

# JOURNAL

of the

# PANJAB UNIVERSITY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

(Incorporating the Panjab Historical Society.)

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**Journal**  
OF THE  
**Panjab University Historical Society**  
*(Incorporating the Panjab Historical Society)*

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**Vol. IV, Pt. II ] DECEMBER 1935**

**[No. 8**

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EDITORIAL

The present issue of the Journal is in a special sense historical. It includes a report of the Silver Jubilee Meeting of the Historical Society, which was held in Hailey Hall, Panjab University, on 16th December, 1935, in the presence of His Excellency, the Governor of the Panjab, who is its Patron.

The Society has led a double life during the past four years. Founded in 1910, the Panjab Historical Society, after a period of about twelve years of notable activity, fell into gradual decadence, until it was reluctantly decided at the end of 1931 to dissolve it. Meanwhile, a University Chair of History had been established at the end of 1930. A conference between the President of the Society, the Honourable Mr. Justice F. W. Skemp, I.C.S., and the University Professor of History led to the proposal to establish a University Historical Society, which should absorb and continue the work of the older Society.

The Panjab Historical Society was liquidated and the University Historical Society was formed at the same meeting, over which Mr. Justice Skemp presided, in January, 1932. The members and funds of the older Society were transferred to the new Society, so that the transformation was largely nominal. Moreover, several of the foundation members of the old Society passed into the new Society.



They included Sir Edward Maclagan, Sir J. P. Thompson, Dr. A. C. Woolner and Raja Hari Kishen Kaul, who had been respectively President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer of the Society at its foundation in 1910 ; as well as Rai Bahadur Pandit Sheo Narain and Dr. J. P. Vogel.

It may be asked why in these circumstances even a nominal change was made ; for it might appear that the moribund Society could be revived without interrupting its tradition. The answer is that the change was more than merely nominal. The Society became closely associated with the University Department of History, which assumed responsibility for its reorganisation and maintenance ; the University provided it with quarters and a secretariat ; and particularly the University, through the agency of the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Woolner, from that time has contributed an annual donation to its revenue, which has been essential to the continuation of its functions. The most permanently valuable of those functions is the publication of its Journal, a fairly expensive undertaking, which would be impossible without such financial help. But a scrutiny of its membership will show that the Society has continued as a provincial and not merely a University body. In the four years since its renaissance membership has grown from about 12 to 100, of whom only about one half are otherwise associated with the University.

It must be confessed, however, that the maintenance of its proper function as a learned society has depended upon the continuous efforts of a very small band, whose depletion, even by an individual, is a serious loss, not easily replaced. To obtain contributions not entirely unworthy of the tradition of the old Society is a constant and anxious task, which grows no lighter each year, though we continue to hope that sufficient recruits to historical research will be found to encourage us to contemplate with optimism the future celebration of the Golden Jubilee of the Society.

It has suffered a deplorable loss by the death of Dr. A. C. Woolner, whose last public appearances were made (though we did not remotely contemplate the fact) at the functions which were held to celebrate its Silver Jubilee. He was not only the prime mover in its foundation and for many years its most active member, but also, since its transformation, its most beneficent sponsor.

The Society is about to lose also the active support of another valuable member, Lieut.-Colonel Garrett, Principal and Professor of History of Government College, Lahore, who has been on its strength during 23 of its 25 years' existence. But in this case we hope to receive many further contributions to its Journal, the fruit of his retired leisure.

We believe that the state of a Historical Society is one of the clearest criteria of the cultural condition of a people. The judicious examination of its past creates a consciousness of its character and assists more than any other process to impart the momentum of tradition to the solution of its present problems and the definition of its ~~future~~ path. The study of a people's history is, in short, the most powerful shaping force in the education of its youth. India needs to place in the hands of its youth histories of their country which shall inculcate an accurate and temperate record of its past in order to enable them to adjust themselves intelligently to the rapidly growing responsibility of their present and future political and social tasks. Upon the strength of that consciousness the future of this Society depends. We cannot but feel that the educated and patriotic citizens of the Panjab will increasingly respond to our purpose and assist our humble attempt to contribute to it.

As this number is at the point of publication we have learned of another historic event which has arrested the attention of the world, namely, the death of the King-Emperor, George V. We are conscious of the loss of a great personal influence for good in the British Commonwealth of Nations, in which his reign has witnessed the gradual accession of the Indian people to a new status. It is almost impossible to imagine a person whose passing will be more universally or sincerely mourned, for the British people believe that he has personified whatever national virtues they possess. His interest in his Indian subjects was earnest and profound and has been appreciated by them in a manner which must deeply impress his successor. Our natural dejection is somewhat relieved by our realisation that his son, the King-Emperor Edward VIII, is entirely worthy of his great heritage and as competent to bear its high responsibility.



**Report of the Silver Jubilee Meeting of the Society, held on Monday, 16th December, 1935, at 6-15 p.m., in Hailey Hall, Panjab University, Lahore, the Patron, His Excellency Sir H. W. Emerson, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., C.B.E., I.C.S., presiding.**

ADDRESS BY MR. J. F. BRUCE, M. A., PRESIDENT :

YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

This, the second meeting of the Society in its present session, is unusual in three respects : (i) your presence, Sir, as Patron ; (ii) the distinction rather than the largeness of this audience—for I can record several recent meetings from which the dilatory were excluded because of lack of sitting and standing space in this hall ; (iii) the formal commemoration this evening of the Society's survival for a quarter of a century.

There are patent advantages in such a commemorative occasion as this. It evokes the periodic incarnation of our Patron ; it heartens us with the reflection that we are beginning to acquire the respectability of age, that our Society may become historic, as well as historical ; it draws to the attention of a notable audience the existence and purposes of the Society and no doubt impels all the public spirited and thoughtful among them forthwith to enrol themselves !

The Society has already experienced one avatar, but its soul goes marching on. It originated in a private meeting of three men in 1910. One of those three, Sir J. P. Thompson, died very recently, to our deep regret, having fulfilled a career of high public service and keen devotion to culture and sound learning in India. The second, Dr. J. P. Vogel, has since been retranslated into the Dutch and now adorns the Chair of Sanskrit in the great University of Leyden. But the third, who was its prime mover, Dr. A. C. Woolner, is present this evening. You see him now wistfully comparing this youth with the infant he swaddled, pondering gravely upon its future.

The first formal meeting of the Society was held in the Old Senate Hall yonder on 27th December, 1910, in the presence of His Honour Sir Louis Dane, Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab. The three apostles quickly gathered about them an admirable coterie of scholars, including Sir Edward Maclagan, who was the first President, Sir Abdul Qadir, Sir John Maynard, Sir Aurel Stein, Raja Hari Kishen

Kaul, Rai Bahadur Pandit Sheo Narain, Dr. H. D. Griswold, Dr. J. Hutchison, Mr. R. B. Whitehead, Mr. T. Graham Bailey and others, <sup>nearly</sup> all of whom, like our Vice-Chancellor, vigorously survive—such is the healthful influence of a zealous study of history! I need not remind many members of this audience of the contribution which these men have made and are making to the culture of India.

The transactions of the Panjab Historical Society, to which His Excellency himself has contributed, were published in its Journal, the numbers of which have gained currency and respect widely beyond India. The Honorary Secretary continues to receive, often from remote distances, requests for complete sets or individual numbers of the old Journal, and I am always conscious of the fine standard of scholarship which it has set before us who try to maintain its tradition.

But the pristine zeal of the old Society could not be constantly maintained. The World War relaxed interest in its modest pursuit of one of the high ends of peace, and its later life was the thin existence of an ever paler ghost of its former self. It became, as it were, a *yogi* which periodically retired within itself for long periods of transcendent meditation, while its body slowly withered. Indeed, in 1925 it seems to have entered upon a *samadhi* which lasted for four years. Despite the efforts of its last President, the Honourable Mr. Justice F. W. Skemp, it was feared by the end of 1931 that it would finally perish of inanition.

In January, 1932, at a meeting which contained three members—a sombre reminiscence of the three apostles of 1910—Mr. Skemp sadly announced its dissolution, but also more hopefully the simultaneous transmigration of its spirit and its material elements—particularly its funds—to the new born Panjab University Historical Society. At that moment the old Society had about twelve active members. The new Society now has 100 members. In the twenty-one years from 1911 to 1931 the old Society published twenty-one numbers of its Journal. In the four years since January, 1932, the reorganised Society has published seven numbers, while the eighth is now in press. The membership has steadily increased and we hope that, with the encouragement of Your Excellency and of



interested members of this audience, the Society will enter the second quarter of a century of its life well over one hundred strong. We hope upon our present financial basis quickly to increase our numbers to at least 150 subscribing members—a strength which will enable us to undertake certain projects, of which I shall speak presently.

We can review the progress of the reorganised Society with moderate satisfaction. Whatever success we have had is due in no small degree to the Vice-Chancellor, who has not forgotten his nursing, but has contributed to its support from University funds at his disposal as liberally as the lean years would allow. But we must confess to one notable aspect of inferiority to the old Society, namely, the less active and prolific quality of our membership. This is not to cavil at attendance at our meetings. At the first meeting of the present session, held on 27th October, this hall somehow contained 250 persons, while nearly 100 more failed to gain admission. The majority of that audience consisted of non-members; but we gladly receive the stranger within our gate. Our principal defect lies in the quantity and particularly in the quality of our transactions, which depend upon the genuine scholarly activity of members. In the last resort a long roll of members, a sound financial condition and the periodic attendance of large and interested audiences weigh light against a record of really scholarly offerings to the current volume of history. We welcome the new member; but we fervently embrace the active and competent scholar. For that reason we are very grateful to Mr. Ogilvie, who has somehow snatched time from assisting in the preparation of the annual provincial budget to address us this evening.

A glance at our roll of members will show that we derive much of our support from members of the High Court and of the various Government services and that Europeans are conspicuous among them. This is a clear indication of their real interest in an attempt to develop Indian historical culture. It is a matter for regret, it is true, that on account of the ever-increasing concentration of their energy upon the heavy task of a complex administration, which is their primary duty, these gentlemen can nowadays seldom find leisure for the active cultivation of those interests which are the legacy of

their education. The segregation of many of the best minds in India within the administrative services is possibly one of the chief causes of the comparative deficiency of the modern development of its culture.

An even more regrettable fact, which may be accounted for in the same way, is the fewness of the educated Indians not so employed, who take a genuine, active interest in the purposes of societies such as this. We hope that this occasion will stimulate their interest.

I spoke earlier of our projects. The first of these is to acquire a local habitation—a room which can be used as a library, at present housed in almirahs on a verandah outside my office. I know that Dr. Woolner will help us in this respect when he can. I envisage an historical library which will become an asset to the culture of this province.

In the next place I hope that it may become possible to publish a series of monographs, which commercial presses cannot undertake. This is a regular function of Historical Societies elsewhere, and will depend upon the provision of funds. An annual subvention from Government would seem appropriate.

I hope also that a strong Panjab Historical Society may take a lead in establishing an Indian Historical Association, which this great and ancient country should maintain.

The Vice-Chancellor and the Vice-President, Mr. Garrett, will address you on other aspects of the Society and I hope that after Mr. Ogilvie's address His Excellency will also honour us with a speech on this occasion which his presence has made notable.

We greatly regret the very recent death of an eminent member of this Society, His Highness the Raja of Chamba, one of whose last acts must have been to send a liberal donation to our Jubilee Fund.

One last word. My duties as President during the past four years have been greatly lightened by the zeal of the Honorary Secretary, Mr. R. R. Sethi, and during the past two years by the efficiency of the Honorary Treasurer, Mr. Ishwar Das, Registrar of the University.



ADDRESS BY DR. A. C. WOOLNER, C. I. E., M. A.,  
D. LITT., VICE-CHANCELLOR.\*

A Jubilee of this Society, even a Silver Jubilee, makes me feel historical, not to say prehistoric. The President has sketched the history of the Society as known to him from the published documents, that is from back numbers of the Journal. That account could be expanded somewhat by reference to the manuscript records of meetings which were not published.

To recover the whole inner history would be more difficult. I doubt if all the early correspondence has been preserved with meticulous care. With so many crowding interests the first members of the Society may find it far from easy to disentangle their memories of the Panjab Historical Society from those of other activities.

Perhaps I may say something of the circumstances under which the Society was founded in 1910, and then allude to the struggles to keep the institution alive after 1923 up to its second incarnation as a University Society.

In the summer of 1910, the late Sir John Perronet Thompson, then a judicial officer in Delhi, went to Simla for his summer recess. One morning he called on Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, who was officiating Director-General of Archæology, at his office in Benmore. Mr. Thompson, as he was then, commonly known as "J. P.," had been working on the history of the old streets in Delhi and was seeking further information.

Dr. Vogel was delighted to make the acquaintance of such an earnest and methodical student of local history and was struck by the fact that during a number of years in the Panjab he had never happened to meet Thompson or to hear anything of the work he was doing. There ought, he thought, to be some organisation to link up such workers, of whom he hoped to discover more, with each other, with the official archæologists and with history teachers in the Universities. After talking this over, the three of us, Thompson, Vogel and myself, met one night at Corstorphan's Hotel and drafted the first Rules of the Panjab Historical Society. It was agreed to ask Sir Edward Maclagan to be the first president.

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\* This was Dr. Woolner's last public utterance.—*Editor.*

This was probably in September. After my return to Lahore, but before the Panjab Government had moved down, a meeting was held in Benmore at which it was formally resolved to form the Society. The rules were adopted and officers were elected as follows :

President	..	The Hon'ble Mr. E. D. Maclagan.
Vice-President	..	Mr. J. P. Thompson.
Secretary	..	Mr. A. C. Woolner.
Treasurer	..	Rai Bahadur Pandit Hari Kishen Kaul.

The proceedings of this meeting have not been recorded in the Journal.

During the autumn members were enrolled and His Honour Sir Louis Dane consented to become the first Patron of the Society.

The first meeting of the newly formed Society was the Annual Meeting of 1910. This was held in the Old Senate Hall on the 27th December. In the absence of the President Mr. J. P. Thompson read the President's address. You may find that address in the first six pages of the first number of the Journal and it is still very well worth reading.

Sir Edward Maclagan remained President till he became Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, but he could only preside at meetings in Simla, which in early years formed an important part of the Society's activities. The management of the Society's affairs was in the hands of Thompson and myself, subject to the decisions of the Council, which usually met only once a year. The Rules were changed so as to put all the power in the hands of the Council, which nominated new members.

In the course of time the Society was to experience ebb tides.

The first blow was the foundation of the Historical Society of the United Provinces.

The War on the whole did not affect us much at the time. Much more serious were the Reforms which turned men's thoughts to the present and future of India, so that less interest was felt in the past. A still greater catastrophe in its immediate results was the failure of the Alliance Bank of Simla, which swept away a substantial reserve and checked the publication of the Journal. No Journal meant fewer members and a further reduction of income. We gave up the old format, insisted on by Vogel, and adopted a cheaper one.



From this time our difficulties were very real—lack of members, lack of funds, lack of papers worth printing and, worst of all, a lack of enthusiasm.

Even Rai Bahadur Sheo Narain, a most constant contributor, speaker and supporter, despaired of its future. Still some of us felt the need of such a society would be realised later on and obstinately refused to let it die. It is a source of satisfaction to us that the Society has survived, if in a rather different form, that it is fulfilling a useful function, and that in its more definite association with the University we can see a better hope of its survival in the future. I am very glad that the University Professor of History has taken the Society under the wing of his Department. At the same time, I hope it will continue to be something more than a University Society and that it will serve, as was originally intended, as an association of all those who are really interested in history, especially local history, throughout the University area.

ADDRESS BY LT.-COL. H. L. O. GARRETT, M.A., I.E.S.,  
VICE-PRESIDENT.

I suppose my main claim to speak on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of our Society lies in Anno Domini, as I have been a member of the two Societies for 23 years and have, at different times, been Treasurer, Secretary, President and Vice-President.

As a member of the old Society, one cannot but feel some regret at its disappearance. There were giants among our contributors of those earlier days, and one thinks to-night of historical scholars whose papers appeared in the pages of the old journal—Sir Edward Maclagan, Sir Aurel Stein, Dr. Vogel, Dr. Hutcheson, our present Vice-Chancellor and, last but not least, His Excellency, our Chairman of to-night, all of whom are still happily with us, while others like that very loyal member, Sir John Thompson, have passed on. The standard of those early days was high and the Journal exceptionally well produced—too expensively produced, indeed, for the dwindling membership.

With the incorporation of the old Society with the new University Society another era has commenced, an era which seems to promise to be a successful one in every way. I think I may claim a certain amount of responsibility for this. The reorganization and rearrangement of the papers in the Record Office in the Civil Secretariat, which I have carried on as Keeper of the Records during the last 13 years, has enabled a younger generation of scholars to make fuller use of the records of the province and to conduct researches into our local history which were not before possible. There is much material available in the Record Office for future research, and I have every hope that the Society will be able so to utilize it as to make its Journal a real contribution to our knowledge of local history.



ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY, SIR HERBERT WILLIAM  
EMERSON, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., C.B.E., I.C.S., GOVERNOR  
OF THE PANJAB, PATRON\* :

Professor Bruce has suggested, as one of the possible reasons for the tempered success which attends the efforts of societies such as this, the fact that officers of Government are so preoccupied with the tasks of administration that they become segregated from the general community in its other aspects. I think that he may have introduced that sentence after he had learned from my Secretary that I intended not to make a speech this evening, but merely to express an appreciation of the other speeches and specially of the very interesting discourse by Mr. Ogilvie on early kingship in Britain, which has obviously involved much research. Mr. Ogilvie's discourse has inspired me to add some remarks of my own, suggesting parallels to his subject which exist in India. Although I cannot rival Dr. Woolner's claim to almost prehistoric distinction, I recall that the last occasion on which I attended a meeting of this Society, many years ago, I came as a victim, to give a prepared address. This evening I have come unprepared, because of lack of time.

I would suggest to teachers and students of Indian history that they might draw many interesting analogies between the characteristics of early kingship in Britain and elsewhere and conditions of kingship which still survive in the Panjab. Mr. Ogilvie for example referred to the early king's claim to certain attributes of divinity. Various theories have been advanced, as by Frazer, to explain the origin and motive of such a claim. A primitive king needed to be a man of great vigour and often supplemented his natural vigour, which would inevitably decline with years, by a claim to divine sanctions. I have encountered parallels in the Panjab hill states, which suggest that originally the enfeebled king was finally sacrificed as a god and replaced by a more vigorous member of the royal stock. I once witnessed an interesting survival of this superstition in a Himalayan state, which occupies a beautiful valley at a height of 9,000 to 10,000 feet, with a background of mountains 21,000 feet high. The raja was approaching his capital in a palanquin. At a certain point he descended, exchanged his royal robes for the simple garments of

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\* Extempore.

another man and mingled with the crowd, proceeding to his place afoot. Meanwhile the other, clad in the royal robes, entered the palanquin and was ceremoniously escorted to the capital. This man was a puppet king, who was symbolically sacrificed on behalf of the raja, dedicated to the gods. It was in fact a sign of the sanctity of the king as the head of the religion of his people.

In Kulu I witnessed a similar illustration of the belief in the divine sanction of the king. His subjects considered themselves unjustly oppressed and that the raja was therefore inspired by evil attendants, who frustrated his will. They refused service to these evil ones, betook themselves to the forest, cut down trees and buried a large piece of salt, grieving at the influence of the raja's evil ministers, imploring the gods for their removal and so securing a change of ministry and policy by an appeal to the ruler's tutelar gods, whose agent he was.

I have found many similar instances, which I have no time this evening to relate, showing the survival in present day Indian hill states of several of the characteristics of primitive English kingship, which Mr. Ogilvie has so learnedly explained. Such lectures are very valuable.

I have great pleasure in learning that the Historical Society is again flourishing and I presume that it will continue to flourish. I wish to add to the names of the members who have been mentioned by previous speakers those of Professor Bruce, Dr. Woolner and Mr. Garrett, who as Keeper of the Panjab Government Records has furnished students with a great deal of valuable historical material. I hope that historical students will be inspired by these efforts to pursue research and contribute to the aims of this useful Society, to which I wish every success.

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## SOME ASPECTS OF EARLY ENGLISH KINGSHIP

[*Address delivered on 16th December 1935.*]

The 25th anniversary of the Panjab Historical Society has fallen in the jubilee year. For this reason alone the subject of this paper seems appropriate. The province is also about to receive a new constitution based largely upon the product of English political experience, and there is no doubt that the key to the comprehension of English constitutional development lies in the understanding of mediæval kingship. It may therefore be of interest to consider briefly some aspects of the great institution from which the whole of our constitutional and administrative machinery is derived. The science of politics according to Lord Acton is the one science that is deposited by the stream of history like grains of gold (or possibly of iron pyrites) in the sand of a river, and knowledge of the past is a power which may be used in the making of the future. "Politics," said Sir John Seeley, "are vulgar when they are not liberalised by history, and history fades into mere literature when it loses sight of its relation to practical politics." The results of such failures are in fact frequently still more deplorable. There is no great harm in vulgarity and normally none in literature, but the lie in the soul is to be avoided. Ignorance of origins may often be of minor importance, but the postulation of false origins commonly serves to lend strength to bad arguments and consecration to follies and abuses. In the 19th century it was an article of faith that we owe what we call our liberties to the true democratic spirit of the Anglo-Saxon race, which, after being purged of all corruption by the fire of the Norman Conquest, was in due course permitted by the English Justinian to blossom forth into its typical manifestation, parliamentary institutions. Historically there is nothing to be said for such a belief. We owe the fact that we have for long been governed not by one but by many, not to the alleged freedom-loving instincts of the Saxon peasantry, but to the struggles of our Kings with their turbulent aristocracy. Much too much stress has been laid on the Germanic origin of our constitution, and especially of Parliament. The institution, like the word, owes nothing to the Anglo-Saxon past. The ancestors of Parliament are the Curia and the Household of the Norman Kings, and our administrative institutions owe their

existence to the fact that the increased effectiveness of the monarchy, which resulted from the Conquest, necessitated the diffusion of royal power over Departments of State. The Norman monarchy on the other hand owed much to its predecessor. So much by way of introductory justification. There is little or nothing that is original in what is to follow. Much of what I am going to say has somewhere or other appeared in print, and my debt to the late Professor Tout, Mr. A. J. Carlyle, Mr. Hockart, Mr. McIlwaine, Mr. Russell, Mr. Conway Davies and Mr. M. Bloch will be sufficiently obvious.

I propose in this paper to examine briefly the nature and theory of mediæval English kingship, and to try to show what were its advantages and what its limitations in its long conflict with its only rival, the Norman aristocracy.

In the remote hill states of the Himalayas the local gods, though endowed with power to control the manifestations of nature, are entitled to be worshipped only so long as they continue satisfactorily to safeguard the interests of their devotees. If disease is prevalent, or harvests continue to be bad, the worshippers, or at least the elders among them, are justified in taking such action against the god as may bring him to a proper sense of his responsibilities, and in the event of failure even to renounce their allegiance and choose another deity. The position of the Himalayan deity of to-day affords a close parallel to that of the mediæval European monarch. Sacred or semi-sacred though he was, his power, as will be shown in detail later, was never absolute. The idea of the sovereign whose will is law was entirely alien to mediæval ways of thinking, and reappeared only at the Renaissance with the renewed study of Roman jurisprudence. The sanctity of the king was always great, but in the beginnings of history it seems that his political power was weak, and anthropological research has shown that the primitive king was often a medicine man. A certain family was believed to possess supernatural powers, perhaps to be able to control the elements, and at any rate to judge of auspicious moments and guarantee good luck. A member of it was chosen as king, who was not so much the leader and judge among his people in peace and war as a puppet or mascot responsible for success in tribal undertakings. The attainment of temporal supremacy by a being possessed of spiritual power was a natural development



and a mascot king of intelligence and energy, who used his opportunities to the best advantage, would inevitably tend to outstrip all competitors for the day-to-day exercise of authority.

The working out of these ideas is clearly to be seen in the history of Teutonic kingship. The primitive tribes of interior Germany, whence in due course emerged the barbarian invaders of England, chose, according to Tacitus, their kings for their birth, their generals for their courage. But the magic power of royalty must frequently have been combined with the quality of leadership, and then the mascot king might become an effective ruler and governor. Cæsar says that ordinarily the chiefs of the German clans were the guides and leaders of society, but that in the event of war, the need for a central authority was felt and the chieftains would then temporarily unite under the orders of a single leader. If they had a sacred king, who was also a man of his hands, it seems certain that they would have chosen him. A successful war would naturally tend to consolidate the position of the god or priest king, and the enlarging of the state by conquest would mean that there would always be work to be done by a central authority. Conquest also tended gradually to lower the status of the mass of the conquerors, as in time they merged insensibly with the conquered among whom they dwelt. This process can be observed in the history of the Saxon and Danish invasions of England. Voltaire was almost certainly wrong, at least as far as Teutonic monarchy was concerned, when he asserted that war made kings and that the first king was merely a successful soldier. He would have been nearer the truth if he had said that war gave kings political power.

The German king did not lose his sacred character by becoming a temporal ruler. The divinity that doth hedge a King always remained and seems to have been recognised in all the States of mediæval Europe which were evolved out of the welter of barbarian invasion in which the Roman Empire passed away. Some traces of Roman and even of Greek and Eastern ideas on the divinity of kingship probably survived the cataclysm and were added by the barbarians to their own Teutonic notions. The State religion of the Empire, with which many of the barbarian tribes must have been perfectly familiar, was worship of the Emperor. The new

kings of the west started life then in an atmosphere of semi-religious veneration, due in the main to ancestral German ideas of the sanctity of the blood royal, but also in part to exhalations from the debris of classical civilisation. The coming of Christianity was the third factor in the development of the sacrosanct character of kingship. At first sight it might seem unlikely that the Church, comparatively fresh from its victory over paganism and emperor-worship, would recognise any pretension to divinity on the part of the barbarian princes. But it was clear that the idea could be made to subserve the mission of the Church for the betterment and uplifting of mankind. Society was cruel, barbarous and undisciplined, and the bonds which held it together were few and slender. If anarchy supervened, the condition of the mass of men was one of hopeless misery. The Church alone stood for civilization. Whatever we may think of the tendency of the early Church occasionally to put theology before conduct, it can hardly be gainsaid that in the affairs of this world it never trusted to visionary ideals, but always endeavoured to support any practical and concrete power which could be used to further the peace and happiness of man. In the early middle age the need for strong kingship was obvious so long as the king could be brought even dimly to realize his responsibilities and the Church did not think of lessening his power by depriving him of his sacred character, though its manifestations might seem markedly usurpatory and even to savour of heathendom. The ceremony of anointing a king at his coronation seems to date in Europe from the time of the Carolingians and to have been borrowed by them from the ancient civilisations of the East. The Saxon kings of England adopted it soon after. The practice must be considered as marking the ceremonial acceptance of the divinity of kingship by the Christian Church. The ceremony was however double edged, and when the necessity for an irresistibly strong secular ruler became less pressing, it could be said and was said that it takes a priest to make a king.

I have said enough to explain in a general way the theory of monarchy as sacred and to indicate the strength that such a theory necessarily lent to the kings of old. The Anglo-Saxon monarchs enjoyed the full benefits conferred. The power was in the blood, and to be an Anglo-Saxon king the right ancestry was essential,



but birth was not the sole qualification. The hereditary idea though strong was diffused and had not crystallized into the doctrine of primogeniture. Not everyone in whose veins flowed the royal blood would make a successful leader and therefore, strictly within the magic circle, there was some liberty of choice. Normally however son succeeded father, and election, or rather selection, by the wise men of the kingdom was almost entirely a matter of form. After election came coronation and unction, by which the Church recognized the King as God's representative in earthly governance. The conception of the king as the vicar of God, which is christianised Roman, existed early but did not develop its full strength until comparatively late in the history of Anglo-Saxon kingship and rose to its highest peak in the *York Anonymus*, the date of which work is 1100. The ordinary Anglo-Saxon way of regarding the ruler was as an oak tree king, a good patriarch who sat under a tree, was courteous and kindly, dispensed hospitality and did justice to those who came to seek for it. The business of the Government was normally largely domestic and the King was the father of his people. This idea was very strong throughout the Anglo-Saxon period. It survived the Conquest and is very marked in the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury. It was not confined to England, and Louis IX of France appears always to have sat under a tree to conduct business. But though the Anglo-Saxons regarded their ruler as a revered parent rather than as an autocrat, neither election nor consecration served to impose any practical limitations to his power. It is obvious that when the power of the King was considered to be the power of God, earthly restrictions on it were impossible to devise. It has been argued that the assembly of wise men, which nominally selected the king could also depose him, but the fact remains that they never did. The constitution of the Witan was undefined. The King could summon it when he wished. It had not even the right to be consulted. In practice the King often found it desirable to consult the great men of the country, clerical and lay, on all sorts of business, but he was in no way bound to accept their advice, or even to ask for it. Only in one matter had he to walk warily. The law was above him, and by the law was meant not legislative enactments, but roughly the established customs and usages of his people. There

was no distinction in the early middle ages between natural law, recognised as derived from the ordinances of God, and positive law. Positive laws were regarded as parts of the natural law, recognised as being such after generations of test and experience, and the King was both their guardian and their agent. If his actions were not in accord with these laws, he was not king in so far as those actions were concerned. The King can do no wrong. This idea survived throughout the middle ages, and comprehension of it is vitally necessary for the understanding of mediæval kingship. It became much more prominent after the Norman Conquest, when government began to press more heavily on the people and particularly on the aristocracy, and the good tempered oak tree king gave place to the efficient but heavy-handed administrator. Actually in Anglo-Saxon times there was, as I have said, no clearly recorded case of deposition of a king, or even of any organised attempt to coerce one. Still, if any alteration was to be made in the customary law of the land, the king invariably found it advisable to take counsel with the great men of the realm and to preface any innovation with the announcement that he had secured their assent. The Church had no power to bind him. At his coronation he swore to protect the Church and to rule in accordance with law, but his oath had nothing contractual about it. He was moreover definitely the head of the Church and apparently there was never any thought of excommunicating him, whatever his conduct might be. When Ethelred besieged Rochester and laid waste the patrimony of St. Andrew, Dunstan, the Archbishop of Canterbury, emerged from his retirement armed not with the spiritual weapons of the Church, but with a hundred pounds of silver to buy him off. The King was everywhere supreme. He was responsible to God for his people's welfare, but his responsibility was moral and unenforceable.

But undiffused royal power could hardly make itself effective throughout a heterogeneous, loosely knit kingdom, and there was no adequate higher administrative machinery in the Anglo-Saxon state. Aristotle says that it is essential that a state should be easily overseen. This applied most emphatically to the feudal kingdom. If it was not, the local nobles, to whom the king had delegated some or all of his powers and whom he had strengthened by large grants of



crown land, tended to become independent rulers. In the end he might find that he ruled in actual fact over nothing and no one. This never actually happened in Anglo-Saxon England as it did in France, but at the best of times the king's control over a large part of the country was very nominal. In short, the continued concentration of authority in the person of the ruler made the imponderable power of the Anglo-Saxon monarch largely ineffectual, unless he happened to be a man of exceptional ability and energy. But even the most vigorous man has only 24 hours in his day, and time and space, therefore, as well as moral obligation set limits to the power of the Old English king.

William the Conqueror had one overwhelming advantage over his predecessors. All England was undeniably his by right of conquest. The conflicting elements of the population, West Saxons, Mercians, Northumbrians, Danes, were reduced to a uniform level of complete, if sullen, submission. It is however difficult even for the invincibly stronger to rule, if there is never any acquiescence in the hearts of the conquered. Not even a Norman duke would care to live without ever taking his hand from his sword. William moreover suffered from two great disadvantages. In the first place his Norman companions held the orthodox feudal view of kingship. According to their ideas he was the head, it is true, of the feudal hierarchy, but he had definite obligations, and if he did not fulfil them, they could withdraw their allegiance and even devise measures of coercion. William and his successors naturally preferred the Anglo-Saxon view and did their utmost to secure its dominance. In the second place he was without one qualification for the rule of England which all his predecessors had had. He lacked even a drop of the blood of the House of Wessex, and this deficiency affected not only him but his successors down to the time of Henry III. Comparatively little attention has been paid to the vital character of the deficiency, or of the efforts made to set it right, but there is no doubt that it exercised a profound influence on the policy of Norman and Angevin monarchy and hence indirectly upon constitutional development.

When the fighting was over, William set himself to secure a measure of acceptance from the English. Possibly he would have

found the task even more difficult than he did, had not the vanquished Harold been himself a usurper. He went through the form of election by the Witan, was crowned and consecrated by the Saxon Archbishop and promised that the country should continue to be ruled by the laws of Edward the Confessor, that is, by the old customs of England. This promise was constantly repeated by his successors, especially by those whose position or title was weak, notably Henry I and Stephen. Henry I married a daughter of the ancient Royal house and also probably began the practice of touching for the King's Evil. This is a very interesting example of the continuous effort to make the new dynasty appear the legitimate heir of the old, as the power was alleged to descend from Edward the Confessor, who had acquired it by his personal sanctity. The practice was originally invented by the Capetian house of France, who, like the Norman Kings of England, were troubled by the prestige of their predecessors, the mighty Carolingians, and was first exercised by Robert II, who was renowned for holiness. Down to the time of Henry I of England the descendants of Robert II of France were the only healers. The other anointed kings did not attempt the miracle, which meant that the fact of unction would not suffice as an explanation. For the gift of healing, election and consecration were not enough. Descent from the first holder of the power was the quality required. Henry I did not admit that he was imitating the Capetians, or that the power had been acquired by himself, but claimed to have inherited it from the last of the old kings of England, the saintly Edward, which of course went to prove that he was the legitimate heir of the ancient dynasty. The practice continued right down to the reign of Anne, and it will be remembered that Dr. Johnson, who did not die till 1784, was touched for the evil as a small boy. Throughout these centuries, whenever the king was becoming unpopular for one reason or another, it has been found that he was more assiduous in touching for the evil. A striking instance is the case of Edward II, who went further than any of his predecessors or successors, and endeavoured to add to the power of healing scrofula a miraculous cure for rheumatism. Charles I during the years immediately preceding the Civil War was an indefatigable toucher. The Church naturally regarded the practice with a good deal of suspicion and dislike, but



one of the most surprising things about it is that for several hundred years everyone, even those most opposed to royal pretensions, believed in its efficacy. Gregory VII alone expressly denied to temporal sovereigns, even to the most pious, the gift of miracle, but as a rule ecclesiastical circles both in England and France maintained complete silence about the thaumaturgic rite. There were in fact only two exceptions, Guibert de Nogent in France and Peter de Blois in England, and both, though they were reluctant to ascribe the miracles to the hereditary sanctity of their ruler, were compelled to admit that they did actually occur. The power of healing was concentrated in a single person, and the sacred character of royalty did not extend in France and England after the beginning of these miraculous cures to a whole family, but was limited to the head of the oldest branch, who became the only rightful heir to the Crown. Its influence upon the adoption of primogeniture in France and England is obvious.

In other ways also the Norman and Angevin Kings were at pains to conceal the defect of blood. John, whose difficulties are notorious, went so far as publicly and expressly to state that he was not the heir of William the Bastard of Normandy, but of Edward the Confessor, King of England, and chose as his patron saint the canonized Anglo-Saxon Bishop Wulfstan, by whose side he lies buried in Worcester Cathedral. His son, Henry III, gave up the use of French or Norman names for his children and Edward I bore the old English name of the Confessor. There is little doubt that English national feeling had for long to be placated. What the Norman Conquest had done was to sweep away the Anglo-Saxon aristocracy, which was numerically very small, and substitute for it a Norman noble class. A century or so of strong and on the whole good government produced, as it always will, a middle class and when that class emerged, it was definitely English. If it were friendly, it could be used as an invaluable counterpoise to the pretensions to independence of the great Norman territorial aristocracy and to defeat their theory of the nature of royal power. The leaders of the Church, who in respect of the temporalities of their sees were as much subject to royal pressure as the lay nobility, as a rule, took the side of the territorial magnates against the king, and the struggles to obtain some weapon which

would counter regal sanctity, particularly as displayed in the miraculous power of healing, are of peculiar interest. The development of political sainthood as an anti-royal expedient was a remarkable feature of Angevin England. It did not occur in France, as the French royal house included a saint, Louis IX, and to set up saint against saint was perhaps considered impossible or at least unsuitable. But the kings of England could point to a Confessor only and saints ranked higher than Confessors, even though the Confessors were kings. The first and greatest of the political saints was Thomas Becket. In addition Hugh of Lincoln, Edmund Rich and Thomas Cantilupe were actually canonized, and Stephen Langton, John's great opponent and the organiser of the baronial opposition which led to the signing of the Magna Charta, narrowly missed the honour. The pope, however, for reasons of his own, was more often on the side of the king than not, and official canonization was difficult to procure. Popular or rather aristocratic recognition of sainthood could be accorded however even to the most unlikely candidates. Simon de Montfort and Thomas of Lancaster were actually excommunicated at the time of their deaths, but miracles were wrought in profusion at their tombs. Thomas of Lancaster was as dull, stupid, selfish and unscrupulous a noble as can well be imagined, but crowds flocked to look at an image in St. Paul's, which was said to resemble him and a poem was composed in which stress was laid on the similarity in name and end to Becket.

“ Gaude Thoma, ducum decus, lucerna Lancastriae  
Qui per necem imitaris Thomam Cantuariae.”

There is no doubt that the canonisation of hostile leaders was highly embarrassing to English royalty, and was moreover difficult to punish. Russell has pointed out that “ the sanctification of opposition to the King in such an ecclesiastical age as the 13th century was an important factor in raising anti-royal movements to a position of respectability and power in England, which they never achieved in France.” The policy was undoubtedly effective in securing to the oligarchs a certain measure of popular support which otherwise they would have found it hard to secure. In particular it gave an opportunity to the Franciscan friars who were always hostile to royal pretensions and who enjoyed high prestige among the masses in the 13th century.



It should be observed that all the political saints were supporters of the aristocracy, and that all of them were magnates, ecclesiastical or lay. The common folk, unless advantage were taken of their superstitious credulity, were normally for the king and against the nobles. The one great popular rising of mediæval England, the Peasants' Revolt of 1381, had for its watchword "The King and the Commons," and was directed not against the boy King, Richard II, but against the magnates who ruled in his name. It produced one leader who was probably a real saint, John Ball, St. Mary's Priest of York. He however was not canonized. He was drawn and quartered.

On the whole it can be said that when the king was successful, particularly in his foreign policy, his view of the position of royalty prevailed. When he was not, as in the cases of John, Henry III, and Edward II, the small clique of oligarchs, who had set themselves to become a ruling class which could direct and control the king, for the time being had their way. I have indicated that their theory of kingship differed from the old Anglo-Saxon view. It conceded the divinity of kingly power, but emphatically denied that royal responsibilities were unenforceable and laid particular stress on the duty of the magnates to see that the king ruled according to law, that is, according to custom, and that he should not be allowed to make innovations in the established order of things without their consent. The Anglo-Saxons had thought that he ought not to do these things, but had left it at that. The Norman nobility were determined to prevent him from doing them. Their ideas are well summed up in the *Song of Lewes*, which was written to celebrate Simon de Montfort's victory. Its author was probably a Franciscan friar. In the song the king is urged to rule by law and to consult not men of his own choice, but the barons of England, who know what is good for the country, and is bidden to beware of pride and to remember that he who for a short time is given earthly pre-eminence is soon enclosed in marble and buried in the ground. The government of the country is a matter which concerns the safety or the destruction of all. Therefore, the question in whose hands should the guardianship of the realm lie is important, and if the king fails, the magnates must take the charge upon themselves. The song

closes on a distinctly minatory note :

“Incolas in ordine suo rex tenebit  
 Et hoc moderamine regnando gaudebit  
 Si vero studuerit suos degradare  
 Ordinem perverterit, frustra quaeret, quaere  
 Sibi non obtemperant ita perturbati  
 Immo Si sic facerent, essent insensati ”

“The king shall maintain his people in their condition and shall rejoice in reigning on this principle. If indeed he shall have endeavoured to degrade his people, if he shall have overturned their rank, he will seek to rule in vain, because, if they are so outraged, they will not obey him. Indeed, if they were to do so, they would be mad.”

An interesting passage in the *De Legibus* of the famous lawyer Bracton, which was almost certainly interpolated about this time by one of Simon de Montfort's supporters, runs as follows :

“The King has a superior, namely, God, likewise the law, through which he was made King, likewise his court, to wit, his earls and barons, for earls (comites) are so called as being the King's associates, and he who has an associate has a master, and therefore, if the King be without a bridle, that is, without law, they ought to put the bridle upon him.”

The difficulties of the baronial position are summed up in the following declaration of policy, which dates from the troublous times of Edward II. “Homage and oath of allegiance is more by reason of the Crown than by reason of the King's person, and is more bound to the Crown than the person, and this appears in that before the estate of the Crown hath descended, no allegiance is due to the person. Wherefore, if by chance the King be not guided by reason, his lieges are bound by oath made to the Crown to guide the King and the estate of the Crown back again to reason, and otherwise the oath would not be kept. The question now arises, how one ought to guide the King, whether by suit of law or by constraint : by suit of law one cannot have redress, because he will have no judges but the King's, in which case, if the King's will be not according to reason, he will have nothing but error maintained ; wherefore it behoveth in order to save the oath, that, when the King



will not redress the matter or remove that which is evil and damaging for the people at large and for the Crown, it is to be adjudged that the matter shall be removed by harsh measures, for he is bound by oath to govern his people and his lieges, and his lieges are bound to govern in his aid and in his default." From this it will be clear that in spite of the wholly revolutionary treatment of the royal capacity as something apart from the king's person, there was no authority which could decide what belonged to the Crown and what to the King. The only solution lay in coercion.

There is not time to discuss the baronial theory of opposition in greater detail. Broadly speaking, it may be said that the royal theory of government was so potent, that even when the magnates won, they did not know what to do with their victory. No one thought of altering the form of government and trying to do without the king, and till the 17th century he remained as necessary for the conduct of the administration in every sphere as he had in Anglo-Saxon times. It is worth remarking that England was, throughout the middle ages, incomparably the best administered country in Europe.

In conclusion, I cannot do better than quote Bacon's admirable statement of the dual character of mediæval kingship—its divine origins and earthly limitations :

"All precepts concerning Kings are in effect comprehended in these two remembrances : *Memento quod es homo* ; and, *memento quod es Deus* ; the one bridleth their power, the other their will."

C. M. G. OGILVIE.

## BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS SINDH, 1842-43.

### III

#### (Annexation.)

In a previous article<sup>1</sup> I examined the policy of the British Government towards Sindh during the eventful years of the First Afghan War. Before Lord Auckland left India, he had succeeded in forcing Sindh to accept a subsidiary force and had made it a base for the operations of the army of the Indus.

Lord Ellenborough succeeded him, and the situation which he had created, in March, 1842. Sir Charles Napier had arrived in India three months earlier. The intricate situation which these two men found on their arrival was this:—The British army in Afghanistan had met disaster after disaster, the news of which was received in the Panjab and Sindh with undisguised satisfaction. Auckland's invasion of Afghanistan had turned out to be what has so aptly been described as an Asiatic copy of Napoleon's invasion of Spain. The reputation of British arms was at the lowest. In addition to all this an insurrection had broken out among the Afghan tribes of Kakars and Kujjaks and the Murri Bilochis in 1840. The Sarwans had set up Mehrab Khan's son and assembled a large force. Thus the position of the British Agents at Quetta and Kalat had become critical and the safety of the Bolan Pass was in danger.<sup>2</sup> Major Clibborn, who had gone to relieve the Kahun outpost, had also met with reverses in the Marri Hills.<sup>3</sup> It was also reported that Diwan Sawan Mall, the Lahore Government's governor of the Multan province, had rendered help to Dodeh Khan and had encouraged him to seize the Bolan Pass, though Outram did not believe it then.<sup>4</sup> Later on Outram changed his opinion and reported that Sawan Mall was intriguing with the Marris.<sup>5</sup> The Diwan was also supposed to be carrying on correspondence with the ruler of Hyderabad (Sindh) with the purpose of strengthening friendship.<sup>6</sup> Under the

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<sup>1</sup>. Journal Vol. III, Part II.

<sup>2</sup>. P. G. R. Book 112, letter 3. Asstt. Pol. Agent, Sukkur, to G. Clerk, Ludhiana.

<sup>3</sup>. *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup>. P. G. R. B. 112, L. 23. Digest of Intelligence from Hyderabad.

<sup>5</sup>. P. G. R. B. 112, L. 28.

<sup>6</sup>. B. 112, L. 26. Also Parliamentary Papers relating to Sindh, Nos. 399, 400 and 401.



circumstances, was Ellenborough, in the words of Major William Napier, to sit silent and "foment the hopes of neighbouring powers, eager for war, by a show of humility which could only appear to them weakness."<sup>1</sup> He therefore at once decided on a bold policy and carried it through.

Soon after his arrival he wrote three letters to the Amirs, which clearly state that "on the day on which you shall be faithless to the British Government, sovereignty shall have passed from you." The threat contained in these letters was not idle. It was, as Lord Ellenborough's secretary wrote to Major Outram, "a declaration of the Governor-General's fixed determination to punish, cost what it may, the first chief who shall prove faithless, by the confiscation of his dominions."<sup>2</sup> This threat, however brutal in its frankness, was at least denuded of all garb of friendship, which usually covered Lord Auckland's communications. Now at least the Amirs might know where they stood. Ellenborough knew that in going forward he would be forging another link in the chain of injustice started by Lord Auckland, but as Sir W. Butler puts it, "In India to go forward has often been to go wrong, but to go back in that country has always been to admit the wrong, and once to do that is to admit the truth of an argument which, if prolonged to its fullest consequences, must lead us to the sea-coast."<sup>3</sup> General Sir Charles Napier was in perfect agreement with Ellenborough, and in fact had forwarded a plan to Calcutta giving his opinion as to how best the prestige of British arms could be retrieved in Afghanistan and the countries of the Indus. But the new Governor-General, though ardently wishing to extend the frontiers of British India to the line of the Indus, was "far from aiming to take advantage of past misdeeds" and "gave warning for the future only."<sup>4</sup>

His object was two-fold. Firstly, he wished to obtain the power of acting on both sides of the Indus, consequently the continued occupation of Karachi, in order to communicate with Bombay, and the occupation of Bukkur and Sukkur to insure a passage over the Indus, which was necessary for maintaining communication with

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1. Conquest of Sindh, by W. F. P. Napier, Vol. I, 96, 97.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Sir C. Napier, by Sir W. Butler, p. 107. (Englishmen of action series.)

4. Napier op. cit. Vol. I, p. 99.

British stations on the Sutlej and the army at Kandhar by the Bolan Pass. Secondly, he aimed at controlling commerce by the Indus.<sup>1</sup>

It was therefore proposed to exchange all the arrears of tribute due from the Amirs under the Treaty of 1839, for permanent possession of Karachi, Bukkar and Sukkar and for the cession of a strip of land on both sides of the river. The new arrangements were to be based on a principle of cession of territory in commutation of the tribute because, thought Lord Ellenborough, "the obligation on the part of a Native State to pay tribute to our Government is one which places us in a false position. No character can be more offensive than that of an exacting creditor, with which this obligation invests us. . . . It makes us appear to be the cause of all the exactions which the Native State inflicts upon its subject."<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile Major Outram had collected various proofs of the hostile designs of the Amirs. These were :

(i) Intercepted letters from the ruler of Hyderabad to Diwan Mul Raj.<sup>3</sup> This was considered a violation of the eighth article of the Treaty of 1839, which forbade the Amirs to negotiate with foreign States without the sanction of the British Government.

(ii) A secret plot of the Brahooes and Bilochees, encouraged by the Amirs, to rise against the British on a favourable opportunity. The rising was to be a religious one, "the sword was to be drawn for Islam."

(iii) Intercourse with the Sikhs.

(iv) Intercourse with the Shah of Persia.

(v) The dominating influence in the Courts of Hyderabad and Khyrpur of a man called Fatteh Mohd Ghori, the minister of Rustum, well-known for his talents and his hatred of the English. Only Sobdar and Alimorad of Khairpur were faithful to their engagements.

On these and other grounds Outram proposed the infliction of a new treaty on the Amirs, involving the cession of Bukkur, Sukkur and Karachi and free communication between Karachi and the Indus at Tatta. But Ellenborough rejected the proposal and intimated his wish to take from the delinquent Amirs the districts of Subzulkote

<sup>1</sup>. Parliamentary Papers relative to Sindh No. 334 (p. p.)

<sup>2</sup>. P. p. 388. Ellenborough to Napier, Nov. 4, 1842.

<sup>3</sup>. See B. 112, L. 26 and 28. P. G. R. Also p. p. Nos. 399, 400, 401. Also Inclosure 3 in p. p. No. 379 being "Return of Complaints" signed by J. Outram.



and Bhoongbhara and restore them to the Nawab of Bahawalpur, from whom they had been conquered by the Amirs about thirty years back.

“ . . . . It is my intention,” wrote the Governor-General, “ to seize the first opportunity of bestowing substantial benefits upon the Khan of Bahawalpur as a reward for the constant support which the British Government has received from him and his ancestors.”<sup>1</sup> Another object of transferring these districts to Bahawalpur was the desirability of not appearing selfish aggressors, and because the fact of Bahawalpur being a Muslim State would render it impossible for anyone to create religious excitement against the British.<sup>2</sup> This restoration was contemplated in pursuance of a policy of “ reward and punishment,” a policy well recognised and established in continental politics by the Congress of Vienna in 1815, and not on any “ principle of abstract justice.”<sup>3</sup> By this time Major Outram had proved himself offensive to the Governor-General and was dismissed. Sir Charles Napier was ordered to Sindh and invested with the sole charge of affairs there.

Napier set out from Bombay for Sindh on 3rd September, 1842, and reached there after eight days during which cholera broke out on the ship and many soldiers died. He reached Hyderabad on September 25, and had an interview with the Amirs, at which he warned them against any attempt to violate the terms of the treaties and especially against taking measures to isolate the British station of Karachi by driving their subjects from the bazar.<sup>4</sup> Early in October, Napier arrived in Sukkur and found the following instructions waiting for him.

“ Should any Amir or Chief, with whom we have a treaty of alliance and friendship, have evinced hostile designs against us, during the late events, which may have induced them to doubt the continuance of our power it is the present intention of the Governor-General to inflict upon the treachery of such ally and friend so signal a punishment as shall effectually deter others from similar conduct, but the Governor-

1. P. p. No. 361. G. G. to Napier. Also P. p. No. 376.

2. P. p. 430. G. G. to Napier, 13 December, 1842.

3. See Napier *op. cit.* Vol. I, 109, and enclosure to a letter of Mr. G. Clerk to Govt. 11th February, 1843. P. G. R. B. 158. L. 16.

4. P. p. 372.

General will not proceed in this course without the most convincing evidence of guilt in the person accused." Also "... if the Amirs or any one of them should act hostilely or evince hostile designs against our army, it is my fixed resolution never to forgive the breach of faith and to exact a penalty which shall be a warning to every Chief in India."<sup>1</sup>

But the evidence of guilt was naturally to be collected by the man on the spot, and thus the whole moral responsibility was shifted on to the shoulders of Napier. Here for once the path was not clear to the General. The war in Afghanistan had been ended. Kabul had been retaken and burnt. Many old scores had been paid off. The prestige of British arms was re-established. Still more, the English army had safely passed the Bolan Pass. Was it necessary under the circumstances to follow a strong policy towards Sindh? Lord Ellenborough instructed him to draft a new treaty and force it on the Amirs.<sup>2</sup> The new treaty, which was ready by November, took away the right of coinage from the Amirs and was especially hard on the Khyrpur Chiefs.<sup>3</sup> Rustum of Khyrpur's letter to the Maharaja and the part which his minister, Fattah Mohammad Ghori, took in the escape of the rebel Syed Mohd. Sharif affixed on that Amir the character of an enemy.<sup>4</sup> Major Outram was again sent to Sindh as Commissioner on the request of Napier for the purpose of enforcing the treaty.<sup>5</sup> Outram pointed out that the present treaty was more stringent than that of Auckland.<sup>6</sup> But Napier was determined to enforce it, and tried to convince the Amirs that they would become richer by accepting it. But if they refused, he would allow them to "try the force of arms, at their own peril, if they are so pleased,"<sup>7</sup> Major Outram felt that this treaty would drive them to desperation and war and, not wishing that consequence, he urged his government to make it less stringent. He supported his argument with Benjamin

<sup>1</sup>. P. p. 361. Ellenborough to Napier.

<sup>2</sup>. P. p. 375.

<sup>3</sup>. P. p. 392. (Draft of the new treaty.)

<sup>4</sup>. Napier, *op. cit.*, 133. Also p.p. 379. Inclosure 6. This man Fattah Mohd. Ghori seems to have been an implacable enemy of the English. At this time, he allowed the rebel Syed to escape. Later on he played an important part in the attack on Outram.

<sup>5</sup>. P. p. 416.

<sup>6</sup>. P. p. 379. Inclosure 2.

<sup>7</sup>. Napier *op. cit.* p. 138.



Franklin's authority to the effect that "no objects of trade warranted the spilling of blood, that commerce is to be extended by the cheapness and goodness of commodities, that the profit of no trade could equal the expense of compelling it by fleets and armies."<sup>1</sup> But his argument fell on deaf ears, as it was bound to, for the main object was not the extension of trade, but the strengthening of the position on the Indus. Moreover, Napier wanted war because, as Sir W. Butler puts it, "no lover ever longed for mistress more than did this man long for fighting."<sup>2</sup> His defender James Napier, gives another explanation of his firmness. He was firm according to him, not because he wished to precipitate war but because, "he held it shameful and wicked to tempt the Amirs by any appearance of infirmity of purpose, to display their arrogance, when the Governor-General had assured him the sword of vengeance would be inexorably bared for the first fault."<sup>3</sup> He too had prepared a list of the offences of the Amirs which included secret alliances and confederacies against the British Government and the troops from Kabul and many other infringements of the treaties.<sup>4</sup> In a letter to Lord Ellenborough he wrote, "We are here by right of treaties," and "there does not appear any public protest registered against the treaties by the Amirs; they are therefore to be considered as free expressions of the will of the contracting parties."<sup>5</sup> In another part of the same letter he admits that "there is such hostility to us on the part of the Amirs, such a hatred of the treaties—such a resolution to break them in every way . . . ."<sup>6</sup>

If the treaties were free expressions of the will of the Amirs, one wonders why they should have been so determined to break them in every way. Evidently they had never willingly signed a treaty, and Napier's attempt to justify his conduct under the shelter of treaties is a failure. But he is on surer ground when he takes his stand on interests of humanity! Speaking of the oppression practised by the Amirs on their subjects, he writes, "The question arises whether we

<sup>1</sup>. Napier op. cit. Vol. I, 116.

<sup>2</sup>. Butler, op. cit. p. 110.

<sup>3</sup>. Napier, op. cit. 117.

<sup>4</sup>. It appears to me that much of the evidence on which the allegations of secret confederacies based was of doubtful authenticity. In this connection see letter of Mr. Clerk, Agent at Ludhiana regarding letters of Amirs to the Sikh Chiefs. P. p. 398.

<sup>5</sup>. P. p. 379. Letter to Ellenborough, Oct. 17, 1842.

<sup>6</sup>. *Ibid.*

shall abandon the interests of humanity and those of the British Government, which in this case are one, and at once evacuate Sindh, or take advantage of existing treaties and maintain our camps permanently." If the camps are maintained, they will "quickly grow into towns and the people within them will carry on a transit trade along the Indus to the exclusion of the subjects of the Amirs without. Among the latter misery and poverty will sojourn." Can such a state of things long continue? "I conceive such a state of political relations cannot last; the more powerful Government will at no distant period swallow up the weaker. Would it not be better to come to the results at once? I think it would be better if it could be done with honesty." Such was Napier's impatience of delay! With a sweep of the sword he wishes to come to the results at once. Major Outram had pointed out to him that the tribes on the river above that part possessed by the Amirs of Sindh, did levy tolls and therefore to allow those tribes to levy tolls and forbid the Amirs to do so would be unjust. Napier had a very simple answer to this argument, namely, to compel these tribes also to give up the tolls. In his own words, "to excuse the Amirs on the ground that others are not equally coerced is answered by coercing the others."<sup>1</sup>

As already pointed out, the draft of the treaty now prepared was approved by Ellenborough, though it was more stringent than the treaty of Lord Auckland and the one proposed by Outram. While the latter was negotiating for the acceptance of this treaty at Hyderabad, the Amirs began collecting troops and gathering their Bilochi feudatories. But it is not unreasonable to suppose that their measures were entirely defensive and were inspired by Napier's measures. Their peaceful and defensive attitude was considered by Napier mere camouflage and he thought that they only waited for the hot season, which they expected would paralyse the British soldiers by its deadly heat. Napier therefore decided to strike before they could, and in the beginning of 1843 marched towards Imamgurh, a desert fortress, which was deserted on his approach and which he blew up. It may be noted here that he did this without any declaration of war. He now turned South and halted at Sakrunda for a few

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<sup>1</sup>. *Ibid*, being observations of Napier on the occupation of Sindh.



days on hearing from Outram that the Amirs had accepted the treaty. Here Napier intercepted some letters from Amir Mohammad of Hyderabad calling upon Bilochi chiefs of the Murree tribe to march to Miani immediately.<sup>1</sup> This finally decided him on the side of war if at all he had harboured any irresolution, which is doubtful.

Outram was attacked in the Residency by Bilochees on the 17th February, having previously been warned by the Amirs to leave. He escaped and joined Napier at Hala, thirty miles north of Hyderabad. Napier now marched towards Miani, where his twenty-two hundred soldiers fought against thirty thousand men of the enemy and won a fierce battle. Next day the British flag was flying over the tower of Hyderabad. Shere Mohammad, the real fighting man, was defeated at Dubba in the middle of March,<sup>2</sup> Mirpur occupied the same month, and Amarkote seized on the 4th of April, thus completing the conquest of Sindh. Shere Mohd., who had escaped at Dubba and had gathered some ten thousand men about him, was again defeated by Roberts and Jacobs some fifty miles north of Hyderabad and became a fugitive. Sindh was annexed in August and the Amirs exiled. Napier, who was appointed Governor of Sindh, now set about introducing reforms and a stable Government in the unhappy valley.

The annexation of Sindh aroused hot passions and controversies at the time. Ellenborough and Napier were both condemned as well as praised. But in a retrospect of a century one is in a position to judge better. It is quite clear that the Amirs of Sindh were a barbarous, avaricious and cruel set of people. It is also clear that from the standpoint of international ethics the British Government of India had no more right then to appoint themselves protectors of the "interests of humanity" in Sindh than has Italy to-day in Abyssinia. Major James Napier, the defender of his brother Sir C. Napier, makes much in his two volumes "The Conquest of Sindh" of the fact that the subjects of the Amirs were greatly oppressed and that it was natural to respond to the cry of oppressed humanity. But we know that that was neither the real nor the only cause. The

1. Conquest, Napier, op. cit., p. 276, 277.

2. The medals for "Scinde" bear two names, "Meanee" and "Hyderabad," the latter being the official name for the Battle of Dubba.

fact was that, owing to the disasters of the Afghanistan Campaign, Lord Ellenborough considered it necessary to extend the frontiers of British India to the Indus, and Napier supported him out of the soldier's innate love for glory. In fact he was very impatient, as is clear from his letter to Lord Ellenborough already quoted. On the point of honesty he satisfied his own conscience and that of Lord Ellenborough by diligently preparing a list of the infringements of the treaty. Here he was justified to a great extent, for there is no doubt that the Amirs had not been faithful to their engagements. But he never gave a thought to the justice or injustice of those treaties, on the strength of which he tried to defend his own conduct. His conduct, though just in itself, was based on injustice. It seems that he himself considered those treaties unjust. In a private letter, dated 16th January, 1843, he writes, "I found the Amirs and our Government in the position in which a treaty made by Lord Auckland placed them. I had no concern with its justice, its propriety or anything but to see it maintained." Again, in the same letter, "I cannot enter upon our right to be here at all; that is Lord Auckland's affair."<sup>1</sup> Napier wanted war and prepared the case; Ellenborough wanted Sindh and believed the case; the conquest followed.

Why did Ellenborough want Sindh? Because of a political necessity. Herein lies his only defence and justification, as James Napier admits it when he writes, "Take away this ground (of necessity) and it was a continuation of Lord Auckland's aggressive policy."<sup>2</sup> The Amirs wished for peace till the very last moment. At least that was the impression which the people had. Prince Soltykoff writes in 'Voyage Dans l'Inde' that while at Hyderabad in February 1843, he was told that the "Amirs were still in hopes of a settlement and that the desire of the Amirs was all for peace."<sup>3</sup> They had accepted the new treaty even after Napier had destroyed Imamgurh without any provocation or declaration of war and without any offence having been committed by the owner of the castle, Mir Mohd. Khan of Khyrpur. Napier also plundered the castle,

<sup>1</sup>. Extract of private letter from C. Napier (Appendix to Conquest, Napier, p. 175.)

<sup>2</sup>. Napier, *op. cit.* vol. I, p. 121.

<sup>3</sup>. Translation of *Voyage Dans l'Inde* under the caption, "Ninety Years Ago," in the C. & M. Gazette, Lahore, by H. L. O. Garrett.



“ although no resistance was attempted, and although he had assured the Amirs that he would neither plunder nor slay them if they did not make any resistance.<sup>1</sup> This uncalled for spoliation of Imamgurh, which Napier termed ‘ the Gilbrathor of Sindh,’ although it did not offer any resistance, was bound to give “ consistency to the prevailing rumours of intended aggression on our part which then agitated the Amirs,” and thus drive them to measures of self-defence which, as Outram puts it, were afterwards assumed as ground for aggression.<sup>2</sup> Sir C. Napier himself wrote that he was going to take Imamgurh “ although war has not been declared, nor is it necessary to declare it.”<sup>3</sup> Not only had he a contempt for the formalities of war but also for arguments which he thought utterly useless. He pointed out to the Amirs, “ I cannot go into argument. I am not Governor-General, I am only one of his commanders.”<sup>4</sup> It is not surprising under the circumstances that the Amirs lost control over their Bilochi tribesmen, who were seething with anger against the Feringhee, and, collecting them at Miani, gave battle to the English General.

Many contemporary Englishmen of eminence considered the policy towards Sindh and its annexation a mistake. Henry Lawrence hated the whole affair and wrote to Lord Hardinge, “ I don’t think that Government can do better than restore it to the Amirs.”<sup>5</sup> Mr. Gladstone afterwards revealed that Sir Robert Peel’s cabinet, of which he and the Duke of Wellington were both members, disapproved, he believed, unanimously, of the conquest.<sup>6</sup> In England Elphinstone’s contemptuous comment was: “ Coming after Afghanistan, it put one in mind of a bully who has been kicked in the streets and went home to beat his wife in revenge.”<sup>7</sup>

While judging the contemporary condemnations of Napier and Ellenborough, one must remember another factor which contributed

1. Outram in “ A Commentary on the Conquest of Sindh.” p. 537-8.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 535.

3. Letter to Governor-General, Decr. 27, 1842. Napier op. cit. 229.

4. Outram, Commentary, op. cit. p. 184.

5. Henry Lawrence to Lord Hardinge 24th April, 1847. In Morrison’s “ Lawrence of Lucknow,” p. 178.

6. Contemporary Review, November 1876. Cited from “ Rise and fulfillment of British rule in India.” Thompson and Garrett, 358-9.

7. Letter to Metcalfe, Life of Elphinstone, cited in Thomson and Garrett, op. cit. 359.

to the feeling against these two men. Napier's brilliant generalship against heavy odds at Miani stood out in great contrast against the cowardice shown by British Generals in Kabul a year before, just as Ellenborough's policy beyond the Indus provided a contrast with the blundering policy of Auckland. But still the case against Sir Charles Napier is so well established that even the most zealous of his defenders, General James Napier, gives up the moral or legal justification and takes his stand on what he calls "utility, irrespective of abstract justice." Two motives impelled Napier to war, firstly the love of glory and secondly the desire to bestow the blessings of the British Raj on the people of Sindh even against their will. That, I think, is the only possible explanation of his conduct. Behind all his talk of the breaches of treaty by the Amirs, and their hostile designs, one can perceive a substratum of that missionary spirit which implies an implicit faith in one's right and capacity to do good. One cannot deny Napier's capacity to do good, which he clearly proved in his administration of Sindh, but whether he had any *right* to do so is a problem which it is difficult to solve. Perhaps there are occasions when "utility, irrespective of abstract justice" may also be justified.

PRAN NATH KHERA.



## ITALY AND ABYSSINIA.

[Address delivered on 28th October, 1935.]

The modest purpose of this address is to explain as simply and impartially as possible the circumstances and background of the present Italo-Abyssinian conflict to those members of the audience who have not had the opportunity of informing themselves clearly and authentically upon the problem.

### I—ABYSSINIA : *The Country.*

Abyssinia (the name is derived from the Arabic word *habesh*, meaning *mixed* ; for that reason the dominant tribe, the Amhari, prefer to use the classical name, *Ethiopia*) is a roughly triangular territory of 350,000 square miles in Africa with a medial line running W. S. W. of the Gulf of Aden and separated from the coast by a littoral which varies in width from about 50 miles to about 180 miles. It is politically interesting as one of the three areas of Africa (which consist, in addition, of Egypt and the deplorable little republic of Liberia), still free from the direct political control of one of the European nations.

It is constituted of two high tablelands, lying respectively in the north and the south-west of the territory, and of the arid plain of Abyssinian Somaliland, lying in the south-east. The two tablelands are divided by a great gorge—at places impassable—which runs in a line between the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb and the great Lake Rudolf in the British Kenya Colony. Through this rift the river Awash runs north-east, losing itself finally in the depressed desert of Aussa, on the border of French Somaliland.

It is now completely surrounded by British, Italian and French territory, two-thirds of its frontier marching with British and most of the remaining third with Italian possessions. The country lies entirely within the Tropics, between latitudes 2° and 15° north ; but the two tablelands lie at heights of 5,000—8,000 feet, studded with mountains rising as high as 15,000 feet and intersected by abrupt, wooded gorges, which are often impassable. The climate of these plateaux is consequently temperate. Addis Ababa (“the new

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flower"), which stands at a height of 8,000 feet on the edge of the medial depression, has a mean average annual temperature of 60°—70° by day and cold, often frosty, nights. The whole of the north and west of the country is drained by a river system forming the headwaters of the Nile—which, incidentally, constitutes almost the sole British interest in the country. The south-east of Abyssinia, an almost arid plain, punctuated by certain oases, which presumably form the crux of the present conflict, is drained, if at all, by a few uncertain streams which flow south-east through Italian Somaliland, to the sea. The rainfall on the tablelands is heavy, but short, occurring chiefly between June and September, when it retards and generally interrupts communication. At Addis Ababa it averages annually about 47 inches. Abyssinia, in short, contains almost every range of climate; but particularly it embraces perhaps 100,000 square miles of territory potentially suitable, like Kenya Colony, to European colonisation.

## II.—*The People.*

The population of Abyssinia is guessed at 7—10 millions. Of these the dominant race, the Amhari, a people of Semitic origin, constitute perhaps one-quarter and provide the official language, Amharic. They inhabit chiefly the districts of Shoa, Amhara and Tigre. The most numerous race is that of the Gallas, a Hamitic people, numbering about 40 per cent. of the total, who invaded the country in the sixteenth century A. D. and have only recently been subdued by the Amhari. In the east and south-east live chiefly the Somalis and Danakil, a barbarous Hamitic race. The inhabitants of the south-west are mostly savage negroids. The Amhari are mostly Christians, of varying degrees of approximation, belonging to the Coptic Church; the Gallas, Somalis and Danakil are Muslim; the negroids are pagan.

The Abyssinians are a heterogeneous people living at the most various standards of culture, from that of the enlightened and highly intelligent Emperor Hailie Selassie to a condition of savage barbarism prevailing amongst the negroid pagans and many of the Somalis. When James Bruce, after his exploration of the headwaters of the Nile in 1770, referred to the common practice in

Abyssinia of eating the still warm raw flesh of animals, he was generally disbelieved; but the practice is authentically reported of the tribes at the present day.

In general the Abyssinian tribesmen are described as virile, warlike, proud of their independence and deeply hostile to any attempt to destroy it, especially when made by foreigners.

### *III.—Economic Conditions.*

The country is very largely self-supporting at a very low standard of life. Its staple industry is a primitive agriculture, in which the hired labourer earns about three annas a day; his food costs another anna. Foreign trade returns afford little indication of economic conditions. In 1929-30, the last year for which such statistics are available, the recorded imports and exports each were valued at a little less than Rs. 13 lakhs (£1 million sterling).

Abyssinia supplies annually about 450 lbs. of platinum—approximately 3 per cent. of world production. The chief exports are hides, beeswax and coffee. The chief import is cotton cloth and yarn, almost monopolised by the Japanese. The country is said to contain uncertain quantities of copper, tin and petroleum.

There is a restricted silver currency, linked to sterling, and one bank, founded in 1931. The first formal tax was levied in the present year in order to buy munitions of war. Slavery is an ancient institution, still strongly surviving. The principal forms and institutions of a civilised state were hastily promulgated about 1923, when the Government of Abyssinia applied abruptly for admission to the League of Nations in order to safeguard its territorial integrity and sovereignty chiefly from the threat of Fascist imperialism.

### *IV.—Recent History and Foreign Relations of Abyssinia.*

We may select as our starting-point the significant year 1870, when a company, formed in the then scarcely consolidated national state of Italy, purchased Assab, a port near the southern entrance to the Red Sea, from a local sultan.

That picturesque adventurer Kassa (born in 1818), who adopted the name of Theodore and the resounding title of Negús Negústi (King of Kings) had not unreasonably earned the enmity of the British and died by his own hand on the day that Magdala was



stormed by Napier in 1868. He had displaced the hereditary Negus, Helie Melikoth, who had died in 1855, bequeathing his rights to his 11-year-old son, Menelik. But in 1868 Kassai, Ras (Chief) of Tigre, who had acquired a portion of the abandoned arms and equipment of Napier's expeditionary force, adopted the name of John and the title and prestige of Negus, thus effectively postponing the realisation of Menelik's ambitions.

John proved a doughty king, who reigned until 1889, when he died of wounds in an encounter with the rebellious dervishes of the Sudan. During these years Menelik was subordinate King of Shoa.

Between 1870 and 1889 the Italians spread along the coast of what is now Eritrea. The Company was bought out by the Italian government in 1882—the year in which, defrauded as she not unreasonably considered herself by the French of Tunis, Italy gained inclusion in the Dual Alliance of Germany and Austria, which thus became the Triple Alliance.

King John viewed Italian expansion in Eritrea with hostile suspicion, but the Italian government shrewdly courted Menelik, who eventually began his remarkable reign in 1889. In that year also the Italians purchased that sphere of influence from the Sultan of Zanzibar, now Italian Somaliland, of which the undemarcated boundary with Abyssinia has been made the immediate ostensible excuse for the present conflict.

Having supported Menelik in his successful efforts to gain the throne of Abyssinia, the Italians in 1889 negotiated with him the Treaty of Ucciali, by the terms of which they claimed a virtual protectorate over Abyssinia, for, according to the Italian text, Menelik promised to "avail himself of the Italian government for any negotiations which he may enter into with other Powers or governments." But it seems that according to the Amharic text this clause was optional, and not obligatory for the Abyssinian king. In any case Italian penetration made Menelik hostile and in 1893 he denounced the Treaty of Ucciali to the Powers. Still the Italians advanced in a series of small aggressive expeditions, until they completely aroused the Abyssinian hornets' nest and in March, 1896, their army of 14,500 found itself confronted in a difficult *terrain* by a force six times its number under Menelik at Adowa. In the battle

which ensued bad tactics and defective staff work by the Italians led to their overwhelming defeat.

Menelik was generous in his hour of triumph—far too generous, say his successors. A treaty of peace was signed at Addis Ababa, which Menelik had made his capital, in which Italy agreed to the annulment of the Treaty of Ucciali and also formally acknowledged the complete independence of Abyssinia.

During the remaining twelve years of his effective reign the Emperor brought most of the tribes into some degree of quasi-feudal subordination, though he was forced to leave many of the powerful *rases* with almost unfettered local authority. He also negotiated a series of treaties with Great Britain, France and Italy, fixing his frontiers. All of these frontiers were amicably adjusted, except those with Italian Somaliland.

In 1908 he became completely incapacitated by disease, of which he died in 1913, aged about 69. A man of strong character and great enlightenment, Menelik II was incomparably the greatest African ruler and statesman of modern times.

His reign was the hey-day of "the scramble of Africa," in which various European Powers, including even little Belgium, competed bitterly for control of areas of exploitation in "the Dark Continent;" and Abyssinia, the last remaining autonomous territory, naturally did not escape the attention of diplomatic map-readers. Italy had been rather crowded out of this "thieves' kitchen." She was aggrieved by Jules Ferry's more than dubious diplomacy, which had added Tunis to the French empire in Africa in 1881 and had driven her into Bismarck's camp in 1882. In 1891 and 1894 she negotiated with Great Britain three agreements, which defined their respective "spheres of influence" in Somaliland. Even in 1894, despite Menelik's denunciation of the Treaty of Ucciali in the previous year, Great Britain formally acknowledged that Abyssinia lay within the Italian sphere.

In 1894 also a French company obtained a 99-year concession to build a railway to Harrar in Abyssinia, which in 1904 was extended by Menelik to Addis Ababa. But by the end of the nineteenth century "the Imperial Company of Ethiopian Railways" was in financial straits and, in order to prevent the influx of British capital, the



French government gave it an annual subsidy of 500,000 francs (£20,000) for fifty years. This naturally perturbed Menelik, for it obviously converted a commercial agreement into a nationalistic enterprise without his concurrence. By 1917 a metre gauge railway had been completed between Jibuti and Addis Ababa, a distance of about 480 miles. It has since been described by victims as the most uncomfortable and expensive railway in the world.

The next thread in the diplomatic web which was encompassing Abyssinia was a boundary treaty with Great Britain in 1902, which reserved to Britain the rights, (i) to control the headwaters of the Nile, (ii) to build a railway through Abyssinia from the Sudan to Uganda and (iii) to lease a trading post in Abyssinia.

The indefinite relations of the "spheres of influence" of Great Britain, Italy and France in respect of the Abyssinian hinterland dictated in 1906 a tripartite treaty between these powers, to which Menelik ultimately gave unwilling assent. This treaty is essentially connected with the grounds of the present conflict. It guaranteed the future maintenance of the then existing treaties in regard to frontiers and all other subjects. It specifically confirmed the Anglo-Italian treaties of 1891 and 1894, though in 1893 Menelik had denounced the Treaty of Ucciali; and it made no specific reference to the Treaty of Addis Ababa of 1896.

Article III of this Treaty of 1906 bound the three Powers to "a neutral attitude, abstaining from all intervention in the internal affairs of the country.....*In no case shall one of the three Governments interfere in any manner whatsoever, except in agreement with the other two.*"

According to Article IV they "shall make every effort to preserve the integrity of Ethiopia," while concerting to safeguard the special interests of each Power in the country, including "the hinterland of Italian possessions and the territorial connection between them to the west of Addis Ababa."

It is well to remember the diplomatic background at the time when this Treaty was signed. Italy was a member of the Triple Alliance with Germany and Austria, but her genuine adherence was already doubted by her allies and their rivals. Great Britain and France had reached a "friendly understanding" in 1904; while

France was in firm alliance with Russia and Great Britain was already negotiating that settlement with Russia which in August, 1907, created the Triple Entente. The subversion of Italy's allegiance to the Triple Alliance became a prime object of the Entente. It was finally achieved at a terrible price by means of the lamentable secret Treaty of London, 26th April, 1915. In short, Italy was being courted in 1906 and her aspirations in regard to Abyssinia would be regarded with special indulgence by the other two signatory Powers.

Meanwhile, in 1897, that is, within a year of the Battle of Adowa, the Italian government negotiated another agreement with Menelik in regard to the Somaliland frontier, which was re-stated and published in 1908, when also the frontier with Eritrea was demarcated. Unfortunately in these conventions the Abyssinia-Somaliland boundary was not defined so plainly as not to be beyond dispute by the Italians. The actual bone of contention is the Ogaden tribal territory and particularly a group of wells and grazing lands within it, such as Walwal Wardair, Afdub and Gerlogubi.

The text of the 1908 Convention would seem plain enough to the plain man. It states: "From the Webi Shebeli the frontier proceeds in a north-easterly direction, following the line accepted by the Italian Government in 1897; all the territory belonging to the tribes towards the coast shall remain dependent on Italy; all the territory of Ogaden and all that of the tribes towards the Ogaden shall remain dependent on Abyssinia."

The boundary line was also defined in a telegram approved by the Italian Government in 1897 as running at a distance of 180 miles parallel to the coast of the Indian Ocean and joining the Juba to the north of Bardera.

These definitions appear unequivocally to indicate that the area now in dispute was accepted as Abyssinian, though, as we shall notice later, the matter is complicated by (*i*) the seasonal wanderings of tribesmen in search of pasture across this arbitrary line; (*ii*) the apparent complete neglect of the area by the central government of Abyssinia; and (*iii*) the uninterrupted occupation of the area by Italian military posts during the past five years.



V.—*Abyssinia since 1913.*

The death of Menelik II one year before the outbreak of the World War marks an epoch in the history of Abyssinia. He was succeeded by his grandson, Lij Jasu, who shortly afterwards was converted to Islam. Civil war ensued and Jasu was deposed in 1916 in favour of Menelik's daughter Zauditu (Judith), who reigned till 1930, with Ras Tafari, the nearest male descendant of the royal line, as Regent and heir. In October, 1928, Ras Tafari was crowned Negus and in 1930, on the death of Zauditu, he was crowned Emperor (Negus Negusti—"king of kings"), assuming the title of Haile Selassie I. He is an enlightened ruler and has done whatever he can to improve the civilisation of Abyssinia. He has tried to consolidate the country, but the tribes are jealous of their independence, and absence of communication protects them. He has tried to improve education, to abolish evil customs and institutions, such as slavery, and to establish and accustom his subjects to modern methods of government and administration; but he has been obstructed by the stubborn conservatism of the priests and retarded by the primitive economy of the country and the indolence of the people, who at best are content with a little "window dressing."

He has decreed compulsory education, but his ordinance remains largely "the expression of a pious aspiration." He has created three model provinces to be administered under his eye by officials of his own choice; but it is stated that his officials often enslave their servants. He established a parliamentary constitution in 1932; but since its first session, the representatives have been changed every three months in order to accustom them to this novelty.

In the first session of parliament a Company Law, a Currency Law, a Bankruptcy Law and a Law of Property and Corporations were enacted; while a Commission was appointed to revise the Civil and Penal Codes upon the Belgian model. Despite his parliamentary experiments, the enlightened ruler continues to govern alone, assisted by foreign experts.

He has begun to establish a modern army and is said to have a bodyguard of 30,000 men with modern rifles and equipment, besides a regular army of 100,000 maintained by provincial governors, and the auxiliary assistance of tribal levies, variously estimated in numbers

and possibly approximating in total to 500,000. But the country is said to boast not more than 100,000 modern rifles. A few aeroplanes, a few machine guns and five "tanks"—ironically enough, presented to him by the Duke of Abruzzi in 1927 and not used since that occasion—would seem to complete his defensive apparatus.

There is ample evidence to support the reiterated Italian indictment that slavery commonly persists in Abyssinia. It is a deeply rooted institution, though the evidence of competent observers is that it is not generally inhumane in practice. Laws for its abolition were enacted by the Emperor in 1924 and 1931, but they appear to have been evaded in proportion to the distance from his presence. His officials, as already noticed, are prominent among the offenders. In 1932 a Slavery Bureau was established under the direction of an Englishman and by 1934 sixty-two bureaux were established in the provinces, with magistrates empowered to liberate slaves and punish offenders. But it seems that cattle and slaves are still the chief spoil of raiders among the remoter tribes.

In fine, Abyssinia must be considered by its minimum standards of civilisation a very backward country.

#### VI.—*Foreign Relations, 1913-1934.*

It will already have been seen that in the projects of imperial diplomacy Abyssinia had been more than tacitly acknowledged by Great Britain and France as a potential field of Italian exploitation. France had been beforehand in Tunis. In 1911-12 Italy had waged a very expensive aggressive war against an embarrassed Turkey in order to wrest from her nominal sovereignty the sand and oases of Libya. But she was by no means satiated by the possession of Eritrea, Somaliland and Libya, of which the colonial value cannot be rated high in comparison with Morocco and the Sudan.

Italy consequently drove a hard bargain during the negotiation of the secret Treaty of London, 1915, which finally detached her from the Central Powers and actively transferred her to the Entente. Article XIII of that Treaty stated :

"In the event of France and Great Britain increasing their colonial territories in Africa at the expense of Germany, those two Powers agree in principle that Italy may claim some equitable



compensation, particularly as regards the settlement in her favour of the questions relating to the frontiers of the Italian colonies of Eritrea Somaliland and Libya....”

Nevertheless Italy was grievously disappointed at Versailles, even though she gained certain unjustifiable accessions to her territory in Europe, for, while Great Britain and France divided valuable German territories in Africa in the form of mandates under the League of Nations, Italy saw promised lands in Asia Minor vanish into the grip of a resurgent Turkey, while no compensating area of exploitation in Africa fell to her share. Her post-war negotiations with Great Britain and France yielded only minor rectifications of her existing African frontiers. So the aspirations of Fascist Italy again centred upon Abyssinia and grew with the expanding self-confidence of that regime.

In 1923, within one year of the Fascist “march to Rome,” the Government of Abyssinia abruptly sought admission to the League of Nations—a measure of its fear of Italian aggressive designs. The Committee of the Assembly, which examined the application decided that Abyssinia was a sovereign and fully self-governed state, but asserted that “they could not state that her international engagements have always been strictly fulfilled in the past.”

The Committee were in fact divided in opinion. The representatives of Great Britain, Switzerland and Australia held that she was not yet sufficiently developed to fulfil her obligations under the Covenant. But the representatives of France and Italy strongly supported her application, urging that her membership would assist her to abolish slavery within her territory; Italy particularly urging that no special stipulation would be necessary against the nefarious importation of arms. Such is the irony of history that Abyssinia was admitted to the membership of the League largely by the insistence of Italy, and Italy is now urging the very grounds of refusal by Great Britain, Switzerland and Australia, as the basic justification for her present aggression.

Two years later, in 1925, the Italian Government was negotiating with Great Britain alone—and not with France, third signatory to the Tripartite Treaty of 1906—offering a *quid pro quo* for certain freedom of exploitation in Abyssinia, which would in effect convert that

country into an Italian protectorate on the analogy of Morocco. Provided that complete control of the headwaters of the Nile was guaranteed, the British Government agreed to "recognise an exclusive Italian economic influence in the west of Abyssinia and in the whole of the territory to be crossed by the railway [from Eritrea to Somaliland]. They would further promise to support with the Abyssinian Government all Italian requests for economic concessions in the above zone."

When these negotiations became known to the other two interested governments, they evoked from Abyssinia a shrill protest to the League of Nations and some distrust in the mind of the French Government, which Sir Austen Chamberlain did not find it easy to allay. His explanation to the House of Commons stated that "the Anglo-Italian notes do not 'reserve' any part of Abyssinia to Italian economic influence" and that "the agreement imposes no obligation on any one except the British Government, who, in return for the Italian undertakings in regard to Lake Tana, engaged not to compete or to support competition with Italian enterprises in the region specified."

The official Italian explanation must have been even less comforting to Abyssinia. To the plain reader it carries no assurance against ulterior designs. The essential sentences state :

"As regards the recognition by the British Government of an exclusive sphere of Italian economic influence in certain parts of Abyssinia, it is clear that this constitutes an agreement which is binding solely on the Italian and British Governments; it cannot detract from the right of the Abyssinian Government to take such decisions as it may think fit, or limit the possible action of third parties.

"It is a guarantee of an economic nature obtained for Italian enterprises as against British enterprises in order to avoid competition which might imperil the success of these enterprises and hinder that development of local resources which it may well be in the interests of Abyssinia to assist and promote." Two passing comments may be made: (i) Similar agreements and guarantees had given Italy, Eritrea and Somaliland. (ii) It is impossible to imagine such a negotiation in respect of any other State member of the League of Nations, say, Jugoslavia.



Reassured by the League of Nations publication of this correspondence, which he regarded as a safeguard of the integrity and sovereignty of his country, Ras Tafari signed a Twenty-year Pact of friendship and arbitration with Italy on 2nd August, 1928, that is, two months before his coronation as Negus (King). This Pact was officially reaffirmed by both Governments at Rome on 29th September, 1934. The vital article in respect of the present conflicts is Article V, which states :

*“ Both Governments undertake to submit to a procedure of conciliation and arbitration disputes which may arise between them and which it may not have been possible to settle by ordinary diplomatic methods, without having recourse to armed force.”*

At the same time a convention was signed to enable the construction of a motor road from Addis Ababa to Assab in Eritrea and the lease to Abyssinia of land for a free wharf at that port. But this convention has never been implemented.

In 1930 it was agreed by the interested Powers that the Brussels Act of 1890, for the preservation of African populations against nefarious traffic in arms, should no longer be applied to Abyssinia in view of her membership of the League of Nations. So in August of that year Great Britain, France, Italy and Abyssinia signed a new treaty, which enabled the Abyssinian Government to buy arms abroad upon a sealed order of the Emperor. Article IX stated that “ if the attitude or disturbed condition of Ethiopia constitutes a threat to peace or public order, the authorities of the adjacent territories shall refuse to authorise the transit until this threat has ceased to exist.” But in such case the delivery of arms would be permitted to the “ legitimate authorities in Ethiopia ” for “ the maintenance of public order.”

French interests in Abyssinia are apparently limited to the Jibuti-Addis Ababa railway; British interests are limited to the preservation of the headwaters of the Nile after the satisfaction of local Abyssinian needs; Italian interests consist of unstated aspirations. Japan also has an interest. She supplies the great majority of Abyssinian imports.

Japan and Abyssinia signed a Treaty of Friendship in 1930, ratified in 1932. The Japanese are naturally concerned for their

Abyssinian market and in the present conflict are strongly pro-Abyssinian in sentiment. An "Ethiopian Problems Society" has recently been formed in Japan, strongly supported by the Black Dragon Society (a national propagandist body), and by the Japan Production Party, which on 24th July last denounced Italy's method and demanded the withdrawal of Italian troops. In the same month the Japanese Government officially denied a report from Rome that Japan had assured Italy that she would not interfere with Italian activities in Abyssinia. This unleashed against Japan the Italian press, which is apparently sometimes allowed unrestrained freedom of expression.

### *VII—The Present Conflict.*

The ostensible reason for the Italian invasion of Abyssinia is connected with the nomadic habits of Somalis, which have no regard for arbitrary frontiers.

In 1934 a Joint Anglo-Abyssinian Delimitation Commission was appointed to fix the frontier with British Somaliland and to examine on the spot the seasonal wanderings of local tribes which might cross the frontier from pasture to pasture. When this Commission reached Wal Wal on 23rd November, 1934, they found it occupied by an Italian military post, of which the Commanding Officer received them with extreme hostility and discourtesy. The British Commissioner, Colonel Clifford withdrew, later reporting the episode indignantly to his Government. The Abyssinian Commissioner remained with his escort on this threatened Abyssinian territory, as he had every reason to regard it.

The clash between the Italian and Abyssinian detachments occurred on 5th December without an impartial eye-witness. There is no detached evidence that the Abyssinian force took the offensive, which they deny and the Italians assert. The Abyssinian Government proposed arbitration in accordance with the Treaty of 1928, but the Italian Government refused this and demanded an apology, punishment of the offenders, a salute to the Italian flag at Wal Wal and £20,000 in compensation. On 14th December the Abyssinian Government placed the situation before the League and on 3rd January, 1935, formally sought the intervention of the League



in terms of Article XI of the Covenant.\*

On 19th January the two Governments were induced from Geneva to negotiate in the spirit of their Treaty of 1928; but on 29th January another clash occurred at Afdub and on 11th February the Italian Government announced the mobilisation of two divisions (30,000 men). But on 4th March the two Governments agreed to concert in establishing a neutral zone in the area of contention. The Italian Government obstructed this procedure and on 17th March Abyssinia again appealed to the League in terms of Articles X and XV of the Covenant.†

The appointment of a Commission of Conciliation was resolutely obstructed by the Italian Government and it was plain from the outset that its efforts would be nullified, as proved the event.

Both Governments were now preparing for war—Italy to exact retribution for an insult to her dignity, Abyssinia to defend her very existence as a State. On 13th May the Emperor appealed a third time to the League to protect the sovereignty and integrity of his country against Italian aggression.

The Council of the League met on 25th May and ordered that a Commission of Conciliation in terms of the Treaty of 1928 should meet and that, if this Commission should not have reached a settlement by 25th July, the Council should then reassemble in order to devise some other peaceful solution. On the eve of the meeting of the League Council on 25th May S. Mussolini had made an arrogant and uncompromising speech; but he recognised that the League was competent to review the issue and he accepted its proposal. Abyssinia requested impartial arbitration and asked for the despatch of neutral observers to the disputed area.

On 24-25th June Mr. Eden, on behalf of the British Government, suggested to S. Mussolini at Rome a compromise, Great Britain ceding

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\* Article XI, 2: "It is also declared to be the friendly right of each member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstances whatever affecting international relations which threaten to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends."

† Article X. "The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League....."

Article XV is a long article which defines the measures by which the Council or the Assembly shall examine and settle a dispute which is likely otherwise to involve a member in international war.

to Abyssinia the port of Zeila with a corridor, and Abyssinia making territorial concessions to Italy in return. This proposal was rejected by the Italian Government and it must be remarked that it was scarcely relevant to the ostensible cause of the dispute.

An appeal by Abyssinia to the United States Government on 4th July to place the obligations of the (Kellogg-Briand) Pact of Paris before the Italian Government was met by an evasion and a pious hope for the maintenance of peace.

During these weeks the Conciliation Commission proceeded towards an inevitable deadlock, which the Italian delegates were obviously instructed to ensure. On 3rd August the Council of the League met again to consider the problem. Its objects, of course, were to reach a mutually acceptable settlement by arbitration and to arrest resort to force. After making various conditions, the Italian Government sent Baron Aloisi as its representative on the Council. But the Council could only recommend, (*i*) a resumption of the negotiations of the Commission of Conciliation, with a provision that the sovereignty of the disputed area of Ogaden should not be a subject of discussion; and (*ii*) a discussion by the three Powers signatory to the Treaty of 1906. Both these measures were undertaken; both failed.

Italy had never stated her case; she had merely seized certain territory, had delivered *ex-parte* judgment on a hostile encounter, and had demanded the humiliation of Abyssinia, without giving form to any possible ulterior designs, and by this attitude she had alienated the sympathies of almost the whole civilised world. But on 31st July an article in the "Popolo d'Italia," which was universally accepted as S. Mussolini's composition, expounded his real aims:

"Slavery exists in Abyssinia...but it is not for that reason that Italy is preparing herself for action...Nor is the question of race an essential argument...Not even civilisation is the object that Italy has in view.

"The essential arguments, absolutely unanswerable, are two: the vital needs of the Italian people and their security in East Africa....

"The solution of the problem can only be totalitarian. Any action of expansion or any protectorate must be accompanied by



military measures. Italy is the only judge of her security in East Africa. Put in military terms, the Italo-Abyssinian problem is simplicity and logic itself. The problem admits of only one solution, with Geneva, without Geneva, or against Geneva."

In short, the Wal Wal incident was a mere excuse, which S. Mussolini now cast aside. The Treaty of 1928 has been scrapped. Italy must have room for the expansion of her population and her political system. Abyssinia affords such room and the Dictator intends to absorb it by force.

In August both the Commission of Conciliation and the Three-Power conversations collapsed.

We have now entered into the stage of the past two months, which is fresh in everyone's memory and can be very briefly summarised.

The Council and Assembly of the League met in September and, acting with unwonted energy, unanimously declared Italy the aggressor nation in terms of Article XVI of the Covenant\* and are now proceeding by a series of committees to apply the sanctions authorised by that Article.

#### VIII—*Observations upon the issue.*

At this point my simple function of expositor is concluded. But my audience may wish me to comment personally upon the problem. In that case I shall confine myself to reminding you of factors which may be overlooked in the heat of political partisanship.

(i). The sympathy of practically the whole world outside Italy is with Abyssinia; but we should not on that account wish to support Abyssinia in its present condition, which is in most respects deplorable and utterly unsuitable to a member of the League of Nations. Nor should we assume that Italy has no case to support. Her argument is the same as that which led the early Aryan people into India and the European peoples to America.

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\* Article XVI. i.: "Should any member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenant under Articles XII, XIII and XV, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nations and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the national of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State whether members of the League or not.

(ii). The League of Nations cannot adopt a really satisfactory policy in problems like the present so long as the relations of nations are determined by the territorial distribution of 1919. We must contemplate, for example, an even stronger national demand from Germany in the near future.

(iii). Although the circumstances in each case are somewhat different, can Italy acquiesce in the arrest of her expansion in Abyssinia, when she has seen Japan proceeding with her designs in Manchuria? We must answer as naturalists, not as moralists.

(iv). The Italians have not yet conquered Abyssinia. If they persist in the project, we may need to draw no moral. The economic condition of Italy has been steadily becoming more critical.\*

(v). The sanctions under Article XVI of the Covenant, if applied with a reasonable degree of completeness, will have a far more powerful effect than is at present contemplated by many people.

#### *Sources of Information.*

A complete collection of the treaties relating to Abyssinia up to 1908, so far as they had then been published, is available in Hertslet's "Map of Africa by Treaty," which forms a pendant to his monumental work, "The Map of Europe by Treaty."

Later documents will be found in the official publications of the League of Nations, such as the Treaty Series and the official Journal.

The annual "Survey of International Affairs" has recorded the foreign relations of Abyssinia since the end of the Great War.

An admirable analysis of the Abyssinian question has been made in Information Department Paper No. 16, "Italy and Abyssinia" (second edition, August, 1935), published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs. The subject has also been well treated in a pamphlet, "The Abyssinian Dispute" (fourth edition, August, 1935), published by the League of Nations Union of Great Britain.

Authoritative articles on the subject have been published during the present year by "The Times" and "The Daily Telegraph" (London) and "The Manchester Guardian."

The unofficial views of the Italian Government upon the dispute have been published in a succession of "inspired" articles in the "Popolo d'Italia" (Rome) and the "Corriere della Sera" (Milan).

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\* See: "The Economic and Financial position of Italy," (revised edition, August, 1935), published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs.



Various recently published books recording the writers' personal experience of Abyssinia, such as L. M. Nesbitt's "Desert and Forest" (Cape, 1934), and L. Farago's "Abyssinia on the Eve" (Putnam, 1935), contain much useful information.

J. F. BRUCE.

## THE CIS-SUTLEJ STATES AND THE FIRST SIKH WAR

The Cis-Sutlej States came under the protection of the British Government in 1809, when a proclamation was issued by the latter assuring the Chiefs of Malwa and Sirhind that they would "in future be secured from the authority and influence of Maharaja Ranjít Singh."<sup>1</sup> The territories of the Chiefs thus taken under protection were "exempted from all pecuniary tribute to the British Government."<sup>2</sup> The Chiefs remained "in the full exercise of the same rights and authority in their own possessions which they enjoyed before they were received under the British protection."<sup>3</sup>

The British Government as a return for these privileges sought that—

- (a) "Should a British force on purposes of general welfare be required to march through the country of the said Chiefs, it is necessary and incumbent that every Chief shall within his own possessions assist and furnish to the full of his power such force with supplies of grain and other necessaries, which may be demanded ;<sup>4</sup>
- (b) "Should an enemy approach from any quarter for the purpose of conquering the country, friendship and mutual interest require that the Chiefs join the British army with all their forces, and exerting themselves in expelling the enemy act under discipline and proper obedience ;<sup>5</sup>
- (c) "All Europe articles brought by merchants from the eastern districts for the use of the army shall be allowed to pass by the *Thanadars* and *Sayerdars* of the several Chiefs, without molestation and the demand of duty ;<sup>6</sup>  
and

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<sup>1</sup>. Panjab Government Records (P. G. R.) Vol. II. Ludhiana Agency, 1808—1815. Printed at the Panjab Government Press, Lahore, in 1911. Letter No. 42. Translation of an *Ittallah-nameh* addressed to the Chiefs of the country of Malwa and Sirhind on this side of the River Sutlej, dated 2nd May, 1809. Art. 1.

<sup>2</sup>. *Ibid.* Art. 2.

<sup>3</sup>. *Ibid.* Art. 3.

<sup>4</sup>. *Ibid.* Art. 4.

<sup>5</sup>. *Ibid.* Art. 5.

<sup>6</sup>. *Ibid.* Art. 6.



(d) "All horses purchased for the use of the Cavalry regiments, whether in the district of Sirhind or elsewhere, the bringers of which being provided with sealed *rahdarries* from the Resident at Delhi or Officer Commanding at Sirhind, shall be allowed to pass through the country of the Chiefs without molestation or the demand of duty."<sup>1</sup>

But no sooner were the Chiefs relieved of their fears of Ranjit Singh than the more turbulent among them began to prey upon one another, or upon their weaker neighbours; and another proclamation was issued by the British Government protecting the states from one another.<sup>2</sup>

But for the disputes regarding boundaries of their estates, succession and escheats, the Cis-Sutlej Chiefs enjoyed a period of peace and security for thirty-six years from 1809 to 1845. They were protected from foreign aggression and were exempted from all pecuniary tribute to the British Government. "They were required to aid the British with all their force in the event of war; but no special contingent had been fixed and through all these years no occasion had arisen to test their fidelity and gratitude."<sup>3</sup> But when an occasion did arise during the First Sikh War to test their fidelity and gratitude, they were found wanting.

The following account of the conduct of the Protected Cis-Sutlej Chiefs and their subjects during the First Sikh War is extracted from the MS. report on the subject by Lieut.-Col. H. M. Lawrence, C.B., Agent to the Governor-General, N. W. Frontier.<sup>4</sup>

"There can, I fear, be but little doubt that the feelings of the great mass of the Cis-Sutlej population without any reference to the disposition to their rulers, were decidedly hostile to the British Government.

"A large proportion of that population is of the Jat caste which has been a fertile source of soldiers and votaries of the Sikh cause.

<sup>1</sup>. *Ibid.* Art. 7.

<sup>2</sup>. P. G. R. Vol. II op. cit. Letter No. 126. Proclamation for the information and assurance of the Protected Chiefs of the plains between the Sutlej and Jumna, dated 22nd August, 1811.

<sup>3</sup>. *The Rajas of the Punjab*. Lepel H. Griffin, p. 188. Trubner & Co., London, 1873.

<sup>4</sup>. P. G. R. Press List Vol. IX Serial No. 235. Letter No. 214, dated 29th September, 1846. From Lieut.-Col. H. M. Lawrence, Agent to Governor-General, N. W. F. to F. Currie, Esqr., Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General.

The majority of the remainder are Dogurs, Rangurs and Gujars, all predatory tribes, delighting in and accustomed in all ages to plunder both friends and enemies, both rulers and invaders, as the armies of one or other have periodically desolated the banks of the Sutlej. . . . It was estimated that from ten to fifteen thousand of the inhabitants of the Cis-Sutlej States, chiefly of Jat extraction, were serving in the Lahore ranks at the commencement of the War. It was then but natural that the zemindars of every village should hope success to the cause on which depended the fortunes of their friends and relatives. Moreover, they had everything to expect and nothing to fear from the Lahore Government of whose munificence they had heard much, of whose tyranny under British protection they knew nothing. On the other hand they were ignorant of the advantages of British Government; for as the Paramount Power we have protected them only from foreign aggression and not from domestic tyranny.

“It is possible that the Chiefs alone were ignorant of the coming storm, that they alone had never condescended to enquire into what must have been the prevailing topic of conversation among their subjects. Yet from not one Chief did we receive any information of the intentions of the enemy or of the hostile feelings of the Cis-Sutlej population. This charge then applies equally to every Chieftain, and if my views be correct, every Chieftain is obnoxious to the accusation of having been (prior to the outbreak of hostilities) at least lukewarm and indifferent.<sup>1</sup>

“The Protected Chiefs are bound to assist the British Government in time of war to the best of their ability, to furnish information, forward supplies, and join their contingents to the British force. The obligation to furnish information is not specially mentioned in the Treaty, but is implied. Indeed it would be a strange fidelity that refused to give warning of coming danger.

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1. “Major Mackeson in paragraph 11 of his report mentions his own experience of the general feeling, and shows clearly that in consequence of the number of Cis-Sutlej soldiers in the Lahore service, every village must have been cognizant of the intentions of the Khalsa force.”—P. G. R. Press List Vol. IX. Serial No. 806. Ms. Letter No. 87, dated 27th July, 1846. From Major F. Mackeson, Commissioner and Superintendent, Cis-Sutlej territories to Major H. M. Lawrence, Agent, Governor-General, N. W. F.



“The geographical position of the Protected States, between own territory and the scene of action, rendered the question of supplies a most important one. As a general rule, however, with a few exceptions, small supplies were sent in till the contest had been virtually decided by the victories of Aliwal and Sobraon. Then, where before had been indifference, if not open hostility, all was zeal and devotion; and an examination of dates will show that the Sikh Chieftains were obedient only when they considered us in a position to enforce obedience.

“Of the contingents (which the Protected Chiefs were bound to furnish) it will be sufficient to remark how that some fought against us, and many never appeared at all. Even those that did join our army were but little to be depended upon, and such was their want of discipline and equipment that had they been faithful, they had still been useless.

“The least that the British Government had a right to expect from the Protected Chieftains was that they should protect the roads in our rear, and restrain their subjects from robbery and pillage. But in most cases the Chiefs seemed, on the outbreak of hostilities, to have suspended all civil control in their own states, except when it could be employed with effect to keep back the supplies required by the British army.

“It must be borne in mind that these acts of the Chieftains were in the face of continued orders sent from the various officers of the Agency, who spared no pains to impress on the minds of all the necessity of obedience and the consequences of neglect.

“Such facts cannot fail, I think, to convince the Government that all the Protected States have more or less failed in fulfilling these obligations to our Government and that we have little reason to be satisfied even with the best disposed. Under these circumstances, I agree with Major Mackeson that we may improve the present opportunity to place our relations with the various Chieftains on a more satisfactory footing, and that in doing so we shall not be acting contrary to the provisions of the proclamation and engagements with the several Chiefs. I venture therefore to suggest a few alterations which may be satisfactorily put in force at once.

“In the first place I would suggest that, with the following exceptions, all transit and custom duties should be abolished between the Jumna and the Sutlej. The conduct of the Chieftains has been such that they cannot claim compensation, and the nature of the order will show that the Government does not seek any pecuniary advantage, but makes the punishment of their misconduct a means of benefit to the mercantile classes. On the advantage of such a change and on the stimulus it would give to commerce, I need not dilate; by the present system trade has been virtually destroyed, nor can there be much hope of its revival except by such measure.

“In the second place as the contingents of all the Chiefs were found more or less disaffected or useless, it would be unwise to expect assistance from them in any future war. I propose, therefore, that with the undermentioned exceptions, the contingents be commuted to a money payment.

“The states of Patiala, Jheend, Fureedkote, Mullair Kotla, Rai Kote, Chickrowlee (Kulsea), Booreah (Dyalghur) are the only states that on the most liberal interpretation, behaved well. I recommend that negotiations be entered into with them for the removal of all custom duties on the terms of giving the states a full equivalent in lands for loss incurred thereby. I further recommend that the contingents of Kulsea, Rai Kote, and Booreah (amounting in all to Foot 45, Horse 23) be excused during peace and that Pattiala, Jheend, Fureedkote, and Mullair Kotla continue on the old footing. . . . .”

The Governor-General, Sir Henry Hardinge, after studying carefully Lawrence's report and other relevant papers, recorded a minute, of which the following extract shows his views on the sentiments of the Chiefs and the people of the Cis-Sutlej States during the War and the policy necessary to adopt towards them in future.<sup>1</sup>

1. “It is impossible to read the reports drawn up by Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence, C.B.,<sup>2</sup> and Major Mackeson, C.B.,<sup>3</sup> and to examine

<sup>1</sup> P. G. R. Press List Vol. IX. Serial No. 243. MS. Letter No. 465, dated 17th November, 1846. From F. Currie, Esqr., Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General, Foreign Department to Lieut.-Col. H. M. Lawrence, Agent, Governor-General, N. W. F.

<sup>2</sup> P. G. R. Press List Vol. IX. Serial No. 235. Letter No. 214, dated 29th September, 1846. From Lieut.-Col. H. M. Lawrence, Agent to Governor-General, N. W. F. to F. Currie, Esqr., Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* Serial No. 806. From Major F. Mackeson, Commissioner and Superintendent, Cis-Sutlej Territories to Major H. M. Lawrence, Agent, Governor-General, N. W. F.



the documents by which their proposals are supported, without coming to the conclusion that it is the duty of the Government of India to correct the inefficiency and danger inherent in the present system of our relations with the Sikh Protected States, provided the remedies to be applied can be reconciled with justice and good faith.

2. "This system has lasted for nearly forty years, during which period, judging from the experience of the last campaign, no progress has been made in gaining the attachment of the Sikh population under British protection. The people seldom have any opportunity of feeling the benefits of British rule, being in all their internal affairs governed by their own native Chiefs. Although of warlike and predatory habits, they were never taken into our service, whilst their own national and religious feelings disposed them to consider the Sikh army, into whose ranks they were admitted by thousands, as composed of friends and relations. The Panchayat system—good pay and loose discipline—was infinitely more agreeable to their habits than the stricter system of our regular system.

3. "Our protection was felt by the Chiefs during Ranjit Singh's career of conquest, but as regards the people of these States, our intercourse was not of a nature, by the benefits we could confer, to secure their attachment.

4. "Every village had some relations in the Sikh ranks, and if questioned by our officers to what regiment he belonged, the soldier usually replied in a tone of defiance that he was a soldier of the Khalsa army on furlough at his native home. On the breaking out of the war, these men came over to their villages as emissaries, and whenever the hostile feeling against the British Government could be prudently exerted, no occasion was omitted for so doing by intercepting stragglers and plundering baggage. Even in the case of the troops of the Maharaja of Pattiala, the most faithful of our adherents, when the affair of Buddeewal was going against us and the baggage was sent off from the main body, the whole of the Pattiala cavalry, about 200 in number, went over bodily to the enemy, and the villagers in the rear cut up our sick and plundered the camp-followers. This force employed at Loodiana conveyed daily information to the

enemy. I notice these facts because this contingent was esteemed to be the most trustworthy, in consequence of the fidelity of their Chief to the British cause.

5. "It is scarcely necessary to dwell upon the fact that the hearts of the Sikh population in our Protected States were with the men of their own tribe and sect, and decidedly averse to the British Government.

6. "The disaffection to the British power, which for years had protected them may be said to have been almost universal from the Jamna to the Sutlej, with the exception of a few villages which for years had been administered by British officers.

7. "The great majority of the petty Chiefs, some of whom held offices at Lahore, and to many of whom the Lahore service held out the prospect of making their fortunes, were as adverse as their own ryots to the British Government, in fact, neither these petty Chiefs nor their ryots derive any direct and manifest advantages from British protection. The door for employment with us is closed against them, with the Lahore Government it was open.

8. "Throughout the Lahore districts and the Aloowala estates, now about to be brought under the direct superintendence of British officers, the case will be different. Liberal assessments and strict justice over the Sikh States ceded to us, will, I should hope, in a short time create a feeling very favourable to British rule, as contrasted with that of the native Chiefs. The estates now belonging to the East India Company will comprise about one-half of the territory between the Jamna and the Sutlej.

9. "But these papers demonstrate that the hostility was not confined to the less wealthy Chiefs.

10. "The Raja of Ladwa, with an estate of £10,000 a year, almost openly avowed his treason, and, after a time, went over to the enemy with all his troops and artillery.

11. "The Raja of Nabha, with an estate of £40,000 a year, did not hesitate openly to defy the British Authorities by a total disregard of the orders he received.

12. "At the time when this hostile feeling was so unequivocally expressed, the British army had been successful in capturing 100



pieces of the enemy's artillery, and in compelling the Sikh army to cross the Sutlej.

13. "There can be no doubt, if we had suffered reverses, that, as in the case of the Pattiala troops at Buddeewal, the contingents would have joined the enemy, and we should have had a general rising of the population in our rear as far east as Kurnal, cutting off our supplies and our small detachments, and making war upon us to the knife.

14. "When the war suddenly broke out I felt, notwithstanding this hostile feeling on the part of the population, that it was quite impossible to apply a military remedy by detachments in sufficient strength to keep up our communication with the rear. This could only be partially and occasionally done by the regiments marching up to the south, no detached forces could be afforded of sufficient strength. It was absolutely necessary to concentrate every man where the battle was to be fought, against a well-appointed and well-drilled army, inferior to none in Asia for its courage and its national pride, and superior to every other native army except our own, from its European system of discipline.

15. "Minor points were risked by bringing away 5,000 men and 12 field guns from Loodiana; the same measure was adopted at Ferozpur on the 21st December, and my deliberate conviction is, that if the British army had concentrated its forces on Ambala, allowing the Sikh army to advance through the protected States to meet us, then the whole population would have risen in arms against us.

16. "I state this conviction in reference to the policy of the questions now before me in these reports.

17. "There can be no doubt that the security of this part of the country demands a modification of the existing system, as far as can be effected, consistently with good faith and an adherence to treaty.

18. "These papers incontrovertibly show the existence of a disaffected feeling on the part of the Chiefs and the people, either by overt acts, or by neglecting to obey orders, which they were lawfully bound to fulfil.

19. "The refusal to obey the orders given to afford supplies, and to join the British army with their contingents, is clearly established

by proof. The evidence is ample to justify the general measures proposed of no longer permitting these States to raise contingents of their own, but to pay to the British Government a ratable annual sum in lieu of personal service. These contingents were not forthcoming when wanted: the disobedience was wilful and almost universal, and by the 4th and 5th Articles of the Declaration of Protection, these obligations are laid down in the most precise terms—*viz.*, that the contingents are bound to join the British forces in a war, and their Chiefs to provide supplies.<sup>1</sup> This betrayal of their duty did not arise from any want of power to fulfil the requisitions made on them. Supplies came in most abundantly as soon as the struggle was decided, and not before.

20. “The delay was persisted in for the purpose of impeding the operations of the British army at a most important crisis, by crippling our means of movement; and after the experience of the past, it can never be tolerated that the territories under British protection, who pay no taxes and contribute nothing to the State, shall furnish from 10,000 to 15,000 soldiers to the ranks of a neighbouring power, and shall, in time of war, evade, with impunity, to fulfil the very moderate demands which the paramount power has thought it right to exact.

21. “These States have, in reality (with very few exceptions), forfeited their privileges by their repeated acts of disaffection and disobedience during the war; they have shown that their contingents are not to be depended upon; they cannot be distinguished from the enemy; they are neither an efficient nor a faithful force; and are worse than useless, for they are positively dangerous.

22. “To abolish the existing practice of each petty Chief furnishing his contingent for the service of the paramount power, and substituting in lieu of it local corps, commanded by our European officers, recruited from the Sikh population, and paid by the Sikh Chiefs indirectly, will, to a certain extent, remedy the mischief of the present system.

23. “I therefore, without hesitation, sanction the proposition that the moderate rate proposed shall be taken in commutation of personal service, making the exceptions recommended by the

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<sup>1</sup>. See p. 144.



Political Agent, and including the Chief of Mamdot in the number of the excepted Chiefs.

24. "I also sanction, on the same ground—*viz.*, that these States have forfeited their privileges by their disobedience—the abolition of all transit and custom duties, which, levied through so many independent small States, is a system most ruinous to the trade of the country, and ought to be, as it has been in our Provinces, abolished. I approve of the exceptions to be made in favour of the Chiefs who conducted themselves with loyalty to the British Government, and I trust the equivalents for their loss by the abolition will be given so as to afford satisfaction.

25. "I also entirely approve of the proposal to take this opportunity of settling the rules of succession to property, by a recorded declaration of what the rule is to be for the future in the families of the landholders.....

27. "With regard to paras. 16 and 17, proposing to resume all the Sikh Protected States, and then granting new Sanads from the Government, I consider the same ends will be obtained by carrying out the proposals of the Political Agent, as detailed in the preceding paras. 16 and 17 which I have sanctioned. A general measure of resumption would create alarm, and must be preceded by a public declaration of the disloyalty of the largest portion of the Sikh Protected States, explaining the grounds of forfeiture, which general measure, not being absolutely necessary, had better be avoided. The object in view seems to be as well obtained without it.

28. "I therefore prefer to apply the remedies proposed, as being justified by the misconduct of the Chiefs during the late war, without proclaiming that misconduct to all India.

29. "The preceding observations apply to the general measure proposed."<sup>1</sup>

Edited by—  
R. R. SETHI.

<sup>1</sup> P. G. R. Press List Vol. IX. Serial No. 243. Ms. Letter No. 465, dated 17th November, 1846. From F. Currie, Esqr., Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General, Foreign Department to Lieut.-Col. H. M. Lawrence, Agent, Governor-General, N. W. F.

Quoted also in *The Rajas of the Punjab*, op. cit. pp. 191—197.

## TARIKH-I-PANJAB

### Abbreviations :

P. U. L.	..	..	Panjāb University Library.
P. P. L.	..	..	Panjāb Public Library.
I. O.	..	..	India Office Library.
B. M.	..	..	British Museum.

The Panjāb University Library contains a beautifully written manuscript<sup>1</sup> of *Tārīkh-i-Panjāb* (History of the Panjāb) by Ghulām Muhayy'ud-Dīn, surnamed Būṭī Shāh, of Ludhiāna. The author is silent about himself in this book and nothing can be traced about him from the sources extant. It appears that the author was well known in his time, for J. D. Cunningham, in his book<sup>2</sup>, refers to him as follows: "Capt. Murray, the political agent at Ambāla, and Capt. Wade, the political agent at Ludhiāna, each wrote a narrative of the life of Ranjit Singh..... The two narratives in question were, indeed, mainly prepared from accounts drawn up by intelligent Indians, at the requisition of the English functionaries, and of these the chronicles of Buta Shāh, a Muhammadan, and Sohan Lal, a Hindu, are the best known, and may be had for purchase."

It is mentioned in the P. U. L. MS. (though not in any other MS.) that the book was written by the order of George Russell Clerk, the then Agent to the Governor-General<sup>3</sup> (P. U. L. MS., f. 2).

The statement is borne out by J. D. Cunningham, who mentions that the accounts were drawn up 'at the requisition of the English functionaries' (p. 131, f. n.).

Unlike the chronicles of the Mughal period, this history is written in a direct and lucid style. The author rightly takes credit, at the opening of the book, for being the first to write a history of the Panjāb, which he narrates from the earliest times down to A. D. 1840.

There are three other complete MSS. known besides the P. U. L. MS. One is in the Panjāb Public Library, Lahore; another in the

<sup>1</sup>. No. A Ape III, 8; ff. 618; written in Nasta'liq; size 14½ in. by 7 in.; 27 lines, 4 in. long.

<sup>2</sup>. *A History of the Sikhs*, 1918, p. 131, n.

<sup>3</sup>. George Russell Clerk was appointed Agent at Ludhiāna in 1895 Vikrami (=A. D. 1838), (*'Umdatul-Tawārīkh*, 1886, Vol. IV, Book 3, p. 50) and later on succeeded Lieut.-Col. Wade to the charge of British relations with the Panjāb (Cunningham, p. 227).



British Museum ; a third in the India Office Library. Two fragments of this voluminous work are also extant. One belongs to Mr. H. M. Shairānī, Oriental College, Lahore, the other is in the Panjāb University Library. The former comprises the first section of the book ; the latter contains only the last section but one.

*Date of composition.*

Dr. Rieu in his *Catalogue of Persian MSS.*, iii, 953 a, mentions that the chronicle was completed in A. H. 1264 (=A.D. 1847). Ethé supports (or copies) him in I.O. Library Catalogue (i, 197). Both of them have arrived at this date by misinterpreting the chronogram given at the beginning of the book, which runs as follows—

تاریخ تالیفش از نامش بدین وجه مستندبذ نمرد  
مرتب شد چو این تاریخ پنجاب  
بفضل داور بیچون و دادار  
چو جستم سال تاریخش خود گفت  
که تاریخش هم از نامش برون آر  
ولے غیر از مات اے دانش آگین  
ز اعداد نخستیں جز و شمار

(P. P. L. MS. f. 2).<sup>1</sup>

This gives the date of completion as A. H. 1258 (= A. D. 1842). Rieu and Ethé have probably read the last couplet as follows :

ولے غیر از بآت اے دانش آگین  
ز اعداد نخستیں جز و شمار

and have come to the conclusion that the book was completed in A. H. 1264 (=A. D. 1847). But there is no such word as بآت,<sup>2</sup> and the couplet yields no sense.

Internal evidence shows that the book was actually being written in A. D. 1840.

The following occurs on f. 6b of the P. U. L. MS :

’ این قلعه در سال گذشته سنه ۱۸۳۹ عیسوی بمقبض و تصرف اہالیان  
سرکار کہ پنی در آمدہ ‘

Tr. “ Last year in A. D. 1839 the fort [of Bhakhar] came into the possession of the officers of the Company.”

<sup>1</sup>. These verses do not occur in the P. U. L. MS.

<sup>2</sup>. Dr. Rieu has apparently conjectured that بآت is the plural of بائے, which is grammatically wrong.

Further on the author mentions the Hijra and Vikrami years as follows :

‘ تا اكنوں كه سال هجرى به يك هزار و در صد و پنجاه و هفت رسيد ’

(P. U. L. MS. f. 55b).

Tr. “ Now the Hijra year has reached 1257 ”

Again :—

‘ اكنوں سمت مذکور يك هزار و هشت صد و نود و هشت مرقوم ميشود ’

(Ibid.)

Tr. “ Now the said year [Vikrami] is written as 1898.”

Both these years correspond to A. D. 1841, which shows that the author continued to write the book in A. D. 1841.

To sum up, the chronicle was begun somewhere in 1840 and was completed in 1842.

#### Contents.

The P. U. L. MS. consists of a Muqaddima (Introduction), five Daftars (Books), and a Khātima (Epilogue).

#### Introduction.

(ff. 1—42).

در بيان احوال حدود ملك پنجاب و وجه تسميه آن و بيان ابحار و انبار  
 هدرين ملك جاري و سارى ايد و ذكر منابع و جائے صلحقات آنها بدرجائے ديگر  
 و بيان دوآبہ ہائے ايس ملك ر طول و عرض آنها و توضيح امصار و قريات  
 معروفہ ہر يك دوآبہ تشریح اجناس و اثمار و ديگر اشيائے مشہورہ آنها -

The historical geography of the Panjāb is given in full detail in the Introduction. The author begins with the sources of the rivers of the Panjāb, and describes their courses. After giving the length and breadth of the five Doābs of the Panjāb, he mentions all the important towns and cities of every Doāb, and some light is thrown on their historical importance.

#### Book I.

(ff. 43—61b.)

در بيان احوال اچھائے ہندو ز ابتدائے شہو من کہ بقول ہندو اولين  
 راجہ (وئے زمين بود لغات آخر رائے پتہوا کہ آخريں فرمان فرمايان ايس  
 ملك او گزشتہ -

An account of Hindū Rājas from the beginning of the reign of Raja Shibūman<sup>1</sup> (supposed to be the first ruler of the world, according

<sup>1</sup>. I. O. MS., B. M. MS., and P. P. L. MS. read it as Sadūman, which is probably the more correct form.



to Hindūs), to the reign of the last Hindū king Pithaurā, is given in this book. The author has taken pains to collect material for this period of history from the available sources. The following authorities are quoted :

*The Bhāgvatgītā,  
Mahābhārata, and  
Padmā-purāna.*

*Book II.*

(ff. 65<sup>1</sup>—152).

در بیان احوال بادشاهان اهل اسلام من اوائل آمدن سلطان محمود  
غزنوی غازی و اولاد و امجادش و بیان سلطنت غوریان و خلجیان و لودھیان  
و چغتایان دریں ملک -

This chapter covers the whole of Muhammadan rule in India. The author begins with Mahmūd Ghaznawī and gives a short history of the Ghorīs, Khaljis, Lodīs and Chaghātaīs. He concludes with the expulsion of Ahmad Shāh Abdālī by the Sikhs, and his death in A. H. 1183.

The author says he has consulted the following works :

- (i) *Habīb'us-Siyar,*
- (ii) *Ma'āsir'ul-Malūk,*
- (iii) *Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī,*
- (iv) *Tārīkh-i-Alfī,*
- (v) *Tārīkh-i-Banāktī,*
- (vi) *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī,*
- (vii) *Tārīkh-i-Guzāda.*

*Book III.*

(ff. 153—209).

در بیان گروها ئے فرقه سڈکھان و بیدیاں و سوڈھیان کہ ولاد گروان  
مذکوراند -

This section deals with the lives of Gurūs of the Sikhs, from Nānak to Gobind, and their descendants the Bedīs and the Sodhīs. It begins with Gurū Nānak and concludes with Bedī Sāhib Singh. The following authorities are quoted for this book :

<sup>1</sup>. 4 folios are left blank in the P. U. L. MS.

- (i) Jawāhar Singh Sodī,
- (ii) Shankar Jotshī,
- (iii) Sohan Lāl,
- (iv) Mufti Khair Dīn,
- (v) Miān Ahmad Shāh of Batāla.

*Book IV.*(ff. 211<sup>1</sup>—302).

در بیان سرداران سکھوں وغیرہ و سرداران ملک پنجاب و راجہاں و  
بیان کیفیت مٹلہاں و پتہاں سکھوں و دیگر رسوم آںہا کہ بعد از اضمحلال  
سلطنت دہلی قبض و متصرف ملک پنجاب شدہ اند -

An account of the Sikh Sardārs and Rājās, who rose during the decline of the empire of Delhi, is given in this book.

It opens with the account of the Misal of Bhangīs and ends with an account of the Phūlkiāns.

*Book V.*(ff. 307<sup>2</sup>—611).

در بیان احوال ملک گدیوی مہاراجہ رنجیت سنگھ بہاں کہ برہگمی  
ملک پنجاب و سہ اٹے بر ملک ہاں نے دیگر بہ ندوٹے اقبال قبض و متسلط گردید

A detailed history of Ranjīt Singh, from his rise to his death in A. D. 1839, is given in this book.

*Epilogue.*

(ff. 612—618).

در بیان آمدن صاحبان ایشیاں متسلمان سوکار ذوالاقتدار کمپنی انگریز-

A short history of the East India Company and of British conquests in India (down to A. D. 1815), is given in these folios.

Dr. Rieu has confused this Epilogue with another section, in which an account of the Rājās of the mountainous districts, such as Kāngrah, Jammū, etc., is given. But this last-named section is not contained in any other MS. except the B. M. MS.

MUHAMMAD BAQIR MALIK.

<sup>1</sup>. 2 folios are left blank in the P. U. L. MS.

<sup>2</sup>. 5 folios are left blank in the P. U. L. MS.



## THE FIRST CENSUS OF THE PANJAB, 1855.<sup>1</sup>

In October 1854, the Chief Commissioner of the Panjab considered that the time for a census of the Province had come. Though other methods had been employed in India, the best one, that of the actual enumeration of the people, as they were all over the country at a given time, was adopted. Considerable experience had been gained from the North Western Provinces Census of 1853. The census of the Panjab was taken on the night between the 31st of December, 1854, and the first of January 1855. Every Government official was employed for making or checking the returns, and at Lahore and Amritsar especially the Deputy Commissioners found no time to rest during the night. Nearly all the Government employees, Mohalladars, Lambardars, Patwaris and other trusted men gladly volunteered to do the work.

Some doubts had been expressed as to the expediency of the measure and its success, but the Chief Commissioner placed his "confidence in the good sense and the feeling which the Panjab people had uniformly displayed," and the reliance was amply justified. The utter absence of alarm among the inhabitants on this first census in the whole history of the Province was truly remarkable. People were even enthusiastic about it and often waited with lanterns before their gates, so that the officers on duty should meet with no inconvenience. The co-operation of the people was indeed so thorough that the census was considered to be one of the best so far taken in India. Even the frontier tribes, whose pursuits ranged from brigandage and nomadism in deserts or wide pastoral areas to the settled pursuit of agriculture and industry, were enumerated. The returns were tested and averages per square mile, per house, per enclosure, per village, the proportion of males to females, and agriculturists to non-agriculturists were struck.

The population of the Panjab was sparse in comparison with that of the whole of India. The average population per square mile of North Western Province stood at 420; of Bengal at 311; of

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<sup>1</sup>. Panjab Government Records. Press List Vol. 16. Serial No. 1328. Letter No. 41, dated 14th January, 1856. From Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Panjab, to Secretary to the Government of India.

Madras Presidency at 170 ; of Bombay Presidency at 156. It was as thickly populated as contemporary France, Prussia, Austria and Italy. On the whole the Panjab was one-fourth less populous in proportion to its area than the United Kingdom, and only half as populous as the most densely inhabited parts of the world, such as Holland, Belgium, northern Italy, China, and the Gangetic Provinces of India. The averages in the various parts of this province ranged from the most thickly populated districts of Jullundur, with 513 persons per square mile, Sialkot 475, Gurdaspur 470, Amritsar 436, Ambala 420 and Ludhiana 385, to the veritable deserts of Multan, Leia, Jhang and Kohat, with 73, 50, 44 and 35 persons per square mile, respectively.

The average population per village or 'mouza' stood at 440, which was slightly in excess of the corresponding average for the North Western Province, *viz.*, 369. There were at that time 2,124 small towns, whose populations numbered between 1,000 and 5,000 ; seventy-six towns having a population of between 5,000 and 10,000 ; and 32 cities having between 10,000 and 50,000 inhabitants. These last included the towns of Ludhiana, with 47,191 souls ; Jullundur with 28,422 ; Batala with 26,208 (Batala was in fact much more important than Gurdaspur, and it was after much hesitation that the name of the latter place was given to the district) ; Multan with 24,973 (it was supposed at that time that the rivers being navigable up to that part, Multan would become a great entrepôt and the first city of Northern India) ; Sialkot had 19,249 ; Gujranwala 17,650 ; Wazirabad 16,846 ; Pind Dadan Khan 13,558 (centre of the salt traffic) ; Bhera 13,913 ; Mianee 6,005 ; Ferozepore 12,032 ; Jhelum 6,060 ; Rawalpindi 15,813 ; Dera Ismail Khan 15,899 ; Dera Ghazi Khan 21,097.

There were three cities of first class importance in the Panjab, each having more than 50,000 inhabitants. Amritsar, the commercial capital of the Province, though it had lost much of its religious and political importance since the annexation of the Province to the British territory, was the largest city having 122,184 inhabitants. Lahore, the metropolis, came next, with 94,143 inhabitants. As it possessed none of the commercial advantages of Amritsar, the author of the Census Report, Mr. D. Mcleod, thought



that it was most likely to fall off under British rule ; but the event has proved quite otherwise. Peshawar was the third city of the Province. It contained 53,294 souls and had great political and commercial importance, for it was the emporium of the vast and flourishing trade carried on at that time between India and central Asia.

The followers of the Hindu and Mohammadan religions were enumerated, but no sub-castes were defined, and by an unfortunate oversight the Sikhs were not enumerated as a separate community. The Hindus numbered 5,352,874 and the Mohammadans 7,364,974. The Mohammadans were thus as 1·37 to 1 of Hindus. The distribution of Mohammadans and Hindus was much the same as to-day, that is : in the east, from the Jumna to the Chenab, the Hindus were predominant ; but the area west of the Chenab was almost entirely Mohammadan. Agriculturists formed 56 per cent. of the total population.

There were 54 males to 46 females ; but this was affected by the fact that a large number of Hindustani soldiers and camp followers were stationed in the Panjab, temporarily placing men in a considerable and misleading majority. Moreover, the country was still suffering from the effects of female infanticide.

The average number of persons per house was 4·53, whereas in the North Western Province it was 4·83. The Census, taken with considerable accuracy and precision, is valuable as partly illustrating the distribution of population, and, to some extent, the economic life at that time.

## CENSUS OF THE PANJAB, 1855

*British Possessions.*

Division.	Area sq. miles.	Villages.	Population.	Land Revenue.	Population per sq. mile.
				Rupees.	
Cis-Sutlej States ..	8,090·11	4,962	22,82,111	32,01,228	282·08
Trans-Sutlej States ..	6,791·83	4,171	22,73,037	33,91,296	334·67
Lahore ..	11,627·88	8,188	34,58,694	43,17,118	297·41
Jhelum ..	16,761·22	4,647	17,62,488	23,77,301	105·35
Multan ..	15,494·00	2,489	9,71,175	10,74,959	62·68
Leia ..	15,271·70	2,531	11,22,621	16,96,662	73·50
Peshawar ..	75,88·50	1,891	8,47,695	9,51,664	111·70

*The States.*

Division.	Area sq. miles.	Villages.	Population.	Land Revenue.	Popula- tion per sq. mile.
Cis-Sutlej States ..	7,368.95	..	18,94,800	31,23,000	257.13
Simla Hill States ..	5,000.00	..	4,32,643	5,72,100	86.53
Trans-Sutlej States ..	5,316.00	..	4,98,163	8,18,284	54.68
Bahawalpore ..	25,200.00	..	9,25,000	15,43,150	36.70
Maharaja Gulab Singh's territory.	60,000.00	..	30,00,000	80,000,000	50.00
Total (States) ..	1,02,884.95	..	67,50,606	1,40,56,534	65.71
Adding Panjab ..	81,625.24	28,879	1,27,17,821	1,70,10,210	155.80
Grand Total ..	18,45,10.19	..	1,94,68,427	3,36,99,699	105.51





Dr. A. C. Woolner.

## OBITUARY

At a meeting of the Society held on Monday, 28th October, 1935, at 6-15 P.M. in the Hailey Hall (Panjab University) the following resolution, moved by Raja Hari Kishen Kaul, C.I.E., and seconded by Mr. Justice Currie, I.C.S., was unanimously passed, all standing :

“ That the members of this Society have learned with great regret of the recent death of one of its most distinguished members, Sir John Perronet Thompson ; and that the Secretary be instructed to convey to Lady Thompson their deep sympathy and sense of the loss of an eminent administrator and scholar, whose service to the government and culture of India will preserve his memory.”

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At a meeting of the Society held on Monday, 20th January, 1936, at 6-15 P.M. in the Hailey Hall (Panjab University) the following resolution moved by Mr. J. F. Bruce and seconded by Mr. H. L. O. Garrett, was unanimously passed, all standing :—

“ That the members of the Society wish to record their grief at the loss which this Society has suffered by the death of Dr. A. C. Woolner, Vice-Chancellor of this University, who, as a founder, office-bearer and constant supporter of the Society and also as an original scholar, has laid the Society, the University and the province under a lasting debt of gratitude.”

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### DR. A. C. WOOLNER

Dr. Alfred Cooper Woolner, C.I.E., M.A., D. Litt., F.A.S.B., Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Panjab, Dean of University Instruction and a founder of the Panjab Historical Society, died at Lahore on the morning of 7th January, 1936, after a protracted illness.

Dr. Woolner was born on 13th May, 1878, at Etruria Hall, near Hanley, Staffordshire—a large house belonging to the Duchy of Lancaster but now surrounded by potteries and blast furnaces, named Etruria Hall by Josiah Wedgwood, the famous potter, who had lived there.



He was the son of Captain Henry Woolner (of the Shropshire Volunteer Artillery), an artist who was headmaster of the School of Art at Hanley and then Examiner and Inspector of Schools under the old Science and Art Department at South Kensington. Captain Woolner was a brother of the well-known sculptor, Thomas Woolner, R.A., who was one of the seven pre-Raphaelite brethren.

Dr. Woolner received his early education in Suffolk, the original home of the Woolners (older spelling : Woolnough, from still earlier Wolfnoth) and of his mother's people, Coopers. His mother was responsible for his education until the age of twelve, when he was sent to the Queen Elizabeth School, Ipswich, where he remained for seven years until 1897. At school he read mainly the Classics, starting on his own initiative Persian and Sanskrit with books found in second-hand shops.

In 1897 he obtained an open Classical Exhibition at Trinity College, Oxford, and the Ford Studentship and in 1901 he was awarded the Boden Sanskrit scholarship. He remained at Oxford for nearly six years. He passed the Honours School of Oriental Literature (Sanskrit and Pali), and in March, 1903, while reading Chinese (with a view to another scholarship), he was appointed Principal of the Oriental College, Lahore, and Registrar of the University of the Panjab.

On 22nd December, 1908, Dr. Woolner married the youngest daughter of the late Rev. Samuel King Bland and Mrs. Elizabeth Hazeldine Bland in Lahore. Mrs. Woolner is a great-niece of John Lawrence on her mother's side. Mrs. Bland was a Lawrence before her marriage.

Dr. Woolner was Registrar of the Panjab University from 1903 to 1920, combining with this the office of University Librarian, which he held until 1928. In January, 1921, he was nominated Dean of University Instruction for the purpose of co-ordinating the various academic activities. In the following year he was granted the status of University Professor of Sanskrit. In October, 1928, he was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University in succession to the Hon'ble Mr. F. W. Kennaway, I.C.S., who had taken over charge of this office temporarily for two months from the Hon'ble Sir Geoffrey

Fitz Hervey de Montmorency, M.A., K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., C.B.E., I.C.S. (Chancellor of the University from 1928 to 1933).

In 1926 Dr. Woolner was awarded the Companionship of the Order of the Indian Empire and on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the Panjab University on 4th December, 1933, the degree of Doctor of Literature was conferred upon him, *honoris causa*. His Excellency the Chancellor remarked, when admitting him to this Degree, "Seldom has a University bestowed an honour so richly deserved; and of the many qualifications which merit the distinction—profound scholarship, original research, administrative service and long devotion to the University—I think he would himself like the first place to be assigned to the interest he has always taken in the welfare of the students."

Dr. Woolner was a member of the University Enquiry Committee which submitted its report in the spring of 1933, and since that time had been busily engaged in devising measures for the improvement of the University. During this period the Panjab University Union was founded under his auspices and its new building, which is nearing completion, was largely due to his efforts. He was the Founder President of the Panjab Literary League.

Dr. Woolner took a considerable interest in University affairs outside the Panjab. He represented his University in the Inter-University Board, India, for a number of years, and was its Chairman in 1929-30. In June, 1934, he was nominated *Officier de l'Academie* by the Minister of National Education, France. He was also a Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Dr. Woolner was a Sanskrit scholar of no ordinary calibre; his work in this field was known and appreciated both in India and Europe. He was the author of the following publications: *Introduction to Prakrit; Asoka's Text and Glossary; English translation of Plays attributed to Bhasa*. He also contributed a number of articles on these subjects to well known Journals.

Outside his special branch of learning he took great interest in the promotion of historical research and together with Dr. J. Ph. Vogel and the late Sir John P. Thompson was one of the founders of the Panjab Historical Society in 1910. He was also the first Secretary



of the Society and contributed a number of valuable articles to its Transactions.

In his younger days Dr. Woolner was a keen volunteer and for many years commanded a company of the Panjab Rifles. When in 1919 a University Company of the Indian Defence Force was formed for the training of students, Dr. Woolner was appointed its Officer Commanding.

The *communiqué* of the Panjab Government, appreciating Dr. Woolner's academic and extra-mural activities, published in the *Panjab Gazette* of the 10th January, 1936, concluded most appropriately with the following remarks:—"Secure as is the position of Alfred Cooper Woolner as a scholar, it is for his kindness, his humour and his humanity that his many friends and pupils, inside and outside the University, mourn him to-day and will long remember him with respect and affection."

R. R. S.

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