

BRITISH POLICY
TOWARDS SINDH
UPTO
THE ANNEXATION

By
P. N. KHERA

MINERVA BOOK SHOP
LAHORE

BRITISH POLICY TOWARDS SINDH

UPTO

THE ANNEXATION, 1843

by

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WITH A FOREWORD

by

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NOTE

In the foot-notes the numbers of Letter-Books and letters are shown as Book/Letter *e.g.*, 140/70 means Book No. 140, letter No. 70. The same may also be shown as B140, L70. The letters P. G. R. stand for Punjab Government Records and P. P. for Parliamentary Papers relating to Sindh.

PREFACE

In the following pages I have tried to trace the relations of the British Indian Government with Sindh from the earliest connections in the seventeenth century to the annexation in the middle of the nineteenth. A detailed history of Sindh during that period has not been attempted.

The records consulted for this essay have almost all been in manuscript form and are found in the Letter Books of the Punjab Government's Records Office at Lahore. These have never been published and seldom used by historians. This fact has been a great advantage to me, and perhaps my only justification for writing on a subject like this.

But these records are by no means complete, and relate primarily to the history of the Punjab. I had, therefore, to consult secondary authorities, viz. Parliamentary Papers relating to Sindh and certain other printed works. But I have tried to substantiate all opinions expressed or criticisms made by quotations from original documents or other standard works.

All these four chapters were originally published in the form of a series of papers in the *Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society* and were highly appreciated by a number of Indian historians. This encouraged me to revise them and publish them in book form. I hope I have not been too vain in doing so.

I should like to thank Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan for his generous foreword, Prof. J. F. Bruce, University Professor of History, Lahore, for constant friendliness and interest and Dr. G. L. Chopra, Keeper of Records to the Punjab Government, for much sound advice and criticism in the final revision of the book.

Finally, I owe a deep debt of gratitude to Pandit Dina Nath Raina for having prepared the index, and to Messrs. Minerva Book Shop for shepherding this little book through the press with such interest and promptitude.

Sholapur.

P. N. KHERA.

FOREWORD

I have read the little book entitled *British Policy Towards Sindh* by Mr. P. N. Khera with great interest. Mr. Khera has retained his interest in historical research after his graduation from the Punjab University, and has chosen a subject which is bound to arouse considerable interest. Mr. Khera has thrown new light on Ranjit Singh's relations with Sindh. I am inclined to agree with him in the view that, but for the intervention of the British, Ranjit Singh would have invaded Sindh and probably annexed it.

Mr. Khera's treatment of a highly controversial subject is essentially judicious and temperate and his analysis of the treaties contracted by the British Government with the Amirs of Sindh is marked by a spirit of powerful moderation and sane criticism.

Chapter IV deals with the annexation of the "Sick Man of India" and discusses the justice or otherwise of the conquest of that country. The subject bristles with difficulties, and the personality of Sir Charles Napier assumes gargantuan proportions after his tempestuous arrival in the valley. Sir Charles was a curious blend of the conquistador and the knight-errant, but in the subjugation of Sindh it was the former element that predominated and submerged the latter. Sir Charles argued that he had not come to Sindh to carry on a wordy polemic with the Amirs as to the equity of the treaties which the Amirs had previously signed with the British Government. This was not the function of the Commander-in-Chief; it was the concern of the Governor-General. He went to Sindh to carry out his orders and this he did with a thoroughness that destroyed all the vestiges of the Amirs' rule in Sindh. Morally, of course, the annexation was not justified, and Outram's magnanimous and chivalrous protest still rings in our ears. Sir Charles himself sheepishly admitted that it was a 'piece of rascality'.

On the side of the British Government it may be urged with a certain amount of justification that the Amirs of Sindh

had seriously violated the treaties which they solemnly signed by intriguing with the Sikhs, the Afghans, the Persians and others. A number of incriminating documents were intercepted by responsible British officers, and there can be no question of their complicity in such plots. The government of the Amirs was undiluted despotism, and their administrative principles were intrinsically crude and primitive.

I do not think I can discuss such a controversial subject further, but it must be clear to the meanest understanding that Sindh has benefited considerably under the British Government and its future is now assured.

Mr. Khara's enterprise deserves encouragement and it might serve as an incentive to young Indian scholars who have yet to tap the sources of our national story which are scattered in different parts of India.

SHAFAT AHMAD KHAN.

27, Elgin Road,
Allahabad.
August 8, 1941.

To
“S”

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

LETTER FROM GHULAM SHAH, PRINCE OF SINDH, TO
MR. ROBERT SUMPTION.

DATED 11TH DECEMBER, 1758

“ I now inform you that I am arrived with all my forces in the fort of Shah Bunder, and have determined to collect no customs (not even a single pice) on the goods that any King’s merchants may bring to Shah Bunder, but on all exported from hence they are to pay the usual customs. You may be sure of this my determination, and import goods from any parts to trade here.

I hope you will soon send your man here to choose a place for building a house or factory. ”

APPENDIX II

ORDER OF GHULAM SHAH, PRINCE OF SINDH, TO HIS OFFICERS,
DATED DECEMBER 18, 1758

“ You are hereby ordered not to demand any customs on the goods which Mr. Sumption may import, and likewise to let him have any place which he may choose for building a factory on. Give him all the assistance in your power, and be a friend to him that he may think himself at liberty in carrying on his trade for the good of the port.”

APPENDIX III**TREATY WITH THE AMIRS OF SINDH, OF AUGUST 22, 1809.**

I. There shall be eternal friendship between the British Government and that of Sindh, namely Mir Ghulam Ali, Mir Karim Ali, and Mir Murad Ali.

II. Enmity shall never appear between the two States.

III. The mutual dispatch of the Vakils of both Governments, namely the British Government and Sindhian Government, shall always continue.

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

APPENDIX IV**TREATY WITH THE AMIRS OF SINDH, NOVEMBER 9, 1820.**

The British Government and the Government of Sindh having in view to guard against the occurrence of frontier disputes and to strengthen the friendship already subsisting between the two States, Meer Ismael Shah was invested with full power to treat with the Honourable the Governor of Bombay and the following articles were agreed on between the two parties.

I. There shall be perpetual friendship between the British Government on the one hand and Mir Karim Ali and Mir Murad Ali on the other.

II. A mutual intercourse by means of Vakils shall always continue between the two Governments.

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

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

Bombay, November 9, 1820.

APPENDIX V

TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN THE E. I. COMPANY AND THE
STATE OF KHYRPUR, APRIL 4, 1832.

I. There shall be eternal friendship between the two States.

II. The two contracting powers mutually bind themselves from generation to generation never to look with the eye of covetousness on the possessions of each other.

III. The British Government having requested the use of the river Indus, and the roads of Sindh, for the merchants of Hindustan, etc., the Government of Khyrpur agrees to grant the same within its own boundaries on whatever terms may be settled with the Government of Hyderabad, namejy Mir Murad Ali Khan Talpur.

IV. The Government of Khyrpur agrees to furnish a written statement of just and reasonable duties to be levied on all goods passing under this treaty and further promises that traders shall suffer no loss or hindrance in transacting their business.

APPENDIX VI

TREATY WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF HYDERABAD IN SINDH,
(19TH JUNE, 1832)

I. That the friendship provided for in former Treaties between the British Government and that of Sindh remain unimpaired and binding and that this stipulation has received additional efficacy through the medium of Lieutenant-Colonel Pottinger, envoy, etc., so that the firm, connecting and close alliance now formed between the said States shall descend to the children and successors of the house of the above-named Mir Murad Ali Khan, principal after principal from generation to generation.

II. That the two contracting powers bind themselves never to look with the eye of covetousness on the possessions of each other.

III. That the British Government has requested a passage for the merchants and traders of Hindustan by the river and roads of Sindh, by which they may transport their goods and merchandize from one country to another, and the said Government of Hyderabad hereby acquiesces in the same request on the three following conditions :—

1st—That no person shall bring any description of military stores by the above river or roads.

2nd—That no armed vessels or boats shall come by the said river.

3rd—That no English merchants shall be allowed to settle in Sindh but shall come as occasion requires, and having stopped to transact their business, shall return to India.

IV. When merchants shall determine on visiting Sindh, they shall obtain a passport to do so from the British

Government and due intimation of the granting of such passports shall be made to the said Government of Hyderabad by the Resident in Kutch, or other officer of the said British Government.

V. That the Government of Hyderabad having fixed certain proper and moderate duties to be levied on merchandize and goods proceeding by the aforesaid routes shall adhere to that scale, and not arbitrarily and despotically either increase or lessen the same, so that the affairs of merchants and traders may be carried on without stop or interruption, and the custom house officers and farmers of revenues of the Sindh Government are to be specially directed to see that they do not delay the said merchants on pretence of awaiting for fresh orders from the Government or in the collection of the duties, and the said Government is to promulgate a Tariff or Table of duties leviabie on each kind of goods as the case may be.

VI. That whatever portions of former treaties entered into between the two States have not been altered and modified by the present one remain firm and unaltered, as well as those stipulations now concluded, and by the blessing of God no deviation from them shall ever happen.

VII. That the friendly intercourse between the two States shall be kept up by the despatch of Vakils whenever the transaction of business, or the increase of the relations of friendship may render it desirable.

W. C. BENTINCK.

APPENDIX VII

TREATY BETWEEN THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND THE AMIRS OF SINDH, CONCLUDED BY COL. HENRY POTTINGER, AGENT TO THE G.-G. FOR SINDH, ON THE ONE PART AND THEIR HIGHNESSES MIR NUR MOHAMMAD KHAN AND MIR NASIR MOHAMMAD KHAN ON APRIL 20, 1838.

I. In consideration of the long friendship which has subsisted between the British Government and the Amirs of Sindh, the G.-G. in Council engages to use his good offices to adjust the present differences which are understood to subsist between the Amirs of Sindh and Maharaja Ranjit Singh, so that peace and friendship may be established between the two states.

II. In order to secure and improve the relations of amity and peace which have so long subsisted between the Sindh State and the British Government, it is agreed that an accredited British Minister shall reside at the Court of Hyderabad and that the Amirs of Sindh shall also be at liberty to depute a vakil to reside at the Court of the British Government, and that the British Minister shall be empowered to change his ordinary place of residence as may, from time to time, seem expedient, and be attended by such an escort as may be deemed suitable by his Government.

APPENDIX VIII

RELEVANT PORTIONS OF THE TRIPARTITE TREATY OF 1838,
BETWEEN THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, SHAH SHUJA
AND RANJIT SINGH.

IV. Regarding Shikarpur and the territory of Sindh, on the right bank of the Indus, the Shah will agree to abide by whatever may be settled as right and proper in conformity with the happy relations of friendship subsisting between the British Government and the Maharaja through Captain Wade.

XVI. Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk agrees to relinquish for himself, his heirs and successors all claims of supremacy and arrears of tribute over the country now held by the Amirs of Sindh (which will continue to belong to the Amirs and their successors in perpetuity) on condition of the payment to him by the Amirs of such a sum as may be determined under the mediation of the British Government; 15,00,000 of rupees of such payment being made over by him to Maharaja Ranjit Singh. On these payments being completed, article 4 of the treaty of the 12th March 1833,¹ will be considered cancelled, and the customary interchange of letters and suitable presents between the Maharaja and the Amirs of Sindh shall be maintained as heretofore.

¹ Between Shah Shuja and Ranjit Singh.

APPENDIX IX

MEMORANDUM GIVEN BY THE RESIDENT IN SINDH TO THE AMIRS, DATED 27TH SEPTEMBER, 1838, CONTAINING THE INFORMATION REGARDING THE SIGNING OF THE TRIPARTITE TREATY AND TELLING THEM OF THE BENEFITS WHICH THEY WILL SECURE BY MAKING A PAYMENT TO SHAH SHUJA.

“The Amirs must likewise perfectly understand that the measures described in this memorandum are not open to further consideration, but have been finally resolved on, and that any hesitation on their part.....to comply with what is asked of them must be deemed to be a refusal, and immediate steps taken to remedy it, which it is obvious can only be done by calling in additional troops which are all ready both in Bengal and Bombay territories.”¹ ,

¹ Pages 23—25 of the Parliamentary Papers.

APPENDIX X

TREATY WITH THE KHYRPUR STATE, JAN. 10TH, 1839.

I. There shall be perpetual friendship, alliance and unity of interests, between the Hon'ble East India Company and Mir Rustam Khan Talpur and his Heirs and successors, from generation to generation, and the Friends and Enemies of one party shall be Friends and Enemies of both.

II. The British Government engages to protect the principality and territory of Khyrpur.

III. Mir Rustam Khan and his Heirs and successors will act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government and acknowledge its supremacy and not have any connection with any other chiefs and states.

IV. The Amir, and his Heirs and successors will not enter into negotiation with any Chief or State without the knowledge and sanction of the British Government, but the usual amicable correspondence with friends and relations shall continue.

V. The Amir and his Heirs and successors will not commit aggressions on any one. If by accident, any dispute arise with any one, the settlement of it shall be submitted to the arbitration and award of the British Government.

VI. The Amir will furnish troops according to his means at the requisition of the British Government, and render it all and every necessary aid and assistance throughout his territory during the continuance of war and approve of all the defensive preparations which it may make while the peace and security of the countries on the other side of the Indus may be threatened, but the English Government will not covet a Dam or Drain of the territories enjoyed by His Highness and his Heirs, nor the fortresses on this bank or that bank of the river Indus.

VII. The Amir and his Heirs and successors shall be absolute rulers of their country and the British jurisdiction shall not be introduced into that principality, nor will

any of the Bilochee servants, dependents, relatives or subjects of the Amir, be listened to, should they complain against the said Amir.

VIII. In order to improve by every means possible the growing intercourse by the river Indus, Mir Rustam Khan promises all co-operation with the other powers in any measures which may be hereafter thought necessary for extending and facilitating the Commerce and navigation of the Indus.

IX. In order to further secure the relations of amity and peace which have so long subsisted between the Khyrpur State and the British Government, it is agreed that an accredited British Minister shall reside at the Court of Khyrpur, and that the Amir shall be at liberty to depute an agent to reside at the Court of the British Government; and the British Government shall be empowered to change his ordinary place of residence as may, from time to time, seem expedient, and be attended by such an escort as may be deemed suitable by his Government.

X. This treaty of nine articles having been concluded and signed and sealed by Lieutenant-Col. Sir A. Burnes, Knight, Envoy on the part of the Right Honourable Lord George Auckland, G.C.B., G.-G. of India, and Mir Rustam Khan on the part of himself, Chief of Khyrpur, the Ratification by the Right Honourable the G.-G. shall be exchanged within forty-five days from the present date.

KHYRPUR, 24TH DECEMBER, 1838.

A. BURNES

RATIFIED BY THE G.-G. ON 10TH JAN., 1839

Separate Article.—Since the British Government has taken upon itself the responsibility of protecting the State of Khyrpur from all enemies, now and hereafter, and neither coveted any portion of its possessions nor fortresses on this side or that of the Indus, it is hereby agreed upon by Rustam Khan and his heirs and successors, that if the Governor-General in time of war should seek to occupy the fortress of Bukkur as a Depôt for treasure and munitions, the Amir shall not object to it.

A. BURNES

Envoy at Khyrpur.

APPENDIX XI

TREATY BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND HYDERABAD GOVERNMENTS AS CONCLUDED BY THE RESIDENT IN SINDH

(FEBRUARY 5, 1839)

I. There shall be lasting friendship, alliance and amity
.....

II. The Governor-General has commanded that a British force shall be kept in Sindh and stationed at the city of Tatta where a cantonment will be formed. The strength of this force is to depend on the pleasure of the Governor-General of India, but will not exceed 5,000 men.

III. Mir Nur Mohd. Khan, Mir Nasir Mohd. Khan and Mir Mohd. Khan bind themselves to pay annually the sum of three lacs of rupees in part of the expense of the force, from the presence of which their respective territories will derive such vast advantages.

IV. (Not important).

V. The British Government pledges itself neither to interfere in any degree, small or great, in the internal management or affairs of the several possessions of the Amirs, nor to think of introducing in any shape its regulations or *adawlut*s.

VI. (Not important).

VII. The British Government agrees to protect Sindh from all foreign aggression.

VIII. (Not important).

IX. Should any Amir attack or injure the possessions of another Amir, or those of his dependents, the Resident in Sindh will on being applied to by both sides, and on receiving the sanction of the Governor-General of India act as mediator between them, but it is to be distinctly understood that he (the Resident) is not to intermeddle in trifling points.

X. Should any Bilochee or other chief rebel against the authority of the Amir to whom he appertains, or attack the

lands or other possessions of any other Amir or chief, and the Amir to whom he appertains shall declare his inability to coerce such chief the Governor-General will take the case into consideration on its being submitted to His Lordship by the Resident, and will, should his Lordship see sufficient reason, order such assistance to be given as may be requisite to punish the offender.

XI. Their Highnesses agree to form no new treaties or enter into any engagements with foreign states, without the knowledge of the British Government, but their Highnesses will, of course, carry on friendly correspondence with all their neighbours.

XII. The British Government agrees on its part, not to form any Treaty or enter into any engagement that can possibly affect the interests of Sindh, without the concurrence and knowledge of their Highnesses the Amirs.

XIII. (Not important).

XIV. The Amirs agree to either build or allow the British Government to build an enclosure and store-house at Karachi as a depôt for stores ; their Highnesses incurring no sort of expense on this account, and being repaid for any outlay they may incur.

XV. (Not important).

XVI. Amongst the great objects of the Governor-General in fixing a British force in Sindh is that of perfecting the arrangements which have been in progress for several years for opening the Indus to traders, and as the thoroughfare will now be increased a hundredfold, the contracting Governments agree to abolish all tolls on the river from the sea to Ferozepur.

XVII. (Not important).

XVIII. (Not important.)

XIX. Should the British Government at any time require and apply for the aid of the army of Sindh, their Highnesses the Amirs agree to furnish it according to their means, and in any such case, the troops thus applied for are not to exceed 3,000 men, are not to proceed beyond the frontier of Sindh, and are to be paid for by the British Government.

XX. The terms of this treaty except the 3rd article are to be considered applicable to His Highness Mir Sobdar Khan of Hyderabad.

XXI. (Not important).

XXII. Should Mir Sher Mohammad of Mirpur wish it, a treaty on this basis will be made with him.

XXIII. The British Government undertakes to guarantee to the different Amirs, their heirs and successors, on their acquiescing in the terms of this treaty, the perpetual enjoyment of their respective possessions, and the friends and enemies of the one party shall be friends and enemies of the other.

HENRY POTTINGER.¹

¹This treaty was ratified by the Governor-General with slight modifications on March 11, 1839. See P. P. No. 164.

APPENDIX XII

DRAFT OF TREATY BETWEEN THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT
AND THE AMIRS OF KHYRPUR, NOVEMBER 4, 1842

I. The perganna of Bhoong Bhera and the third part of the district of Subzulkote and the villages of Gotkee, Malader, Chaonga, Dadoola, and Azizpur, and all the territories of the Amirs of Khyrpur or any of them intervening between the present dominions of his His Highness the Nawab of Bahawalpur, and the town and district of Roree are ceded in perpetuity to his His Highness the Nawab.

II. The town of Sukkur, with such *arrondissement* as shall be deemed necessary by Major-General Sir Charles Napier, and the Islands of Bukkur and the adjoining islets, and the town of Roree, with such *arrondissement* as may be deemed necessary by Major-General Sir Charles, Napier, are ceded in perpetuity to the British Government.

III. The Commissioner appointed by Major-General Sir Charles Napier for the execution of this treaty, and of the treaty to be concluded with the Amirs of Hyderabad, shall appropriate the surplus tribute, from which the Amirs of Hyderabad will be relieved by that Treaty or lands of equal value in lieu thereof, first to the indemnification of such Amirs of Khyrpur other than Mir Rustam Khan and Mir Nasir Khan, as may make cessions of territory under this treaty, and then for the benefit of Mir Rustam Khan, and Mir Nasir Khan in proportion to the annual value of the cessions made by them respectively under this Treaty.

IV. (Not important).

V. The only coin legally current in the dominions of the Amirs of Khyrpur after the 1st of January 1845, shall be the Company's rupee, and the rupee hereinafter mentioned.

VI. The British Government will coin for the Amirs of Khyrpur such number of rupees as they may require from time to time, such rupee bearing on one side the effigy of the

sovereign of England, with such inscription or device as the Amirs may prefer.

VII. Such rupees, so to be coined for the Amirs, shall contain the same quantity of silver, and of the same fineness, as the Company's rupees, and for every rupee so coined, the Amirs shall deliver to the officers of the British Government who may hereafter be from time to time appointed to receive the same, a quantity of silver, equal to that contained in such rupee, and of equal fineness; or approved bills of equal value; and such rupees so coined for the Amirs shall be delivered over to them within four months after the receipt, by the appointed officer, of the silver equivalent thereto, or within four months after the payment of the approved bills for the amount without any charge for coinage, which charge will be wholly borne by the British Government.

VIII. The Amirs in consideration of the above engagement, renounce the privilege of coining money, and will not exercise the same from the date of the signature of this treaty.

IX. (Not important).

X. The British Government renounces every claim heretofore made upon the late Mir Mubarak Khan or upon Mir Nasir Khan, or the other sons of the late Mir Mubarak Khan on account of Nazrana, in the name of the late Shah Shuja or on account of annual tribute and the arrears thereof and interest thereon on its own behalf.

APPENDIX XIII

SIR C. NAPIER TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL

My Lord,

I am ashamed to send your Lordship an essay, rather than a letter, upon the state of Sindh. All that I have said is supported by documents enclosed to Mr. Maddock, placing under cover to your Lordship only those papers that are necessary. I wish I could have made my observations more concise, but I had to learn, as well as to describe, our position in Sindh, as regard the Ameers.

I have etc.,
C. J. NAPIER

Inclosure I in Napier's letter

OBSERVATIONS BY SIR C. NAPIER UPON THE OCCUPATION
OF SINDH

1. It is not for me to consider how we came to occupy Sindh, but to consider the subject as it now stands, viz., we are here by the right of treaties entered into by the Ameers; and, therefore, we stand on the same footing with themselves, for rights held under a treaty are as sacred as the right which sanctions that treaty.

2. There does not appear to be any public protest, registered by the Ameers, against the treaties. They must, therefore, be considered as the free expressions of the will of the Contracting Parties. Such, then, is the relative position of the British Government and the Ameers of Sindh at this time.

3. The English occupy Shikarpore, Bukkur, Sukkur, and Karachi by treaties, which, if rigidly adhered to by the Ameers, would render these Princes more rich and powerful and their subjects more happy, than they now are.

4. If sticklers for abstract rights maintain—as no doubt they will—that to prevent a man from doing mischief is to

enslave him, then it might be called hard to enforce a rigid observance of these treaties; but this is not the case. The evident object of these treaties is to favour our Indian interests, by the abolition of barbarism, by ameliorating the condition of society, and by obliging the Ameers to do, in compliance with treaties, that which honourable and civilised rulers would do of their own accord. It is very necessary to keep this in view, because, although the desire to do good would not sanction a breach of treaty on our part, it does sanction our exacting a rigid adherence to the treaties on the part of the Ameers; and the more so, that their attempt to break such treaties evinces the barbarism of those Princes, their total want of feeling for their subjects, and their own unfitness to govern a country. These things must be always kept before the mind, or what I am about to say will appear unjust, which is not the case.

5. By treaty, the time for which we may occupy our present camps is unlimited; but there is such hostility to us on the part of the Ameers—such a hatred to the treaties—such a resolution to break them in every way; there is, among their people, such a growing attachment to the British rule, that, putting these facts together, the question arises whether we should abandon the interests of humanity, and those of the British Government (for in this case they are one), and at once evacuate Sindh; or, shall we take advantage of existing treaties, and maintain our camps permanently?

6. If we evacuate this country, future events will inevitably bring us back to the banks of the Indus.

7. If we remain, our camps will soon be filled with the subjects of the Ameers, flying from their oppression. These camps will thus quickly grow into towns, and the people within will carry on a transit trade along the Indus, to the exclusion of the subjects of the Ameers without. Among the latter, misery and poverty will sojourn; for the exactions of the Ameers will, in a great measure, destroy both commerce and agriculture among their people. Such appears to be the probable result if we adhere rigidly to the Treaty, and permanently occupy our camps.

8. This produces another question, *viz.*: Is it possible that

such a state of things can long continue? A Government hated by its subjects, despotic, hostile alike to the interests of the English, and of its own people; a Government of low intrigue and, above all, so constituted that it must in a few years fall to pieces by the vice of its own construction; will such a Government, I ask, not maintain an incessant petty hostility against us? Will it not incessantly commit breaches of treaties—those treaties by which alone we have any right to remain in this country; and therefore must rigidly uphold? I conceive that such a state of political relations could not last, and that the more powerful Government would, at no very distant period, swallow up the weaker.

9. If this reasoning be correct, would it not be better to come to the results at once? I think it would be better if it can be done with honesty. Let me first consider how we might go to work in a matter so critical, and whether the facts, to which I called attention in a former part of these observations, will bear me out in what I propose.

10. Several Ameers have broken the Treaty in the various instances stated in the accompanying "Return of Complaints" against them. I have maintained that we want only a fair pretext to coerce the Ameers, and I think the various acts, recorded in the return, give abundant reason to take Kurachee, Sukkur, Bukkur, Shikarpore, and Subzulkote, for our own; obliging the Ameers to leave a track-way along both banks of the Indus, and stipulate for a supply of wood; but at the same time, remitting all tribute, and arrears of tribute, in favour of those Ameers whose conduct has been correct; and, finally, enter into a fresh treaty with one of these Princes alone as Chief, and answerable for the others.

11. I cannot think that such a procedure would be either dishonorable, or harsh. I am sure it would be humane. The refractory Ameers break the Treaty, for the gratification of their avaricious dispositions; and we punish that breach. I can perceive no injustice in such proceeding.

12. If it be determined to keep possession of Sukkur and Bukkur, I do not think it would be politic to give up Shikarpore; my reasons for this opinion are as follows:—The town of Sukkur stands on an elbow of the Indus, which surrounds

the town on two sides; on the other two, at about four miles distance, it is closed in by a large jungle, through which passes the road to Shikarpore where the jungle finishes. Now, if we evacuate Shikarpore, the robber tribes will descend from the hills, and establish themselves in this jungle; so that Sukkur will be blockaded; and no one be able to move beyond the chain of sentries without being murdered. To clear this jungle with infantry would be impossible; the robbers would retreat before the advancing troops, and when the latter retired, the former would again occupy their position in the jungle. But, if we occupy Shikarpore, a body of cavalry stationed there, would spread along the outskirt of the jungle, while infantry would (by concert) push through the wood from Sukkur. The robbers, thus cut off from their hills, would receive such a terrible punishment, as to deter any other tribe from trying the same experiment.

13. In a commercial point, I consider Shikarpore to be of considerable importance. It forms a depôt for the reception of goods from the north and west; with which countries it has long possessed channels of communication; circumstances of an adverse nature may for a while interrupt these; but, under a firm protecting Government, they would soon be again opened out; and from Shikarpore goods would be sent to Sukkur, there to be shipped on the Indus, and would also be passed by land to Larkhana, and thence on to Kurachee. These seem formerly to have been the great lines of trade. They are geographically and naturally so, and will therefore quickly revive. But if Shikarpore be left to the mercy of the surrounding gangs of freebooters, commerce cannot thrive, nor, without Shikarpore being strongly guarded, can it pass through the jungle to Sukkur. These two towns are so placed as naturally to support each other in commerce.

14. In a political light, Shikarpore has the advantage of being chiefly inhabited by a Hindu population, tolerated for ages by the Mussulmans, and, consequently, forming a pacific link of intercourse between us and the nations north and west; through Shikarpore, these Hindoos will be the means of gradually filtering the stream of commerce and social intercourse between the Mahomedans and ourselves,

and, in time, unite those who will not abruptly amalgamate. Shikarpore contains many rich banking houses, which is a sure evidence of its being a central point of communication between the surrounding countries, and, consequently, one where the British Government would learn what was going on in Asia. The money market is, generally speaking, the best political barometer.

15. The robber tribes in this neighbourhood have kept down this town despite its natural and acquired advantages; in fact, the robber is everywhere the master. Therefore all round is barbarous and barbarous must continue to be, till civilisation gradually encroaches upon these lawless people; and, I think, Shikarpore is precisely one of those grand positions that ought to be seized upon for that purpose. I have, therefore, directed Major-General England not to evacuate this town till further instructions are received from the Governor-General.

16. I shall keep this memorandum till the arrival of Major Outram, and will request of him to peruse it, that he may give his opinion upon the view which I have taken; an opinion, which his experience of these countries, his abilities, and the high situation in which he has been placed by the Governor-General, all render very important. If Major Outram concurs in the opinions which I have ventured to express they will be strengthened; if not, the Governor-General will be made acquainted with the objections of one possessing great local knowledge.

17. I have drawn up this memorandum entirely on my own considerations of the subject; but, since Major Outram's arrival, which took place when I finished the last paragraph, he has given me every possible assistance. He concurs in all I have said in the foregoing paragraphs, but, at the same time, he has added much to my local knowledge, and, in justice to the Ameers, I must, with this increase of information, enlarge upon what I have stated. The Ameers say that they did not understand Article XI of the Treaty with Hyderabad, to prohibit the levying of tolls on their own subjects. It seems that they urge, in proof of their misconception, that they resisted the signing the Treaty, because of other Articles, less

important, yet never objected to Article XI, because they relied upon Article V. This may be, and I would willingly, if possible, suppose that they really did conceive that the Treaty gave them the right of levying tolls on their own subjects; but my answer is that they have attempted to levy tolls on the boats of the Khan of Bahawalpore, which the Treaty assuredly does not give them any right to do; and they have even fired into the boats of merchants from that place. The Treaty could not be misconstrued on these points, and, therefore, I do not believe that they misconstrued the terms of the Treaty, but broke Article XI purposely. The Treaty has also been broken by treasonable correspondence, and other vexatious acts, as set forth in the accompanying return.

18. Now, what will be the punishment, which I propose to inflict for their misconduct, amount to? Injury to their family? No! Injury to their subjects? No! To what then? To the reduction of their territory by four places; two of which (Sukkur and Bukkur) are barren spots, yielding no revenue, and the other two (Kurachee and Shikarpore) towns that their tyranny has nearly ruined; and for one of which, Shikarpore, we have negotiations yet pending; and, to obtain these places in seigniorage, it is proposed to remit all tribute in arrear, and, for the future, withdraw our resident from Hyderabad, ensure the amelioration of the impoverished state in which their subjects now languish, and in time, add to the power and wealth of the Ameers themselves, by opening the commerce of the river.

19. To their selfish feelings and avarice, and love of hunting, are such great general interests to be sacrificed? I think not; the real interests of the Ameers themselves demand that their puerile pursuits and blind avaricious proceedings should be subjected to a wholesome control, which their breaches of treaties, and our power, give us, at this moment, a lawful right to exercise, and the means of peaceably enforcing. If any civilised man were asked the question, "Were you the ruler of Sindh, what would you do?" His answer would be, "I would abolish the tolls upon the rivers, make Kurachee a free port, protect Shikarpore from robbers, make Sukkur a mart for trade on the Indus. I would make a track-way along

its banks ; I would get steam-boats." Yet all this is what the Ameers dread.

20. They have broken treaties, they have given a pretext, and I have a full conviction (perhaps erroneously) that what I propose is just and humane. I will go further, and say that, as Nusseer Khan of Hyderabad has openly broken the Treaty, if the Governor-General chooses to punish him, he might justly seize the district of Subzulkote, and give it to the Khan of Bahawalpore, as I have understood there was some intention of doing.

21. The second point to which Major Outram has drawn my attention is a very strong one. He tells me that the tribes on the river above that part possessed by the Ameers of Sindh, do levy tolls, and that there is no treaty or public document forthcoming, in virtue of which we can call upon the Ameers, of even Upper Sindh, not to levy tolls upon their own subjects. It is, therefore, evident, that to call upon the Ameers of Hyderabad to desist from levying tolls, but not to prevent the others from doing so would be unjust to the Ameers. The answer to the argument, "That tolls are levied on the Northern Indus," is just this : we should say to these northern tribes, "We have with great trouble secured to your boats a free passage on the river through Sindh; we are resolved to open the commerce of this great highway of nations; and you, who all receive benefit, must join in this great measure for the good of all, and to the loss of none." Therefore, to excuse the Ameers upon the ground that others are not equally coerced, is answered by coercing the others.

22. Having thus given the best view that I can take of this intricate subject, I shall accompany this report by various documents among which there is one giving a kind of return, if I may so call it, of the accusations against the Ameers; upon which accusations, relative to which I have read every paper, I have founded my opinion of their conduct; and, by referring to this return, it will be seen whether I have justly estimated the complaints made against them by the Political Agents.

23. I have also added the documents verifying each transaction. I have also begged of Major Outram to give me

a memorandum of the state in which the Treaty with the Ameers, for the purchase of Shikarpore, remains, as it has been in abeyance since last year. From this memorandum it would appear, that, in addition to the great advantages to Sukkur, which would attend the occupation of Shikarpore, this district would be a very valuable acquisition, in point of revenue, in time; and cover, with the aid of Kurachee, the expense of guarding our newly-acquired towns on the banks of the Indus.

24. Should it hereafter be deemed proper to make the proposed arrangements with the Ameers, so as to punish those who have broken the Treaty, the details of such arrangements can be easily made. The transfer of tribute due would adequately repay whatever portions of the districts in question belong to the Ameers whose conduct has been loyal when compared with that of others.

APPENDIX XIV

PROCLAMATION ADDRESSED BY SIR C. NAPIER TO THE AMIRS
OF UPPER SINDH, JANUARY 27, 1843

I was ordered to make a new treaty with you. Your Highnesses agreed to the Draft of that treaty in words, while you raised troops to oppose it in deeds. You were ordered to disperse your troops, you did not disperse them. You hoped to deceive me by a pretended agreement to the Draft Treaty. You thought you could procrastinate till the hot weather should prevent any military operation by the British troops; then you imagined you could assail us on all sides with impunity. If we marched against you before the heat came, you thought our march would be late and you resolved to resist with arms, if worsted in fight, you looked to the desert as a certain refuge. You were right, had we abided your time, and marched by the road you expected. But we preferred our own time and our own road, we marched into your desert, we destroyed your magazine of powder and of grain, we destroyed also the fortress in which they were (as you vainly supposed) safely lodged, and we returned out of the desert, and we have yet three months of weather fit for war. But I want to prevent war. I, therefore, wrote to you to meet Major Outram at Khairpur on the 25th instant, there to discuss and arrange the details of the draft treaty, or accept or reject them as seemed best to your Highnesses. What is the result? Your Highnesses have neither replied to my letter nor sent delegates invested with authority to meet my Commissioner. This conduct is insulting to the Government I serve. I told you that if you so acted, I would take possession of your territories but my object is to avoid hostilities while I obey the orders of the Governor-General. I, therefore, will still give you to the first of February to send your Vakeels to my headquarters, in hope that you may correct the impru-

dence with which you have hitherto acted and which I deeply regret. My military operations must, however, go forward, but your persons shall be respected; you shall be considered as friends up to the first day of February, after that day I shall treat all as enemies, who do not send Vakeels to meet me.

AMIRS,

You imagine that you can procrastinate till your fierce sun drives the British troops out of the field, and forces them to seek shelter in Sukkur. You trusted to your desert, and were deceived; you trust to your deadly sun and may again be deceived. I will not write a second letter to you, nor a second time expose the authority which I represent to indignity; but this proclamation will, I hope, induce you to adopt a manly instead of an insidious course.

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This book traces the relations of the British Government with Sindh from the middle of 17th century to the annexation in 1843. The treatment of a highly controversial subject is essentially judicious and the analysis of the treaties contracted by the British Government with the Amirs of Sindh is characterised by a spirit of powerful moderation and sane criticism. The author, as a University Research Scholar, had an access to original documents and manuscript records of the Punjab Government and he has based his opinions on these documents. As these records have never been used before the author has been able to make a valuable contribution to the existing knowledge on this important subject of history.