the Army. The bulk of the Christian artillery men were however deported by Ahmed Shah Abdalli in 1752 to Kabul and there was no resident to minister to those left at Lahore. But a father (Jesuit) went there twice a year, and extended his journey to Multan, Bhakkar, Kabul and even Quandahar" (36) Who the Jesuit Fathers were who in those days visited Sind we do not know. At any rate they could not have made their semi-annual visits very frequently. In 1759 the Jesuits were banished from all Portuguese territory, and in 1773 the Society suppressed. (37).

After this we hear nothing about Catholic priests in Sind until about the year 1840 when the discalced Carmelites returned after the British conquest.

When we already had sent this article to the press we came across the following. In the year 1901 two Armenian inscriptions were discovered in the Ush Narai or Camel's Pass, about two miles from Kach. Two of these inscriptions are dated 1606 and 1618 A.D. We know from historians that Tahmasp (1524-1576) and Shah Abbas (1584-1629) ravaged Georgia and Armenia. Tahmasp in 1547 and Abbas in 1600, 1603 and 1618. A large number of Armenians were deported to various parts of the Persian Empire, even to Afghanistan. Further in these years the Armenians carried on a brisk trade, through Persia, with the Moghul Empire. These inscriptions are probably of passing traders, since there is no trace of any Armenian colonies, otherwise they must have disappeared in the local Barahui and Baloch tribes. It is of interest that at Kabul an Armenian colony, established in the reigns of Tahmasp and Shah Abbas, has survived up to the time of Sher Ali Khan. They had preserved Christianity and lived in the Bala Hisar near Shah Shahid gate, but are said to have been banished by the late Amir Abdur Rahman. (38).

(35) J. Schmidlin, *Katholische Missions-Geschichte*, Steyl (1924) 386, 4.

(36) MacLagan l.c., 192.

(37) H. Heras S. J., *The Jesuits in Afghanistan*, *The New Review*, I (1935) 153

(38) Baluchistan District Gazetteer Series, Vol. III, Sibi District, compiled by Major A. McConaghey assisted by Rai Sahib Diwan Jamiat Rai, Bombay, 1907, 34-6

SOME EUROPEAN ADVENTURERS IN SIND.

BY

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J.S.H.S
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Across the pages of Sind History with its hordes of Arab, Moghul, Afghan and Hindu personalities who figure therein, flit occasionally the names of Niccolao Manucci, Charles Masson, James Howell, Hest and other Europeans whose names are obliterated by the dust of Time. Like faded leaves of old forgotten books and records, they lie unknown and forgotten in the limbo of the Past except perhaps by some curious student of Sind History, poring over musty and moth-eaten files and documents in some neglected archives, the repositories of much valuable information about the Past.

Though in Northern as well as Southern India, the European adventurers crowded round the flag of the Moghul Emperor, or Tipoo Sultan, or Maharaja Runjeetsing, yet very few of them drifted to the Unhappy Valley of the Indus. Perhaps Sind offered few temptations to these Soldiers of Fortune. This paper deals with some of those European adventurers, who either passed through Sind, or remained here for a while and then pushed forward to

Fresh Fields and Pastures New.

No doubt there must have been European adventurers in Sind before Niccolao Manucci with whom this paper starts, but the information about them is so scanty and unreliable that we do not consider it proper to mention them. Perhaps a patient and long research work in the Portuguese and Dutch archives will throw some light on the adventurers of those nations who came to Sind in the distant past.

NICCOLAO MANUCCI.

Manucci's "*Storia Do Mogor*" in four volumes, is a mine of information and gives a detailed account of this Italian adventurer's life. Manucci was born in 1639 and at the age of fourteen having "a passionate desire to see the world, but as my father would not allow me to leave Venice, my native place, I resolved to quit it in some way or another." (1). In 1653 he secretly boarded a ship bound for Smyrna and attaching himself to Viscount Bellomont, an English nobleman, then on his way to Persia and India, he followed him through Asia Minor, Persia and finally India, meeting with several adventures on the way. Both Bellomont and Manucci remained at Surat for about four months, from January to April 1656, and then left for the Imperial Court at Delhi. On the way, at Hodal, Bellomont died and Manucci was left all alone to shift for himself as best as he could. But he was a youth of considerable resource and with the help of a Frenchman—Clodio Malier and Dara Shikoh's secretary, Wazir Khan, he soon found employment as an artilleryman in the service of Prince Dara. At this time, at the Moghul court, any foreigner who could handle or boast of knowing a gun, at once found favour in the royal eyes, there being a craze for employing Europeans in the Moghul army. Manucci's salary

(1) A Pepys of *Mogul India*, being an Abridged Edition of the "*Storia Do Mogor*" of Niccolao Manucci, translated by ... and ...

was fixed at Rs. 80 per month and he was given a dress of honour and a horse. Soon after Shah Jahan fell ill and his four sons made preparations to seize the throne. It is outside the scope of this paper to deal with the wars and intrigues which took place after Shah Jahan's sickness. After sustaining a severe defeat at Samugarh, Dara fled to Agra and thence to Lahore, relentlessly pursued by Aurangzeb. Till Dara's death in 1659, Manucci followed his varying fortunes, refusing to transfer his allegiance and services to Aurangzeb. From Lahore to Multan and then to the mid-river island-fort of Bukhur, Dara fled, accompanied by Manucci. When Dara and his followers arrived opposite the fortress of Bukhur, word was received that Bahadur Khan—Aurangzeb's general had arrived quite near. Dara sent some 2,000 selected men, Pathans, Sayyuds, Moghuls, Rajputs, including some twenty-two Europeans of different nationalities to Bukhur to hold out against Aurangzeb's army. "When I knew of this order," writes Manucci, "I presented myself before Dara, and urgently besought him to take me along with him..... I renewed my application with protestations and entreaties added to tears, indications of the grief I felt at our separation, asking him to leave all the rest behind him and take me along with him.... I was overcome with tears and sighs at this parting, and, seeing the downcast state in which I was quitting the presence, he called me back. He then made me Captain of the Europeans, and ordered them to give me 5,000 rupees to divide among my men, and doubled my pay." Dara set out for the port of Sindri in the south-east of Sind and from there he sailed for Gujerat. The siege of Bukhur now began in earnest. The island of Bukhur, we learn, was 975 paces long and 553 broad. In the middle was a tower overlooking both the banks of the river. On the west lay Sukkur, on the east Rohri and towards the north there was the small island of Khawja Khizr. In the fortress there was plenty of artillery and munitions of war, besides a considerable quantity of gold, silver and precious stones. In haste, Dara had also left behind some ladies who had accompanied him, and his two grandsons. The attack began with two batteries mounted with cannon doing great damage. But Dara's artillery-men stoutly replied and under cover of their own artillery sallied forth, rushing into the enemy's trenches, killing and destroying all whom they found there.

The enemy found it impossible to overcome by force of arms such gallant foes. So they shot arrows in the fortress with letters attached to them in which the European artillery-men were invited to abandon the service of Dara. One night one of the arrows hit Manucci on the shoulder while he was sitting in his bastion. He took the arrow to the commandant of the fort who rewarded him for his fidelity. The siege went on and the besieged garrison were in sore straits. Food became so scarce that Manucci bought two calves for six hundred rupees, paid thirteen rupees for one chicken. An ounce of butter cost one rupee. Aurangzeb's governor—Khalilullah Khan made further overtures to the Bukhur garrison who got so enraged that it was decided to teach him a lesson. A letter was written to Khalilullah Khan by Primavera, the commandant of the Bukhur garrison that the desired agreement would be entered into if Khalilullah Khan himself came down from Lahore. Overjoyed at this outward weakening of the Bukhur force, Khalilullah Khan hurried down to Bukhur and sent a very civil letter to Primavera. This brave and loyal soldier ordered Manucci to load a cannon up to the very muzzle with horns, old shoes and such other rubbish. A letter was written to Khalilullah Khan to the following effect:—

"I hold few words with you, for I am greatly amazed at you. And I hope to supply your want, having been all your life a pimp and used to shoe-beatings from women. Herewith what you deserve, I offer you a present proportioned to your merits."

When it seemed that Khalilullah Khan must be reading the letter in his camp, Manucci was told to fire the canon, covering the enemy's tent with the charge it contained. For forty days more after this incident the siege went on. In the mean time Dara had been defeated and captured and was being taken up the river as a prisoner. Realizing that in all probability, the reduced garrison would come to a miserable end, Dara was persuaded to write to Primavera:—"Unfortunate in the one for whom you fought, I now request and require you to deliver up the place." This was a sad end and Primavera wept at seeing the letter. After getting an assurance for the safety of the garrison from Aurangzeb's army, the fort was surrendered. After fifteen days the Bukhur garrison embarked in some boats and voyaged up the river to Multan. Thus Manucci passed out of Sind. As we are not concerned with his further adventures, we will pass on to the next European adventurer.

CHARLES MASSON.

At the time (1826) when nothing or very little was known about Sind there appears on the scene, a dynamic personality in the shape of Charles Masson, the noted traveller, geographer, archaeologist and numismatist. Before Masson, no doubt Mr. Smith, Pottinger and others had come to Sind, voyaged up the classic river, the Indus, but they had not gone beyond Hyderabad. To Masson then we are indebted for a detailed account of Sind's social, economical and political aspects. He was a small man, not very sociable and with his grey eyes, red beard and the hair of his head close cut, he might easily have been mistaken for a German. (2) Masson let out that he was an American gentleman, belonging to the State of Kentucky, and that he had been absent for several years from his country. (3) But was he really an American, who filled with wanderlust, wandered through Sind, the Punjab, Afghanistan and Persia, always in native dress, gathering much curious lore, mainly archaeological and numismatical, and illuminating the history of these countries from the mists of oblivion? Sir Thomas Holdich tells us (4) that Masson dressed in Afghan clothes, in the role of Afghan traveller, but more or less ignorant of the Afghan language, wandered through Sind, Baluchistan, Afghanistan and other countries, "living with the people, partaking of their hospitality, studying their ways, joining their pursuits, discussing their politics....."

"He lived a strange life in those days. No one since his time has rubbed shoulders with Afghan and Baluch, intimately associating himself with all their simple and savage ways.... Absolutely penniless, yet meeting with a rough hospitality and real kindness now and then, and ever absorbing with a most marvellous power of digestion all that was useful in the way of information..... It was quite as often with the lowest of the gang as with the leaders that he found himself most intimately associated..

"Nothing seems to have come amiss to his inquiring mind. Archaeology, numismatics, botany, geology, and history.... It was all new, and an inexhaustible opportunity lay before him. He certainly made good use of it..... The route (which he crossed and re-crossed) is described with surprising exactitude, and it has only lately been possible to verify step by step the road he travelled. He could hardly have carried about volumes of notes with him."

(2) Grey, *European Adventurers in Northern India*, pp. 188 and 208.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 179.

(4) Holdich, *Gates of India*, p. 345, *et. seq.*

So much for the eulogism of Sir Thomas Holdich.

It has recently been proved that this extraordinary person was formerly a private in the 3rd troop 1st Brigade of the Bengal Artillery, his real name being James Lewis. He served with his troop at the siege of Bharatpur and shortly after deserted and went to the Punjab. (5) We have only to read about the condition of the soldiers employed in the service of the East India Company at this time, to realise why Private James Lewis alias Charles Masson deserted. At this period, military service in India was a life engagement and a man deserting from the Company's service was just like an escaped convict from any penal settlement. The pay of the Company's soldier was about 14 annas a day, to which were added rations and a free issue of two drams of rum per day. The soldiers were permitted a considerable amount of freedom off duty, and to make what female connexions they chose, without the ceremony of marriage, unless they married Europeans or Eurasians. Flogging for slightest offences was common, 800 lashes being a favourite number. The humiliating part of this punishment to the English soldiers was that this punishment was given in the presence of the native sepoys, who themselves after 1820, were exempted from it. There were besides public executions. Life in the barracks was hard and dismal. There were no canteens, no recreation rooms. The barracks were filthy and there being no *punkhas* which came into use after the Indian Mutiny, the poor Tommy had nothing to do but to curse his lot. The soldiers sought the *bazars* for the company of the lowest of female kind, and drowned their sorrows in alcoholic drinks of the strongest and deadliest variety. And a soldier could get gloriously drunk on four annas. The mortality from climatic conditions, hard life, disease and drink was appalling. (6) No wonder an educated person like Masson deserted and disguising himself as an Afghan traveller took to the unbeaten tracks in Sind, Baluchistan, Afghanistan and other countries. Masson's personal narrative starts in 1826 with these words:

"In the autumn of 1826, having traversed the Rajput States and the arid wastes of Bikanir, I entered the desert frontiers of Bahawalpur." (7)

We will now follow him and his adventures as narrated by himself in his book "*Narrative of Curious Journeys in Balochistan, etc.*"

In the beginning of 1829, Masson joined a caravan from Candhar and proceeded towards Shikarpur. He was badly in need of clothes, his old *poshtin* having become so full of rents, that every day for about three hours he was occupied in repairing it with variously coloured threads. The patched up garment presented a most singular and ludicrous sight. Besides, due to a toilsome trek of several marches, his shoes had got so worn out that they were fairly falling from his feet (8). After halting at Rojan a border town between Kalat and Sind, Masson reached Jagan where Kasim Shah, the governor of Shikarpur, happening to be there, met him and spoke nicely with him. From this place Masson left the *kafila* and travelled alone, going quietly from village to village, being well-treated by the villagers. After two or three days he reached Shikarpur where he stayed for few days, keenly observing this

(5) *Punjab Records*, Book No. 102, Letter No. 65, dated 24th September 1835, and quoted by Grey in "*European Adventurers in Northern India*," pp. 194-195.

(6) Grey, *op. cit.*, pp. 211 and ff.

(7) Masson, *Narrative of Various Journeys in Balochistan*, Vol. 1, p. 1.

(8) *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 36.

city, renowned for its wealth and Hindu bankers. As a city Shikarpur is indifferently constructed," he writes. "The bazar is extensive, with the principal parts rudely covered, so as to exclude or moderate the heat, which is extremely powerful. As usual in Indian cities, there is the inconvenience of narrow streets; nor is too much attention paid to cleanliness. It would seem, indeed, that filth and wealth are inseparable."

From Shikarpur, Masson went to Sukkur passing his first night in a mosque. The *mulla* brought him a supper of bread and *dhal* which Masson enjoyed heartily. Then he crossed the river Indus in a boat refusing to pay the passage fee of one *pais* on the plea of being a *Haji*, and went to Rohri about which he says, "The houses (of Rohri) have an antique and venerable appearance in the distance. The interior of the town is comparatively mean, and the bazar, while well-enough supplied with provisions, is very rudely composed." From Rohri, Masson went to Khairpur by foot. At that time Khairpur was ruled by Mir Sohrab Khan, whose residence was in the very centre of the bazar, occupying a large space and surrounded by castellated walls. Masson considered Khairpur to be a filthy place. "Looking at the stagnant marshes around it, and the extreme heat, (it) need not be wondered at. The same causes, however, impart a beautiful verdure to its groves of mangoe, mimosa, and other trees. The water drunk by the inhabitants has alike a bad repute; but the Mir has a small well within his wall, so much esteemed, that his relatives at Haidarabad are frequently supplied from it." After remaining for a month at Khairpur, enjoying the simple hospitality of one Mulla Hafiz who was in charge of a mosque Masson again took to the road, going back to Rohri, and after inquiring about the road he had to traverse and remembering the names of the villages he would meet on the way, he proceeded, frequently losing his way but invariably well received by the poor villagers. After some five or six days he reached the village of Matteli and as usual repaired to the mosque for rest and refreshments. The *pesh kidmat* or servitor obligingly lit up an excellent fire and brought him and two other travellers, "plenty of bread and *sagh* or vegetables boiled with *voghan*, and seasoned, the vegetables being spinach or *meti* (*jenugreeki*)." The two other travellers disdaining to eat such poor stuff, Masson sat down and made a good meal of it. From Matteli, to Pitah-Sahher, Mirpur and then while inquiring for a small village about 8 miles distant, Masson came across a man who rudely asked him if he was a robber, to whom Masson humorously replied that he himself was one. What followed next is best narrated by Masson himself:—

"A female standing by, invited me to her house, and when there told me to sit down while she prepared some bread and broiled fish for me. She was the handsomest woman I had seen in Sind, and very smartly attired. The women of Sind dress gaily, in bodices worked over with variously coloured silks in many patterns into which they frequently insert pieces of looking glass. My pretty hostess wore a red silk bodice, tastefully decorated in this manner, which set off her fine form to a great advantage. So agreeable a companion detained me the greater part of the day, although I was not conversant enough with the country dialect to hold much profitable conversation, yet I understood that she had desires unaccomplished and that she languished to become a mother. I moved on to another village."

Thus from village to village, Masson went on, blessing those credulous people, who took him to be saint, with much solemnity and giving a witty or sharp reply if

any one put awkward questions to him, till he passed out of Sind into Bahawalpur territory. Masson's journey to Lahore in 1829, was beset with very dangerous experiences. We learn that once on the way he was stripped of all his clothes by a band of wandering robbers, who would not even allow him to sit by their fire. Next morning a passing Moghul soldier saved his life by giving him some food and a ragged cloak. He covered at one time, by easy stages, a distance of 369 miles from Fazilpur to Lahore, possessing only two rupees. Of this great sum, we learn with almost envy, that Masson still had eight annas left in his pocket on his arrival at Lahore. Alas for the good old days, when travelling was so inexpensive and people so generous and hospitable! At Lahore General Jean Francois Allard who was then in Maharaja Runjeetsingh's employment, promised him military service. Masson politely declined the offer and quietly left Lahore for Sind. He reached Rohri safely and then after going to Khairpur, staying as a guest of Fateh Mahomed Ghori, the minister of the Khairpur Mir, he intended to go down to Hyderabad. Being informed that the direct route from Khairpur to Hyderabad was most dangerous at that point where the frontiers of the two territories unite, he went to Shikarpur, from where accompanied by a friendly Afghan, he proceeded towards Larkana, which was then governed by Nawab Wali Mahomed Laghari. At a distance of 12 miles from Larkana, he got into a boat which was going down to Hyderabad and sailing past Sehwan, he reached Kotri from which place he visited Hyderabad. At Hyderabad he resided in the house of one Mirza Kurban Ali who was in the service of Mir Nasir Khan. "So cheap was subsistence," writes Masson, "that I did not expend more than three rupees, or about five shillings monthly." The fort of Hyderabad impressed him, about which he recorded:—"At the southern extremity of the town is the fort, a large irregular building, with lofty walls and towers conforming to the outlines of the scraped eminence on which they stand. It is built of kiln-burnt bricks, and, with its various lines of loopholes, has a singular and interesting appearance." The people of Hyderabad bragged too much to please Masson. "If he inquired as to the revenue and military force, he was told exaggerated account of a score of rupees and a lakh of *banduhs* with Baloches to use them. "I never saw anything in the shape of troops," says Masson, "save the few mounted attendants who accompanied the Amirs on their hunting excursions." Masson remained at Hyderabad for about four months. The cold season was nearly over and Masson had been afoot for about four years. He therefore decided upon going to Karachi and thence make his way to Persia. He took to the Indus and sailed down to Thatta which he found in decay, yet having abundant vestiges of former glory as evidenced by a multitude of tombs on the Makli hills. "The town has seriously suffered during the last fifteen years," he writes, "when its cotton fabrics gave way before the superior British manufactures. It yet makes *lungis*, and shawls of mixed silk and cotton which are esteemed." From Thatta Masson walked to Karachi, encumbered with a sword which accident had thrown in his way at Hyderabad. "I had seldom travelled with a weapon, and think the solitary traveller is much better without one. In this journey, on several occasions, I was obliged to put my hand on my sword, when, without it I might probably have passed without so much notice." Reaching Karachi Masson was thrilled with the sight of the sea, which he had not seen for so many years. There was considerable trade in Karachi and the town was "surrounded with delapidated mud walls, provided with towers, on which a few crazy guns are mounted." Masson along with several historians and geographers considers Karachi as Alexander's Haven, the place which sheltered for some time the fleet of Nearchus in 326 B.C. From Karachi, Masson went to Muscat in

an Arab country boat. After knocking about for few months at Bushire, Baghdad and Aleppo, at the request of European officials at Basra and a handsome donation of funds from Sir John Campbell, the then English resident in Persia, who were all interested in his wanderings and antiquarian and archaeological possibilities of Afghanistan, Masson was induced to return to Afghanistan and do systematic and organized work. (9) He took his passage in an Arab junk destined for Karachi and arrived at that place at night time some where in April 1831. (10) The next morning as the boat entered the harbour, the Baloch soldiers stationed at the Manhora fort, fired some muskets over the party and ordered them to stop. A party of soldiers came on board their vessel. They had been informed that a *Feringhee* (Masson) on board this Arab boat intended to get down at Karachi. The leader of these soldiers recognized Masson but informed him that the Governor of Karachi, Hassan Khan by name had received orders from the Hyderabad Mirs, not to permit any European to land at Karachi. Masson also learnt that two European gentlemen at that time, had arrived at one of the mouths of the Indus, anxious to proceed to Lahore by the river route, but were not being permitted to do so. (11) Masson protested that the Mirs' orders had a reference to ships of war and not to individuals, but all in vain. A party of three soldiers was left on board the vessel to guard Masson and to prevent his landing on shore. Masson who had poetic leanings has written some verses about this incident in his book "*Legends of the Afghan Country in Verse*", which I give below:—

ON BEING REFUSED PERMISSION TO LAND IN SINDH

Although events seem adverse,
Chase sorrow from thy breast,
If not exactly as 'twas wished,
Perchance 'tis for the best.
Against the will of Heaven
Forbear unjust reproach;
If not allowed to land in Sindh,
Why do so in Beloeche.
If the peril should be greater,
The glory will be more;
And e'en should fortune fail thee,
'T were folly to deplore.
So frail is human nature,
So feeble human sight,
Our measures oft are thwarted
But to put our motions right.
Then with pious resignation
Submit to Heaven's will;
The power erst has saved thee,
Implored, will save thee still:
No matter what thy danger,
Or wither ye may stray;
If the grace of God attend thee,
And cheer thee on thy way.
Steer, steer then for Ormarah,
And re-assure thy breast;
And be assured what Heaven ordains
Is ever for the best. (12)

(9) Grey, *op. cit.*, pp. 188.

(10) Masson, *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 6 and ff.

(11) These two European gentlemen were Lieut. Alexander Burnes and Ensign J. D. Leckie, who were carrying a present of horses and an ornamental carriage to Maharaja Runjeetsing. Cf. Advani, "*His Majesty's Horses*", Vol. II, part I, pp. 1-3, *Journal of the Sind*.

(12) Reproduced in *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XI, pp. 227-228.

Writing of such trite verses was no doubt, amusing, but it did not solve the problem. The three soldiers placed on guard over Masson proved so uncivil that Masson ordered the crew of the Arab vessel, not to give them anything to eat. This had the desired effect of causing two of the soldiers to hail a fishing boat and going back to Manhora. The third soldier proving tolerably respectful was supplied his wants. Seeing Masson's medicine chest he insisted on having some medicine though he had no need of it. Masson administered a large dose of some strong purgative to him "which producing very sensible effects he was also glad to hail a fishing boat to rejoin his companions." This repulse at Karachi was disconcerting to Masson as it upset his all previously formed arrangements. Masson therefore decided to go to Makran and from there proceed to Kalat and other countries in the North. This proved to be a blessing in disguise, for when in Kalat, where and in the vicinity of which place he resided for seven months, he made several friends who ten years later, when he had the misfortune of becoming a prisoner there, were instrumental in saving him from destruction. From the inhospitable shores of Karachi, Masson went to Sonmeani and there some months later he learnt that when the Mirs were told of Masson's arrival at Karachi they had written to the governor of Karachi to facilitate the journey of Masson and to allow him to incur no expense on the way. The Mirs also rebuked the governor of Karachi for not permitting a defenceless and unassuming stranger to land, whom chance or necessity had brought to their territories.

We next hear of Masson, a few months later, in company of some merchants, entering Sind from Larkana side. It is easy to follow his tracks from the following itinerary :—

Dera Ghaibi	Amil	Got Ghai	Feridabad	Got Hussan Khan
	Bugh	Khodabad	Babur-di-Got	Jui
Chinni	Trenni	Bubak	Baloch Got	Sehwan

Masson had heard something curious about the village of Trenni, namely that the village of Trenni had an ignoble repute of dog-stealing. By his stay in the village he was able to verify for himself the truth of this strange rumour. One of the merchants in whose party he was travelling, had picked up on the road a very large dog. The merchant always expressed his fear that the dog would be lost at Trenni. All precautions were taken, regular watch was kept but in the morning there was no dog. At Sehwan Masson stayed in a *fakir's takia* overlooking the Aral canal and near the fort. The officers of Diwan Sangat who was the farmer of revenues at Sehwan on being informed of the arrival of Masson's party, came to ascertain the number of individuals so that provisions and food stuff might be supplied to them according to the custom of Diwan Sangat. The party received a fair allowance of rice, flour, rog-han and sugar. Masson found the fort of Sehwan in a delapidated condition though the entrances were still well marked. "Quantities of burnt grain, as wheat and gram are discovered in some parts," writes Masson. "On examination of these, I found they were intermixed with fragments of bone and of cocoanut shells, ample proofs that they denoted spots of cremation. This fact also explains why coins, trinkets, and other trifles should be met with so frequently, they being merely deposits with the dead, as far as the coins are concerned, and the trinkets were attached to the corpse when consumed. I did not see any of the coins found, but understood that they are invariably Mahomedan, especially coins of the Caliphs." Masson also visited the shrine of Lal Shah Baz and noted that the Mirs of Sind offered costly dona-

tions at the shrine and sometimes repaired to Sehwan to implore the good offices of Lal Shah Baz. From Sehwan Masson returned to Baloch Got and the party soon passed out of Sind to the West in the land of the Brohis.

There is very little left to record of Masson's rambles in Sind. We next hear of him in 1838, when he accompanied Sir Henry Fane, the Commander-in-Chief of the British armies in India. Sir Henry Fane was passing through Sind on his way to Bombay for embarkation to England. After seeing Sir Henry Fane off at one of the mouths of the Indus, Masson returned to Thatta for the purpose of seeing Sir Henry Pottinger, the then British Resident in Sind and forwarding through him to England the manuscript of his book, from which we have quoted so freely. What became of Masson after this date is beyond the scope of this paper.

ROBERT DICK.

Robert Dick, we learn from the book of C. Grey "*European Adventurers in Northern India*" (14) was the illegitimate son of Major-General Sir Robert Dick, of the 42nd Highlanders, a distinguished officer, who had served in the Peninsula, at Waterloo, and was killed at the Battle of Sobraon. Robert Dick started his military life in the Gwalior forces, then in the Skinner's Horse, from where in 1831 he drifted to Shah Shujah-ul-Mulk's army. He however did not agree with Shah Shujah. Inducing some 300 native sepoys to follow him, he set out to seek service elsewhere and succeeded in finding it with the Mirs of Hyderabad. The Punjab Records mention that in Sind Mr. Dick was placed in charge of five guns and received Rs. 900 on account of his salary. He was also presented with a gold pendant and two silk flags, highly ornamented with gold and silver embroidery. He was also to have an officer appointed over him, and neither the Mir nor his officers were to interfere with him. (15). When Mr. Dick had left Shah Shujah's service, he had quietly taken not only the salary of 300 sepoys but also the pay of the other half of the battalion. A Subedar of this unpaid half of the battalion traced him to Kotri and demanded a share of the money with which Mr. Dick had calmly walked off. The Subedar, Behari Lal by name, and Mr. Dick had many wordy battles and spoke about one another with a great deal of freedom, but nothing seems to have come out of it.

In 1835, Mr. Dick died of fever and excessive drinking. (16). It is not mentioned where he died.

HEST.

Dr. R. H. Kennedy in his "*Narrative of the Campaign of the Army of the Indus*", writes that on 4th February 1839, at Hyderabad, his friend Major B.... came across a Greek commandant of Hyderabad Mirs' artillery, whose name has now been found to be Hest. Major B.... and Hest drank a bottle of beer and another of Maderia, after which he confided in Major B.... that his salary was Rs. 75 per month, to which stipend he added the pay of some 200 paper men upon his muster roll. (17). Considering that the average pay of an artillery man was Rs. 6 per month, we find that Hest by showing two hundred non-existent artillerymen on the pay-sheet, added

(13) Masson, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 496.

(14) Grey, *European Adventurers in Northern India*, pp. 311-313.

(15) *Punjab Records*, Book No. 101, Letter No. 27.

(16) Grey, *op. cit.* and *loc. cit.*

(17) Kennedy, *Narrative of the Campaign of the Army of the Indus*, Vol. I, p. 145.

a not inconsiderable figure of Rs. 1,200 to his modest salary of Rs. 75. Beyond this little bit of information nothing is known about Hest. Late Syed Qamr-ud-Din a contemporary of Maharaja Runjeetsing and the author of "*Recollections of Ranjit Singh's Officers*" says, "Hest was a colonel in some regiment. It is not known where he fell or was buried." (18)

CAPTAIN JOHN HOWELL.

We first hear of Captain John Howell at the Battle of Meeanee on 17th February 1843. Nothing is known about his life prior to that date.

"At the Battle of Meanee, in February, 1843, an Englishman who had been fighting in the rank of the forces of the Amirs of Sindh as Commandant of their artillery, was taken prisoner.

"He was brought before the A.Q.M.G., Lieut.-MacMurdo, and on being asked from where and whence he came, he replied: 'My name is John Howell; I am a Welsh man, and formerly served in the Royal Artillery (19) and am now in command of the artillery of the Amirs of Sindh.' " (20). Sir Charles Napier gives slightly further information about this man. The entry in his diary on 8th December 1844 reads thus:

"Mr. Howell, the man who commanded the Ameer's artillery at Haidarabad and Meanee against us, has been set free. My best has been done to effect this, for his story is doubtless true namely, that matchlocks were placed to his head to force him to act; he has been two years a prisoner. When taken his conduct pleased me. To give him an opportunity of escaping I said: You are it is understood an American and free to go, though I might keep you as a prisoner of war. General, I will not deny my country. I am an Englishman. Then you are a traitor and I must hang you. I hope not, General. I am no traitor. Eight matchlocks were put to my head, I hope you will not put me to death. I acted against my will but I will not deny my country to save my life. Well, Mr. Howell, I will not hang you, but you are a prisoner... Poor man, he has been in these countries since he was eleven years of age and can hardly speak English." (21).

John Howell was also called Chota Khan and at the Battle of Meeanee he felt patriotic and fired his guns over the heads of the soldiers in Napier's force instead of into them. (22).

Sir Charles pitied the man who at the point of the sword, fired his guns at his countrymen and connived at his escape.

Some years after, Lieut. MacMurdo, now the Q.M.G. of Sir Charles Napier's force was hurrying to North to assist in the First Punjab War. At Bahawalpur he called on the *wazir* of Bahawalpur whom to his great surprise he found to be no other than John Howell in native dress. He was now known as Captain John Howell and was spoken

(18) Grey, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

(19) Mr. Howell apparently made a mistake saying that he served in the Royal Artillery, because the British Royal Artillery was stationed in India after the Indian Mutiny.

(20) Reproduced from Grey, *European Adventurers*, pp. 355-356.

(21) *The Life and Opinions of General Sir Charles Napier*, Vol. III, pp. 188-189.

(22) Burton, *Sindee or the Unhappy Valley of the Indus*, Vol. I, pp. 151-153.

of as soldierly and efficient. He served well as supply officer in the Bahawalpur contingent, sent against the rebels under Dewan Mul Raj at Multan. Howell returned to Bahawalpur soon after and died there in 1865 (23).

Such were these Soldiers of Fortune penetrating the most distant places, after weary and toilsome journeys, suffering untold miseries, often dying far from their native land, leading a most hectic life, and who, some of them any way, to repeat the words of Rudyard Kipling,

Drilled a black man white,
And made a coward fight.

(23) Grey, *op. cit.*, pp. 356-357.



Gul Hayat Institute

CROW'S ACCOUNT OF SIND.

By B. D. MIRCHANDANI, I. C. S.

(Read on 22nd July, 1924)

Nathan Crow was political and commercial agent of the East India Company in Sind. The English, who had been promised the same commercial privileges as they enjoyed under Ghulam Shah Kalhora, had again set up a factory at Tatta in 1799, and put Nathan Crow in charge. He, however, did not remain long in Sind, for towards the end of 1800 he was ordered by the Amirs to leave the country forthwith, ostensibly under instructions from Zaman Shah, but really because the Amirs had become suspicious of the English. To those interested in the history of the whole affair, I would refer to the correspondence available in the Home Miscellaneous Series of the Record Department of the India Office, a typed copy of which was recently made for the Karachi Municipality. Some additional papers on the subject are also available in the Bombay Record Office. While in Tatta Mr. Crow had collected material on the history, government, and conditions of Sind and compiled it in the form of a report which he submitted to the Company's Government at Bombay. This report—or rather the "Account," as it is styled in the government record—is now available in the Record Office, Bombay.

Crow's Account is a long document very important for students of Sind History. It has never been published before, but every writer on Sind in the last century has drawn largely on it, though sometimes without proper acknowledgment to the author. Apart from much useful historical information it gives us a complete and authentic picture of Sind at the end of the 18th century.

The "Account" begins with the history of the Kalhoras, their rise and decline, and traces the accession to power of the Talpurs. This historical portion has taken up nearly half of the report. I do not wish to reproduce it here as it has already appeared in print. [1] Mr. Crow next proceeds to describe the form of government under Mir Fatch Ali Khan and his brothers, and also the character and personality of the rulers. These observations have also been reproduced by Postans [2] at pp. 188-190 of his book, and I, therefore, do not wish to repeat them here.

1. See chapters X and XI of Postans' *Personal Observations on Sindh*.

2. Also by Postans in his *Narrative of a Visit to the Court of Sindh*, at p. 46.

Hyderabad [6]. Wood for fuel is plentiful, but there is no timber for building, except what is brought from Malabar: of this all dingees and large boats are constructed and the pillars and beams of the houses are formed."

III. *Animals, etc.*

"Of the animal productions of Sind the camels are the most worthy of celebrity on the shore and the sable fish [7] in the River. Camels are bred in every part of Sind, and the greatest numbers in the salt marshes near the sea where there is an abundance of furze and shrub, affording them a rich food. Fresh water is brought down for them every week by the keepers who go two or three days' sail up the River for the purpose. These camels have an advantage over any other breed in hardiness and being able to reconcile themselves to all kinds of food, while those reared inland refuse the pasture of the salt marshes. All the land carriage from Currachee to Candahar is carried on by these animals. They travel with burdens of four, five and six hundred weight from fifteen to twenty miles during the night, which is most favourable to their constitution and speed, and are left to graze during the day while the people of the caravan repose. Many are broken into the saddle and exceed horses in despatch, with this further convenience that they carry two people and their cloths and provisions. They are employed in turning wells and mills, and in time of war small swivels are mounted on them. The horses bred in Sind are very strong but of a small size in general. The country, however, is not unfavourable to this animal, and there are abundant instances to prove that by judicious crosses race might be improved. Mules, asses, and bullocks are used likewise in Sind and their number is not inconsiderable. The country affords much game of every kind and fortunately has no beasts of prey except wolves. Their depredations do not extend beyond the poultry and occasional mischief to children and men accidentally sleeping in the plains. Their bite generally occasions death in the same course of time and with the same symptoms as that of a mad dog. The jackals are so ravenous and bold that at night they will attack people sitting smoking in the open air. In mentioning the animals of Sind, the alligators [8] should not be forgotten, for they are numerous and much respected, not only by Hindoos but also by the Mahomedans. The tutelar God of Currachee is a scaly monster, with a train of females and dependants, nourished in the muddy

6. Kotri near Hyderabad is still famous for its dates.

7. Palla fish which is peculiar to Sind.

8. This description of alligators appears in James Burnes, *Narrative of a Visit to the Court of Sind*, p. 121.

riverlets which flow from the hot spring already remarked near Currachee, called Peer Munga, from the name of a Saint who formerly resided there. It is singular to see these animals sometimes dozing close to the mouth of the spring where the water is almost boiling hot, and sometimes wallowing in the pools which are perfectly cold. There are many badgers and others in the River, the skins of which are brought at a high price at Cabul and Cundahar."

Climate.

"The climate of Sind is very unhealthy in all those parts affected by the inundation, and, therefore, particularly so in the Delta and its vicinity after the water retires and putrefaction of the mud and partial stagnations begin. There are few diseases in the catalogue of human misfortune which are not to be found amongst the natives, but the most prevailing are agues, fever, asthmas, consumptions, rheumatism, all the consequence of humidity and impurity of atmosphere. The heat in Sind in the summer months is a moderate near the sea, as in most places of the same latitude in India, but increases to an excessive degree as you advance to the northward. The samiel or hot wind prevails for two months in the year and with such force in Sewistan as to make the road to Candahar impracticable during the day and almost fatal to such travellers as may be encamped. The winters are severe in Sind but not quite in proportion as the summers are sultry."

Indus and changes in its course.

"The Indus, as a river, has few merits except its periodical swell; its stream is foul and muddy, and so full of shoals and shifting sands, that flat-bottomed boats only are safe, and scarcely any other are able to pass. Its course is excessively crooked, and towards the sea very inconstant. By a strange turn that the river has taken within these five and twenty years just above Tatta, the City is flung out of the angle of the inferior delta in which it formerly stood on the main land towards the hills of Balochistan. By another change in the course of the river Shah Bunder is left dry and the Lahory Bunder branch so much more favoured by the stream that is perfectly fresh now at a point where a few years ago it was salt even at low water. This point is near the Bunder of Lahory. Marks of the caprice of the river abound in the lower country; the most striking of which are, the bed of a large stream now perfectly dry, about five miles from Currachee, and about five miles further, at a place called Guissary, a creek which opens from the Sea, and is still navigable for at least fifty miles, when it shallows and leaves only a dry

channel, where it is said, to have been formerly met by the river from the traces still evident; and the fact is confirmed by the ruins of a City said to be ancient Tatta or Dewul Sindhy on the eastern bank of this Creek about forty miles from its mouth. There is the ruin of another, it is said, still more ancient Tatta or Dewul Sindhy in the heart of the Delta, which upon Examination would most probably prove to have been abandoned from the faithlessness of a branch of the River which had at first perhaps invited its founders. This is palpably the case with Brahminabad, called by the Natives Kulankote, the ruins of which lie four or five miles to the south-west of Tatta, and the inhabitants have a distinct tradition which appearance confirms of the River running close under the walls of that town. The only mouth of the Indus now open to dingies and those of a small size is the one leading to Lahory Bunder. Mineral waters are found in many places in Sind, but the most famous springs, both hot, are one in the neighbourhood of Nussurpoor and the other about ten miles from Currachee to the north-west [9]."

The People.

"The inhabitants of Sind are a strong and hardy race of men rather more fitted for fatigue than activity, and are most tall and dark complexioned. Those who enjoy rice and indulgence are uncommonly corpulent, which perhaps their great use of milk disposes all to be. The Princes are remarkably broad and fat, and many of the Beloochee chiefs and officers of their Court, too large by far for the dimensions of any European chair. As rotundity is so much the distinction of greatness, it is admired as a beauty, and sought as an ambition, and prescriptions, therefore, for increasing bulk are much esteemed. The Scindians in their territories are proud, impatient, knavish, and mean. Placed betwixt Mekran and Hindoostan they seem to have acquired the vices, both of the barbarity on the one side, and the civilisation on the other, without the virtues of either. Their natural faculties are good, and their energies would reward encouragement, but their moral character is a compound scarcely to be described, and still less to be trusted, and fanaticism, superstition, and despotism are debasing it more and more every day. There is no zeal but for the propagation of the faith; no spirit but celebrating the Ede; no liberality but in feeding lazy Seyids; and no taste but in ornamenting old tombs [10]."

A part of the description appears in James Burnes, p. 130.

Another part appears in a foot-note at pp. 113-114 of James Burnes, and is referred to the Court of Sind.

"The Hindoos are the most industrious and intelligent of the natives. In number with the Mohammedans they are about two to three only, and the knife of circumcision is always unsheathed on every excuse and occasion to reduce this proportion. Lukput Bunder, a port in Cutch on the confines of Sind, has been raised to a state of opulence and commercial prosperity by the accumulation of Hindoos, who being forcibly made Mohammedans by Meer Fatteh Ali Khan, detesting equally his religion and his persecution and being disclaimed by their own caste, fled thither for an asylum in which their common misfortune might be kept in countenance and some ties of human fellowship still be open to them."

Population of Sind and the Condition of the People.

(I) Estimate of population not possible.

"Of the extent of the population of Sind any conjecture would be crude unless formed upon an attentive inspection of the whole country with the light likewise of certain public documents which are not obtainable. The country varies very much in different parts both in dimension and description and the erratic Tribes who are moving over the face of it with their cattle from pasture to pasture blend with the general inhabitants and perplex calculation."

(II) Misgovernment and resulting economic ruin of the people; their emigration to other parts of India.

"It may however be safely asserted that Sind is thinly inhabited comparatively with its means of subsistence from the great tyranny of the Government and discouragement to labour of every kind. The exercise of industry and the display of wealth provoke oppression in the place of receiving reward. The labours of the farmer are seized by the officers of despotism and the ingenuity of the artificers pressed into its service. Every man therefore finds it a necessary caution to curb instead of spurring his faculties and a torpid state of the human mind and neglected condition of the country are the consequence. Of the manufacturers of Tatta numbers have emigrated to India and from the mass of the people large bodies repair annually to seek foreign service of whom few return."

(III) Population of important towns.

"The town and fort of Hyderabad, the capital of Sind, cannot at the present time be said to contain more

than thirty thousand inhabitants, the celebrated city of Tatta forty thousand—and Curruchee the principal and with the exception of Shah Bunder and Lahory Bunder (the former choked and both nearly deserted) the only sea port town of the country, ten thousand."

(IV) *Professional soldiers, sailors, etc.*

"The Nomarrees who are in the vicinity of Hyderabad, the Jakias who are about half way betwixt Tatta and Curruchee and the Kurmatties who are situated near Lahory Bunder amount to twenty or five and twenty thousand men. These are professionally soldiers and the Jakias who are particularly renowned are generally employed on board the dingies which sail out of Sind. Rustics and watermen constitute the rest of the inhabitants and not a numerous proportion for the villages are thinly scattered and the boats few."

(V) *Shikargahs of the Amirs.*

"The country, therefore, between Curruchee and Hyderabad, Lahory Bunder on one side and the Hills on the other, exhibits no promising specimen of the population of Sind; but there is great reason to believe that it improves the further it is removed from the baneful influence of the Rulers. The present Prince had depopulated a large tract of his own revenue of between two or three Lacs of rupees annually, one of the most fertile spots in the neighbourhood of Hyderabad, because frequented by a species of antelope called Kasapacha, which he has most pleasure in hunting and a short time ago only the youngest Brother unfortunately razed the inhabitants of an ancient village and razed it to the ground, because the crowing of the cocks and the grazing of the cattle disturbed the game in his brother's Jaghir which was contiguous. The territories of Meer Sohrab Khan and Meer Tarrah Khan are, as far as the soil permits in much better condition and more populous than those of Meer Fattah Ali Khan from the greater mildness of their government [11]."

Religion.

"The Mohammedan part of the Sindian are in general Sunnies, with however a large proportion of Shecas which sect the

11. This description of Shikargahs has been quoted by James Burnes, p. 79 of his *Narrative of a Visit to the Court of Sind.*

Love of hunting superseded all considerations with a Baluch, who never considers the loss of income which the acquisition of great tracts of land for the purpose of breeding game involves. This was carried to such an extent during the government of the Amirs that every herd of deer killed must have cost 800 rupees; and this is said to be no exaggeration, as one of the richest land in Sind was sacrificed in the formation of Shikargahs. Cf. E. G. Langley's *Narrative of a Residence at the Court of Ali Murad*, p. 265.

present Princes have adopted and therefore rendered it, if not more persuasive, at least more fashionable. The Hindoos both the followers of Vishnoo and Sheev are low in their caste, ignorant of their religion and relax in their scruples. They eat meat, drink wine and those in the employ of the Court let their beards grow and wear the Mussulman dress."

Language.

(I) Vernacular.

"The Sindhi language is composed of grafts of Arabic, of Persian, and of Afghany, upon Hindi dialect, evident from the character which is a distortion of the Sanscrit, as well as the idiom and terminations. This is still more corrupted by the peculiarities which have been assumed by different tribes in writing and speaking, so great a degree in the former that the letters of one are not intelligible when they fall into the hands of another. Persian and Panjabi are likewise very generally spoken, but the dialect of India called Hindostani is not understood except by some merchants and travellers."

(II) Court Language.

"The Persian language is cultivated at the Durbar, and taught at the public school, and the Prince with characteristic inflation and ignorance, conceiving himself the Rustom of the age, and the exploits of the Talpoori worthy of transmission to posterity, has employed a poet, a Sindian of more presumption than learning, to record them in verse like Ferdosi and called the book in rival distinction to his immortal work the Shah Nameh, the Futteh Nameh. With the same vanity he has lately directed the loves of a Beloochee pair, as related in some of the country tales, to be translated into Persian verse, upon the model of Jami's Eusuph and Zuleika, that the diffusion of these poems may establish the fame of Sind, as well as in letters as in arms. The Futteh Nameh is rehearsed in Durbar, and many of the courtiers mark their adulation, by committing the most fulsome passages to memory. Whenever the Prince moves abroad he is preceded by a poet, who proclaims his praise in loud and hyperbolic strain, and the Prince does not blush, occasionally, to animate him by a command to raise his voice. [12]"

Dress.

"The dress of the Scindians like their characters is a compound of foreign habits. Their jackets and caps are both unseemly imitations, of the fashion of India and the other of

Persia. Their drawers are shaped like those of the Turks. Turbans are worn of a monstrous magnitude and it is since the accession of the present rulers only that the flowing robe of India has been laid aside. The Scindians are universally proud of their hair in which particular they were pored with their neighbours the Sikhs. It is not orthodox for a Mussalman to keep the hair of his head but it is too great a favourite here to be sacrificed and the Princes themselves countenance the disobedience by their own practice. A Scindian measures his excellence and comeliness by the length of his beard and when it becomes white by age stains it either red or black, an art to which the women also have recourse to hide the greyiness of their locks."

Sindhi temperament and amusements.

"When necessity does not impel to motion, the Scindians show their natural sloth. They will sit the whole day and night indulging in smoking and garrulity, intoxication through some medium or other is habituated to all descriptions of persons and Bang or wild Hemp as the most cheap is the most common. They make spirit both from Jagree and from dates which they perfume with spices and consume a great deal, the Hindoos particularly. The Scindians are excessively fond of singing and have good performers vocal and instrumental but they are diminishing with other marks of the former prosperity of the country. Their active diversions are shooting and chopping with their swords to prove their temper and the strength of their own arms. They are good marksmen with their match locks and inimitably dextrous with the bow and a blunt heavy arrow, which they use for game, and dart in a transverse instead of straight direction, so that the body and not the point of the arrow, strikes the object. With these arrows they take part-ridges flying, to the right and left as surely and expeditiously as a European sportsman with a double barreled gun. All the Princes are from great practice incredibly expert both with their guns and arrows. In riding and the use of the sword the Scindian have no skill. Nor have they any exercise peculiar to themselves [13]."

Revenues of Sind.

(I) *Incomes of the Chiefs.*

"The revenue of the whole territory of Sind including the three Chief-ships is considered to be forty lacks of rupees of

13. This description appears in James Burnes, pp. 113-114.

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which Meer Futtch Ali Khan's share it may be concluded is about twenty five; since of the annual tribute to the King which is ten lacks of rupees, he pays six and half and Meer Sohrab and Meer Tarrah the rest. Meer Sohrab's revenue may be estimated at Eleven Lacks and Meer Tarrah's at four."

(II) Their hoards.

"The treasure of Meer Futtch Ali Khan and his brothers is said to be very great and with reason, for independently of the original property of the State and of the Family of Kulhora which has all fallen into their hands, they have themselves been for eighteen years past diligent in rapacity and inflexible in economy; but what they have amassed in wealth, they have lost in the spirit and affections of the people, the true riches and strength of a government. The hoards of the Princes are deposited in forts, which they have in the Registan or desert where there are many fertile spots and thither they would retreat in case of invasion from the King or other pressing emergency."

(III) Taxes.

"The Prince collects his revenue from the farmers in kind at the rate of three fifth of the produce and this he obliges the merchants and retailers of the town to receive in what quantity, and at what rate he pleases. The imposts are fruitful but exorbitancy and vexation are fast destroying the trade, a matter of little concern to the rulers who do not look beyond their own time. The Customs of Carrachee besides the taxes of the town amount eighty thousand Rupees. Those of Tatta and Shah Bunder which are generally included in one farm to one lack and twenty thousand and those of Hyderabad to about a lack and a half."

(IV) Disbursements.

"The principal disbursement of the Prince is his proportion of the tribute of ten lacks of rupees to the king and which as before observed is six lacks and half. This amount he does not render all in specie but a great part in the manufactures of Tatta which he first purchases and then charges at his own price. The administration of justice is here as in most eastern countries a source of emolument instead of expense. The charges of collections are about a fifth of the revenue and the household expenses of the Princes economical."

Military Strength.

(I) Army.

"The military force of Sind is furnished upon requisition by the Heads of the Tribes and land holders according to the extent of their Jaghirs of Zamindarys and are only paid by the Prince while on actual service. In order, however, to keep their recollections alive to their duty and engagements and perhaps to be prepared himself for emergencies, the prince keeps a small body of these troops in attendance by monthly relief. He has besides perhaps five thousand Men, Horse and Foot consisting of slaves and body servants. I conjecture, for it is difficult to pronounce, that Meer Fattch Ali Khan can bring five and twenty thousand fighting men into the field at any time and at a short warning. I am more clear in saying that Meer Sohrab commands ten thousand troops and that Meer Tarrah has five thousand of the choicest in the country. In a general clause therefore of the Talporry Family a force of forty thousand troops may be reckoned upon in Sind, and in a case of general enthusiasm the numbers would be great as every inhabitant is armed. The strongest man is among them the best soldier; for tactics they do not practise and bravery is common to them all. The weapons are matchlocks and swords; they have few horse among them and not at the utmost. I am speaking now of the collected force of the country five thousand, and most of these contemptible, but in marching perhaps their foot excel any troops in the world. Meer Fattch Ali Khan has abundance and choice artillery consisting chiefly of purchases or presents from the English during their ancient connections with Gholam Shah (which was of the most intimate and friendly nature) with many likewise of Portuguese and Dutch Manufacture. He had no better people at present to serve these but a surhung, a Tindal and some Lascars, deserters from the English but an expert European or two might soon put this train into a formidable state. Gun powder of good strength and quality is made at Currachee, Tatta, and Hyderabad likewise."

(II) Fortifications.

"The fortification of Hyderabad consists of high wall and a high citadel, upon which some very fine guns are planted. The wall is thin, but supported inside by a great depth of earth, partly original and partly piled up, which would make a breach difficult. The citadel is entirely brick work, but very thick, and the figure perfectly circular, of not more than a hundred

yards diameter. There is a dry ditch round one side of the fort, and low ground on the other. The circumference of the wall may be three quarters of a mile; it has few embrasures and no commanding angles, nor outworks. The figure of the fort comes nearest to an oblong square, and it stands upon one side of the extremity of a long and narrow rocky hill steep in its declivity every way. The country surrounding this rock is an island formed by the Indus, about six or eight miles broad, twenty or thirty long, well cultivated, and annually inundated by the periodical swell. Tatta has no fortification whatever. There is the commencement of a wall begun under some of the Kings of Delhi about a century and a half ago but it was countermanded from a report to the throne that the then Nabob of Tatta who was charged to execute the work instead of intending to carry a rampart round for the defence of the Town was projecting a citadel for the intrenchment of himself. Curachee is fortified with a thick mud wall upon which some Guns are planted. No vessels can batter it from the Sea for they obliged to lie at a distance of at least three miles from it but their guns could cover the landing of Troops abreast of the place of anchorage a vessel of more than two hundred tons could not safely cross Curachee Bar and if she entered in an hostile manner, she might expect to find herself surrounded by all the dingies then lying there and they would often be more than a dozen carrying guns some of them as heavy as her own and each of them perhaps more men, for on such an occasion of attack there would be no scarcity of volunteers."

Then follows a detailed account as to the best mode of landing an army in Sind in case of hostilities with the Amirs, which I omit as it will be of little interest to the general reader.

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ART. 3.—THE EARLY BRITISH TRADERS IN SIND.

BY

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(Read on 25th March, 1931.)

Up to the last decade of the 16th century, Sind was like a sealed book to the people of the West. The record of Western knowledge about Sind was full of numerous errors, of which the following may be cited as representative illustrations. Duarte Barbosa, who sailed from Hurmuz to Cambay,¹ in the beginning of the 16th century, said that Sind was a kingdom over which a Moorish king held sway, that its people were Moors who fed their horses on dry fish, that canes were available in Sind, of the thickness of man's leg, and that the Indus started from Euphrates and passed through the midst of Persia finally emptying itself in the gulf of Cambay. 1. This ignorance regarding Sind was perhaps due to the fact that after the march of Alexander the Great—the Macedonian hero, in 325 B. C. through Sind², the face of a white man had not been seen in this valley of the Indus.

Of the Western nations, the Portuguese were the first, who came to Sind and that was about the year 1555 A. D. In that year, Mirza Isa Tarkhan, the ruler of Thatta, marched to Bukhur in the Upper Sind, to subdue its governor—Sultan Muhammad. Finding his means of coercion inadequate, Mirza Isa Tarkhan despatched an embassy to Bassein, the seat of government of the Northern Portuguese province, to ask for military aid³. Considering it politic to cultivate friendship with the Chiefs of Sind, Pedro Barreto Rolin was despatched to Sind, with a fleet of twenty-eight ships to succour Mirza Isa Tarkhan. Before he arrived in Sind, Mirza Isa Tarkhan had made peace with his enemy. Consequently the Portuguese help was found unnecessary. The Portuguese soldiers desired that, in all fairness, they should at least be compensated for their trouble. On this request being refused, Barreto landed his men, entered the city of Thatta and killed over 8,000 men, taking away with himself one of "the richest booties ever taken in Asia."⁴ It appears that soon after this event, the Portuguese established themselves in Sind. Hardly anything is known about the Portuguese connections with Sind in the latter half of the 16th century. If some painstaking student of Sind History were to search

1. Dames, M. L., *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, pp. I, 106-107.

2. Arken, E. H., *Gaz. of the Province of Sind*, p. 85.

3. Haig, M. R., *The Indus Delta Country*, pp. 97-98.

4. Danvers, J. C., *The Portuguese in India*, p. 508.

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Efficiently for material on this subject in the archives of Goa, Lisbon and other places, I am sure he will not find his labour in vain.

The Englishmen came to Sind much later on. On 31st December 1600 A. D. the East India Company was incorporated in England, by Royal Charter, under the title of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies". The first epoch in the Company's history was that of separate voyages. These were conducted between 1601 to 1612 A. D. After 1612, however, there came a change and the "Separate Voyages" were followed by "Joint Stocks". The First Englishman to come to Sind was one Anthony Starkey, the steward of the ship the "Dragon". Thomas Best the Captain of the "Dragon" asked Anthony Starkey in the middle of February 1612 to traverse the land route for England, and carry with himself some important letters and documents. Starkey appears to have landed safely at Thatta and written hopefully about the trade prospects in Sind. He and his Indian attendant, however, died shortly after, in Thatta perhaps, poisoned by two Portuguese friars there.⁵ The object of the English merchants at this time, was to get some share in the trade of Sind. In the beginning of 1613, the good ship "Expedition" sailed from England for India. It carried on board, an Englishman Walter Payton by name, from whose journal we get very useful information about Sind. On board the same ship, were also Sir Robert Sherley, the ambassador for Persia. Sir Thomas Powell, their wives and other members of the suite, about fifteen in number who were all to go to the Kingdom of Persia. For nearly eight months the "Expedition" was voyaging, touching many small islands and sea-ports, observing strange people and their stranger customs. On 17th of September 1613, the "Expedition" anchored at Guader, a port of Mekran. The governor of the place sent a message to Sir Robert Sherley that though Mekran did not belong to the Shah of Persia, yet he acknowledged "a kind of dutifull love unto his Majes'ty", and the English ambassador was welcome to his place. He also promised a safe escort to Sir Robert Sherley and his party through his country to Persia. Sherley was overjoyed at this reception and at the prospect of reaching Persia in about twenty days' time. He sent most of his goods on shore and was about to go on the shore himself, when the perfidy of the governor of Guader and his men was revealed by a sailor chancing to overhear their conversation. It was found that the people of that part of the country were all rebels to the King of Persia and that their intention was to massacre Sir Robert Sherley and his whole party and rob them of their property. Some Baloch residents of Makran were detained as prisoners on board the "Expedition" and they were released only when all the goods of Sir Robert Sherley were handed back. The "Expedition" then sailed Sindwards and arrived safely at

5. Purchas, S., *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, IV, p. 133 and Foster, W., *Early Travels in India*, p. 191, n. 1.

Diul Bunder on 26th of September 1613.⁶ Sir Robert Sherley sent two men ashore to seek the permission of the governor of that place to land and to have passage through Sind to Persia. The governor of the place ———Arah Manewardus (*Sic.*)^{6A} welcomed the ambassador and offered his hospitality. Christopher Newport, the Captain of the "Expedition" gave some presents to Sir Robert Sherley for the governor and also a letter, in which he wrote that if the governor pleased, the English people might establish a factory in Sind, and that although this time they were but slenderly provided, yet hereafter they would bring with themselves a large quantity of goods. But if such permission were not granted, then they begged leave to refresh themselves with water and provisions and depart. At Diul Bunder, Sir Robert Sherley found several Portuguese who perhaps fearing trade competition, spread false stories about Sir Robert Sherley and his intentions. But Arah Manewards—the governor, was a sensible person and he silenced the slanderous Portuguese traders. He then suggested to Sir Robert Sherley to invite two, three gentlemen from the "Expedition" to explain to him about the establishing of trade factory in Sind. Accordingly a small deputation including Walter Payton went to him whom he received in style and listened patiently to what they said. He then told them that as they had brought very little stock with themselves, he could not entertain their request but that he would give them all facilities when they came to Diul next time. He also would not allow them to sell the few things which the English traders had brought, on the plea, that thereby he would be offending the Portuguese merchants of the town. He however permitted them to take fresh water and buy their provisions from the town and then depart in peace. All persuasion having failed and finding no other remedy left, the deputation went back disappointed. Sir Robert Sherley advised them to send one of their party to the Moghul Emperor at Agra and get a "Firman" from him allowing the English to trade in Sind. On 9th October 1613, the "Expedition" sailed away from Diul leaving behind Sir Robert Sherley and his party to proceed to Persia as best as they could.⁷ The promises of Arah Manewardus, to help Sir Robert Sherley to proceed to Persia turned out to be false. He not only did not keep his promises, but on the contrary connived at the outrages of the Portuguese to which the English ambassador's party was frequently exposed. During this period of distress, Sir Thomas Powell and Francis Bubb, the Secretary died at Diul Bunder. Sir Robert Sherley getting fed up with the whole business sought liberty to go to Thatta, but as permission was not given to him to do so, he went away without leave to Thatta. On the way he had to cross the Indus and as no boatman

6. Purchas, op. cit., IV, pp. 192-200.

6. A. Arah Manewardus. Manohards. Arahāt, Sanskrit, a candidate for Narvāna; venerable; a Mahatma; arah is the Palli form of Sanskrit Arhat, a worthy.

In Maxmuller's translation of Dhamapadam XXIII. we read "These wise people-arahats meditative, persevering, ever in strength attain to Narvāna, the highest bliss."

7. Purchas, op. cit., IV, p. 201. and ff.

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would carry him over, being prohibited on pain of death to do so, the intrepid Englishman and his party made rafts and sailed on the Indus. Hardly had the rafts sailed when a party of twenty or thirty horsemen appeared on the bank of the river who dismounting, plunged in the water and swam to the rafts. Thus Sir Robert Sherley and others were brought back to Diul Bunder but not before Master John Ward who had long been the companion of Sir Robert Sherley, had been shot dead in the skirmish. After a short period of imprisonment at Diul Bunder, the party was at last permitted to depart for Thatta, the governor of which place, being a Persian, entertained them all, in a most friendly manner. At Thatta, Sir Robert Sherley waited for two months, during which period, Lady Tomasin Powell the widow of Sir Thomas Powell was delivered of a son, but both the mother and the child, as well as Master Michael, who was a brother of Sir Thomas Powell, died. Sir Robert Sherley at last reached Agra safely and was received with great honour by the Moghul Emperor—Jehangir.⁸

In 1613 we hear of another Englishman in Sind—Nicholas Withington the British factor. Mr. Withington was called upon in December 1613, to undertake an overland journey from Ahmedabad, to Lahri Bunder⁹ on news having come to Ahmedabad, of the arrival of three English ships at Lahri Bunder. Withington set out and reached very near Thatta, when his party was seized by a local chief, who bound them and robbed them of all that they possessed. Withington and his party, however luckily escaped back to Surat with their lives.¹⁰

However a start had been made towards the practical acquaintance of the West with Sind, and the Englishmen began to take interest in Sind's trade possibilities. Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador, who had been sent from England to the Court of Emperor Jehangir, to obtain some trade concessions for his countrymen, looked on Sind, as a fair field for commerce. On 24th November, 1615, he wrote from India, to the East India Company, that, "according to such relations as I have gotten, the River of Syndu were most commodious of all others, to which from Lahor anything may passe by water; besides the cuntry is more healthy and plentiful in indico and comodytyes fitt for England."¹¹ In his Treaty of Commerce, which he presented at the Royal Court of Jehangir, in March 1616, the second article provided for trade facilities in Sind. An extract from the second article of Sir Thomas Roe's draft treaty, reads thus:—

".....that the subjects of the most renowned King of Great Brittain shall come freely without any prohibition to any of the ports or havens in

8. Ibid., pp. 296-297, and Orme, R., *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire*, pp. 358-359.

9. Lahori Bunder was an old port of Thatta, near the Pitti mouth of the Indus. It has disappeared now.

10. Purchas, op. cit., IV. pp. 168-171, and Foster, *Early Travels in India*, pp. 190-191.

11. Foster, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, pp. 75-76.

the dominions of the said King of India as well in Bengala and *Synda* with their ship and other vessells, and so arrived may quietly, safely, and peaceably land their goods" etc.¹²

On 26th of April, 1616, Sir Thomas Roe wrote to the English factors at Surat, that an attempt should be made to open up trade with Lahore and Sind.¹³ The factors at Surat were not however very keen on trade connections with Sind. They considered trading with Sind, a risky matter, as the Portuguese had settled at Lahri Bunder. Sir Thomas Roe however pacified the Surat factors and dispelled their doubts, by saying, "The number of Portuguese residing is a good argument for us to seek it; it is a signe ther is good doeing. It is to bee understood wee must fire them out and maynteyne out trade at the pikes end."¹⁴ Seven years afterwards in 1623, the English traders were permitted free trade in Sind, by the Surat authorities.¹⁵ Though permission to trade had been given, and Sir Thomas Roe had encouraged the idea of trading with Sind, yet hardly any interest was shown and no commercial project undertaken till 1629, when an invitation was sent from Sind, to the English factors at Surat, for the establishment of an English factory in that country. Thereupon a native broker was despatched, to make inquiries and procure samples of the goods available there.¹⁶ The Surat factors had, in the meantime, written to the East India Company in England about the establishment of a factory in Sind, and a discouraging reply had been received from England, saying that "The settlement of a factory in *Synda* must not be undertaken except after good consideration."¹⁷ By April 1630, the native broker who had been sent to Sind, to collect samples and information, returned from that place bringing the samples of several articles, made in Sind. Two bales of Sind indigo and some samples of white cloth of Sind, were thereupon sent to the East India Company with a request, that ".....if they shall be found usefull in England and beneficiall to recompence the expence and charge of settling a factory in that place, your Worships may determine and we shall endeavour itt's performance."¹⁸

For the next five years the question of the establishment of a factory in Sind, does not seem to have been agitated. However in November 1635, the bitter feelings which the English and the Portuguese entertained for one another, having subsided, an English ship—the "Discovery" anchored off Lahri Bunder.¹⁹ This year 1635, is important, as it was in

12. Ibid., p. 134.

13. Ibid., pp. 146 and 148.

14. Ibid., p. 123, n. 2.

15. Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1622-1623*, p. 309.

16. Foster, op. cit., 1624-1629, p. XXXII.

17. Foster, op. cit., 1630-1633, p. 5.

18. Ibid., p. 35.

19. Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1634-1636*, pp. VII-X and XVI.

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this year that the East India Company mustered up courage, to trade on a large scale with Sind. Before the "Discovery" sailed for Lahri Bunder, William Fremelen, John Spiller and Richard Moyle, who had been nominated for service in Sind, were instructed, to inquire chiefly for piece-goods, suitable for the English market and to remain at peace, with the Portuguese residents there, and not to "encroach upon nor prejudice their royalties of revenewes." Fremelen was to be the leader of this expedition, with Spiller as his assistant to keep the cash and the accounts; and on Richard Moyle, "a youth well-born and educated," fell the task of helping in writing and keeping the petty cash accounts.²⁰ On 28th November 1635, the "Discovery" anchored right against the river Indus's mouth. On 3rd December, Fremelen and his companions landed at Lahri Bunder, at midnight. Next day, they were received by the local officials with due respect and courtesy. One of the best houses in the town, was ordered to be prepared for them. Fremelen found the town of Lahri Bunder, well-inhabited, containing mud houses. The articles of food were both cheap and abundant. Hens were to be had at four pice each, and a sheep cost only one rupee. The country round about belonged to one Rana Jeeah. In the town, a Portuguese factor dwelt in a decent house, whereas three or four *padrees*, had poor dwellings "to exercise their devotions in."²¹ After enjoying the hospitality of this town, for five days, the party left for Thatta, which place they reached on 10th December 1635. For nearly two months and a half, Fremelen's party remained at Thatta investigating in the commercial possibilities of Sind. The Governor of Thatta—Daulat Khan, extended a hearty welcome to them. In his report to the President and Council at Surat, Fremelen mentioned, that Nasarpur (in the Hyderabad district) was the chief cloth centre in Sind, boasting of nearly 3000 families of weavers, that the chief commodity of Sehwan, was an inferior kind of indigo, "because in the making they are accustomed to mingle sand with it, which not only makes it hard but heavie withall." Among other articles of commerce, were mentioned saltpetre and opium.²² On 23rd February 1636, Fremelen and his party left Thatta, and embarked for Surat a few days later, in the "Hopewell," which ship had come to Lahri Bunder, a week before the Christmas of 1635.²³ It should be borne in mind, that even after Fremelen's arrival at Thatta, no English factory had been established there. The President and the Council at Surat were still intending "to settle a constant factory at Tatta." One John Drake, who had been sent to the Royal Court of the Moghul Emperor, was instructed to obtain a fresh "*parwana*" for

20. Ibid., pp. 117-119.

21. Ibid., pp. 123-124.

22. Ibid., pp. 127-129.

23. Ibid., p. XVI.

Thatta.²⁴ He succeeded in obtaining the necessary "*parwana*" and sent it to the Surat factors on the 25th of August 1636.²⁵ After the return of Fremelen from Thatta, the English interests in Sind were left in the hands of a native broker.²⁶ But it appears that the trade connections with Sind were yet uncertain. The samples sent to England, found favour with the Directors of the East India Company who wrote to their Surat factors on the 16th of March 1638, that a factory in Sind should be established and cherished, "for the goods received from thence.... are the flower of the whole parcell and are preferred before all others for their making and prizes..... Weo shall therefore desire that you do not neglect that place....."²⁷

The next two years are uneventful. Two, three Englishmen had gone or passed through Sind and sent reports to the Surat factors about commerce and commodities of Sind, but it was in 1640, that an important step was taken, by sending John Spiller To Sind.²⁸ John Spiller had come to Surat in 1630, as a youth of seventeen or eighteen. He had also accompanied Fremelen to Sind in 1633. Now in June 1640, he was despatched to Sind as the chief factor and in Sind he remained upto 1642.²⁹ In 1643, presents were sent to Emperor Shah Jehan and his sons, with a view to obtain trade immunities. The result was very satisfactory and Dara Shikoh, Shah Jehan's eldest son, granted several *nishans* to facilitate English trade in Sind.³⁰ Though Spiller had gone to Sind in the middle of 1640, yet very little is heard of him, for the next three years. The establishment of the Englishmen, employed in Sind in 1641, consisted of John Spiller, Daniel Elder and Revett Walwyn, on salaries of £ 133.6.8, £ 70, and £ 18 per annum respectively.³¹ From May to September 1644, John Spiller toured in Upper Sind, studying the productions, and finding suitable places for the purchase of calico and indigo. He found, that the calico that was being produced, was of an inferior quality, the reason being the great demand for it, which had grown lately. In spite of fertile soil, he found that the people were too poor to produce good indigo.³² Two reasons have been assigned for the production of inferior quality of indigo in Sind, at this time. One was the oppressive government in Sind, which left the people "neither will nor means" to grow the crop. The second reason was the "reduced demand (for it) and a heavy fall in price."³³ Expectations of great

24. Ibid., pp. 271 and XXVI.

25. Ibid., p. 281.

26. Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1637-1641*, p. VII.

27. Ibid., p. 57.

28. Ibid., p. 275.

29. Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1655-1660*, p. 53.

30. Foster, *op. cit.*, 1642-1643, p. X.

31. Ibid., p. 132.

32. Ibid., p. XII.

33. Moreland, *W. H. From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, pp. 114 and 190.

quantities of indigo, having thus been frustrated, it was deemed advisable, to concentrate on the Sind cloth, and President Breton at Swally Marine wrote to the Company on 3rd January 1646, that, "the cloth of those parts (Sind) affordeth much better encouragement."³⁴ By January 1647, some change in the Sind Establishment, had been made. Daniel Elder and Revett Walwyn had been replaced by Henry Garry, Nicholas Scrivener and Gilbert Harrison at Thatta,³⁵ with Spiller as chief factor in Sind. Trade conditions were not at all favourable in Sind, in 1647, and John Spiller, reported to the Surat factors on 21st January 1647, that "Trade has been very dead" and that, "there is such a scarcity that merchants that trade up in the country are faine to runne all over the towne for a 100 rupees, and perchance not get them neither."³⁶ Trade transactions in Sind, of this period are not of much historical interest. Trade reports, an occasional death of some one from this small band of English trading pioneers, difficulties experienced at the hands of local officials, these sum up the activities of Messrs. Spiller, Garry, Scrivener and Harrison, in Sind. In 1650, the factory servants in Sind, had been hindered by the obstructions, set by the native officials, at two places—Kandiaro and Nasarpur.³⁷ Richard Davidge, who was proceeding to Agra, was requested to place this matter before the Moghul Emperor. The result was satisfactory and Richard Davidge, succeeded in obtaining a "firman", ordering the governors in the province of Sind, and more particularly at Kandiaro and Nasarpur, "not to interrupt the free course of our trade in that province."³⁸ In April 1652, John Spiller embarked on the "Lanneret" for Persia, where he had been appointed as the chief English factor.³⁹ But before proceeding there, something had happened at Lahri Bunder, which deserves some notice. So far, only two Western nations, were competing for trade in Sind, the Portuguese and the English, but in March 1652, we hear for the first time of the Dutch nation competing with the English, for Sind trade. In March 1652, Spiller found, much to his annoyance, some Dutch traders, who finding the English people, doing profitable trade in Sind, had sent a mission to Thatta, headed by Pieter de Bie,⁴⁰ seeking permission, to establish a factory in Sind. This permission was easily granted to them, much to the chagrin of the English traders in Sind.⁴¹ But Spiller was optimistic that "inspite of the recent intrusion of the Dutch, the Sind

34. Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1646-1650*, p. 13.

35. Ibid. p. 96.

36. Ibid., pp. 72 and 73.

37. Ibid., pp. 276-277. Kandiaro is a taluka head-quarters in the Hyderabad district. Nasarpur is a small town of great antiquity, also in Hyderabad district.

38. Ibid., pp. 303 and 321.

39. Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1651-1654*, p. 90.

40. Ibid., p. 116, n.

41. Ibid., p. X.

trade will continue to be prosperous and profitable.⁴² Trade conditions in Sind, in 1656, were causing great anxiety, and Scrivener who was now the East India Company's chief factor there,⁴³ wrote on 24th April 1656, that the traders in Sind, were put to great inconvenience, by the retiring Moghul governor——Jaffar Khan, who had seized all their boats for his accomodation.⁴⁴ The new governor of Thatta, Kabad Khan,⁴⁵ was no better than his predecessor. Though not exactly a hen-pecked husband, yet his wife commanded all, "the Governour not daring to controule her." The trouble with Kabad Khan's masterful spouse was, that she harassed the local traders considerably by taking away their goods and not paying even half the price for them. So Scrivener reported on 5th June 1656, that "there is a madd kinde of government at present in Tatah."⁴⁶ During the following year, all that we learn about the trade affairs in Sind, is that Scrivener was still in Sind, clearing up matters, before going away with the goods, recently brought from thence.⁴⁷ A band of five Englishmen, namely Messrs. Nicholas Scrivener, William Bell, Humphrey Fox, Thomas Atkins and John Widdrington were sent to Sind in 1658 to be the factors there.⁴⁸ The year 1658, is historically important, on account of the conflict, in Northern India, between the four sons of Shah Jehan. Prince Shuja's defeat by the Imperial forces near Benares, in February 1658, the defeat of Dara Shikoh at Samugarh in May 1658 at the hands of Aurangzeb and Prince Murad, the captivity of Shah Jehan in 1658, the imprisonment of Murad by his wily brother Aurangzeb, who crowned himself as the Emperor on 21st July 1658, and Dara's flight from Delhi to Lahore, from Lahore to Multan, and finally to Gujerat are matters too well known to the students of Indian History. While this political tornado was sweeping away everything before it in the Northern India, there was a terrible famine raging in Sind, in 1658, which swept away the majority of the people.⁴⁹ Mention has been made of this famine, as it affected the English trade in Sind. So terrible was the famine that the living were hardly able to bury the dead,⁵⁰ and consequently the number of the weavers diminished considerably. The cloth that was produced was of an inferior quality, as whatever the Sindhi weavers produced was bought immediately by the native merchants at any price. The Surat factory, sent some grain, to be distributed

42. Ibid., p. 130.

43. Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1655-1660*, p. 58.

44. Ibid., p. 78.

45. Kalich Beg, *History of Sind*, II, p. 129.

46. Foster, op. cit., 1655-1660, p. 79.

47. Ibid., p. 115.

48. Ibid., pp. 147 and 152.

49. Moreland, op. cit., p. 209.

50. Foster, op. cit., 1655-1660, p. 307.

51. Ibid., p. 210 and n.

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among the Sindhi weavers, to keep them at work,⁵¹ but the East India Company's trade affairs were by no means in a flourishing condition. In April 1660, orders were issued to Scrivener, in Sind, to cease buying cotton goods there, and to buy a stock of saltpetre instead.⁵² The affairs at Surat, had taken a bad turn in 1660, owing to a clash between the Surat factors and the local authorities there. The Surat factors had been subjected to affronts and abuses and petty indignities, like prohibiting them "to wear sword, dagger or knife."⁵³ The factors resolved to be patient, till the arrival of their ships, and then to demand satisfaction for insults and injuries heaped on them. They wrote to their factors, scattered all over India, to be in readiness to depart, on receiving a warning from them, to do so. The factors at Thatta, were also informed on 14th June 1660, to be in readiness to withdraw at a short notice.⁵⁴ The situation however improved by September 1660, when the governor of Surat.... Mirza Arab, evinced signs of friendliness. The proffered peace, was readily accepted, the justification on the part of the English factors being, "our masters business."⁵⁵ Nicholas Scrivener still continued to be the chief factor in Sind, assisted by Messrs. William Bell, Valentine Nurse and John Cox.⁵⁶ The trade with Sind, as mentioned above, was becoming less profitable day by day. It was feared in the beginning of 1662, that the Sind factory "will not be worth the charge."⁵⁷ On 27th March 1662, a strong letter was written to William Bell, the chief factor in Sind now, in place of Nicholas Scrivener, who had evidently given up his post in Sind,⁵⁸ that if a steady supply of saltpetre and calicoes, at reasonable prices were not procured, the Sind factory would be withdrawn.⁵⁹ It appears that William Bell, the chief factor in Sind, was a person of extravagant tastes. He returned to Swally on the 14th November, 1662, with the other Sind factors,⁶⁰ and was reprimanded, for his various misdemeanours. While in Sind, he had, not only been most scurrilous, in his correspondence with the President of the East India Company at Surat, but he had also misappropriated the Company's money and had failed to pay into the Company's treasury at Surat, the money he had brought from Sind. He was accused and found guilty, and the Council at Surat decided to send him back to England, "as a person most unfitt to serve the company."⁶¹

52. Ibid., p. 311.

53. Ibid., p. 312.

54. Ibid., p. 313.

55. Ibid., p. 319.

56. Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1661--1664*, p. 27.

57. Ibid., p. 30.

58. Ibid., p. 72.

59. Ibid., p. 78.

60. Ibid., p. 108.

61. Ibid., pp. 116-117.

With the departure of William Bell and other factors, the English factory in Sind, may be considered as finally withdrawn. After 1662, we hear no more of any English factors in Sind.

Very little is gathered from Sir William Foster's monumental work in thirteen volumes———"*The English Factories in India*", about the social and the political life in Sind in the 17th century. But in the year 1699 an Englishman, by name Captain Alexander Hamilton visited Thatta and from his interesting book———*A New Account of East Indies* we gather some information about the social customs prevalent in Sind and the trade conditions of the country. Hamilton visited Thatta at a time when Thatta had reached the zenith of its glory. The large and rich city boasted of a citadel, capable of lodging 5,000 men and horse, with a palace built in it for the governor of the place. Hamilton had brought with himself goods worth 10,000£ with the intention of trading with the people of Sind. He was very kindly received and hospitably treated by the Nabob of the town who sent him a present of "an ox, five sheep, as many goats, twenty fowls, and fifty pigeons, with sweet-meats and fruits in abundance." At an interview between the Nabob and Captain Hamilton, the Nabob after praising the bold Englishman, told him that he was free of all customs duties and tax on his goods that he had brought or should export from Sind. He also allowed him the privilege of "imprisoning those people who failed to pay him for the goods bought from him, without going to the Kazi for justice." Hamilton stayed at Thatta for three months. Thatta in 1699 appears to have been a very populous town, for Hamilton mentions that three years before he came to the place, 80,000 weavers and manufacturers of cotton and silk had died on account of a severe plague caused by the rain not having fallen. He further refers to four hundred colleges at Thatta training the young men of the place in theology, philology and politics. Though Hamilton's account of Thatta smacks of hyperbole, yet it must be admitted that Thatta at this time was "the emporium of the province of Sind." Hamilton's account throws some light on the local manufactures and articles of export. Cloth of silk, cotton and wool was the special manufacture of the place. Beautiful coverlets for beds, and fine cabinets, some of them inlaid with ivory were also made at Thatta. Great quantities of butter were exported in jars of all sizes. Another articles of export was the *Ligna Dulcis* which found its way from Thatta to even China. Though the religion established by law was Mahomedan yet general religious tolerance was observed towards the Hindus who formed the majority of the people. The Hindus were allowed to observe their fasts and feasts unmolested. Another interesting fact is brought to light by Captain Hamilton and that is the absence of *Suttee* system in Sind, for, Hamilton distinctly mentions that "the wives of (the Hindus) are restrained from burning with the corpses of their husbands." After a pleasant stay

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of three months at Thatta, Captain Hamilton left for Gujarat, passing through Cutch.⁶²

After Alexander Hamilton, we learn of only one more Englishman in Sind—Edward Cooke. Nothing is known about him and his doings in Sind. But it is clear from the inscription on his grave that he was a private merchant who died at Thatta in 1748. The date of his death is found inscribed on his grave, which lies hidden in some cactus bushes, at a short distance, from the Travellers' Bungalow, on the Makli tableland near Thatta. The grave of Edward Cooke, bears the following inscription:—

"Here lyes the manes of Edward Cooke, who was taken out of the world in the Flower of his Age, a person of great esteem and much lamented by his friends, learned in many languages, of great humanity, a sound judgment and generous disposition, who departed this life on the 8th of May 1748. Ætatis Suae 21.

As blooming lilies grace the field,
So for a day they shine,
Like him to God, so they yield
Their selves, but not their name resign.

To whose memory his servants erected this tomb."⁶³

This summarises very briefly the doings of early English traders in Sind, in the 17th and the early decades of the 18th centuries. From Anthony Starkey the first Englishman in Sind to Edward Cooke, the list of the English pioneers has been fairly exhaustive.

62. Hamilton, A., *A New Account of the East Indies*, I, p. 117 and ff.

63. Cousens, *Antiquities of Sind*, p. 123.