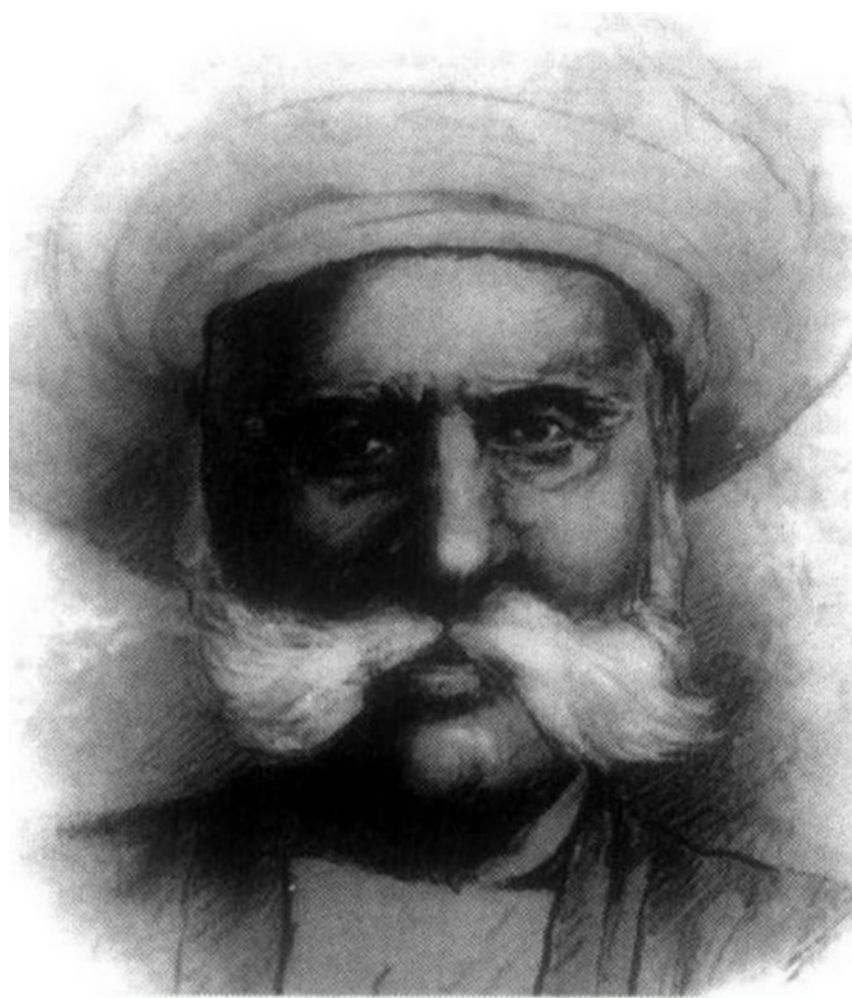


A Forgotten Chapter of Indian History
As Described in the
Memoirs of
Seth Naomul Hotchand, C.S.I.,

Written by himself and translated by his grandson,
Rao Bahadur Alumal Trikamdas Bhojwani, B.A.;
Edited with an introduction by
Sir H. Evan M. James



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Sani H. Panhwar (2020)

**A Forgotten Chapter of Indian History
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Memoirs
of
Seth Naomul Hotchand, C.S.I.,
of Karachi.
1804-1878.**

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Printed for private circulation only in 1905

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SETH NAOMAL HOTCHAND, C.S.I.

AGED 66.

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PREFACE.

It had been my intention to offer this little volume to the public, but for several reasons it seems best to print it privately. (In the first place it is all ancient history, and the incidents related, which refer to the annexation of a far-away Province like Sindh, would not appeal to the general public, especially just now, when the entire Empire is engaged in a gigantic struggle which occupies everybody's mind and anxieties. In the next place, parts of it recall certain ancient controversies which should now be allowed to rest in oblivion.

Sindh, though the late Sir Richard Burton dubbed it "The Unhappy Valley" (chiefly, I believe, owing to its torrid climate, and to the sterility of the land when first occupied by the British), is now one of the most flourishing Provinces in the Empire, and none have ever lived or served there but have carried away most pleasant recollections of it. The unfeigned loyalty of the inhabitants, the great Mahomedan zemindars, and the educated Hindus, alike, and their eagerness to support any measure for the good of Sindh, are most remarkable, and no one who is fond of Sindh but would read with great interest Seth Naomul's own narration of the eminent services which he rendered to the British Government at a critical time. His exertions assisted in bringing to his country peace, justice and good administration, and to the prevention forever of a recurrence of the tyranny from which his own father had suffered. The main interest of the Memoirs lies in the picture they present of the state of Sindh at the time of the Conquest, and in the variety of incident with which Seth Naomul's career abounds.

But, as those who have studied the history of the time are well aware, there was much difference of opinion as to the policy pursued by the British towards Sindh. And it would be a pity now to re-open in public a chapter long since closed. I think, therefore, it is best to restrict the issue of the book to Seth Naomul's own descendants and relations, to officers connected with Sindh, and to personal friends.

In editing the Memoirs I have refrained as far as possible from politics. I have, therefore, confined myself to a few notes in order to explain allusions in the Memoirs which would be obscure to the present generation, and to add, in the two Chapters of the Introduction, as concise an account as possible of the state of Sindh when Seth Naomul came to the front, and I have checked my remarks from the writings of the distinguished contemporary British officers with whom Seth Naomul came in contact. Many an Englishman who reads the volume will, I daresay, be glad to find himself reminded of famous Englishmen like Pottinger and Outram, or Frere and Ellis, who served Sindh so well in ancient days; if it will only induce him to read Frere's and Outram's biographies, I shall have done him a service.

All the footnotes have been written by myself even when that is not specifically stated.

Seth Naomul is particular in recording domestic events in his family which are not of general interest, but I have thought it best not to delete anything. I only regret that I could not find a comparative calendar from which I could have substituted the exact dates or months of the Christian era against those which he gives of the Vikramadit era. Critics, if any deem it worthwhile, may animadvert upon the want of uniformity in writing some of the Indian proper names. When the events narrated in the Memoirs and Appendixes occurred, there was no scientific system of transliteration in existence, and it would, I thought, be pedantic in every case to reform the old spelling, e.g., to convert Kurrachee into Karachi, Bhooj into Bhuj, and the like, though in the Memoirs themselves some modern spelling has been inserted by the translator himself; so in most instances I have left the words spelt as I found them. Anglo-Indians will not be puzzled, and the archaic spelling gives a kind of old-world flavor to the documents and extracts quoted.

I am indebted to Rao Bahadur Alupal Trikamdas, B.A., Seth Naomul's eminent grandson, for the kind assistance he has given me in elucidating difficult allusions. With him and myself will soon pass away almost the last links that connect the Sindh of Napier and Frere and Seth Naomul with Sindh of modern times. I myself first joined Sindh in 1870, when numbers of those officers who had been contemporaries of Napier and Frere were still in the public service, and I heard at first hand from them many narratives of the early days. This circumstance, perhaps, makes me not the most unsuitable person to have been entrusted with the printing of the Memoirs.

H. E. M. J.

June 1st, 1915.

INTRODUCTION.

BY THE EDITOR.

CHAPTER I.

Sindh in the first half of the 18th century – Former Hindu Rulers – The Kalhoras – The Talpurs – The three Talpur Kingdoms – Ambition of the Afghans and Ranjit Singh to possess Sindh – Reasons for British interoention – The Indus Valley used for the British expedition to Cabul – Treaty with Hyderabad – Amirs' obstructiveness – Naomul's birth and ancestry – Talpurs' oppression of Hindus – Brutal treatment of Naomul's father – Naomul's early alliance with British – Pottinger's request for assistance in 1838 – Outram's arrival in Sindh – Amirs' obstructiveness – Naomul's assistance to Outram and Pottinger – Outram becomes Political Agent – Natives' intrigues – Naomul's successful diplomacy with Mir Sher Mahomed.

It may seem late in the day to print, in 1915, the Life of an Indian gentleman whose loyalty and good services to the British Government, though continued all his life, were most conspicuous and valuable two generations ago, during the First Afghan War, 1838-1843. But a man who was able to win the entire confidence of men like Sir Henry Pottinger and Sir James Outram during that period, and later, during the critical times of the Mutiny, of Sir Bartle Frere, deserves not to be forgotten. Those eminent public servants have passed the highest encomiums upon his zeal and intrepidity. During the Afghan War his services in procuring transport and food for the British Army were invaluable, and were rendered at the risk of his life. Outram called him "the devoted friend of the British Government," and another officer writes that at that time "we had not a friend between Karachi and Candahar, save Seth Naomul." In the Mutiny, Sir Bartle Frere, then the Commissioner in Sindh, was constantly dependent on the intelligence which Seth Naomul brought him as to the feeling in Sindh, and the intrigues in neighboring countries. When Seth Naomul was quite an old man Sir Bartle Frere himself suggested to him that he should write his autobiography, and his grandson, Rao Bahadur Alumal Trikamdas, B.A., also pressed him to do so. So he wrote it in his own vernacular and read it aloud to his grandson, who translated it into English, and Naomul sent a copy of the translation to Sir Bartle Frere, who, as appears from an extant letter, thought of printing it, or part of it at least, himself, but he was then a Member of the Indian Council and his own varied and arduous duties probably afforded him no leisure. Sir Frederic Goldsmid, C.B., K.C.S.I., Sir James Outram's own biographer, had the same intention, but failure of health prevented him from carrying it out. Later on when the present Editor was Commissioner in Sindh, Rao Bahadur Alumal Trikamdas entrusted him with a copy of the Memoirs, and he is now, after a regrettable lapse of twenty years, putting it into print, as he feels that, at any rate for

those acquainted with Sindh, Seth Naomul's interesting narrative and the fine character which his naïf reminiscences reveal should be preserved from oblivion.

I may commence by briefly explaining the position of Sindh at the period to which the important part of the Memoirs relates, namely, from 1830–1845, in regard to the British Government and to neighboring countries. Sindh, then, as now, comprehended the lower reaches of the great river Indus, a province about 310 miles long, and from 140 to 160 miles broad, bounded on the north by the small Indian Mahommedan State of Bahawalpur, beyond which lay the extensive dominions of Ranjit Singh, the Sikh conqueror of the Punjab. On the west it was divided by mountains and deserts from the territory under the Pathan rulers of Cabul and Candahar in Afghanistan, and under the Brahui Chief of Khelat in Beloochistan; on the south by the Arabian Sea; and on the east by a desert, beyond which lay the native states of Jessulmere and Jodhpur in Rajputana. The State of Cutch in the Bombay Presidency, separated from Sindh by extensive salt marshes and creeks, touched it at the south-east corner. The original population of Sindh was Hindu, and even after the Arab invasion in A.D. 712 we hear of Hindu dynasties controlling the whole country at intervals, while up to the time of the Kalhoras, the last ruling dynasty but one, minor Hindu potentates still existed in Lower Sindh. But these local Hindu rulers gradually disappeared; and the Hindus themselves were not only reduced greatly in numbers, but treated with contumely by bigoted Mahommedans. Their superior intelligence and education, however, enabled them to maintain themselves not only as merchants and traders, but also as administrators and managers of the State revenues under the Mahommedan kings.

Before the invasion of India by Nadir Shah in 1739, when Delhi was sacked, Sindh, after being ruled by various local tribes and dynasties, had become a pro-consulate of the Moghul Empire at Delhi, but after Nadir Shah's triumph it became an appendage of Cabul, to which it owed tribute. But this tribute was irregularly paid, and required invasion to enforce it, as in 1810-11. Sindh was, in fact, an out-of-the-way negligible province so far as Cabul was concerned, excepting only for the important town and market of Shikarpur in the north-west. This town was situated not far from the mouth of the Bolan Pass, the great highway between Central Asia and India, and to its ownership the rulers of Cabul always attached importance. Otherwise the internal affairs of Sindh were regulated by whatever local dynasty succeeded in establishing itself. During the 18th century a family of Mahommedan priests called the Kalhoras, related to the Daudpotras, who governed Bahawalpur, the native state on the north of Sindh, took possession. The Kalhoras were a brutal race, and in 1783 were ejected by the Talpurs, a Belooch clan, whose chiefs had been cruelly assassinated by the Kalhoras. The Talpurs maintained their ground till 1843, when the British conquered them in their turn. The Talpurs were divided into three families, who partitioned Sindh into as many kingdoms. Lower Sindh, much the largest and most important of the three, was appropriated by the head of the clan, Mir Fatehali, to whose exertions the conquest of the country was due. He occupied the Kalhoras' capital at Hyderabad, a fortress built by

them at that place. Upper Sindh fell to Mir Sohrab, whose capital town was Khairpur, and who also occupied the strong fort of Bakar, situated on an island in the river Indus between the towns of Sukkur and Rohri, not far from Shikarpur; and south-east Sindh, the smallest state of all, fell to Mir Tarakhan. Mir Fatehali at Hyderabad admitted his three brothers, Karamali, Ghulamali and Muradali to share in his rule, a phenomenon of rare occurrence in an Oriental country. The four brothers always lived on the best of terms, and were known as the "Char Yar," or the four friends. As each one died his son succeeded to his father's prerogative. Fatehali himself was known as the "Rais," or Chief *par excellence*, and in accordance with Sindh custom he wore the turban of chiefship. In the year 1832 only one of the original four brothers was alive, namely Mir Murad Ali, who then became Rais, and was the principal person in the joint government, in which the sons of the three other Mirs had a share. Dr. James Burnes, the Residency surgeon at the capital of Cutch, who was the first European to spend any time at the Court of Sindh, having been invited there in the year 1830 to cure Mir Murad Ali of some small ailment, published his experiences of the country and its government. While crediting some of the Mirs with cheerful and kindly natures, he describes Mir Murad Ali as a selfish, gloomy and avaricious despot. Mir Sohrab was succeeded in Upper Sindh by his son, Mir Rustom, who was a kindly prince, and friendly to the English, while Mir Tarakhan was succeeded by Mir Sher Mahomed of Mirpur, who was ill-disposed towards them. When the Memoirs begin the leading and most powerful Amirs in Lower Sindh were Mir Nur Mahomed and Nasir Khan, brothers, Sons of Mir Murad Ali; together with Sobdar Khan, Son of Mir Fatehali, and Mir Mahomed Khan, son of Mir Ghulamali. The last two named, though senior by descent, had less to do with regulating public affairs than the two brothers, Nur Mahomed and Nasir Khan.

For a very long time the British Government had but small knowledge of Sindh, and took no pains to enter into relations with its rulers, and its isolation secured it from much outside disturbance. In the 18th century factories were started by the East India Company at Tatta, an important town in Lower Sindh, but these soon came to an untimely end; and the Talpur Mirs showed themselves uneasy and suspicious of the British whenever they were approached by British envoys, as, for instance, on the first occasion in 1809 when, like other native rulers in India they were asked to exclude the French who were thought to meditate an attack upon India. But it was practically impossible for them to remain permanently secluded from the rest of the world, and the time came, about 1830, when the British Government showed an interest in the country. At that date the great Ranjit Singh, always a steadfast ally of the British, but very aggressive upon his neighbors, had succeeded in forming a powerful and compact state in the Punjab, including in it Cashmere, Dera Ismail Khan and Mooltan, which till then had always been directly under the rulers of Cabul. He had also attacked and exacted tribute from Bahawalpur, next door to Sindh. Ranjit Singh thus became a menace to the whole of the valley of the Indus. He was known to covet Sindh, and in 1836 he actually invaded it. Just at the same time the government of India was endeavoring by diplomacy, both in Persia and Afghanistan, to ward off what it supposed to be the

designs of Russia upon India, and their attention was attracted to the Indus as the natural highway from the Arabian Sea to Upper India and Cabul. In 1831 the Amirs of Hyderabad were induced, with a good deal of difficulty, to allow Sir Alexander Burnes to ascend the river with some horses sent by the King of England as a present to Ranjit Singh, who was a great lover of those animals, and the opportunity was taken of exploring the river. In 1832 the Amirs signed a treaty opening up the Indus to commerce, excluding military stores and armed vessels, and as a corollary to this again, much against their wish, they were induced in 1836 to allow firewood for steamers on the river to be cut from their forests. They also allowed Capt. Carless, of the Indian Navy, to survey Karachi harbor and its environs, and also the ports in the Delta of the Indus.

In the year 1836 Lord Auckland became Governor-General of India, and with a view to the creation of a strong and friendly Afghanistan as a buffer between India and Turkestan, where the Russians were making headway, he determined on what proved to be the fatuous and disastrous policy of reinstating on the throne of Cabul a former Suddozye king, Shah Shuja, who had for many years been an exile in India, and of aiding him to expel his enemies from Cabul. Shah Shuja claimed Upper Sindh as part of his hereditary dominions. When in power he had forcibly drawn tribute from it; and even when in exile, in that mysterious way by which dethroned Eastern potentates seem always able to collect troops, he had entered Upper Sindh with an army in 1833, defeated the Talpur Amirs at Shikarpur, the chief town in Upper Sindh, and extracted 5 lakhs¹ of rupees from them, as well as a promise of tribute for the future. Thus Sindh was coveted both by Sikh and Afghan chiefs, while the British Government (on the principle of *tua res agitur paries quum proximus ardet*) was determined that it should be a battle ground for neither of them, and that as the Talpurs were too weak to defend their own country, the British should settle their disputes for them, and guard Sindh, as an outwork of British India, from invasion for the future. Pressure was therefore brought upon the Amirs of Sindh by the British Government to consent to a new treaty, which secured them from further molestation on the part of Shah Shuja. The disadvantage of the new treaty to them was that it compelled them to pay, for division between Shah Shuja and Ranjit Singh, a large sum down, 25 or 26 lakhs of rupees, then equivalent to £250,000. Nominally, this was for arrears of tribute, but in reality it was ransom money for Shikarpur. Of this sum 15 lakhs were to go to Ranjit Singh as the price of his assent and assistance to the Government's Afghan expedition. The Amirs were also to pay a tribute of 3 lakhs annually to defray the cost of a subsidiary force for the protection of Sindh. The Amirs haggled a good deal, and even before the treaty was signed pressure in a practical shape was put upon them to agree to it by landing part of the army which was to assist Shah Shuja in recovering Afghanistan at the mouths of the Indus for its march through Sindh, and by British men-of-war taking forcible possession of Karachi.

¹ A lakh means Rs. 100,00, and a lakh of rupees used to be worth £10,000. It is now owing to the fall in the gold-value of silver, equivalent only to £6,600.

The Amirs of Hyderabad at length consented to the treaty, but with an ill grace, and as regards the provision of transport and supplies to the British army they were very obstructive. Meanwhile Sir Alexander Burnes, who entered Upper Sindh from the Punjab, had induced Mir Rustom, the Talpur ruler of Upper Sindh, who was always friendly to the British, to surrender the strong fort of Bakar, on an island in the middle of the Indus, between the towns of Sukkur and Rohri. This fort entirely commanded the passage of the stream, and was in close communication with Shikarpur.

We may return at once to Seth Naomul and explain how he came to take the part of the British Government in the troubles which ended in the conquest of Sindh. The following account, though based in the main upon his own narrative which follows later, has been carefully checked, and, where necessary, supplemented by reference to contemporaneous published records.

Seth Naomul, the son of Hotchand, was a Hindu merchant of the Lohanno tribe, and an inhabitant of Karachi where he was born in 1804 or 1805. His ancestors were originally settled at Kahiri, a village in Central Sindh, close to Khudabad,² the first seat of the Government of the short-lived dynasty of Kalhoras.

In the early part of the 18th century Seth Naomul's great-grandfather, Bhojoomal, moved from Central Sindh, partly on account of a family dispute, and also, no doubt, because of the shifting of the Kalhoras' capital from Khudabad to Hyderabad in South Sindh, which city was founded by the Kalhoras in 1768. Bhojoomal's choice of a place of residence fell upon Kharakbunder, a small port on the Persian Gulf, or, to speak more correctly, on the Gulf of Oman, at the mouth of the river Habb, the river which to this day separates Sindh from the territories of the Khan of Kelat, the ruler of Beloochistan. After a time, as that port became silted up, he transferred his house and business to Karachi, a mere fishing village, a few miles further down the coast to the south-east, which at that time also belonged to Kelat, though afterwards, as will be seen later, the Khan waived his right over it in favor of the ruling Talpur Amirs at Hyderabad. The choice of ports was a wise one, because Karachi had a good land-locked harbor and adjoined one of the mouths of the river Indus, and was therefore convenient for river-borne trade with the interior. Excepting for the port, it was not an attractive locality; the water supply was brackish, and the adjacent country on the north, and for some 50 miles on the west till the watered Indus-Delta country was reached, was a mere rocky desert only fit for grazing camels.

² The writer visited Kahiri and Khudabad in 1870, and even then could say of them *Etiam periere ruinae*. The only relic remaining was a magnificent tomb of Yar Mahomed Kalhora, the first prince of the dynasty, and inside the building were suspended several clubs, as evidence of the ease with which that part of Sindh was wrested from the Panwahr tribe by the Kalhoras—the clubs signifying that swords were not required during the battle, and that the Panwahrs were defeated with sticks.

Seth Bhojoomal (after whom his descendants are known to this day as Bhojwani—Bhojwani being now used as a surname) was an enterprising man and became wealthy. His firm had numerous agencies both in Central Asia and in India. Seth Naomul may possibly exaggerate his ancestors' mercantile achievements, but to this day there exist Hindu firms in Shikarpur and Hyderabad who have agencies managed by members of their family as far distant as Bokhara, Samarkund, Moscow, Petrograd, and even Cairo and London. In fact, the enterprise and courage of the mild Hindu in prosecuting his business in the wildest parts of Central Asia, despite the tyranny of Moslem rulers, and the fury of predatory tribes, has always attracted the admiration of travelers. Therefore Seth Naomul's account of his family's extensive agencies is by no means to be questioned. Commerce, indeed, in Sindh owed its existence to the Hindus, who used to finance the State, and exercised a great influence over their Mahommedan masters, in spite of those masters often oppressing and always affecting to despise them.

During the eighty years' tenure of power by the Talpur Amirs of Sindh, the lot of the Hindus was extremely unhappy. The Amirs were Mahommedans of the Shiah form of religion, and although naturally kindly and courteous and well-bred, towards idolaters, as such, they could be severe as Torquemada; and, in Lower Sindh at least, if a Hindu committed a slight offence he was seized upon, compelled to repeat the Mahommedan confession of faith, and circumcised—a piece of tyranny not infrequently indulged in for mere amusement. The following extract from the narrative of Dr. James Burnes, who has already been mentioned, will give his impressions of the treatment of the Hindus. Perhaps, because he had been residing in a Hindu state, Dr. Burnes does not seem devoid of prejudice against Mahommedan rulers, but in some points his account is not at all exaggerated.

"In no respect whatever is the oppression of the Ameers more apparent than in their zeal for the propagation of the Mahommedan faith. It is really difficult to conceive how any Hindus should have continued to reside in the country; and the fact can only be accounted for by that attachment, which man shares with the vegetable, to the soil in which he is reared. The indignities they suffer are of the most exasperating description. They are even forced to adopt the Mahommedan dress, and to wear beards³. Till lately, none of this class were permitted to ride on horseback; and amongst the few who now enjoy the privilege, a small number only in the service of government are allowed the comfort and honor, as it is esteemed, of a saddle. Merchants of wealth and respectability may be seen mounted on asses and mules, animals considered so unclean that none but the vilest outcasts in other countries can touch them with impunity; and, even from this humble conveyance, they are obliged to descend and stand aside when any bloated Mussulman passes by.

³ The wearing of a beard was, on the contrary, an honor restricted to the principal Hindu officials about the Court.—ED.

The Mahommedans are encouraged and exhorted to destroy all the emblems of idolatry they may see in Sindh. The degraded and unfortunate follower of Brahma is denied the free exercise of his religion; the tom-tom is seldom heard, being only beaten when permission is granted; and although there are a few temples without images at Hyderabad, the sound of music never echoes from their walls. It is in the power of any two true believers,' by declaring that a Hindoo has repeated a verse from the Koran, or the words Mahommed the Prophet,' to procure his immediate circumcision. This is the most common, and, by the persecuted class themselves considered the most cruel of all their calamities; while, as it is resorted to on the slightest pretence, and always performed with a mockery of its being for the eternal happiness of the sufferer, mental agony is made to add its bitterness to bodily infliction."

Dr. Burnes testifies that when he himself found occasion to complain against a Hindu merchant, the leading Amir quite eagerly promised to have the offender forcibly inducted into the true faith as a punishment.

It was not unnatural, therefore, that the Hindus, whose country had been usurped for centuries by different Mahommedan dynasties, to whom they owed no natural allegiance, much longed for a change of ruler when they compared their lot with the neighboring kingdom of Cutch, where Hindus lived in tranquility under a monarch of their own faith. It was not unnatural that, having heard through their commercial agents in British India and Cutch, of the power and justice of the British, they should strive at the first opportunity to place themselves under British protection.

It happened that in 1832 a Mahommedan fanatic at Karachi raised a cry against the Hindus and carried a fiery cross through some of the larger towns in Lower Sindh, fomenting religious riots against the idolaters. Such riots in the East are always greatly disturbing to the ruler, no matter what his own faith. Seth Naomul's father, Seth Hotchand, was the most influential person at Karachi, and a leader of the Hindus in Sindh, and the riots, which commenced at that place, were aimed at him. In consequence he was sent for by the leading Amir, Murad Ali, to Hyderabad, and the Amir, to conciliate his Moslem subjects, determined to sacrifice him, and allowed the fanatics to kidnap his person and carry him off to a far-distant Mahommedan shrine in the Delta. His son, Seth Naomul, denies that the indignity of the initiatory Moslem rite was actually inflicted upon him, but the native public in Sindh were always convinced that this outrage had been committed. After his release, Seth Hotchand, disgusted at the treatment he had received (amongst other things he had been nearly starved to death while in confinement for want of food such as his religion permitted him to eat), retired to an asylum in Cutch, where the Rao, as the Hindu Raja is called, received him with great sympathy and respect.

Seth Naomul had, therefore, ample reason for entertaining bitter thoughts against the rulers who had so grievously oppressed his father, and considered it a duty to his father, and to the Hindus generally, to take every opportunity that arose of releasing them from a degrading thralldom.

It was apparently in 1832,⁴ when Colonel Pottinger, the Resident in Cutch, was visiting Hyderabad to negotiate the treaty made in that year for throwing open the Indus to commercial vessels, that Seth Naomul first called upon him and made his acquaintance, which he took care ever afterwards to cultivate. Later he made that of Sir Alexander Burnes; and he was able to assist Lieut. Leckie, who was afterwards posted as a political officer to Khelat, in various ways. Seth Naomul was of considerable use to Commander Carless, and rescued him from some Beloochis who intended to attack and kill him for going out shooting in their territory without leave. In fact, he took every opportunity of being useful to the British.

Finally in 1838 Seth Naomul received a letter from Colonel (afterwards Sir Henry) Pottinger, the Resident in Cutch, in which country he himself was collecting transport, asking him to assist General Keane's army by procuring camels and supplies of food, as the Government of India had determined to send an army up to Shikarpur by the Sindh route to join Sir William MacNaghten and Shah Shuja at that place on their march to Cabul. These requirements Seth Naomul succeeded in satisfying in spite of considerable personal danger, owing to opposition on the part of the Amirs' local officers, and those who obeyed them. Only those who know Sindh can realize the extraordinary influence which Seth Naomul must have obtained over the rough Beloochis in order to collect the camels needed for foreigners in so short a time, and in spite of the Amirs' unconcealed objections. The wild sterile country adjoining Karachi was peopled by several very strong nomad tribes, headed by powerful semi-independent Baluch chiefs, the Jokhias, the Numrias, the Karmatis and the Chhuttos – the main-stay of whose wealth was their camels. The Seth may have, and very likely had, hired camels himself occasionally for his own merchant's work, so he would not be unknown to them; and he probably was the only banker to whom they could go if in need of cash. But the fact that a Hindu could procure the animals in such large numbers for the British, with the full influence of the Amirs' officers opposed to him, indicates that he was a man of singular force of character.

Directly after Sir John Keane reached the mouth of the Indus, Major (afterwards Sir) James Outram, who had volunteered to join the expedition, arrived at Karachi in a sailing boat, to ascertain how far Seth Naomul, whom he described as a "friendly Bania," had been successful in collecting camels. He stayed at Seth Naomul's house in Karachi, which at that time was an "obscure fishing village with one or two wealthy merchants"; and then made a memorable ride across the desert country and the Delta

⁴ Seth Naomul puts it in 1835.

from Karachi to Vikkar, where Sir John Keane's force had landed. He met Seth Naomul for the first time at a place named Gharo, halfway, where he was collecting camels, and then continued a journey of 95 miles back, unattended, to the ships.

The Seth himself will describe the various ways by which, from this time onward, he assisted the troops during their passage through Sindh with transport and supplies.

But it may be noted here that the Mirs of Hyderabad were very shifty and obstructive. Before Sir John Keane's arrival they had promised to give Seth Naomul a *perwannna*, or permit to collect camels and food, but when the time came they used threats to him, and Pottinger was obliged to remind them of their promise. While the troops were marching up the Indus Delta, one of the Mirs of Mirpur actually attacked and destroyed the stores collected by Seth Naomul, near Hyderabad, and so large a force of Beloochis was collected at that place that Pottinger began to fear the British troops would be attacked. For just about that time it had been Pottinger's duty to place before them the draft of a treaty that was in many ways unpalatable to them. However, when matters appeared critical, news arrived that a British fleet had arrived at Karachi, and owing to the Amirs' local officers foolishly firing upon it, the fleet had taken the town. Upon this, the Amirs' hearts failed them, and Pottinger's diplomacy secured the unopposed passing of the troops and the acceptance of the treaty. Seth Naomul continued his exertions, and sent his brother and servants with the army as far north as Shikarpur. Pottinger recorded that "but for the assistance rendered by Naomul and his family, the Bombay column could hardly have effected a junction with that of Bengal in 1839," and Colonel Preedy, who was on the spot, remarks that "when it is considered how greatly our success in that expedition depended on the celerity of our movements, it must, I think, be allowed that Naomul has done the State good service."

By March, 1839, the Bombay column was on its march from Shikarpur to Candahar and Cabul, and Outram went with them. Seth Naomul continued with Colonel Pottinger whom he accompanied to Cutch, and was of great use in various ways, which the Memoirs describe, both in that country and Sindh. Pottinger afterwards departed on leave, and Outram, after distinguished military achievements, which need not be further referred to, succeeded him as Political Agent in Lower Sindh in January, 1840, to the duties of which office were added in 1841 the heavy political responsibilities of Upper Sindh. On Outram's taking up his new office Seth Naomul joined him, and practically became a member of his staff. The public records are full of incidents illustrative of the intrigues which prevailed amongst the Amirs and their entourage, and Seth Naomul's fidelity was of cardinal importance. The head Moonshi of the Residency staff was one Jethanand, who had been Pottinger's agent at Hyderabad for some years before 1838. This man was found both fraudulent and corrupt, and Naomul exposed his misbehavior. Amongst other crimes, Jethanand was found in possession of a letter from Mir Nasir Khan to Sirdars beyond the Frontier urging them to attack the British. The Moonshi had intercepted this letter in order to hold it *in terrorem* over the

Mir. Outram's signature and seal had been forged, and the forged letter was used to procure for an unworthy Mir a grant of land and some perquisites. A treaty with Mir Sher Mahomed, the ruler of Mirpur, was in prospect, which would provide for that Mir's share of the contribution to the local forces already provided by the Treaty with the Amirs of Hyderabad; and to promote his desire that the sum fixed should be as small as possible, his Moonshis had persuaded the Mir to give them a bribe of Rs. 20,000. To prove the case Seth Naomul was instructed by Outram to pretend to join in this conspiracy, and he soon produced the Moonshis' promise in writing. (Appendix VIII.)

Later on Seth Naomul endeavored to procure an incriminating letter from Mir Sher Mahomed to Mir Sobdar of Hyderabad, which Outram specially desired to possess, but after procuring it the letter was stolen from Seth Naomul's tent, much to Outram's chagrin and displeasure. Save for Seth Naomul's known trustworthiness the story of the theft would never have been credited, and his character for loyalty been ruined. But Seth Naomul was able at this time to render one particular service, which is described at length in the Memoirs. It was about the end of 1840. On the occasion of reinforcements from Guzerat crossing over from Cutch to Bellary,⁵ a village on the borders of Mir Sher Mahomed's territory, Outram was not sure that the Mir might not oppose the transit, following the example of the Hyderabad Amirs who had contemplated obstruction two years before. He, therefore, halted the first detachment and sent Seth Naomul to Mir Sher Mahomed's capital with very careful diplomatic orders to say nothing to the Mir, and Outram's report (Appendix VII) shows how well the commission was discharged. The troops passed through without any collision, and the Mir consented to the treaty proposed to him, namely, to subscribe half a lakh of rupees annually to the British Government as part payment of a local force, on the British Government undertaking to protect all his territory from foreign aggression. The treaty with Mir Sher Mahomed was ratified on 16th August, 1841, following the lines of the treaty with the Hyderabad Amirs, which was ratified on 11th March, 1839. Both treaties agreed that there should be no tolls on the river Indus, and that only the ordinary Customs duties should be paid.

⁵ Bellary, or Belliaree, is on the north or Sindh edge of the Rann or desert of Cutch, 30 miles from the nearest Cutch village, Drohana. Some of the troops were coming from Bhuj by a well-know route across the Rann, and Belliaree would be the first halting place in Mir Sher Mahomed's territory.

CHAPTER II.

Sir Charles Napier – High-handed methods – Defeat of the Amirs – Annexation – Contentment of Sindhis – Naomul's hopes realized – Return of his exiled father – Naomul's troubles under Sir Charles Napier – Diwan Chandiram – Naomul's acquittal – Pottinger's testimony – Sir Bartle Frere's friendship – Grant of Jaghir and pension – Decorated with C.S.I.- Mercantile firm wound up – Fine services of Alumul Trikamdass.

But the existence of Sindh as an independent territory was destined soon to come to an end. In 1842 a new Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, impressed with the idea that friction between military and political officers had contributed to the great Cabul disaster in 1841, appointed General Sir Charles Napier, an old Peninsula officer, to take charge of Sindh affairs and settle up various political questions, thus superseding Outram. Napier arrived in Upper Sindh in October, 1842, and at his request Outram, who had actually started for England, returned to assist him in political matters. But unfortunately Sir Charles' high-handed methods with the Amirs, both of Upper and Lower Sindh, which, it must be said in justice to him were directly ordered by Lord Ellenborough, were different from those to which Outram had been accustomed, and Outram's advice was ignored. The result is a matter of history. The aged Mir Rustom of Khairpur in Upper Sindh, always well-disposed to the British, was the victim of an intrigue brought about by his much younger brother, Mir Ali Murad, who coveted a larger share of their father's possessions than he had received, and accused his old brother of secretly intending to oppose Sir Charles Napier. Napier so frightened Mir Rustom that he resigned the turban to Ali Murad and fled to Hyderabad. Sir Charles Napier followed with his army. Shortly before he arrived, Mir Shahdad and a crowd of Beloochis, indignant at the treatment of Mir Rustom, and at what they considered Sir Charles Napier's unprovoked invasion, attacked the Hyderabad Residency by night. After a gallant defence with a tiny garrison of 100 men, Outram was obliged to take refuge in a steamer and join Sir Charles Napier's army. The sword having thus been drawn by the Amirs, the battles of Miani and Hyderabad followed, the sequel of which included the surrender of the Amirs, the confiscation of their jewellery as prize for the army, the annexation of Sindh⁶ (excepting Khairpur) to the British Empire, and the exile

⁶ The whole of Napier's transactions in Sindh formed the subject of considerable controversy at the time. The verdict of Sir Robert Peel's Ministry at home upon the annexation was *Fieri non debuit factum valet*. Writing thirty-three years afterwards, Mr. W. E. Gladstone, adverting to the difficulty which a central Government experiences in controlling its officers at a distance, compared the taking of Tashkent by General Tchermaieff, in 1864, contrary to his orders from St. Petersburg, with Sir Charles Napier's high-handed proceedings in Sindh. Mr. Gladstone's words are as follows:—"A notable example occurred in 1843, when Sindh was conquered by Napier, under the auspices of Lord Ellenborough. That conquest was disapproved, I believe, unanimously by the Cabinet of Sir Robert Peel, of which I can speak, as I had just entered it at that time. But the ministry was powerless, inasmuch as the mischief of

for ten years of all the Amirs, excepting Mir Ali Murad, and that prince a few years later himself became the victim of a singularly dramatic retribution. For it was discovered that when the boundaries of British and Khairpur territory were being settled, he had, by a cleverly conceived forgery, possessed himself of large districts to which he was not entitled; and Lord Dalhousie then deprived him of all but his own younger son's patrimony. With the aid of capable vaziers lent by the British Government, the little State of Khairpur is now very flourishing under Mir Ali Murad's grandson, H.H. Mir Emam Baksh Khan, G.C.I.E.

The change of government in Sindh, it may be observed, was effected without the smallest disturbance of popular uprising, excepting a little outlawry, such as may always be expected in the East in such circumstances. Although the Amirs had been able to collect a disorderly mob (for it was nothing better) of Beloochis at Miani, and although public sympathy was unquestionably with the aged Mir Rustom of Khairpur, whose brother, Mir Ali Murad's machinations had caused him to fly, yet the Talpurs were never popular, nor had they often displayed such vigor and authority as to make them respected. Sir Charles Napier took an early opportunity of inviting all the great Sirdars and holders of rent-free lands to attend a durbar at Hyderabad on 24th May, 1843, Queen Victoria's birthday, and make their salaams to him as representative of the new government. They attended in a large body without the smallest demur, and swore allegiance. From that time there has never been the slightest animosity between Mahommedans and Hindus. During the Mutiny and other wars, and up to the present day, no Sindhi, whether Moslem or Hindu, has ever flinched in his allegiance. The flourishing condition of the province, with its railways and magnificent irrigation canals, and its splendid port,⁷ proves that Sir Charles Napier's sudden and unauthorized conquest, provoked by the treacherous attack upon the Residency, was the best thing that could have happened for the country. The dynasty had only lasted 60 years, and the Sovereigns of England have already, in 1914, ruled for 72 years. Not many years elapsed before Sir Bartle Frere was able to invite the exiled Amirs to return to Sindh, where they have lived ever since in suitable houses that were built for them, as loyal and contented pensioners of the British Government. None are now alive of those who witnessed the conquest.

Thus was accomplished Seth Naomul's desire for the dethronement of the Talpurs, and the requital for the brutal outrage on his father, Seth Hotchand. The interview which he has described in his Memoirs with the two principal Amirs, Mir Nur Mahomed and Mir Nasir Khan, sons of Mir Murad Ali, in the spring of 1839, when by his assistance and in spite of the Amirs' secret opposition the British army was well on its way through Sindh to Afghanistan, has an element of pride and pathos in it. The proud Mirs received him

retaining was less than the mischief of abandoning it, and it remains an accomplished fact." (Extract from Goldsmid's Biography of Outram.)

⁷ In Appendix XVI will be found some figures illustrative of the present extensive trade of Karachi, and of the land revenue of Sindh.

standing, took him by the hand, invited him to sit on a stool instead of on the ground, and then asked him if he had by that time fully avenged the wrongs done to his father. The Seth says he remained silent, but his inward satisfaction must have been great. Four years later when the defeat of the Amirs and the British annexation were announced at Karachi, his old father, Seth Hotchand, who had been in a ship lying outside the harbor, no doubt expecting the good news, was landed, after his self-imposed exile, and was conveyed to his house, amidst the plaudits of the people, and then Seth Naomul's cup of content must indeed have been full.

Seth Naomul's services up to this time had been rendered gratuitously. Out of pride he had been useful to the British, and also on account of the wrongs that had been inflicted on his father. Still his services, which included frequent large advances of money at his own risk, had not been altogether ignored. Pottinger, before parting with him, offered to obtain him a grant of money, and also, so Seth Naomul says, the honor of a seat in the Bombay Legislative Council,⁸ both of which he wisely declined. Outram, in 1840, obtained for him an allowance of Rs. 100 a month, which, considering his wealth, was only nominal. What he prized far more was a dress of honor presented by the Governor-General, and his recognition later as the Agent of the British Government at Karachi with a salary of Rs. 200 a month, until the conquest.

Still, useful as he had been to the British Government in the time of their greatest need, so soon as the reign of military officers under Sir Charles Napier was substituted for the more gentle and reasonable political officers, Seth Naomul found that the change was not altogether to his liking. The violent controversy between Napier and Outram as to Napier's behavior to the Amirs was beginning, and Napier naturally would not be very favorably inclined towards Outram's protégé. It is not at all an uncommon thing in India for a native official who has been considered a high English officer's factotum to fall into disfavor when his patron has retired, as the patron's successor is determined to make the factotum "know his place." All Sir Charles Napier's nominees for high administrative appointments in Sindh were military men. Fortunately for Seth Naomul, the officer selected as Collector of the Karachi district was a Captain Preedy, who had been for some time at Karachi as head of the Commissariat. He had had extensive official dealings with Seth Naomul, and therefore befriended him, recommending him for the position of Deputy Collector, to which he was indeed appointed, though on so small a salary that he resigned. But his relations with another officer who was entrusted with the organization and control of the Karachi police were not so happy. Lieut. Marston was a very gallant young man who had saved Sir Charles Napier's life at the battle of Miani, by attacking single-handed and killing two out of three Beloochis who

⁸ This requires correction. The Legislative Council, which included a few natives and non-official members, was not created in Bombay till 1862. One of the ex-Amirs of Sindh was given a seat upon it by Sir Bartle Frere, so it seems probable that, having this appointment in his mind, Seth Naomul merely told his amanuensis that such a post would have been no use to him, as he did not speak English, not that Pottinger had actually offered to procure it for him.—EDITOR.

had together charged the General. He was not of the same disposition as Capt. Preedy, and accused the Seth of interference with his police, in which Napier took especial pride; and Seth Naomul's friends suffered even more than himself. Capt. Preedy, after consulting Seth Naomul, had appointed one of the most highly respected Hindus in Sindh, Diwan Chandiram of Talti, to be Mukhtyarkhar, that is to say the officer whose duty it was to collect and manage the revenues of the Sehwan sub-division, one of the most important in Sindh. In a few months, accusations were made against Diwan Chandiram of petty peculation of some kind. They were taken up by Lieut. Marston and by Capt. Brown, Sir Charles Napier's Secretary. The Diwan was tried by court martial, by officers little accustomed to laws of evidence, and unfamiliar with the conditions of Sindh. As a result the Diwan was sent to gaol for two years, and actually forced to work on the roads as a convict. The late Sir William Merewether, K.C.S.I., who was Commissioner in Sindh from 1868-1877, and was acquainted with all the facts, could never speak of the treatment of Diwan Chandiram without indignation; and he always treated the Diwan with the greatest personal consideration. When the writer of this Introduction was Deputy Collector of Sehwan and travelling with Sir William in 1870-71, Sir William took especial pains to introduce Diwan Chandiram to him, and after the Diwan had paid his formal call Sir William Merewether took his arm in his arm in the most friendly way, and escorted him into his private tent—a compliment that a Commissioner rarely pays to a private native gentleman. (Not that officials are haughty, but because any unusual marks of friendship are apt to be misconstrued by the vulgar and sometimes to be abused).

Napier, no doubt, was naturally a martinet, and when introducing a settled administration into Sindh was obliged to depend upon the materials ready to hand. Sir Bartle Frere, who had the best means of estimating his capacity as a civil ruler, had no hesitation in placing Sir Charles in the foremost rank of the Indian statesmen it had been his good fortune to meet. At the same time he was unquestionably hasty both in temper and action. His treatment of Seth Naomul at his first Durbar, as described in the Memoirs, was cruelly undeserved; and Seth Naomul relates how on one occasion Sir Charles threatened to have him put in gaol. The only wonder is that this was not actually done, for, as Macaulay says:—"An Indian Governor has only to let it be understood that he wishes a particular man to be ruined, and in twenty-four hours he will be furnished with grave charges supported by depositions so full and circumstantial, that any person unaccustomed to Asiatic mendacity would regard them as decisive." Consequently, although Seth Naomul's probity was unimpeachable, and his services had been great, it is clear that under Sir Charles Napier's régime he was not a *persona grata*, so he wisely obtruded himself as little as possible. On one occasion he was put to the pain of having all his account books seized and overhauled, under the idea that he had been making improper gains in the remittance of Government treasure, a galling imputation, of which he was fully acquitted.⁹ The imputation was the more

⁹ See Appendix XI.

unjust as he had rendered the Government most valuable service in the disturbed state of Sindh, both at the conquest and after, in transferring, through his firm and banking friends, their specie from place to place for a very small remuneration indeed. As a matter of fact, just before Sir Charles Napier finally left Sindh in 1847, Seth Naomul and three of the office *moonshis* were suspended from Government employment for six months, and finally dismissed the service without being called on for a defence (*vide* Appendix I, which contains an interesting memorandum by Capt. H. W. Preedy, the Collector and Magistrate of Karachi, on Seth Naomul's services). On the papers being submitted to the Government of Bombay, under whom Sindh had by that time been placed, the Governor in Council decided that there were not sufficient grounds for charging Seth Naomul with dishonesty, and that his exclusion from public employment should not be considered as implying any reflection upon his character. On that occasion Sir Henry Pottinger, who by that time had been appointed Governor of Madras, in reply to what must have been an appeal to him for protection, on January 17th, 1849, recorded the following testimony, dated from Government House, Madras:—

"I have always retained (and still do so) a high sense of the devotion, ability and integrity with which Seth Nao Mull of Kurrachee acquitted himself of various important trusts confided to him whilst the affairs of Sindh were under my guidance. That opinion induced me to strongly recommend Seth Nao Mull to the favor of Supreme Government as well as to the countenance and protection of my successor, Lieut.-Col. Outram, and I am very happy to learn from the accompaniments to this Petition that the Seth's character has been so effectually cleared from the stigma which would appear to have been unjustly cast on it. At the same time I cannot interfere in his case beyond this willing testimony to the merits (as I found them) of a zealous and consistent well-wisher of the British Government and its officers."

The destruction of the four houses which he had built in the Sadar Bazaar in Karachi, described in the Memoirs, is another instance of Seth Naomul's enemies' attacks upon him. Karachi is not the only cantonment in India in which almost to this day the conflict between private and government rights over the sites of houses has not often been productive of keen legal controversy, and sometimes of hardship. In Seth Naomul's case, no doubt, he had built the houses in question openly with the full knowledge of the military authorities, and for the public convenience, but he also felt, doubtless, that one day they would be a valuable property to himself. Still, seeing that they were erected when Karachi was still under native rule, and for the other reasons which Seth Naomul gives, their removal seems to have been a very high-handed act.

However, in due time, Sir Charles Napier's régime came to an end, and then Seth Naomul, as his Memoirs show, was again welcomed by the great. He was shown particular honor by the able and well-known Sir George Clerk, when Governor of

Bombay, and by Sir Bartle Frere, during his long tenure of office as Commissioner in Sindh, in whose biography, by the late Mr. John Martineau, the following reference occurs:—

"Of the leading natives at Kurrachee, the one with whom Frere was in most frequent and friendly communication was Seth Naomul, a merchant, who from the first appearance of the English in Sindh, had made up his mind that their power was destined to prevail, and had attached himself to their cause with unwavering fidelity, through all the vicissitudes of the Afghan war and the Conquest of Sindh. When Sir John Keane's force landed at Kurrachee in 1838, on its way to Afghanistan, and when Pottinger, Outram and Jacob were engaged in keeping open the communications in the perilous times that followed, he rendered valuable assistance, in recompense for which he received rewards and honors. Sir Charles Napier, apparently, did not much like him, and Naomul, resenting this, speaks of Napier as tyrannical and oppressive, but 'simple-minded, pure-hearted and a religious gentleman.' Probably he may have thought Naomul, as most Englishmen perhaps would have done, self-important and tiresome. Frere, however, at once saw his merits and his value, and treated him with kindness and consideration. Naomul had agents or correspondents all over Northern India and in Afghanistan and Persia, from whom he received information as to native opinion which he used to communicate to Frere. He gave him correct and valuable intelligence as to Persian and Afghan intrigues, and as to native doings and opinions, which after the mutiny broke out, was so valued by him that he gave orders that Naomul was never to be refused admittance, day or night, when he came to see him."

Only a few weeks before Sir Bartle left Sindh in 1859, he addressed the government of Bombay with a view to Seth Naomul being given a Jaghir (land free of land tax) of 1,200 acres in perpetuity, and an allowance of Rs. 100 a month for three lives; and the Government of India complied with both requests. The Seth had previously declined either an allowance or Jaghir terminating with his own life, though he had accepted the arrears of the pay of Rs. 200 a month, of which Sir Charles Napier had deprived him.

Sir Bartle Frere, when Governor of Bombay, invited Seth Naomul to pay him a visit, and corresponded at intervals with him all his life. It was at Sir Bartle Frere's own suggestion, in a letter written from the India Office on 7th January, 1869, that, as previously mentioned, the Seth dictated these Memoirs to his grandson, Rao Bahadur Alumal Trikumdas, B.A. Seth Naomul had been one of the first to use his influence in favor of Sir Bartle Frere's policy of introducing education into Sindh, and Rao Bahadur Alumal was the first young man to proceed to the Bombay University from Sindh and take his degree. On 4th February, 1874, Sir Bartle Frere wrote to Seth Naomul acknowledging receipt of the Memoirs with great pleasure, and saying he hoped to take

measures for their being published, at least in part, in England, where he thought they would draw attention to the valuable character of his services.

The final honor conferred on Seth Naomul was on 1st January, 1867, when at a Durbar held by Sir Bartle Frere, as Governor of Bombay, at the Frere Hall, Karachi, a very beautiful hall built by the public to commemorate Sir Bartle Frere's own services to Sindh, – he decorated Seth Naomul with the insignia of C.S.I. (Companion of the Star of India) – the premier Order in India. Seth Naomul had the special honor of his name being included in the first list of Companions made by Her Majesty Queen Victoria, of this the third-class of the Order, after that class was constituted and published in the Gazette of India on 12th June, 1866. Sir Bartle Frere's speech on that occasion is reproduced *in extenso* in Appendix XIII.

The internal evidence afforded by the Memoirs themselves will convince any Anglo-Indian familiar with the people and conditions of India, of the absolute straightness and honesty of the writer. Even in cases where he himself had acted injudiciously, or had laid himself open to misconception, he does not falter in the least in narrating the facts, although they might be calculated to arouse suspicion of his good faith. He might, for instance, have omitted, with nobody to question him, the curious incident related at page 116 of the loss of his box with an important state paper in it, and of Sir James Outram's displeasure with him for not having made it over to his assistant, Capt. Leckie, at once, as requested by that officer. On another occasion when he was assisting in the pursuit of the Belooch sirdars who were meditating an attack on Karachi, and the destruction of the British garrison there, his own servant suddenly let off a pistol and gave warning to the enemy, so that naturally the British officers considered Seth Naomul himself was privy to the firing of the traitorous shot. The frank mention of the incident, the gravity of which Seth Naomul does not attempt to minimize, indicates his fearlessness and *mens conscia recti*. So far as can be tested by contemporary official documents, Seth Naomul's historic accounts are all extremely accurate; and although he was able to render, yet unquestionably those services were of extreme value, and deserve recording. His confidence in British officers, especially when advancing out of his own pocket large sums of money on behalf of the British Government, was no doubt justified by the event. Still, very few bankers would be found in any part of the world to lend their money so freely, especially during a time of war and consequent commotion, when the future of Sindh was still in the balance, and when he could not feel absolutely certain that the Government would support the officers whom he supplied with funds.

The writer himself went to Sindh as a young Assistant Collector in the spring of 1870. Soon he had the pleasure of calling on Seth Naomul and making his acquaintance, and when the late Earl of Northbrook passed through Sindh on his first viceregal cold weather tour in 1872, Seth Naomul, the writer thinks, was the only gentleman present at his levée who wore the coveted C.S.I., unless it was worn by some of the Viceroy's own suite. The fine appearance of the old man when he made his deep salaam to the

Governor-General is well in the writer's remembrance; and there was a feeling of regret that it had not been suggested to his Excellency to shake hands with him, but in India it is difficult to discriminate. At the same levee appeared another interesting personage, namely, His Highness Mir Sher Mahomed Khan Talpur, the former ruler of South-eastern Sindh, who made a good and strenuous fight against Sir Charles Napier, after the Hyderabad Amirs were defeated at Miani; and Lord Northbrook specially desired that the Mir should be told of the pleasure which it gave him to see the Mir.

Seth Naomul's grandson has provided the writer with a large number of papers, most of which have been already published in Blue Books, illustrative of the various tasks which his grandfather undertook, and the esteem in which he was held by high British officers from Sir Henry Pottinger down to Sir Bartle Frere. A small selection of these will be found printed in the Appendix, as well as a few other extracts from official papers illustrative and confirmative of one or two special incidents related in the Memoirs.

Seth Naomul was a man of middle stature, spare habit, and brilliant keen eyes. For a Hindu he was singularly active. He loved horses, and every day had a ride in the evening; he also took a daily walk of two or three miles even up to the last, swinging his arms and walking in a stately fashion with his head well erect. He was devoted to his own faith, and on the occasion when the writer first called on him in 1870, as soon as the lamps were lit in front of his house, he at once joined hands, shut his eyes and offered a short prayer, and in a few minutes resumed his conversation as brightly as before. The reproduction of his photograph scarcely does him justice. He passed away full of years and honor on 16th September, 1878, at the age of a little over 73 years. He had given up his firm and his mercantile avocations long before his death. His name will long be remembered in Sindh and in the Indian Empire as one who loyally came forward to aid the British Government at times of stress, when it was not so easy or safe as it is now for a native gentleman to show his loyalty, and his appreciation of the benefits of the British Government in a practical way.

This Introduction would not be complete without some account of Seth Naomul's business and his descendants. After Seth Hotchand's death in 1848, his seven sons, including Seth Naomul himself, dissolved partnership and worked independently. While Seth Naomul was serving the British Government both for two years with Outram, and as Assistant to the Collector of Karachi, he was obliged to abandon all active interest in his firm so that his share in the business, mainly banking and exchange, gradually dwindled. He entrusted what remained of it to his eldest son, Seth Trikamdas, who had agencies in a great many places, but later under his father's advice, about 1860, he wound them all up and devoted his attention to cultivation, as being more profitable, as the family possessed 20 to 25 thousand acres covering about ten family villages, but his own portion of the estates was sold by him later to his cousin, Seth Atmaram. Some others of the family remained in business, and Seth Gidumal

Lekhraj, son of Seth Naomul's youngest brother, at this day has agents throughout the Malabar coasts, and trades in produce, besides being a large dealer in sugar. Seth Gidumal is one of the most respected Hindu gentlemen in Karachi, and is a member of the Karachi Corporation. Seth Atmaram, son of Seth Pritamdas, another brother of Seth Naomul, carried on business in grain for some time, and his grandsons now are merchants in iron and grain. The extensive family estates are still managed by some of the family. Seth Naomul's younger son, Seth Thawardas, lived in Sindh, and was associated with his brother, Trikamdas, Mr. Alupal's father, in the management of the jaghir, or rent-free estate, conferred by the Government of India on Seth Naomul and his heirs.

The Editor feels unable to conclude this part of his work without further mention of Seth Alupal¹⁰ Trikamdas, not only because this little volume would never have seen the light had he not, as a youth, then newly matriculated at the Bombay University, taken it down from his aged grandfather's lips; or because he has for the last forty-five years been one of the Editor's most esteemed personal friends, but on account of his career as a distinguished educationalist. He was the first native of Sindh who took the degree of B.A. at the Bombay University. He joined the Government Educational Department on 21st March, 1868. After acting very frequently as Educational Inspector for the whole of the province, he retired on his pension in September, 1903.

The following table shows the progress made in education during Mr. Alupal's tenure of office up to the present time, in addition to an Arts College:-

<i>Government Institutions—</i>	1867-68	1903-04	1914-15
High Schools	2	3	3
Middle Schools	11	11	13
Lower Class Schools (Primary and Indigenous)	41	667	889 ¹¹
Normal Schools	2	2	2
Special Schools	1	3	3
<i>Private Institutions on the system of payment for results—</i>	1867-68	1903-04	1914-15
High Schools	1	5	7
Middle Class Schools	2	7	21
Lower Class Schools	1	738	811
Unaided Middle Class Schools	1	3	3
Total	62	1439	1752

¹⁰ Seth Alupal's name is, strictly speaking, Alimchand, the diminutive name for which is "Alloo," but Sir Frederic Goldsmid added the suffix "mull" to make the name more dignified. Therefore since, his entry into the service of Government he has been known as "Alupal" instead of "Alimchand," the name by which Sir Bartle Frere refers to him.

¹¹ Primary.



RAO BAHADUR ALUMAL TRIKAMDAS BHOJWANI, B.A.
AT THE AGE of 55.

For many years there was no separate expert Educational Inspector, the work being generally supervised by the Personal Assistant to the Commissioner, so that Mr. Alupal was the real working head of the Department. Consequently the above fine results may fairly be attributed to Mr. Alupal's energy. One of his greatest achievements was the transforming of little private Mullas¹² schools in Sindh, at which only the reading of the Koran by rote was taught, into efficient village schools. The initiative in that particular reform was due to Mr. H. P. Jacob, a singularly zealous officer of the Education Department, but the labor of carrying it out fell on Mr. Alupal's shoulders. In 1889 the title of Rao Bahadur was conferred on Mr. Alupal by the Viceroy, and the patent was handed to him at a public Durbar presided over by the Commissioner, when Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Jenkins, K.C.S.I., in introducing him spoke as follows:-

"Mr. Alupal's 21 years in Sindh furnishes a record of integrity, good sense and activity that has rarely been equaled in this province. His accurate knowledge of the sentiments and needs of the people of Sindh have made him a tower of strength to the Educational Department. The recent spread of education among the nomadic Jakhriyos of the Kohistan, the improvement which he has brought about in the equipment, teaching, and general efficiency of the elementary schools of this district, and especially in regard to the care and skill which are now bestowed on the little children of the infant classes; the successful solution of the difficulty of collecting fees which in several parts of Sindh had made the authorities give up the struggle in despair; the taste everywhere springing up for school sports. These are some of the signs of progress which may be named as the fruits of Mr. Alupal's energy and of his remarkable tact both with his subordinates and the people at large to whose interests he has so ably devoted himself.

Is not this a record of which anyone might well be proud? Yet it is doubtful whether anyone acquainted with the difficulties with which Mr. Alupal had to contend, can form an idea of the real value of his work. He had to encounter prejudice, apathy, and in many cases local disadvantages, all of which he happily overcame by his tact, energy, and above all by that unfailing courtesy, the outward sign of a kind and sympathetic heart, which has endeared him to all, and makes him a welcome friend wherever he goes."

On Mr. Alupal taking his pension the Government of Bombay passed the following Resolution, on 4th September, 1903, under the signature of the Secretary to Government:—

"Rao Bahadur Alupal Trikamdas Bhojvani, B.A., Acting Educational Inspector in Sindh, retires on pension on the 5th instant, after a service extending over 35

¹² See Appendix XIV.

years. During this long period the Rao Bahadur has held a position of responsibility and of especial difficulty in the province of Sindh, and his career has been marked by ability, tact, uprightness of character and impartiality of administration, which have won for him the good opinion of all with whom he has been brought in contact. His Excellency the Governor in Council desires to place on record his appreciation of the long, faithful and valuable service rendered by Rao Bahadur Alumal to Government."

Mr. Alumal himself has had three sons. His eldest son, Seth Hashmatrai, was an able officer and a barrister, who became a Deputy Collector in charge of a division, but he unfortunately died in 1906. The Commissioner, Mr. Younghusband, recorded that he "fully appreciated the great loss which the administration had sustained in his untimely death." The second son, Seth Bulchand, B.A., is now in charge of the very wild but important Desert portion of the Thar and Parkur district, and his third son, Seth Kundanmal, B.A., LL.B., a barrister-at-law, practices on the original side of the Bombay High Court, being also skilled in various technical industries, such as metal-plating and the manufacture of glass, which arts he studied in England after obtaining a technical scholarship from the University of Bombay, although he was reading law at the same time in the Middle Temple.

Mr. Alumal still draws, as third of his line, the pension of Rs. 100 a month, which was granted to his grandfather for three lives, and the usufruct of the jaghir, which is perpetual, is entirely his own. Mr. Alumal states that the jaghir is now fairly productive, though in the past it has required large amounts of outlay in clearing away the jungle, improving old canals, and constructing new ones. Its total area is 5,457 acres. After Hindu fashion Seth Alumal's uncle, Seth Thawardas, the second son of Seth Naomul, claimed a half interest in the Jaghir, though the charter limited the interest to the first heir male, and a dispute arose which eventually was amicably settled. One of Mr. Alumal's cousins, Mr. Lilaram Gidumal, B.A., is at the present moment Deputy Educational Inspector of Karachi at a salary of Rs. 250 per mensem; and another cousin, Mr. Pribhdas Lokumal, is also employed in the Collector's Currency Office. On Mr. Alumal personally has fallen the mantle of his grandfather, and he is always a welcome visitor in the highest circles, official or private.

It was before remarked that the surname Bhojwani, which Mr. Alumal now adopts, is derived from his ancestor, Seth Bhojoomal, whose history is given in the early part of the Memoirs. For many years past in the civil courts and in the Universities of India, the old custom of describing an individual simply by his own personal name and that of his father, was found very inconvenient. and therefore all families of position have been encouraged to adopt a surname. In Bengal and the Deccan old family surnames were always in common use.

MEMOIRS.

IN SETH NAOMUL'S OWN WORDS.

A GENERAL ACCOUNT OF SETH NAOMUL'S FAMILY AND OF HIS OWN EVWNTFUL CAREER UP TO A.D. 1871. TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH FROM HIS OWN RELATION IN THE VERNACULAR.

CHAPTER III.

Naomul's ancestry – Kahiri – Invasion of Nadir Shah – Loot of Sehwan – Assistance to captives from Mathura – Bhojoomal – Migrates to Karakbunder – Founds Karachi – Constructs fort – Kalhoras – Murder of Rana Arjan – Cession of Karachi to Khelat – Expulsion of Kalhoras by Talpurs – Talpurs besiege Karachi – Dharianamal assists Talpurs to take possession of Karachi – Privileges given to Dharianamal – His friendship with Mir Karamali – Vaghers' piracy – Wealth of Naomul's ancestors – Hinglaz – Severe famine – Azim Khan's invasion – Division of Bhojoomal's property – Buried treasure – Lalmandas – Disputes in family – Mir Karamali's intervention – Naomul's visit to Porebunder – Belooch body-guard procured for the Rana – Death of Lalmandas.

My ancestors were originally inhabitants of Kahiri¹³ (between the town of Bhan¹⁴ and the River Nara, about five miles from the former and one from the latter), once a very populous and flourishing town in the Dadu Taluka, Sindh. One of my ancestors, Sajunmal by name, owned in the vicinity of that place, a large estate in zemindari.¹⁵ He was besides a great merchant and banker, enjoyed a good name, and great respect among the townspeople. His son, Nanukdas, extended his commerce, increased his property in land, and lived in affluence. He placed his *gomashtas*, or commercial agents, at Shah Bandar,¹⁶ Tatta,¹⁷ Sonmiani,¹⁸ Beyla,¹⁹ Shikarpur,²⁰ and Chandka.²¹

¹³ Kahiri nowadays is a very small village. No vestiges of a Kalhora town are now traceable except at the village of Khudabad in the vicinity. (See note on Khudabad in Introduction.)

¹⁴ Bhan is a small town of 1,426 inhabitants, situated close to the Western Nara, on a river, now a canal, which takes its rise in the Indus and terminates in the Manchur Lake, in the Sehwan Taluka, formerly in the Karachi district, but now in the new district of Larkhana. During the annual inundation, officers proceeding from Hyderabad to Sukkur used to leave the Indus at Sehwan, proceed up the Arul River, through which the Manchur Lake drains into the Indus, and passing up the Western Nara join the Indus a considerable distance above Sehwan, thus avoiding the difficult current of the main river. The rice cultivation on the Western Nara is some of the best in Sindh.

¹⁵ Land owners of Sindh, many of whom own large areas, are called zemindars, and pay the land tax direct to Government. They employ, on agreed terms, their dependents or fellow-tribesmen in cultivating the different fields, generally for a fixed share of the produce.

¹⁶ Shah Bandar, literally Royal Wharf, was one of the most ancient and important ports on the Hajamri mouth of the river Indus, but owing to changes in the river it has for many years been an inland town, six miles from the nearest water, and now only contains a population of 678 souls.

Karachi did not exist then. Nanukdas married, and the first pledge of that marriage was Bhojoomal.²² When Bhojoomal grew up to be ten or twelve years of age his mother died, and Nanukdas married a second wife, by whom he had three sons, Kewalram, Hemraj and Bhagchand. At that time people of the Chana and Panwahr²³ tribes ruled in that part of Sindh, and Kahiri was the seat of Government in the Samtani Pargunna. In the sumbat year of Vikramadit 1781 (A.D. 1725) when Bhojoomal was sixteen years of age, he left Kahiri in consequence of a disagreement with his step-mother, and coming to Sehwan he raised a *kafila* (caravan) at the head of which he started in search of fortune elsewhere.

In Upper Sindh Seth Nanukdas's firm at Sehwan was, after Bhojoomal's withdrawal, managed by his eldest son from the second wife, Seth Kewalram, who also extended his business greatly.

In sumbat 1779 (A.D. 1723) Nadir Shah left Cabul to invade India. The Khan of Khelat, Nasirkhan, the Great, who was one of his dependents, accompanied him with a large force. The Emperor of Delhi, Mahomedshah, quietly submitted. After a short stay at Delhi, Nadirshah marched towards Mathura²⁴ where his army plundered the country indiscriminately, as they were led on by religious enthusiasm, and made many Brahmins, males and females, captives. Nasirkhan's soldiers took the most prominent part in capturing the people of Mathura. On his return Nadirshah came to Lahore and thence returned to Cabul. Nasirkhan took his leave of Nadirshah at Lahore, and returned to his country through Multan and Shikarpur. The report of the capture of the Brahmins of Mathura by the army of Nasirkhan had spread all over India, and the news had reached the ears of my great-great-grandaunt, Lady Takhtbai, the wife of Seth Kewalram, the younger brother of Seth Bhojoomal. Seth Kewalram had branch firms of

¹⁷ Tatta, population 8,969, is the most famous town in Lower Sindh, at the head of the Delta, and identified by some with the ancient town of Dehwal, which was occupied by the Arab invasion in the eighth century, and it was afterwards the headquarters of the Emperor of Delhi's viceroy, one of whose sons, afterwards the Emperor Shah Jehan, built a fine mosque which is still kept in repair. Tatta used to be the greatest market in India for pearls, which were brought down by the Arabs from the Persian Gulf, and it was also the seat of factories for valuable silk fabrics, an industry now almost extinct.

¹⁸ Sonmiani is a port in the Gulf of Oman, in the dominions of the Khan of Khelat, about fifty miles from Karachi.

¹⁹ Beyla is the chief town of Las Beyla, a small State belonging to a local potentate called the Jam, a feudatory of the Khan of Khelat, about fifty miles north-west of Karachi.

²⁰ Shikarpur was the ancient capital of Upper Sindh, from which caravans used to start for Candahar and Central Asia, through the Bolan Pass. The British Army with Shah Shuja's forces made it the starting-point for the invasion of Cabul in 1839.

²¹ Chandka is a district in the north of Sindh in the Shikarpur Collectorate.

²² For pedigree, see Appendix XVII.

²³ Chana and Panwahr tribes. The Chana, now a not very important tribe, owns lands in the Kahiri region. The Panwahr tribe is spread all over Sindh, and the Chief of the Panwahrs is mentioned by early historians as a powerful personage.

²⁴ Mathura, usually spelt Muttra, is in the United Provinces, 35 miles north-west of Agra, the scene of the god Krishna's amusements, and one of the holiest of Hindu places in India. It is now a British cantonment, and the chief town of the district of the same name.

his own at Shikarpur, at various places in the Kutchi,²⁵ and in different parts in Sindh, and at the desire of Lady Takhtbai, his *goomashtas* at Shikarpur and in Kutchi were written to, to liberate on the payment of a ransom as many of the Brahmins as they could. The freedom of a large number of the unfortunate people was thus purchased by the *goomashtas* of Seth Kewalram on the payment of Rs. 100 to Rs. 250 per head, and the liberated men being supplied with provisions and expense for the journey were sent back to their homes in compliance with the wishes of Lady Takhtbai.

The present town of Karachi had no existence then. There stood a town, Kharakbunder by name, a seaport town, great in commercial renown, on the other side of the river Habb,²⁶ and here Bhojoomal went and settled. He had his own separate *goomashtas* placed at Sonmiani, Gwadur,²⁷ Beyla, and Muscat.²⁸ The agent at Muscat opened branch firms at Bushire, Shiraz and Bahrein.²⁹ In course of time branch firms were established at Shah Bunder and Lahori-bunder,³⁰ then two important seaport towns in Sindh, and trade with Surat, Porebunder and Malabar was carried on extensively.

Kharakbunder was at the conflux of the Habb with the Arabian Sea. After the lapse of sometime the entrance to the port from the sea-side was choked with a collection of sand, and no vessel could find admission into the harbor. All vessels were then made of bamboo wood, kept together by coir rope instead of iron nails.

The merchants felt much inconvenienced by the entrance to the harbor being barred. Seth Bhojoomal then, in consultation with other leading men of the place set out in search of another spot in the vicinity better suited for mercantile purposes, whither they might remove. The Karachi creek was preferred. There stood originally at the head of the bar about 20 to 25 huts of fishermen. The spot was then called Dirbo. There was also a pool of water close by which was known by the name of "Kalachi's Kun" – "Kun" meaning a deep ditch, and Kalachi being the name of a fisherman. Round about it grew tamarind and ("*Timar*") mangrove trees. This spot was selected and houses were built thereon, and everything movable in Kharakbunder was transferred and everybody

²⁵ Kutchi is the plain country lying between North-east Sindh and the Khelat mountains.

²⁶ Habb is the river separating Sindh from the dominions of the Khan of Khelat, and falls into the sea about sixteen miles west of Karachi.

²⁷ Gwadur is a well-known port in the Gulf of Oman, on the boundaries of Baluchistan and Persia.

²⁸ Muscat is a famous Arab port on the west coast of the Gulf of Oman, opposite Gwadur. It was once held by the Turks and was fortified by the Portuguese, whose guns may still be seen on the battlements of the fort.

²⁹ Bushire and Shiraz are well-known Persian towns, and Bahrein comprises a series of islands famous for pearl fisheries.

³⁰ Lahori Bunder was once a famous old port, contemporaneous with Shahbunder, situated amongst a number of tidal channels connected with the Pitti mouth, the most northerly mouth of the Indus, about sixteen miles from the sea, and communicating through the Gharo creek with Karachi itself. Owing, no doubt, to the silting up of creeks, as was the fate of Shahbunder, it has long been in complete ruins, but for centuries was an important place, and was visited by the celebrated traveler, Ibn Batuta, in the early part of the fourteenth century; in fact, it was then the principal port of Sindh. (See page 7 of *The Indus Delta Country*, by Col. M. R. Haig, 1894.) It seems to have lasted till the early part of the eighteenth century.

removed to Kalachi-jo-ghote,³¹ or Karachi as it was then called. The Manora³² bar did not exist then; another bar above the Baba Island,³³ now known as the "Nawa Nar," or the new bar, was used for traffic. A ridge of hills then barred up the Manora entrance. About the sumbat year 1785 (A.D. 1729), the people of Kharakbunder settled in Karachi. At the suggestion of Bhojoomal, one Assoodamal consulted Beebee Muradan on the desirability of fortifying Karachi. The suggestion being generally liked, *timar* (mangrove) trees were cut down, and people set about erecting a fortification of wood and mud. Foreign labor was engaged to assist the people. All laborers received their wage in dry and wet dates brought down from Bahrein and Muscat. In a short time a goodly fort was raised, and mounted with cannons brought from Muscat. The fort wall included an area of 60 or 70 jirebs³⁴. The fort had two entrances—the one facing the west was called the Khara³⁵ Darwaza, or the gate leading to the salt water; the other facing the north-east was called the Mitha³⁶ Darwaza, *i.e.*, the gate leading to sweet water. All people lived within the fort, which was on the outside surrounded by a jungle of *timar* and thorny *thuar*³⁷ bushes.

The entrance of the harbor of Shahbunder was choked up with silt drifted down by the Indus, in consequence whereof many people removed to Karachi. About this time the Kalhoras³⁸ quietly and even without the slightest opposition took possession of Karachi.

Tatta was also subject to the Kalhoras and was governed by a Nawab. The Nawab had in his employ a Jokhia³⁹ by name Bijar. Tatta is an ancient place, and is said to have been built by Kindo of the Suma⁴⁰ tribe about 400 years ago, and its magnificent ruins bear sufficient testimony of its past greatness. Lahori-bunder and Sakra Daraja⁴¹ were ruled by a Hindu prince, Rana Arjan. The Kalhoras, naturally envious of this, wrote to their

³¹ Lit: the village of Kalachi.

³² Manora is the rocky headland which bounds the entrance to the Karachi harbor on the west. It is now strongly fortified. A sandy bar across the entrance to the harbor at the time of the British occupation was a great danger and impediment to navigation, but by the construction of a breakwater from the end of Manora Point, the bar has been entirely removed.

³³ Baba Island is a small island inside the main harbor of Karachi, and just opposite the island of Keamari, on which the main wharves have been established, which are connected with the mainland by a mole through the swamps, which was commenced by Sir Charles Napier. Seth Naomul apparently means that the present entrance to the harbor was not in use at first, and that the country vessels trading with Karachi found an entrance through one of the small creeks at what is now the head of the harbor and which are now never used.

³⁴ Jireb is usually taken as the equivalent of half an acre.

³⁵ Khara means salt, — the gates facing the sea, on the south.

³⁶ Mitha means sweet, — the gates facing the Layaree river, on the north.

³⁷ Thuar is the thorny wild caper tree.

³⁸ Kalhoras, see Introduction.

³⁹ Jokhias are the ancient Belooch tribe owning most of the desert country between Karachi and the watered part of the Delta. They owned large herds of camels, and it was principally through them, as we shall see, that Seth Naomul obtained camels for the transport of the British army.

⁴⁰ Suma tribe, a Rajput tribe which appeared to have ruled in Sindh from 1351 to 1521 A.D. It seems probable that Tatta, especially if it was identical with the mediaeval Dehwal, existed many centuries before that epoch.

⁴¹ Towns in the north west of the Delta.

Nawab at Tatta to get the Rana killed, and take possession of his domains. The Nawab consulted Bijar Jokhia. He undertook to take the life of the Rana, who did not keep a strong body-guard. Bijar Jokhia was an acquaintance of Seth Bhojoomal, and obtaining a loan of money from him he embarked for Lahori-bunder from Clifton Point to the south of Karachi, in company with 80 Jokhias from the Mallir,⁴² whom he got to cooperate with him. Rana Arjan was at that time at the village of Rata, whither he had proceeded on a hunting excursion. Rata was an island spot. Thither, during the dead of night, while the Rana Arjan was fast asleep in his tent, lit up with lamplight, Bijar Jokhia (and his men) swam over on bladders, holding swords in their mouths, and falling upon the Rana dispatched him.

Rana Arjan had no issue, and so Bijar could easily take possession of his territory. This done he reported himself to the Nawab of Tatta, who gave him a dress of honor, and nominated him the chief man of the Jokhias, and bestowed upon him the title of Jam.⁴³

In an engagement with the Kalhoras, Jarak Khan, brother to the ruling Khan of Khelat, was killed, and in recompense for his blood, the Kalhoras ceded Karachi to the Khan of Khelat. Karachi was soon after garrisoned by Khelat men.

Seth Bhojoomal had four sons, *viz.*, Seths Dharianamal, Lalmandas, Thakurdas, and Bulramdas. They were all stalwart, robust men. Seth Bhojoomal died in sumbat 1838 (A.D. 1782-3). The four brothers lived on terms of perfect amity and greatly extended their mercantile transactions. *Goomashta* Giddoomal, by name, had been sent to Bombay in sumbat 1805 (A.D. 1749). This man in connection with the Bombay branch traded directly with Bengal and China. The agent (*Goomashta*) at Muscat, Hasrajmal, carried on an extensive trade with Persia, Bassorah and Bahrein. There were agencies established at Cabul, Candahar, Herat, Khelat and Cashmere. Seth Dharianamal passed his days in princely comfort; Seth Lalmandas⁴⁴ attended to the duties of a merchant.

The Talpurs through their leader, Mir Bijar, snatched Sindh out of the hands of the Kalhoras in sumbat 1840 (A.D. 1783-4). The last battle fought between the Kalhoras and

⁴² Mallir is a hill stream about twelve miles north-east of Karachi, and from wells in its bed the town of Karachi now enjoys a plentiful supply of pure water. The village of Mallir is the headquarters of the Jam of the Jokhias, and contains a number of gardens, with palms and vegetables irrigated from the river or from wells—a very pleasant sight in a thirsty desert tract.

⁴³ Jam is an ancient Hindu title, the origin of which is disputed. It is borne by several potentates in Sindh and the countries adjoining, and is always confined to a ruler or chief of an important tribe or state. The ruler of Las Beyla, a feudatory of Khelat, just across the border from Karachi, is known as "Jam." In the very north of Sindh, on the boundaries of Bahawalpur, the great zemindar of Ubauro in the Rohri district, is called the Jam. The Maharajah of Nowanuggur in western Kathiawad, well known to modern Englishmen as Prince Ranjit Singhji, the famous cricketer, bears also the title of Jam, and his state and capital are as well known by the name of Jamnuggur as by the rightful one of Nowanuggur.

⁴⁴ From the time of Seth Lalmandas the mercantile house was known by his name Lalmandas down to Seth Naomul's own time.

the Mirs⁴⁵ was at Halani-Bhelani,⁴⁶ in which the former were defeated. Mir Bijar was killed by men employed by Jodhpur and was succeeded by Mirs Fatehali,⁴⁷ Gulamali, Karamali, and Muradali, who ruled jointly.

Before the Talpurs became rulers of Sindh, Mir Karamali and Seth Dharianamal were on terms of great friendship. The Kalhoras after their defeat fled to Candahar and obtaining aid from the ruler of that place, they invaded Sindh with the assistance of Candahar troops commanded by Madad Khan. The Talpur Mirs sought refuge in Umerkote. The first town in Sindh ravaged by the Candaharis was Sehwan. The house of Seth Kewalram who was then at Sehwan was plundered, and much booty obtained. A Pathan suspecting a beam in the ceiling of the house to be hollow pierced it with his long lance, when 1,500 gold mohurs ran down. The ground was thereupon turned up, and the Pathans carried away all that they could find. Madad Khan merely plundered the country and retired without doing anything further to assist the Kalhoras in regaining Sindh.

Seth Kewalram fled from Sehwan towards the hills. But the days were hot it being the close of Chet (April), and Seth Kewalram died from the effects of sunstroke. After Kewalram's death, his younger brother, Seth Hemrajmal, took upon himself the management of his affairs. Seth Kewalram had about 400 *goomashtas*, or agents, in different places. All that Seth Kewalram possessed at Sehwan had been plundered. Nevertheless, collecting such of Seth Kewalram's assets as were with his *goomashtas*, Seth Hemrajmal started business afresh as a rich merchant. Seth Hemrajmal had four sons, *viz.*, Jhamrai, Tharoomal, Teekchand, and Khushaldas.

In about sumbat 1848 (A.D. 1792-3) Mir Fatehali sent an army of Beloochis to the number of 15,000 men for the capture of Karachi. These came well armed with cannon and shell, and encamped on the other side of the Layari⁴⁸ and along the gardens (to the north-east of the town). Karachi was then subject to the Khan of Khelat, but it was ill-garrisoned. The inhabitants lived all within the fort, which was on the outside surrounded by a jungle of *timar* and *thuar* trees. The invading army of the Talpurs was led by Mian Fakiro and Palia. Cannon were fixed against the fort, the walls of which were manned by the ryots and 500 fishermen, and mariners belonging to the ships of my ancestors, under the guidance of one of my forefathers, Seth Balramdas. The cannon balls and gunpowder made use of in the defence of the town by Seth Balramdas were

⁴⁵ Mir and Amir are both titles indicating Chief. The Amir means the king, and the title Amirs of Sindh, whenever used, means the corporate ruling chiefs of Sindh. Each Amir, however, would ordinarily be known, in common parlance, by the simple appellation Mir, which would also be applied to every relative however distant, whether a ruler or not. Mir is used also for important offices, e.g., Mir Moonshi is the chief native official in a British Officer's vernacular establishment.

⁴⁶ Halani-Bhelani is in the Kandaro Taluka towards the north of the Hyderabad district.

⁴⁷ Mir Fatehali, see Introduction.

⁴⁸ Layari is a river which flows into the Karachi harbor, but is always dry except on the rare occasions when the rainfall brings down a flood. Wells, however, can be dug in the sand and sweet water obtained.

obtained from our own godowns,⁴⁹ wherein there always lay a store of ammunition for the use of some of our merchantmen. The invading army lay before Karachi for exactly two and a half months; all the inhabitants kept within the fort walls. They had ample provisions within; and the entrance to the town from the sea-side being moreover left open to them, they did not experience any stress on that account. During the period, however, the people could not obtain water from the bed of the Layari, either for culinary or drinking purposes; and they had to be content with the brackish water of the wells within the fort. After the expiration of two and a half months the Belooch army of the Mirs got wearied of the siege and withdrew.

Again in sumbat 1849 (A.D. 1792-3) Mir Fatehalikhan sent another force against Karachi, which also encamped along the Layari, and the garden quarter, and opened their guns on the fort of Karachi. Then, too, Seth Balramdas as before defended the town at the head of the ryot and the mariners belonging to his own ships, and answered the fire of the enemy with the ammunition in store for his vessels. This time the siege lasted three months, after which the Belooch soldiers withdrew as before, and returned to Hyderabad.⁵⁰

Again in sumbat 1851 (A.D. 1794-5) in the month of Srawan, a third army composed of about 20,000 fighting men were sent by Mir Fatehali for the capture of Karachi. Mir Karamali and Seth Dharianamal were (as has been stated) on terms of friendship. He therefore wrote to say:—

"It has come to our knowledge for certain that the Khan of Khelat has no garrison in Karachi. He is too weak to carry on warfare. We have learnt with regret that you have opposed our men, and that it is you who have employed the ammunition intended for your ships against our troops, whom you have thus twice defeated in their purpose and whom you have compelled to retire disappointed. We, too, have long been old friends and belong to the same part of the country. It does not therefore behove you to act against us."

The letter went on to say much more to the same effect. Seth Dharianamal thereon dispatched two or three messengers to the Khan of Khelat, and informed him that the Mirs had sent armies twice for the capture of Karachi, and that on both occasions with much toil and trouble he had succeeded in driving them back in discomfiture and saved Karachi; that the Mirs had sent a third army against the town and the people felt themselves unable to hold out longer, that the town was subject to him, and he should send more troops for its defence. The Khan wrote in reply to say:—

⁴⁹ Godown is a storeroom or warehouse, believed to be derived from a Malay word.

⁵⁰ Hyderabad is the principal town in Sindh after Karachi, and was made the capital by the Kalhora kings and then by the Amirs of Lower Sindh. It is one of the few places in Sindh where the limestone rock comes through the soil, and on this a strong fort was constructed, which was used as an arsenal by the British after the expulsion of the Talpurs.

"I am unable to carry on any warfare, nor can I command any army for the purpose. If you can defend the town well and good, or else you are not to blame."

Thereupon Seth Dharianamal sent a letter to the address of Mir Karamali, and entrusted it for delivery to his confidential servant, Fakira, the headman of the Bahramee Belooch⁵¹. The epistle stated: —

"It is true we have long been friends. I shall be glad to respect your letter, but I would request you to agree that when Karachi is surrendered, no Belooch soldiers, who are a wild and unruly class of people, shall enter the town, and that the Nawab, whom it shall please you to appoint shall act with our advice and shall not oppress the ryots."

Mir Karamali wrote in reply that he agreed to the conditions proposed by Seth Dharianamal, and promised to direct the Nawab, likely to be appointed to represent the Amirs at Karachi, to take his advice in all matters and consider him as the *de facto* master.

In sumbat 1850 (A.D. 1793-4) Mulla Shafee Alikhan ruled Karachi as the Nawab of the Khan of Khelat. He was a bigoted Mussulman, and once attacked a Hindu temple, known as the Daria Than, and erected a mosque between the Daria Than and our houses. This led to a scuffle between the Hindus and the Mussalmans.

Seth Lalmandas, my grandfather (paternal) was a man of muscle and daring. When the Moslems attacked the Hindu temple he made straight towards the idols kept therein and brought them away all safe. After this event, Seth Dharianamal wrote to the Khan of Khelat informing him of the tyranny exercised by Shafee Alikhan, whereupon Shafee Alikhan was dismissed by the Khan, and Haji Sadu was placed in his stead. He was in office in sumbat 1851 (A.D. 1794-5), when the Amirs sent their force the third time for the capture of Karachi. Seth Dharianamal informed Sadur of what the Khan of Khelat had written in reply to his communication, and pointed out to him how disastrous it was to his mercantile interests to continue the struggle, but that he (the Nawab) could oppose the invading army if he pleased. Haji Sadu expressed his inability to fight, and desired to be sent to Kelat in safety. Seth Dharianamal gave him a strong escort, and let him go to Khelat.

The army of the Amirs continued all this time firing shells into the town. A few balls did some mischief, but the Commanders, Mian Fakiro and Palia, soon received

⁵¹ This is a clan of Baluch Jats, or camel-breeders, also called Biraamani, who inhabit Dhumach and Thana Arab Khan, in the hill country of the Numrias to the north of Karachi.

instructions from Mirs Fatehali Khan and Karamali Khan to desist from fighting, and to act in consultation with Seth Dharianamal, as they had come to an understanding with him.

Thereafter in sumbat 1851 (A.D. 1794-5) on the 11th of the month of Badh (12th Bares) Seth Dharianamal took the keys of the fort gates to the Commanders of the army of the Amirs. Seth Dharianamal sent his servant, Fakirokhan, the headman of the Bahramee clan, in advance to Fakiro and Palia to inform them of his intention to visit them, and they therefore went out to meet him and received him with great respect. Seth Dharianamal handed over the keys of the Mitha and Khara Darwazas to Mian Fakiro and Mian Palia, who promised to let no soldier enter the town, as they had received orders to that effect. Mian Fakiro and Palia accompanied Seth Dharianamal back to the town, and after inspecting for a short time the "raised platforms" erected for Government sepoy, they visited Seth Dharianamal's *otak*⁵² and there partook of *sherbat*, and refreshed themselves with rose water, and then returned to their camp.

After a Nawab had been installed and a hundred sepoy of the Karmati Belooch clan⁵³ were appointed to guard the town, the army returned to Hyderabad.

Mirs Fatehali and Karamali were much pleased when they heard of the surrender of Karachi, and Mir Fatehali proposed to Mir Karamali that Seth Dharianamal might be allowed to receive a fixed share of the revenues of Karachi, as a mark of distinction, or that he might be granted a remission of duty on all merchandise imported by him. Seth Dharianamal was accordingly written to by Mir Karamalikhan, but he declined to take any share of the revenue, saying that people in general, or the Khan of Khelat might think that he had betrayed the town from considerations of personal benefit. Mir Fatehali, however, gave orders for the remission of one-third of all excise duty on the Seth's trade, and of the land tax on his gardens, and permitted him to extract liquor for his private use at his own distillery, a privilege which his family had enjoyed from the time of the Kalhoras and even during the rule of the Khan of Khelat. The intercourse between the Amirs and the Seth was gradually strengthened, and after a short time the Mirs asked the Seth to visit Hyderabad. He was received with great distinction and numerous valuable presents were exchanged. The Seth remained at Hyderabad for a month and then returned to Karachi.

From the sumbat year 1850-1851 (A.D. 1793-5) the Vaghers of Gomti⁵⁴ and Beyt began to infest the seas and capture and plunder any vessel they could lay their hands upon. In

⁵² *Otak*, a merchant's private residence, as distinct from his office.

⁵³ Karmati Belooch clan. This important Belooch clan inhabits the Mirpur Sakro Taluka, which is the portion of the cultivated delta lying nearest to Karachi.

⁵⁴ Gomti (otherwise Dwarka) and Beyt are very holy Hindu places at the extreme and inaccessible north-west corner of the Kathiawad peninsula, and the Vaghers, who like the Thugs of old are semi-Mahomedanised Hindus, a fine bold race, were for many years noted for their piracy along the coast, and for their invasions and plundering

connection with the head firm at Karachi alone, my family owned 50 to 60 native crafts of all sorts and sizes which plied between the different ports on the western coast of India, and visited the shores of Arabia, Persia and Balochistan. Besides these they, of course, owned various ships, European vessels included, in connection with the branch firms at Muscat and Calcutta. For fear of the Vaghers each vessel was furnished with cannon, ammunition and other implements of war. The smaller vessels carried each three guns, the bigger ones from 12 to 15 guns each, about 6 feet in length. One of our ships, "Lakhmiparsad" by name, was once upon a time while returning from Malabar on a voyage homeward, attacked by several Vagher ships as it neared Porebunder. The "Lakhmiparsad" was manned by numerous Jokhia sepoy and the Vaghers were worsted in the fight which ensued. Many of the Vagher people were killed, and three of their vessels with several men were captured and brought to Karachi, where we hailed the triumphant arrival of "Lamkhiparsad" with joy and offered thanksgivings. The Vagher chief of Gomti, being informed of the occurrence, wrote to my grandfather to solicit the freedom of his men. It was the custom of these pirates to exact a sort of tribute from every vessel sailing on the waters of the Indian Ocean along the western coast, in return for which they furnished each tribute-paying vessel with a kind of passport, a certificate enabling it to ply on the seas without molestation from the Vaghers. The Vagher chief now promised to forego his right to levy tribute, or to demand a passport in the case of all ships belonging to our family, and sailing under our certificates. His terms were accepted, and a treaty drawn up accordingly was obtained with his signature. The imprisoned Vaghers with their vessels were thereafter released and sent home.

The increased piracy of the Vaghers attracted the notice of the British Government in the sumbat year 1861 (A.D. 1804-5), when their strongholds at Beyt and Gomti were both attacked and captured. Gomti and Beyt were, however, sacred Hindu places of pilgrimage, and were, therefore, at the solicitation of the Gaekwar of Baroda, made over to him on his transferring Ahmedabad⁵⁵ to the British Government. It was thus that the large city of Ahmedabad came under English sway.

of towns in Kathiawad and Cutch. Between 1807 and 1873 the British Government were compelled to send many punitive expeditions against them, but of recent years they have been tranquil. The small district of Okhamandel where they reside has always paid tribute to the Gaekwar. Since the Vagher rebellion in 1857 during the Mutiny, the British have been compelled to occupy it, as the Gaekwar could not keep order, and from that time an Assistant to the Resident at Baroda has been permanently stationed there with a company of a Bombay native regiment and a specially raised Okhamandel battalion.

⁵⁵ Ahmedabad. The statement that Ahmedabad was made over to the British by the Gaekwar in exchange for the holy places in Okhamandel is inaccurate. During the dissolution of the Moghul Empire of Delhi, the province of Gujerat, of which Ahmedabad was the capital, was invaded and captured by Mahratta marauders under Damaji Gaekwar, ancestor of the present Gaekwar of Baroda. The Peishwa of Poona, as leader of the Mahratta confederacy, demanded one-half of his conquests and secured a moiety of the city of Ahmedabad as well as of the other territories, but he leased his share of the city to the Gaekwar from 1804 to 1814. Later, in 1817, the Gaekwar gave up his share in the city in exchange for some of the Peishwa's territory near Baroda. Thus the Peishwa's rights became extended over the whole city, and in 1818, after his attack on the British, and defeat at the battle of Kirkee, on November 5th, 1817, Ahmedabad, with the rest of his territory, lapsed to the British.

In sumbat 1861 (A.D. 1804-5) Mir Fatehali Khan died, and Mir Ghulamali Khan obtained the turban (*i.e.*, succeeded him as the ruling chief of the house of Talpurs). He ruled wisely.

In sumbat 1868 (A.D. 1811-12) Mir Ghulamali died, and Mirs Karamali and Muradali became rulers of Karachi and of the rest of Sindh. Mir Karamali and Seth Dharianamal were great friends and constantly exchanged presents, which Mir Muradali however inwardly resented.

Seth Bhojoomal had four sons. Of these, Seth Thakurdas died in sumbat 1856 (A.D. 1799-1800), leaving four sons, *viz.*: Veroomal, Himathsing, Nenoomal and Nekoomal. Seth Dharianamal had two sons, Seth Motiram and Seth Odhanmal. Seth Lalmandas had only one son, Seth Hotchand. Seth Balramdas, too, had one son, Seth Lachiram.

The members of the family acted in perfect concord, which secured them great honor and influence, and their whole conduct of affairs partook of the appearance of a petty government. They possessed a common store-house for provisions of all kinds, tents of sorts, and furniture of variety. A commodious stable contained forty horses and mares of the best breed. In a separate courtyard were reared deer, hares, rabbits, peacocks, pen-hens, with pigeons and doves. The annual private expenditure of the household at Karachi amounted to Rs. 40,000 inclusive of what was paid to the *goomashtas*.

In sumbat 1862 (A.D. 1805-6) some of my ancestors went on a pilgrimage to Hinglaz.⁵⁶ They were accompanied by their families. People of the town to the number of about 2,000 men went with them. At Hinglaz they spent large sums of money in charity and in feeding Brahmins and Fakirs. They remained absent from Karachi for about two and a half months, and acquired such renown on account of their liberality that Bhats and Brahmins chanted their benevolence in songs especially composed.

Prior to 1862 (A.D. 1805-6), Seth Hotchand was blessed with his eldest son Pritamdas and I (the writer of this) was born after him. In sambut 1864 (A.D. 1807-8) we were blessed with a third brother, Parsram, and in 1867 (A.D. 1810-11) a fourth son, Toolseedas, was born to Seth Hotchand. In sambut 1868 (A.D. 1811-12), Seth Balramdas expired. From the close of sumbat 1868 (A.D. 1811-12) to the close of sumbat 1869 (A.D. 1812-3), a severe famine visited Hallar,⁵⁷ Cutch and Marwar and the surrounding country, and great scarcity prevailed. The business of my ancestors had by this time so much expanded that they owned firms at about 500 different places. During the famine, people of Hallar, Cutch, Marwar and Gujarat collected in crowds everywhere in Sindh.

⁵⁶ Hinglaz, a sacred Hindu shrine, very difficult of access, in Makran, twelve miles from the Arabian Sea and about sixty miles from Karachi, the furthest place east outside of India to which pious Hindus are allowed to travel without becoming outcaste. A small temple is dedicated to the goddess Kali.

⁵⁷ Hallar is the western portion of the peninsula of Kathiawad.

About this time I was of age enough to understand and remember things. Such was the scarcity of grain that with bags of silver and gold to command, people fell a prey to hunger from their inability to procure corn. In Sindh grain of the inferior kind, such as *jowaree, nangli*,⁵⁸ and barley, too, could not be had at even three or four seers a rupee, and people died in numbers. My ancestors, Seth Dharianamal and Seth Lalmandas, had granaries full of corn, and feeling that there could be no better opportunity for the exercise of their charity, they began to give away corn gratis to people, irrespective of caste or creed, whether Hindus, Mussalmans, or others – to all who expressed their need – at one seer by weight of Bajree or rice per head per diem. The corn was distributed at the back door of their *kothi* (house), and the work of distribution lasted from morning till late at night. Many well-to-do people, forced by utter necessity, went veiled to receive grain in charity. And the Seths being further informed that many respectable families were unable to get corn though willing to pay any price for it, and that these felt ashamed to take benefit of the Seths' charity in open daylight, or even at night, for fear of being recognized by the light of the lamps that were kept burning at the granaries, ordered all lights to be put out in future, and a seer of corn to be given to whosoever should hold out his or her hands to receive it.

Thereafter many rich families, too, whom their wealth could not procure corn, availed themselves of the Seths' charity. Being informed that many a house consisted of widows and of helpless old decrepit persons who could not stir out, my ancestors ordered a month's provisions to be sent to the houses of such people in advance.

In Upper Sindh many poor people of Cutch and Hallar exchanged their sons and daughters for corn. The agents of my ancestors, too, purchased eight or ten persons and sent them down to Karachi. Here they were, however, brought up with care, and were liberated when they came of age and were able to earn their own livelihood. The severity of the famine lasted for about seven or eight months, after which Providence extended His blessings and there was plenty.

In sumbat 1868 (A.D. 1811-12) Mir Ghulam Ali, the turbaned chief of Sindh, breathed his last. Before his death in sumbat 1868 (A.D. 1811-12) we visited Hyderabad to celebrate the nuptials of Seth Motiram, son of Dharianamal, accompanied by over 500 men from Karachi. During our stay at Hyderabad, Seths Dharianamal and Lalmandas paid a visit to Mir Ghulamali and I went in their company. I distinctly remember to this day the conversation that took place between them and the Mir.

⁵⁸ Nangli (*Eleusine Coracana*), a kind of coarse millet, known throughout India under various names. It is cultivated only in poor sterile lands where better crops will not mature.

After Mir Ghulamali, Mirs Karamali and Muradali jointly ruled Sindh. Mir Ghulamali left behind him a son, Nur Mahomed⁵⁹ by name, who doubtless received the turban, but being a minor his uncles ruled in his name and as regents.

Sindh was subject to Cabul and Candahar (Afghanistan), and paid an annual tribute of Rs. 900,000 (nine lakhs). The agents of the Mirs of Sindh were stationed at the court of Cabul, and their appointment continued till the time of Shah Sijawal Sadoojai.⁶⁰ After some time a dispute rose between Shah Sijawal and his vaziers, Fatehkhan⁶¹ and Azimkhan, of the Barekjai tribe. The Shah having caused the eyes of Fatehkhan to be put out, a bitter quarrel ensued, which ended in the defeat of Shah Sijawal and his flight to Loodiana for protection. Vaziers Fatehkhan and Azimkhan were the sons of Vazier Painsakhan. Painsakhan had in all 17 sons. Fatehkhan was the eldest of them all. Azimkhan was born after Fatehkhan, the other fifteen were all younger than Azimkhan. These extended their rule from Herat to Cashmere, and to the outskirts of the Punjab.

In sumbat 1871 (A.D. 1814-15) Seth Hotchand was blessed with another son, Sookhramdas. In sumbat 1873 (A.D. 1816-7) my elder brother Pritamdas and myself were both married and the Seths proceeded to Sehwan to celebrated the ceremonies. About 200 camels and 80 horses accompanied us. It took us three months to come back to Karachi, and the celebration of the marriages cost my ancestors a large sum of money.

In sumbat 1875 (A.D. 1818-19) Seth Hotchand had another son, Gopaldas. In sumbat 1867 (A.D. 1810-11) Vazier Azimkhan of Candahar marched to Sindh with a large army. He came up to Larkana unopposed. Here he was, however, met by the Amirs, and having received nine lakhs⁶² of rupees as tribute, he withdrew satisfied. Soon after, affairs in Khorasan⁶³ grew worse, and the Sikhs under Ranjit Singh rose to power. This monarch conquered Cashmere (in the north) and extended his arms to Mooltan in the south. After this the Mirs of Sindh discontinued to pay any tribute either to the ruler of Khorasan or to the Sikhs.

⁵⁹ Mir Nur Mahomed, who died in 1840, was the son of Mir Murad Ali. He was the principal ruler of Hyderabad and Lower Sindh, with whom Sir Henry Pottinger and Sir James Outram had negotiations relative to the British army passing through Sindh in 1839. Mir Ghulam Ali's son was called Mir Mir Mahomed Khan.

⁶⁰ Best known to the British as Shah Shuja.

⁶¹ Vazier Fatehkhan was blinded and brutally murdered in 1818 by the then King of Cabul, Mahomed Shah, a brother of Shah Shuja, who had himself some years before fled to Cashmere and afterwards to Loodhiana, where he became a British pensioner. Shah Shuja was the feeble ex-king whom Lord Auckland endeavored to replace on the throne of Cabul in 1839-40, but he was murdered the moment the British disasters began. After Shah Shuja's first expulsion, the Talpur Mirs appear to have successfully evaded payment of the tribute which the Cabul kings from Nadir Shah's time downwards used to exact, but Shah Shuja obtained three lakhs of rupees, or £30,000, from them in 1833.

⁶² Lakh = 100,000

⁶³ Khorasan proper is the eastern portion of Persia between Afghanistan and the Caspian, but in Sindh it designates generally what are now known as Afghanistan and Beloochistan. Khorasan as used by Seth Naomul has that meaning—the country of which Candahar was the principal town.

In sumbat 1872 (A.D. 1815-16) Lady Parpibai, the wife of Seth Bhojoomal, died; and in sumbat 1873 (A.D. 1816-17) the four brothers, sons of Seth Bhojoomal, divided their property among themselves in equal shares and were separated. The property within doors, houses and buildings, ships and firms, were all divided in four equal shares, each of the brothers receiving one for himself. After this everyone traded separately on his own account. One firm alone, the firm at Muscat, which carried on an extensive trade with the Persian Gulf, Bussora, and Bushire, under the name of Seth Bhojoomal, and a European ship, which was the property of that firm, were allowed to remain as common property.

In sumbat 1877 (A.D. 1820-21) Seth Dharianamal died. Towards the close of the same year, 1877 (A.D. 1820-21), Seth Hotchand had a seventh son, Lekhrajamal, born. When the Seths, the sons of Seth Bhojoomal, divided their property, the cash of the days of Seth Bhojoomal was dug out of the ground. Five or six *matas* (earthen pots that could hold each three Bengal maunds of molasses or jagree) full of gold mohurs, sitaramis⁶⁴ and ancient silver coins remained buried in a house near our lodging, known as Seth Khoobchand's godown. The ground over was covered with five hundred maunds of "gugar"⁶⁵ gum, besprinkled with water and beaten into hardness. The ground had become so hard that it took one month for twenty men to dig out the pitchers.

Out of the four brothers, sons of Seth Bhojoomal, three, *viz.*, Dharianamal, Thakurdas, Balramdas, departed from this world in course of time. Seth Lalmandas, my grandfather, who survived them, possessed great skill in trade and was on that account well known throughout Sindh. All his thoughts were given to trade, which he greatly extended and which brought him immense gain.

Seth Dharianamal left behind him two sons, Seth Motiram and Udernamal. Seth Lalmandas had only one son, Seth Hotchand, who had seven sons, as narrated above. Seth Thakurdas had four sons, Veroomal, Himathsing, Nenoomal and Nekoomal. Seth Balramdas had only one son, Seth Lachiram, who never had any male issue, and died leaving behind an only daughter.

The descendants of Seth Lalmandas betook themselves to trade. The descendants of the others gave themselves up to pleasure and luxury, leaving their affairs to be managed by their agents. This indiscretion entailed severe losses. They withdrew all their

⁶⁴ The Sitarami, identical with the "putlis" in Poona and Western India, is a Venetian gold coin still current in Makran, but used in the Deccan as ornaments for women's necklaces. At the present day they are manufactured by Hindu jewellers. The term also includes miscellaneous small gold coins. Rama is a well-known Hindu god and Sita was his wife, and the Hindus supposed the figures on the Venetian coins to signify those deities.

⁶⁵ "Gugar." This, according to the *Sindh Gazetteer*, is the East Indian myrrh of commerce, obtained from *balsamodendron*, indigenous on the hills of Sindh. The quantity used on this occasion must have been extraordinarily large. Boiled, and the water mixed with *chunam* (plaster), a hard concrete is obtained.

deposits with Gidoomal, the manager of the firm at Bombay, except Rs. 50,000 (fifty thousand), which they allowed to stand over in the name of Seth Bhojoomal.

Gidoomal died soon after, and his two sons, Gulabrai and Visramdas threw up the agency of the Seths and traded on their own account. They opened firms up to Cashmere, Bengal and China. They traded well for three years when their business stopped, and the sum of Rs. 50,000 deposited with their father in the name of Seth Bhojoomal remained unpaid.

In sumbat 1874 (A.D. 1817-18) Seth Lalmandas was deprived of the benefit of eyesight, and I, Naomul, ever since attended upon him constantly. When I was eleven years of age I was entrusted with the writing of the daily book, and the general management of the business of the firm at Karachi. From six o'clock in the evening to about ten at night daily, I wrote out letters of business to the different agents. The correspondence was carried on in Hindu-Sindhi, Punjabi and Gujrati characters, and covered about twenty sheets of paper at a time.

The mercantile business of Seth Lalmandas greatly increased in course of time. The descendants of the other three brothers betook themselves to pleasure and entrusted their business, as has been said above, to their *goomashtas*, and thereby sustained heavy loss. This naturally excited their jealousy, and Seths Motiram, Veroomal and Lachiram began to quarrel with Seth Lalmandas.

The *goomashta* who managed the Muscat firm was named Premrai. This firm, as related above, carried on business in the name of Seth Bhojoomal, and all the brothers had interest in it in common. The *goomashta* finding fit opportunity, instigated Seths Motiram, Veroomal and Lachiram to pick a cause for quarrel. They charged Seth Lalmandas with appropriating three other pitchers (*mattas*) full of gold and silver which, they alleged, lay buried in another room (of the same house from which five or six *muts* (pitchers) were dug out. They asserted that Seth Dharianamal passed his days in comfort, that Thakurdas died as early as sumbat 1856 (A.D. 1799-1800), and Seth Balramdas, known for his bravery, being not much skilled in letters was indifferent to the family concerns, and had also passed away in 1868 (A.D. 1811-12), so that he (Seth Lalmandas) was the sole manager of the affairs and transactions of the family. They were completely in the dark about their ancestral property, and did not understand how the division had been effected. They therefore demanded from him an account of all the property afresh.

Seth Motiram wrote to Mir Karamalikhani to complain that his uncle, Lalmandas, who managed the joint firm, would not render him an account. Out of regard for his old deceased friend, Seth Dharianamal, the Mir ordered the officer in charge of Tatta, Hafiz by name, to go down to Karachi to settle the dispute. On his arrival Seths Motiram, Veroomal and Lachiram, advanced various charges against their old uncle in a manner

the most unbecoming, to relate which would occupy a separate book. But suffice it to say that the matter was ultimately referred to the Mirs in person, and we set out for Hyderabad carrying with us five or six camel loads of account papers (*daftars*), commencing from sumbat 1820 (A.D. 1765-6). My father, Seth Hotchand and myself went thither to answer their accounts. We visited Mir Karamali. He seated both Seth Motiram and Seth Hotchand on the same cot⁶⁶ with himself, and passing an arm round the neck of both he addressed them thus: —

"I decorated Seth Dharianamal's head with a badge of gold. It is my desire that I should bedeck your heads with diamonds. Do not quarrel among yourselves. If either of you feel greedy of money, I have ample in my stores to bestow. Take what you like, but do not fall out among yourselves."

Seth Motiram felt a little ashamed at this, and he requested that the Panchayet⁶⁷ be desired to examine their *Daftar* in the presence of Nawab Wali Mahomed Lagaree.⁶⁸

Mir Karamali then replied: —

"You seem to have lost all sense of shame, although I feel ashamed on your account, and since it is your desire I shall ask Nawab Wali Mahomed to arrange for the inspection of your *daftar*."

A place was appointed where the Panchayet met for full six months for the examination of the *daftar*. At the expiration of that period the arbitrators passed an award in favor of Seths Motiram, Veroomal and Lachiram, and desired that the affairs of the Muscat firm be wound up and settled privately.

We then returned to Karachi, but Seth Motiram and his cousins did not feel satisfied with the award, and in sumbat 1882 (A.D. 1825-6) we had to revisit Hyderabad, when my old grandfather also went with us. Mir Karamali, on seeing him, was much affected with the state of his eyesight, and severely scolded Motiram, telling him that his conduct was opposed to the good name of his family. Motiram would not take his advice, and courted Mir Muradali's favor, whom he gained over to his side by presents of Roomee (Constantinople) guns and other things of excellence. But the dispute was not withal brought to a close, and we returned to Karachi at the end of six months, bringing with us a number of questions for adjustment and settlement. Again in sumbat 1884 (A.D. 1827-8) my father Seth Hotchand and myself had to go to Hyderabad, in obedience to an order from Mir Muradali, demanding my father's early presence there,

⁶⁶ This was an act of extreme condescension.

⁶⁷ Jury of arbitrators. The word also betokens the Council of Hindu elders in the city.

⁶⁸ Nawab Wali Mahomed Lagaree was, at the time of the British conquest during the early part of the nineteenth century, the Mir's principal Vazier, a man of great capacity and much respected by the English as well as by all the Sindhis.

on a complaint preferred to him by Seth Motiram. A great deal transpired there, but suffice it to say that, ultimately two of my brothers-in-law, Diwans⁶⁹ Hiranand and Hassaram and two sons-in-law of Seth Motiram, Diwan Kansing and Diwan Amubrai of Khyrpoor, who was then at Hyderabad, feeling aggrieved at the heavy expenses that each party had incurred, held a consultation among themselves and resolved to interpose and to settle all disputes amicably. At their request, therefore, we took leave of Mirs Karamali and Muradali and crossed over to Kotri⁷⁰ where they promised to communicate to us their decision. Late at night on the banks of the Indus after a deal of parley with each party, they requested my father to bestow on his cousins Rs. 42,500 (forty-two thousand and a half) in consideration of their relationship and reduced condition. My father returned a flat refusal, and said that he would not give even a penny not due. Then turning towards me they solicited my interference and assistance. I felt much embarrassed, and greatly against the wishes of my father and at the risk of incurring his displeasure and anger, I passed them a promissory note for the amount in my own name, and agreed to liquidate it by installments. We were friends again, and returned to Karachi, messing together on our way back.

In sumbat 1877 (A.D. 1820-1) I was blessed with a son who, however, did not live long. In sumbat 1878 (A.D. 1821-2) Seth Pritamdas had a son who was named Siroomal. He had two daughters born to him, one in sumbat 1880 (A.D. 1823-4), who was called Uchalbai, and another in sumbat 1882 (A.D. 1825-6), who was named Pevand Bai. In sumbat 1879 (A.D. 1822-3) my daughter, Bagee Bai, was born, and in 1881 (A.D. 1824-5) I had another daughter, Otambai. In sumbat 1884 (A.D. 1827-8), while we were still at Kotri, on our return to Karachi after the settlement of the dispute, we were congratulated with the news of the birth of a second son, named Atmaram, to my elder brother, Seth Pritamdas. As we drew nearer Karachi and arrived at Mallir we received the glad tidings of the birth of my son, Trikamdas.

In sumbat 1885 (A.D. 1828-9), Siroomal, the elder son of my brother Pritamdas, died of smallpox. According to the usage prevalent among Hindus, my grandfather, Lalmandas, desired that someone should go to Dwarka – the celebrated holy place – to perform certain rites in connection with Siroomal's death. There were many others present who could be sent, but my grandfather selected me for the purpose, telling me that he had himself been on a pilgrimage to Dwarka in sumbat 1842 (A.D. 1786), that since then he had not found it possible to visit it again, and that although I had much to attend to at home, I might run up for a short time to bathe in the holy waters at Dwarka. A *kotia* (a double-decked vessel) by name Harungar, belonging to the firm at

⁶⁹ Diwan is an honorary title, applied generally in Sindh to respected Hindu officials; officials of less rank are called Moonshis.

⁷⁰ Kotri is on the right bank of the Indus, about four or five miles from Hyderabad, formerly an important wharf for the transport of goods for Karachi, and, until the railway was extended to the Punjab, was the headquarters of the Indus Steam Flotilla.

Porebunder was equipped, and I set sail for Dwarka. From Dwarka *via* Gomti I visited Beyt, which is also held sacred on account of a Hindu temple there.

While I was at Beyt my grandfather sent me an express with a *kossid*⁷¹ in a small fishing boat, telling me that his agents at Bahrein had informed him that the Itoofie⁷² pirates had set out to cruise in the (Arabian) Sea, and that I should take care of my ship, and should not start for Karachi until I heard from him again, that if I wished, I might return to Karachi by land, *via* Mandavi⁷³ (Mudai), or that I might go over to our firm at Porebunder⁷⁴ and stay there for a month or more until further news from Bahrein. I was much delighted with the letter, it was the everything I wished for, and on the same day I set out for Porebunder. When I reached Porebunder, I was heartily welcomed, the people Having received me with the éclat of a joyful procession.

We owned a firm at Porebunder for over a century. The customs revenue of Porebunder was farmed out for three lakhs of Rana Shahi koris⁷⁵ a year, and our firm alone contributed about forty thousand korees annually on account of its traffic. This may give an idea of the trade carried on by our Porebunder branch.

The name of the Rana of Porebunder was Parthiraj, who at that time resided not in his capital but in a fort at Rana-Vah, a town only four koss⁷⁶ distant from Porebunder. As soon as the Rana was apprised of my arrival at Porebunder, he sent for me and I went over to see him. He received me very kindly and expressed his joy at my visit to Porebunder. I stayed with him at Rana-Vah for three days when he permitted me to depart, telling me that a certain medicine was being administered to him, and it would take him fifteen days more to return to Porebunder, where he would be delighted to have my company.

The Rana returned to Porebunder at the expiration of fifteen days and lodged in his palace. From five o'clock in the evening to past half-past seven the Durbar met, whither

⁷¹ A courier or special messenger.

⁷² Itoofie, otherwise spelt Uttobee, is the name of the Arab tribe which conquered the islands of Bahrein, and the pearl fisheries in 1779 or 1784, and were held under allegiance at various times to Muscat and Persia. In 1867 the Persians threatened Bahrein, and in 1875 the Turks: but British interference now maintains the islands as independent.

⁷³ Mandavi is an important seaport town in the south of Cutch.

⁷⁴ Porebunder, an important harbor and state in the south of Kathiawad.

⁷⁵ Kori is a small rupee of varying value, coined by different native states in Kathiawad and in Cutch, and usually considered as worth a little under or over one-quarter of the British rupee, which at this period was worth a little more than 2s., but is now only worth 1s. 4d. In Cutch 379 koris, and in Porebunder 300 koris were equivalent to 100 Imperial rupees when the *Bombay Gazetteer* was written in the year 1886; but the then Rana of Porebunder ingeniously added to his revenue by insisting on taxes being paid in koris, and stoutly refused to mint a sufficient supply so that the tax-payer had to purchase them over and over again from his treasury at a high premium. Koris were minted at Hyderabad and were probably like the kori of Cutch. The exchange with British rupees varied a good deal according to the state and fineness of the native coin.

⁷⁶ Koss = two miles.

in accordance with his desire I daily went. The Rana sat on his throne, to his right sat his brother Rana Ramsing, to his left was seated Banobha, the brother of Moti Bhai, the Rajah of Gondal, who had in a fit of anger left his brother's court, and then resided with Rana Prathiraj. My seat was appointed next to Ramsing, the Rana's brother.⁷⁷ The Durbar was attended by about seventy-five or eighty persons who all sat in regular rows. Two dancing girls of Hindustan held a *nautch*⁷⁸ at Durbar time, and all people present were treated with a spoonful of opium,⁷⁹ which was kept there in a plate. I was pressed to partake of it, but I declined, when the Rana ultimately offered me with his own hand a quantity of dry opium resembling the seed of the lotus (Pabni) in size, which I could not refuse. This was every day offered to me, and to please the Rana and the company I put it in my mouth and let it remain in the hollow of my cheek until the Durbar was dissolved, when I spat it out. But the essence was generally swallowed, and what I threw out ultimately was foreign matter and dregs.

One day the Rana sent for me in private, and told me that his principal manager at Porebunder was one Otamchand Gundi, a Banya by caste, who received thirty thousand koris (equal in value to Rs. 11,000 in current British coin) annually as salary, and that from a regard which he professed towards me, he wished to bestow his (Utamchand's) place upon me. And he further asked me to procure him the services of twenty-five trustworthy Jokhias⁸⁰ as his private bodyguard. Accordingly I wrote to my grandfather, Seth Lalmandas, who sent down twenty-five of the Jokhias who were in our own employ. He did not wish me to accept the Rana's offer to me of the place of manager at Porebunder as it would have necessitated my absence from him. He therefore directly sent our "Monim"⁸¹ of Bombay, Narumal, who had then returned to Karachi on leave, and my younger brother Parshram, to fetch me back.

The Rana appointed the Jokhias I got for him as his bodyguard and they watched his sleeping apartments by day and night. The eldest consort of the Rana had grown jealous of him. She had an only son and she wished the Rana to abdicate in his favor; but the Rana would not agree to it and wished her to wait for some time. This brought about a disagreement between them, and the Rana constantly entertained fears of life at her hands and he desired to have some trustworthy servants about his person.

⁷⁷ The ceremonious treatment accorded to Seth Naomul at Porebunder and Cutch is a marked indication of the esteem and respect in which he and his family were held.

⁷⁸ Nautch is an exhibition of Indian ballet girls.

⁷⁹ This may have been a spoonful of bhang, a preparation of Indian hemp, intoxicating if taken in excess, but in small quantities considered an excellent febrifuge and refrigerative. It is greatly used in Kathiawad on ceremonial occasions.

⁸⁰ Jokhias, see note above. Native chiefs in western India, and indeed as far as Hyderabad in the Deccan, were accustomed to hire Beloochis as mercenaries, just as King Louis XI. hired Scotsmen, and they sometimes became the tyrants of the ruler's entourage. They were generally known to English officers as Makranis, from Makran, the name given to the Beloochistan coast of the Gulf of Oman.

⁸¹ Monim means a clerk.

When Parshram and Narumal arrived with strict injunctions for me to return without delay, I went to wait upon the Rana and told him that I was subject to my grand-father, and must, therefore, go to see him, and that although I very much desired to accept the Rana's offer of the place as his "*kamdar*," agent or manager, I could not help going back to Karachi for some time; that at Karachi I would consult my grandfather about his offer and try to obtain his permission, and that if the Rana also wrote to him in that connection, I should be glad to return. Having obtained the Rana's leave and bade him farewell, Parshram, Narumal, and myself re-embarked for Karachi, where we arrived on the Cheti-chand⁸² day after having spent four months and a half at Porebunder, at my departure from which people to the number of a thousand or more accompanied us to our ship with music beating to bid us farewell. Rana Prathiraj presented me at my departure with gold bracelets, gold necklaces of sorts, and shawls of wool and silk, and my brother Parshram with a pair of gold bracelets and a silk shawl. All the time at Porebunder I lived happily.

While still at Porebunder I was informed from Karachi that Mir Karamali Khan had breathed his last in the month of Magh, sumbat 1885 (A.D. 1828-9). On arrival at Karachi I kissed the feet of my grandfather and acquainted him with the state of our firm at Porebunder, as I had gleaned it from the account books. He felt much rejoiced. In sumbat 1886 (A.D. 1829-30), during the month of Poh,⁸³ my wife and children went to Sehwan with the rest of our family to celebrate the nuptials of my brothers Parshram, Toolsidas and Sookhramdas. I stayed behind at Karachi with my grandfather. In the month of Veshak my family returned, having performed the marriage ceremonies with great éelat. In sumbat 1886 (A.D. 1829-30) in the month of Jeth, Seth Odernamal, the second son of Seth Dharianamal, died. A month later Seth Motiram, the first son of Dharianamal, also expired. In sumbat 1887 (A.D. 1830-31) on Vid 5th (Pancham) in the month of Fagun, my grandfather Lalmandas died a most wonderful death, such as I never saw or heard of before. He suffered from an irritation in one of his eyes. On the morning of the Vid Pancham of Fagun,⁸⁴ I while he was smoking his chelam, or water-pipe, we perceived that he was fainting, the pipe being drawn into his mouth with the breath that he drew. We then asked him if he would like to bathe, to which he replied, "Well as you please." He was accordingly, in obedience to Hindu custom, washed clean and laid upon a bed.⁸⁵ I then gave him handfuls of rupees, mohurs, and sitaramis to bestow in charity. He held the coins in his hands, felt their weight and then returned them to me for distribution. Hundreds of people came to see him, and he answered the queries of all in a clear voice and distinct tone. After a short time he bade all others to withdraw from the room where he was lying, save myself, Himathsing and one

⁸² Cheti-chand means the day of the New Moon, at the close of the month of Phalgun, and is the Hindu New Year's Day.

⁸³ Poh, or Puosh, is the tenth month of the Hindu year, generally falling about January.

⁸⁴ That is the fifth day of the dark half of the moon, in Phalgun, the last month of the Hindu year, which generally falls about March.

⁸⁵ Probably a clerical error for carpet, as dying Hindus are always placed on the floor.

Baharmal. Jamadar Allah Rakhia, the chief officer of the Amirs at Karachi, came soon after to offer him his respects and to enquire after his health. Allah Rakhia stood in the open courtyard outside the room where he lay, and my grandfather answered him in a loud and distinct accent, "Thank you, kind sir, I beseech grace of the Almighty." No sooner had Jamadar Allah Rakhia left, than the ball of his eye, which was affected, rolled round and changed to a perfect ruby color, and in a moment he ceased to be, uttering holy words as he passed away.

The funeral expenses incurred in honor of his death covered a large amount. People of all classes, Hindus and Mussalmans, and of both sexes, were fed regularly for a period of two months. The Hindus came and ate at our place, while the Mussalmans were served with meals at their own lodgings. Various people from different parts came to condole, who were all treated, and provisions were sent to people residing in the vicinity of Karachi up to the Habb, Muggar Pir⁸⁶ and Mallir.

⁸⁶ Muggar Pir is a well-known swamp fed by hot springs of reputed medicinal value, about twelve miles north of Karachi. Adjoining it is the shrine of Pir Mangho, an ancient Mahommedan saint, which is visited by many pilgrims. The swamp is filled with huge alligators, or muggers, and hence the name has been changed by the English from Pir Mangho to Muggar Pir. (See the late Sir Richard Burton's description in *Sindh Revisited*.)

CHAPTER IV.

Moslem riot – Attack upon Hindus – Seth Hotchand, Naomul's father, sent for to Hyderabad – Parshram escapes – Brutal ill-treatment of Hotchand – Takes refuge in Cutch – Appeal to Mir Muradali – Defeat of Amirs by Shah Shuja – Winding up of Calcutta firm – Sir Alexander Burnes – Obstructed by Amirs – Capt. Carless' visit – Naomul saves him from Nawab – Survey of the port – Colonel Pottinger asks Naomul to provide camels and supplies for army at mouth of Indus – Jam of Jokhias – Outram's meeting with Naomul at Gharo – Collection of transport and supplies by Naomul – Visit to British camp at Ghorabari – Interviews with Pottinger, Eastwick and Keane – At Bannikote.

In sumbat 1888 (A.D. 1831-32), the son of one Kanda, a Hindu laborer of Nussarpoor, was treated with some severity by his (Vajha) teacher, under whom his father had placed him for education. The boy in disgust ran away from his father's house, and went and stood by the door of a Musjid (mosque) situated in the quarter now occupied by the washer men. Some of the Moslems, observing the boy, persuaded him to enter the musjid, and kept him within. Incensed at this, the Hindu shopkeepers of the town closed their shops⁸⁷ against the Mussalmans, to whom they would not sell anything. The Moslems to retaliate polluted the wells in the bed of the Layari from which the Hindus obtained their supply of drinking water. The next day one Sayed Nooral Shah walked through the bazaar and passed by our *mahla* (dwelling quarter) using obscene and scurrilous language. My younger brother, Parshram, who was at that time standing at the outer door of the mahla, mildly remonstrated with the Sayed against the use of indecent words and his uncitizen-like conduct and total want of regard and good manners. An altercation ensued, and Nooral Shah growing enthusiastic in the cause of his religion declared that Parshram had abused him and the prophet. Crowds of Moslems gathered together, inspired with frantic zeal and breathing vengeance. The Hindus, too, mustered strong and designed different plans for action. At this juncture Syed Nooralshah visited Tatta, Shah Bandar, Mathiari, Halla and Hyderabad, working excitement wherever he went, and soliciting cooperation and aid from every true believer of the faith in the name of the *musaf* (Koran), which he held forth. The news spread throughout Sindh and the whole province seemed to be lit up with one blaze of religious fire. All the Mussalmans seemed to make one common cause, and the Hindus,

⁸⁷ The closing of shops is a common method by which Hindus, upon whom the population mainly depend for their necessities, show their dislike for any unpopular act. The Editor, who was District Magistrate of the Ahmedabad District, remembers this was done in the town of Dholka, as a protest against the sacrifice of a goat at the well-known Mahommedan festival known as the *Bakri-eed*, thus preventing the Mahommedans from purchasing the finery and groceries needed for the feast. Remonstrance being of no use, the Mahommedans retaliated by sacrificing a cow, an act which to the Hindus was the greatest possible sacrilege, and then a riot began. At Surat, the Hindus on at least two occasions closed their shops as a demonstration against the Government for unpopular alterations in the Salt tax, or the introduction of an Income Tax, and grave riots were the result.—ED.

too, rallied together. My brother Parshram by this time withdrew from Sindh to Jessulmere.⁸⁸ The Moslems assembled in large numbers at Hyderabad, raised a clamor, and prevailed upon Mir Muradali to address a firman⁸⁹ to Seth Hotchand to send up his son Parshram to Hyderabad. Parshram was not at Karachi, therefore Seth Hotchand himself proceeded to Hyderabad accompanied by about two thousand Hindus in obedience to another firman from Muradali, directing his presence in the absence of his son. The firman was brought by an escort, who conveyed to the Seth assurance of safety from the Mir, and offered to conduct him to the capital. The Mussalmans got wild and unruly, but Mir Muradali repressed them, and would not allow them to lift their hand against Seth Hotchand. The Moslems, however, found access to Mir Muradali's daughter, who was married to Mir Mir Mahomed, the heir apparent to the turban,⁹⁰ and won her over to their cause by supplications and entreaties. She was induced to go to her father with the Koran in her hands to solicit his countenance. He could not refuse her, but desired her to tell the Mussalman syeds to desist from all violence at Hyderabad; that he would refer them to the Pir⁹¹ of Nussarpoor,⁹² and there they might do what they pleased. All, therefore, repaired to Nussarpoor accompanied by Syed Zulfkar and Alishah on behalf of Mir Muradali. The Mir's representatives were, however, bigoted Mahomedans, and were privately at one with the other Moslems. At Nussarpoor the Kazi refused to listen to the Mahomedans or to permit a discussion at his place, as he saw the Mussalmans were bent on injustice. The Moslems were, however, strong in numbers and growing more violent fell upon the Hindus and forcibly lifted away Seth Hotchand from their midst. Returning hurriedly to Hyderabad, where they stayed a few hours only to take a boat, they set sail for Tatta and Bagani, a town in the Shah Bandar Division,⁹³ whither they went to lodge in the house of Manlooshah, who was related to Nooralshah and was known to be a bigot. A period of ten or eleven days elapsed meanwhile, and Seth Hotchand did not taste of food on a single occasion. All that he lived upon was a handful of parched grain, chanas,⁹⁴ secretly given to him by a very faithful servant of ours, Paroo by name, who followed him everywhere in disguise, and under an assumed name. May it however be related to the praise of my father, that he never allowed his spirits to droop or his courage to fail him. He bore with calm humility and undaunted patience the fatigue and hunger of full ten days, during which his only food was baked chanas (Bhogras),

⁸⁸ Jessulmere is the chief town of an important native state in Rajputana, adjoining the western confines of Sindh.

⁸⁹ Firman means a royal order.

⁹⁰ Son of Mir Ghulam Ali, the second of the "Char Yar." See Introduction.

⁹¹ Pir, a saint, or holy man.

⁹² Nussarpoor is about sixteen miles north-east of Hyderabad. Population about 4,500, close to the residence of the great and influential Lagari Nawabs. This town, which is very ancient, is supposed to have been built in A.D. 989 by one Nasir Muhana. It has three tombs of considerable repute and of solid construction, the materials being burnt glazed brick with stone foundations. They were erected about 150 years ago, chiefly in honor of one Muhammed Shah, and an annual fair is held there, which is attended by some thousands of Mahomedans. There are three Pirs of note residing in this town.

⁹³ In the south of the Delta.

⁹⁴ A kind of pulse.

and his beverage the water of the Indus. Knowing full well that the Moslems would not let him escape, he went along with them boldly wherever they took him. At Bagani the Mussalmans began to meditate upon his conversion to Islamism by force. But it was against the Koran to circumcise⁹⁵ a man of his age, as he was past fifty, and being partly afraid of the consequences they waited to consult on the best course to adopt. Mir Muradali was in the meantime apprised of their intentions, and not knowing what might be the end, as the Hindus from one end of Sindh to the other raised a general cry against the violence done, and the Rajahs of Kutch and Jessulmere had expressed their sorrow at what was being done in Sindh, he repented the step he had taken, and directly sent express injunctions to Ghulam Hyder Chhangani, the Nawab of Tatta, to liberate Seth Hotchand from the hold of the Moslems, and take him back with him to Hyderabad without delay.

Ghulam Hyder accordingly proceeded at once to Bagani, and having liberated Seth Hotchand took him back to Hyderabad where the Seth re-arrived, as already stated, after the expiration of ten or eleven days from his forced departure from Nussarpoor, having during the interval, for the sake of preserving his faith intact, undergone the worst attacks of hunger and suffered various wrongs at the hands of the Moslems who wished him to taste of their food and eat out of their dish. It was only on his return to Hyderabad that he first partook of food which was cooked by a Hindu servant whom he directly engaged in his service.

When Mir Muradali heard of Seth Hotchand's arrival at Hyderabad, he immediately called him in his presence and asked him "What do you wish (to do) now?" To which he replied, "I have no desire now to rejoin the world, and wish to pass my days as a Soofee Fakir."⁹⁶ Muradali expressed sorrow at the resolve, and left him to take what course he pleased. Having thereupon obtained permission to depart, he went and lodged in a house (otak) belonging to one Sijawal, a kashkili⁹⁷ of the Mir, which was lying vacant. We had hundreds of people at Hyderabad related to us. They were all the time hovering about Seth Hotchand's residence, and had privately arranged with Mir Ghulamali Khan Pairoze, the respected father of the present Mir Khan Mahomed of Ghulamali-ka-Tanda, for his flight. Mir Ghulamali was friendly towards Seth Hotchand and sympathized with him on account of the friendship which his ancestors professed towards Seth Kewalram; and he desired that if Seth Hotchand's friends could manage to take him only to the banks of the Fuleli,⁹⁸ he would undertake to place him beyond the power of the Moslems of Sindh. Accordingly on the night of the same day that Seth

⁹⁵ Though it is generally believed that the rite of circumcision is compulsory for Mahommedans, it is not mentioned in the Koran at all as necessary for either old or young. It was popularly believed in Sindh that the outrage was actually committed upon Seth Hotchand.—EDITOR.

⁹⁶ Soofee Fakirs are Mahommedan spiritualist ascetics, and in India form a small but degraded class. Probably Seth Hotchand meant that he would become a Hindu ascetic or Jogi.

⁹⁷ Kashkili, an hereditary servant, born of a domestic slave.

⁹⁸ Fuleli is a small branch of the Indus, now converted into an important irrigation canal which flows past the town of Hyderabad and irrigates large areas as far as the Rann of Cutch.

Hotchand obtained permission of Mir Muradali to lead whatever life he pleased, after darkness had advanced the friends of my father succeeded in taking him under a disguise to the other side of the Fuleli. Mir Ghulamali was in waiting himself, and long before daybreak he conveyed him in safety to the village of Rahan in the vicinity of Mir Mahomed Khan's Tanda. There and then he got an escort of trustworthy people ready to convey Seth Hotchand safe to Lakhpat,⁹⁹ where we had our own firm and many agents. Our principal *goomashta* was Karamchand Mulnani by name, who communicated to the Rao of Cutch every little news that he got concerning Seth Hotchand. When the Rao¹⁰⁰ was informed that the Seth was being conveyed to Lakhpat, he wrote to his principal Kamdar at the place to keep in readiness on the banks of the Kori, on the Sindh side, a boat well provisioned with eatables and water, and with twenty-five sepoy to convey Seth Hotchand to Lakhpat on his arrival. Seth Hotchand was accordingly received with great honor and distinction on his arrival. When Mir Muradali and the Moslems of Sindh heard of Seth Hotchand's escape to and reception at Lakhpat, they blushed, and the Mir displayed as great a sorrow as one feels at something valuable suddenly slipping out of one's hands. From Karachi we sent Gulabrai, the son of our principal *monim* at Bombay, Gidoomal, and others to meet Seth Hotchand at Lakhpat. My brother Parsram too, having obtained camels and men from the Raja of Jessulmere, went down to Lakhpat after the lapse of some time. From Lakhpat Seth Hotchand went on a pilgrimage to Narainsar,¹⁰¹ and spent large sums of money in charity, and in feeding the Brahmins and other Hindus of the place. From Narainsar my father returned to Lakhpat and remained for ten years superintending the business of the Lakhpat firm. The preliminary expiatory rites cost us more than a lakh of rupees.

We owned a firm at Calcutta from a long time. One Nibhoomal Motoomal was the principal *monim* or manager of the firm. In sumbat 1889 (A.D. 1832-33) he purchased a European ship known as the *Abgris* and placed it under the command of an English captain, one Rogers by name, who received Rs. 400 a month as salary. Under the captain there was a mate, also an Englishman, who drew monthly Rs. 250. There were besides various other servants of grades in this ship. The captain was accompanied by his wife, an Englishwoman. The ship plied between China and Java, and at times took merchandise to Bombay and other places on the Malabar coast.

⁹⁹ Lakhpat, the most northerly port of Cutch on the Kori branch of the Indus, adjoining the Sindh-Delta country.

¹⁰⁰ The Rao was a pious Hindu, and would sympathize with a co-religionist who was the victim of Moslem tyranny, especially a man of such high position and repute as Seth Hotchand.

¹⁰¹ Narainsar, a celebrated place of pilgrimage on the north-west of Cutch, consisting of a raised sandstone rock covered with magnificent temples, separated from the mainland by tidal swamps, situated 81 miles north-west of Bhooj in the Kori entrance to the Great Rann of Cutch. Adjoining is another very holy place, Koteshwar, on a similar rock, which is mentioned by the Chinese traveler, Hioven Thasing, in A.D. 640. Both places are largely resorted to by pious Hindus for purification purposes from Sindh, Cutch, and adjoining countries.

Mir Muradali expired in the month of Assu sumbat 1890 (A.D. 1833-4). Before his death, while he was yet in his senses, he gave expression to the following thoughts, which weighed heavily upon his mind: –

"I do not hope to survive now, but I shall carry with me the sorrowful remembrance of the permission granted by me to Shah Sijawal¹⁰² to take up quarters at Shikarpur, where I appointed him a lodging after his visit to Hyderabad from Loodhiana; 2nd – The treaty entered into by me with the British Government, which if I lived I should observe faithfully, but which I doubt that my successors will be able to respect or maintain; 3rd – The inability to effect a settlement with regard to my sons."¹⁰³

The Mir breathed his last two or three days after he had given utterance to his feelings as related above. After his death Shah Sijawal acquired power and influence at Shikarpur. This frightened the joint rulers of Hyderabad – Mirs Nur Mahomed, Nasirkhan, Mir Mahomed and Sobdar, and they rashly marched against Shah Sijawal at the head of a large and pompous army. They were encamped on the banks of the Indus, near Rohri, when Samundar Khan, the Vazier of Shah Sijawal (Shuja), went to oppose them with the whole strength of Shah Sijawal, numbering in all 8,000 men of the Rohilla and Khorasan Pathan tribes. In an engagement which took place on the Sukkur side of the Indus, the army of the Mirs, consisting of 50,000 fighting men was put to the rout. This event, the success of Samundarkhan, and the defeat of the Talpurs, is too well known to require a detailed narration.

In sumbat 1892 (A.D. 1835-6) Veroomal, the son of Seth Thakurdas, died. In sumbat 1892 (A.D. 1835-6) we celebrated at Karachi at a large cost the nuptials of my brothers Gopaldas and Toolsidas, the latter marrying a second time, his first wife having died.

Towards the close of the sumbat 1892 (A.D. 1835) Lieut.-Col. (afterwards Sir Henry) Pottinger,¹⁰⁴ paid a visit to Hyderabad, when I made acquaintance with him, which paved the way for future correspondence between me and himself. In sumbat 1893 (A.D. 1836-7) on Sudh Teras of the month of Assoo, I was blessed with my second son, Thawardas. In sumbat 1893 (A.D. 1836-7) Narumal, the monim or manager of our firm at Bombay, finding Seth Hotchand absent from the head firm at Karachi, being in

¹⁰² Better known as Shah Shuja.

¹⁰³ His sons were Mir Nur Mahomed, and Mir Nasir Khan. They divided the rule after him and lived amicably.

¹⁰⁴ Sir Henry Pottinger (1789-1856), one of the earliest explorers of Sindh and the countries beyond, became Resident in Cutch, adjoining Sindh, in 1825. He was afterwards Political Agent in Sindh, where his services in negotiating treaties with the Amirs and inducing them to allow the passage of British troops through Sindh to Cabul were rewarded by his being made a baronet and G.C.B. He was afterwards transferred to China as Minister Plenipotentiary at the time of the Opium War and became the first Governor of Hong Kong, and was made a Privy Councilor in 1844. In 1846 he was Governor of the Cape for six months, and afterwards Governor of Madras from 1847 to 1854. His high appreciation of Seth Naomul's services will be evident from a letter quoted at p. 22 of the Introduction as well as from Appendixes III and IV.

Lakhpat, and the others at Karachi either young, indifferent or inexperienced, broke faith and abused his trust. We received information of his misbehavior from Bheroomal Thakurdas, who was related to us and worked in subordination to Narumal at Bombay. We thereupon recalled Narumal and appointed Bheroomal to manage the firm instead. Thanks to the Almighty that since the days of our ancestor, Seth Sajannal, it was a rigidly observed rule of our family to receive no deposits,¹⁰⁵ and to trade according to our means. A strict observance of this rule was demanded of all our agents and factors.

We learnt privately from a friend at Calcutta, that one Jethanand Parmanand, nephew to our *moonim*, Nebhoomal, at that place, reveled with our money, and acted the bacchanalian unchecked by his uncle, that at a *nautch* one day he bestowed under the influence of liquor a Rith (car) worth Rs. 1,000, upon a dancing girl. We thereupon wrote to Nebhoomal to wind up the business of the Calcutta firm forthwith, and to return to Karachi with his books. Narumal also returned from Bombay, as desired by us, to tender his accounts. He was indebted to us in large sums of money. None of my brothers, however, were versed in account matters, and I had by this time entered into communication with English officers, and most of my time was taken up in giving effect to their wishes and carrying out their orders. I could not, therefore, personally attend to Narumal's accounts, who feigned poverty and appeared in tattered clothes.¹⁰⁶

In sumbat 1892 (A.D. 1835-36) Mr. (afterwards Sir) Alexander Burnes, who was Assistant to Major Pottinger at Bhooj, came to Sindh accompanied by Mr. Leckie, *en route* to Lahore and Cabul in compliance with the orders of the Bombay Government. On his return from Cabul, Mr. A. Burnes was posted to Lahore, whence he wrote a letter towards the close of sumbat 1894 (A.D. 1837) that if my services had been rendered through him he should have endeavored to raise me to some high station in life. Mr. Leckie, who had stayed behind at Khelat, asked my assistance in sending down to Bombay sheep¹⁰⁷ to the number of 250 intended for exportation to England. The sheep were brought to Sonmiani by one Daja of the Soda tribe, and I wrote to my goomashta (agent) at that place to receive the sheep and to arrange for their conveyance to Bombay.

In sumbat 1893 (A.D. 1836-7) Colonel Pottinger wrote to me from Bhooj to say that Dr. Burnes, brother to the elder Burnes, had to go to Lahore, *via* Sindh, and that he would land at Karachi and visit Hyderabad on his way up. He desired me to meet him and to attend to his wants. The Mirs of Hyderabad were likewise informed of Dr. Burnes' intentions to visit Karachi, but they wrote to their nabob not to permit Dr. Burnes to see

¹⁰⁵ *i.e.*, not to trade on borrowed capital.

¹⁰⁶ These defalcations, possibly account for the firm commencing to decline. Undoubtedly Seth Naomul's patriotic attentions to the British Government's needs rather than to his own business must have involved his firm in considerable pecuniary loss.

¹⁰⁷ The short hair-like wool of mountain sheep in Beloochistan is particularly valuable, and these sheep were exported, possibly with the idea of introducing the breed into England.

the town and to arrange for his landing at Gizree Bandar,¹⁰⁸ whence he might re-embark in a boat for Hyderabad, *via* Keti-Bandar. The Mirs' people therefore kept on the lookout for Dr. Burnes, and as soon as he arrived they took him to Gizree and thence let him sail¹⁰⁹ to Hyderabad. My men, too, were on the alert, and as soon as they found an opportunity they waited upon Dr. Burnes and presented him my salaams and offered him butter and a quantity of dried fruit which I had sent for his use. He was acquainted with what Colonel Pottinger had written to me concerning him, and he expressed his thanks. In sumbat 1894 (A.D. 1837-38) I received a letter from Colonel Pottinger informing me that Captain Carless, with twelve other Sahib-loks (European gentlemen), was coming down to Karachi in a ship, known as the "Palinurus," to take soundings of the entrance to Karachi, and he requested me to be useful to Captain Carless, whom he commended to my care. He informed the Mirs of Hyderabad as well of the intended visit of Captain Carless, and requested them to assist him in his purpose and to throw no obstacles in his way. They accordingly wrote to Nawab Hussan Khan, who was in charge of Karachi, to be on the lookout for Captain Carless, who arrived on Sunday, the 5th of March (sumbat 1894), 1837, in company with twelve other gentlemen. I went to receive him at the landing, and brought him to town, where the Nawab informed him that the Mirs had permitted him to take the soundings. From the Nawab's, Captain Carless and the other European gentlemen who accompanied him came to my house but did not stay long as it was Sunday, and having taken leave desired me to see them on the morrow. At my place they saw in original the letter which Colonel Pottinger had written to me on their behalf. The next day, after breakfast, I went to see Captain Carless on board the vessel, which was anchored beyond Manora Point, at a distance equal to the distance of Manora from Karachi. In compliance with his request, I supplied him with the provisions he needed during his stay in Karachi. Of the number of Europeans who accompanied him, two or three remained on board the "Palinurus" at night, the rest came to shore after sunset and lodged with me.

The revenue of Karachi was farmed out to one Alah Rakhia Lohar (ironsmith), whose nephew Ahmed one day went to Captain Carless and offered to take him on a hunting excursion in the adjoining hills. I was desired to keep a few riding camels and horses in readiness at the *bandar* (wharf), and Captain Carless accompanied by eight other Europeans and Ahmed set out towards the hills. I returned home and had only just finished bathing and was about to take my breakfast when a servant brought me the news that Hussan Khan, the Nawab of Karachi, enraged at the conduct of Ahmed and of the Europeans who had made bold to venture into the interior in company of Ahmed without his permission, had got together a body of armed men to the number of one hundred, to pursue the party, vowing that he would take their lives. When I heard this I immediately ordered a few horses to be got ready and, accompanied by four or five followers, rode up post haste in the direction in which I was told the Europeans had

¹⁰⁸ Gizree Bandar is a wharf now little used on the Gizree, or Gharo, creek, which is the most westerly creek issuing from the Indus. Its mouth is only two or three miles from the present harbor of Karachi.

¹⁰⁹ *i.e.*, go by boats through the delta country.

gone. At the range of the hills known as "Jara Buthies" I overtook the party, informed them how Hussan Khan, the Nawab, had felt enraged, and advised them to return as he would otherwise chase them. Ahmed, when he learnt that Hussan Khan wanted to capture and chastise him, took to his heels and fled with all the speed he could command, and I brought away the rest of the party. On my way back I saw Hussan Khan approaching. He was mounted on horseback, and a number of armed men followed him on foot. When Hussan Khan was yet at a distance I galloped up to him, advising the Europeans to hold back until my return. When I got near enough I interrogated Hussan Khan. He replied, "I am going to fight the Europeans who have ventured without my permission to hunt in and enter the territory over which I have been appointed Nawab on the part of the Mirs." I replied, "The Europeans are not at all to blame in the matter. Ahmed, the nephew of the revenue farmer, who as such is an officer of the Hyderabad Court, offered to take them into the interior and show them sport, and he had accompanied them himself." He angrily returned, "I shall capture that Ahmed and teach him a good lesson." I informed him that Ahmed had fled, but that the Europeans were there with my men, that he was meddling with dangerous tools, and I was afraid the Mirs would not approve of his conduct and might censure him. Thereupon he grew calm and said, "Let the Sahib-loks then return to their ships direct without entering the town." I promised to get them to do so, and when he found the Europeans were going in the direction of the bandar, he also retraced his steps. Long before we could reach the bandar head, the ebb had set in and the sea had receded far from the shore. I therefore had all the Europeans conveyed to their boat, which had retired with the water to a great distance, on cots carried by coolies who went wading through the mud. Captain Carless desired me not to return till they had fairly set sail and given a signal, which was to be the firing of a gun. I stayed, however, till the boat had crossed Kiamari Point and was out of sight, and I returned home when it was perfectly dark. On the morrow I went to the ship, although it was a severely cold day and blew hard. I had a conversation with Captain Carless on the events of the past day and advised him to communicate all that had transpired to the Mirs at Hyderabad, through Moonshi Jethanand, the British Agent stationed at their court by the Bombay Government. A letter was accordingly written out in Persian by Moonshi Babla, who accompanied Captain Carless at Colonel Pottinger's desire, and it was handed over to me for transmission with a *kossid* to Moonshi Jethanand, who got it forty-eight hours after it was dispatched. He acquainted the Hyderabad Court with its contents, and Mir Nur Mahomed, getting displeased with the conduct of Hussan Khan, issued to him peremptory orders to obtain the pardon of the Europeans whom he had insulted. The order was received on the fifth day with a letter to my address, and Hussan Khan getting frightened came to my house to solicit my good offices in obtaining the pardon of Captain Carless and his party. It was even time when Moonshi Jethanand's letter arrived, and I forwarded it on to Captain Carless with an account of how Hussan Khan had repented. The next day when I went to Captain Carless, Hussan Khan followed in another boat. After he had repeatedly and anxiously solicited pardon and showed repentance, Captain Carless had a letter written to the address of Moonshi Jethanand,

stating that Hussan Khan's fault, though great, had been excused on his showing repentance and soliciting pardon.

Captain Carless was at Karachi for three months. During the day all the Europeans were engaged on board the ship in sounding the waters. At night they repaired to my lodging in the town. After the lapse of three months, Captain Carless set sail for Sonmiani and thence to Bushire. I furnished him with letters of recommendation to my agents at both places, and I was glad to learn that they gave him satisfaction in every way, as was testified to by certificates which my *goomashtras* obtained from him. Captain Carless' intimate intercourse and stay with me while at Karachi produced an impression throughout Sindh, and the neighboring provinces, that the British Government had appointed me their agent for Sindh.

In sumbat 1875, in the month of Bada (A.D. 1838), Colonel Pottinger came from Bhooj to Hyderabad, and after his arrival there he addressed me a letter stating that numerous English troops had embarked from Bombay under the command of General John Keane for Bamnikote,¹¹⁰ *via* Ghorabari,¹¹¹ and would proceed up the Indus towards Shikarpur, that arrangements for their convenience and provision had to be made all along the route, and he knew not whom to entrust with the performance of such an arduous and important task save myself, in whom he placed the fullest confidence, and he requested me to spare no exertions in carrying out with skill and ability his wishes, and he sent me a *hundi*¹¹² for two lakhs of "koris" (Cutch coin) on Bhooj with other *hundis* on Bombay, Calcutta, etc., which he asked me to get cashed as occasion should arise and purchase rice, wheat, gram, barley and bajri, which were required by the Commissariat Department. He desired me to send on the stores, as they were purchased, in different boats in succession to Ghorabari to the address of one Madho, a resident of Bhooj, who acted there as British Agent, and who was instructed to receive and land them, in conjunction with the officers of the Commissariat Department. He further asked me to engage for him by the month and keep in hand for ready dispatch with trustworthy men, 2,000 camels and 800 to 1,000 bullocks of burden.

In compliance with the above instructions, I began to purchase grain and send it on to Ghorabari. The demand for grain thus created raised its price in the market of Karachi

¹¹⁰ Bamnikote is in Lower Sindh, three miles south-west of Vikkar, a town also known as Ghorabari, where there was a fine open plain on which Sir John Keane's army encamped. It was then thirty miles from the mouth of the Hajamri by the winding of the river and twenty in a direct line. (See next note on Ghorabari.)

¹¹¹ Ghorabari used to be and still is the most important port in Sindh next to Karachi, but owing to constant changes in the river, it has often been shifted to other villages, which have then taken the name of Ghorabari. At the period now treated of, the port of Ghorabari was at a village called Vikkar, now well inland owing to the river having deserted it. A new port called Keti has taken its place, thirteen miles away, and 41 miles south-west of Tatta. The port of Keti, known as Keti-Ghorabari, has itself been three times washed away and reconstructed at the nearest favorable spot on the river bank. Keti supports a population of 2,127. The port is principally used for grain, timber and other bulky goods, and for coasting traffic with ports in Cutch and Kathiawad.

¹¹² Hundi, *i.e.*, bill of exchange.

and the Amirs' officers put obstacles in my way and instigated the poorer Mussalmans of Karachi to assemble at my door and raise a clamor. Accordingly, one morning a crowd of Moslems, to the number of a thousand, collected at my door and complained that I had caused a famine and compelled the poor to starve. Beyond such indirect hindrances, the Mirs' officers could do no other mischief. But I heeded not. I had my *goomashtas* at various places, and one Versimal, who was in charge of the branch firm at Sonmiani, purchased grain in that port at cheap rates and sent it down first to Karachi, whence it was re-exported after inspection and examination to Ghorabari. My *goomashtas* at Sehwan, too, in accordance with my instructions, purchased grain there and forwarded it direct to Ghorabari *via* the Indus, in charge of trustworthy servants, who made it over to Moonshi Madho and other appointed agents, and obtained receipts which they brought to me regularly at Karachi.

I did not fail meanwhile to arrange for camels. My exertions in that respect were constantly frustrated by the officers of the Talpur Government, who secretly frightened the camel-men and induced them to believe that the march of English troops through the Talpur territory was not so easy to effect as people were led to imagine, that it was sure to be opposed and might result in a fight, to the great dismay and ruin of the poor camel-men, whom they therefore advised to desist altogether from hiring out their camels. All this came to my knowledge in detail, and I sent for the Brahmani Beloochis, who were all originally servants of my family, and against whom I knew I could use moral compulsion, and engaged 500 camels which their tribe owned. I similarly hired a few more camels belonging to people whom I thought I could trust. I then thought to myself that if I could withdraw to Gharo,¹¹³ about twenty koss distant from Karachi, where we owned a firm for over a century past, I should be able to arrange for camels undisturbed, whereas at Karachi I might fail to engage the required number. Consequently I ordered the camel-men, whose animals I had engaged, to take their camels to Gharo, where they would find much forage for them. I, too, quietly repaired to Gharo. On my arrival at Gharo, I told my principal *goomashta*, Nanakdas, that I knew the Jokhias well, and they knew me too. Nanakdas set to work as I directed him, and brought together at my place within two days the headmen of the Memans¹¹⁴ of Mallir

¹¹³ Gharo is in the Mirpur Sakro Taluka, eight miles from Dabeji station. Its population is now about half what it used to be, namely about 800 to 1,000 souls. It can still communicate directly by the Gizree Creek with Karachi, but the Karachi Kotri railway has destroyed its trade importance. It is not far from Bambura, an ancient ruined city, supposed by some authorities to be the real Dewal, the capital of Sindh, stormed by the first Arab invader in the seventh century. Other authorities hold Dewal and the modern Tatta to be identical.

¹¹⁴ The term "Meman" is a corruption of the word "Monmin," which means a true believer of Islam, but popularly the designation is confined only to the Mahommedan converts in Cutch, who have now become a distinct class. A few aboriginal Sindhi converts also call themselves Meman or Suraha. The period of their conversion to the Mahommedan religion is not traceable. The profession of the Meman is generally trade, but in Lower Sindh many Memans work as agriculturists and moneylenders, and in Bombay, where they are generally followers of His Highness the Agha Khan, there are large numbers, many of them very wealthy, engaged in shop keeping or as merchants.

and of the various Jokhia tribes of Momat, Tiber, Band, Satar and Hothi,¹¹⁵ with a number of other people who owned camels. I entered into written agreements with them, and having perfected all preliminary arrangements to make sure of the camels, I ordered the men to bring their camels to Gharo that I might register them and keep them grazing within two or three koss of the village until required for active service. Soon after this, Jam Maherali, the chief of all the Jokhias, came to know of the agreement into which his clansmen had entered with me, and he severely rebuked his people for having engaged their camels without previously consulting him. I was apprised of the obstacles which the Jam secretly wished to put in my way. I therefore sent my *goomashta*, Nanakdas, to Mallir (where the Jam resided) to manage to bring him to Gharo, which he did. I had a long interview with the Jam, and ultimately succeeded in gaining him round. The Jam was a greedy lion and expected some hush money. He told me he was in need and wanted a loan. I desired my *goomashta* Nanakdas to advance him Rs. 2,000. He was already indebted to Nanakdas for a sum of Rs. 5,000 on a previous account, as he was wont to take loans from him, which he paid off from the income of his Jaghirs, and the revenue of Gharo, which was farmed out to him. But Nanakdas lent him an additional sum of Rs. 2,000, which he paid him partly in cash and partly in grain, and the Jam in return promised to be faithful to me. I arranged to engage 500 bullocks of burden at Sakra, on monthly hire, and having got the owners to pass agreements, had them all brought to Gharo. After this I wrote to Colonel Pottinger to acquaint him with my arrangements for the purchase and collection of grain and other provisions and the hiring of camels and bullocks of burden. He acknowledged my skill and ability and expressed great satisfaction. Colonel Pottinger soon left Hyderabad for Ghorabari and proceeded up to Bamnikote. He had two assistants under him—Lieut. W. J. Eastwick¹¹⁶ and Leckie. About this time Sir John Keane came from Bombay to Ghorabari with a large force. Previous to his arrival, Captain Outram,¹¹⁷ who was Assistant to Sir John Keane, was deputed by the Governor of Bombay to visit Karachi.

¹¹⁵ Momat, Tiber, Band, Satar and Hothi. These are the names of small camps, with scarcely any permanent houses, where nomad Beloochis make their headquarters when grazing their camels.

¹¹⁶ Capt. W. J. Eastwick was born in 1808, and went to Bombay in 1827. He was Political Officer attached to the army of Lord Keane in 1838, and accompanied it through Sindh. He assisted in the negotiation of the treaty of 1839 with the Amirs of Hyderabad, by which the Indus was thrown open to commercial enterprise, free of all vexatious interference, and which provided for arbitration by the English in claims against the Amirs made by the rulers of Cabul and the Punjab, and the maintenance of a subsidiary force for the protection of Sindh was also agreed to. He held political charge of the districts at the foot of the Bolan Pass, constituting the base to British military operations in Afghanistan, and was afterwards appointed Acting Resident in Sindh. In 1847 Capt. Eastwick was elected to a seat in the East India Direction in 1858 he was appointed to the office of Deputy Chairman, after which he became a member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India.

¹¹⁷ Colonel, afterwards Sir James Outram, Bart., was one of the most heroic figures of the nineteenth century. It is not necessary, therefore, to repeat here the many achievements of his famous life. Every Englishman has heard of his accompanying Sir Henry Havelock on the first Relief of Lucknow, and, in order that Sir Henry Havelock might have the honor of the Relief, announcing that he would enter Lucknow himself in his civil capacity as Chief Commissioner of Oudh. He ended his career as Military Member of the Council of the Governor-General. Sir Charles Napier—with whom, curiously enough, he had great controversies later—dubbed him “The Bayard of the East, *sans peur et sans reproche*.”

He was desired to put up with me and to ascertain how far I had been able to carry out the directions of Colonel Pottinger in regard to the purchase and storing of grain for the Commissariat Department, and the hiring of camels and bullocks of burden. He arrived in a small country craft, and was received at the Bandar by my brothers, Pritamdas and Sookhramdas, the latter having gone to the boat to bring him to shore. Captain Outram had doubtless some servants with him, but none would accompany him to shore for fear of the Sindhis. So taking a few biscuits and loaves in a handkerchief, with a stick in hand, he came along with my brother Sookhramdas. He enquired about me and was told that as the officers of the Talpur Government put obstacles in my way in engaging camels and bullocks at Karachi, I had proceeded to Gharo where I had succeeded in arranging everything satisfactorily. Captain Outram was for two days at my *kothi* (a place where the mercantile business was transacted) at Karachi. He took little of bread, and lived chiefly on milk. Then growing desirous to see me, he asked my brother Sookhramdas to accompany him to Gharo.¹¹⁸ He informed him that he was engaged in carrying out my directions at Karachi, and offered to place at his command the services of confidential servants. But Captain Outram earnestly desired that my brother Sookhramdas should accompany him in person, to which my brother ultimately consented. Two riding camels were therefore got ready forthwith, one for Seth Sookhramdas and Captain Outram, who rode together, and another for two servants. It was evening time, and I was seated on a chair in the court of my house when I was surprised to see my brother coming on a camel which he rode in front with a European in the back seat. I received the European gentleman with respect, and conducted him to a cushioned cot. The usual salutations of welcome being exchanged, Captain Outram acquainted me with the object of his visit, saying that the Governor of Bombay had sent him to me to inquire how far I had been able to carry out the proposals of Colonel Pottinger. I gave him assurance in reply and told him that I had been in every way successful in giving effect to the orders of Colonel Pottinger. He was much pleased with the news and desired me to make arrangements to send him on to Bamnikote on the morrow, and wished me to give him fifty sowars and the company of my brother Sookhramdas. At break of dawn next day, Captain Outram accordingly left Gharo for Bamnikote, my brother and he riding on one camel. At the time of departure he desired me to follow him to Bamnikote as soon as I could, which I promised to do after all the animals of burden had been sent in advance for fear that some might tarry behind. After the lapse of two days I was in a position to depart for Bamnikote. Having arrived there I was wonder-struck with the arrangements and disposition of the British troops in camp. On enquiring I found out Captain Outram and my brother, the latter of whom lived in a double-poled tent lined with broadcloth lent to him for use by Major Outram, and with him I put up. Moonshi Aliakbar, an Irani,¹¹⁹ had been appointed to attend upon my brother, and he treated him very kindly. I had with me many of my own *goomashtas*. The camp extended over about four miles, and showed great skill in its

¹¹⁸ This journey of Outram's is described by him in the first chapter of his Rough Notes on the Campaign in Sindh and Afghanistan.

¹¹⁹ Irani, *i.e.*, a Persian.

arrangements and management. I passed the night with my brother, and on the next day at ten o'clock I went to see Colonel Pottinger and was not a little pleased to observe his ways and manners, his mode of discourse and the forethought which he evinced. I had never had the happiness of enjoying the company of Europeans in this manner before, and was unacquainted with their usages, habits and idiosyncrasies. But I still feel grateful to Lieutenant Eastwick, who was First Assistant to Colonel Pottinger, for instructing me in their ways and showing me the advantages likely to be derived from intercourse with them, which inspired me with zeal and made me more earnest. Lieutenant Eastwick was blessed with a very amiable and frank disposition, the most attractive manner of speech, a kind temper, and an openness of heart which I can never forget. He won the hearts of all that came in contact with him, and was famous in Sindh for his happy frame of mind. When I saw Colonel Pottinger he made enquiries from me concerning the animals of burden and provisions for the troops. I gave him a full detailed account. He expressed great pleasure, and desired me to give a list (in detail) of the articles and provisions supplied by me to the Commissary General, Major Davison, and to make over to him all the camels and bullocks that I had engaged. He then gave me a letter of introduction to Sir John Keane, the Commander of the forces, and desired me to see him. I accordingly went over to Sir John Keane's tent, sent in Colonel Pottinger's note, and was very courteously received by the Commander. Sir John Keane could not himself speak Hindustani. He had three Assistants immediately under him, whose names were Captain Outram, Captain Powell, and Major Keane. He enquired from me about the provisions, and being assured that all was right, he directed me to hand over all to the Commissary-General, Major Davison. I acted accordingly, and gave the General a detailed account of all that I had sent to Madhoji, the Government agent at Ghorabari, and what I had sent since. The camels and bullocks were all inspected, counted and received by him in charge. Colonel Pottinger requested me to attend to the orders of the Commissary-General, and try to meet his indents for provisions, animals, etc., and he further desired that I should direct my brother Sookhramdas to look after the camels and bullocks and keep the camel-men in good humor. I undertook to do all the service gratis, as in fact I served gratis throughout my early connection with the British. I was not a contractor for the supply of provisions. I was not actuated by any love of pecuniary gain in rendering political service, and I acted at the risk of great danger to my person and property when it was sufficiently well known that the Talpur Government, under which I lived and to which I was subject, were averse to the passage of the British troops through Sindh, and looked upon all assistance rendered as a mark of disregard of their wishes and disrespect to their authority. But my family felt themselves aggrieved by the wrongs inflicted upon them by the later Amirs in their blind zeal for their faith, and my principal object in being thus useful to the British Government at such great personal sacrifices was simply to secure their interest and regard for future good. I therefore willingly offered to perform all that Colonel Pottinger directed me to do, and, thanks to the Almighty Providence, that with the large number of private servants, clerks and sepoy I could command, everything went on well.

CHAPTER V.

Army moves to Tatta – Naomul declines control of mint – Beloochi runs amok – Fatal accident to three English officers – Mir Shah Mahomed burns British stores – Mir Nur Mahomed sends secret excuses to Naomul – Agha Ismail Shah – Sookramdas accompanies army north – Pottinger requests the Admiral to protect Naomul's family – Bombardment of Karachi – Landing of troops assisted – Naomul's house guarded – Sookramdas parts from army at Shikarpur – Naomul's interview with the Amirs at Hyderabad – Accompanies Pottinger to Karachi – Naomul assists in securing the murderers of Capt. Hand – Naomul sent for by Pottinger to Bhooj – Raises money for payment of additional cavalry – Outram's adventurous journey from Khelat to Sonmiani – Narrow escape.

While at Bamnikote, Nawabs Ghulam Shah Lagari, (2) Sayed Zenalubdin, (3) Agha Ismail Shah,¹²⁰ and Mahomed Abid of Tatta visited the British camp on behalf of the Mirs of Hyderabad to offer their services. After the lapse of five or six days the troops struck camp and marched for Tatta, where they arrived after a march of three days, and occupied the plain between the town and the Makli Hills¹²¹ under excellent arrangements.

At Tatta, Colonel Pottinger desired me to go to one Mr. Whitelock, who resided in the town in a house known as "Angrezjimari" (lit. English house), and obtain from him "Rial"¹²² coins and bullion, melt the whole and recoin the same into "kori" rupees, under the auspices of my own confidential servants. I foresaw that it was a business fraught with danger to reputation, that the slightest variation in weight would only gain unmerited censure, I therefore privately communicated my views and objections to Lieut. Eastwick and told him how much I feared the loss of reputation in such service. Lieut. Eastwick was a gentleman whose friendship I prized and whom I valued highly for his kind, amiable and frank disposition. He spoke to Colonel Pottinger, who thereupon entrusted the business to a Parsi, Maneckji by name, who accompanied the camp. Maneckji worked the mint for two years, accumulated great wealth, and I saw him ultimately committed to jail in the bargain.

¹²⁰ Agha Ismail Shah was the son of a Georgian, the trusted adviser of the Mirs in their foreign affairs, and he was sent as an ambassador from the Mirs to Bombay in 1820, where he was well received by the Governor, the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone. Some of his descendants have held rank in the Sindh Commission since.

¹²¹ Makli Hills, a long range of limestone hills, two or three miles from Tatta, which owing to the burial there from time to time of holy Mahomedan pirs, or saints, have acquired great sanctity, and now present the aspect of a gigantic cemetery. Some of the tombs of ancient kings, Soubahdars of the Delhi Empire, and the like, are very handsome.

¹²² Rial = a Maria Theresa dollar, of the value of about two rupees; current on the Makran coast, large quantities of which used to be imported as bullion from Zanzibar, and were used as currency by the British Army in the Abyssinian Expedition of 1867-68.

While at Tatta, a Belooch of the Nuhani tribe happened to get into Colonel Pottinger's tent with a naked sword in his hand, and pretended madness and waved the weapon in the air. Colonel Pottinger' sepoy's were immediately on their legs to catch hold of him, but the man gave them a chase and, being swifter of foot, could not be caught. An order was then given to shoot him, and one bullet shot from a musket laid him prostrate.¹²³

The army remained encamped at Tatta for four days. Large stores had been collected in the Government godown at Gidu Bandar, near Hyderabad. Mr. Leckie, second Assistant to Colonel Pottinger, resided on the banks of the Indus in the immediate vicinity of Gidu Bandar. All of a sudden, Mir Shah Mahomed of Mirpurkhas, having collected his forces, marched down to Hyderabad and, in consultation with the Hyderabad Mirs and with the cooperation of their soldiery, attacked, plundered and burnt the British godown at Gidu Bandar and carried away with them what booty they could. As soon as Mr. Leckie heard of the attack on the storehouse he got a boat ready and sailed away to Tatta for fear of his life, which would have met with a hard fate had he fallen into the hands of the infatuated Beloochis. No sooner did Mr. Leckie reach Tatta than orders were issued for an immediate march. The orders were as promptly and readily carried out, and at a single march a journey of about thirty-two miles from Tatta to Jhirak¹²⁴ was performed. A new camp was immediately formed on the hills and on the plain, and occupied a very strong position. I was with the camp and was desired by Lieut. Eastwick to look sharp after the camel-men lest they should prove false and desert us, but by the grace of the kind Providence none lost faith and not a single instance of fraudulent act was detected. I had all the camels and bullocks kept secure in the Mirs' shikargah¹²⁵ at Jhirak.

One morning two or three days after our arrival at Jhirak, two¹²⁶ European gentlemen went out for a stroll in the forest and carried with them their guns for the purpose of shooting if opportunity offered. They were both attacked and killed by some Belooch sepoy's who were hiding in the forest. The arrangement and disposition of the British forces at Jhirak were so excellent and awe-striking that all strangers felt bewildered at the sight. The polished guns and bayonets pitched in clusters glittered like burnished steel. The Mirs had sent several spies to Jhirak to collect information and it was not strange if their accounts of English skill and of the strength of the English army discouraged the Talpurs and frustrated their plans, and indeed, if I can speak from personal impressions, the fears with which the reports could not have failed to fill the minds of the vacillating Talpurs must have been proportionate to the courage with

¹²³ See Pottinger's report on this incident (Appendix VI).

¹²⁴ Jhirak is a town on the right bank of the Indus, halfway between Tatta and Kotri, which is opposite to Hyderabad, midst low limestone hills. . Its consequent permanence has led to its being the site of the official headquarters of the local District Officer.

¹²⁵ Shikargah is an enclosed game-preserve.

¹²⁶ Three, not two, officers of the Queen's Rifles were out shooting and the long grass in the forest by some means caught fire and they were burned to death. Outram, who was on the spot, came to the conclusion that their deaths were due to accident alone and that they were not assassinated.—ED.

which the English camp inspired the heart. The tents of the European officers of the army at Jhirak were all pitched in a line. My tents stood just opposite in the centre. One morning at ten o'clock, while I was sitting with about a hundred men around me, in the largest tent I had, two persons in the habit of fakirs came and stood opposite and asked for alms to enable them to proceed to Haj,¹²⁷ whither they said they were bound. I looked at them attentively when they made me some sign, whereupon I removed to my private tent and called them in. After being seated they unscrewed the handle of a walking-stick which they carried and taking out a paper passed it on to me. It was a letter written by Mir Nur Mahomed¹²⁸ himself and addressed to me. It ran thus:

"Seth Naomul, be my friend and patron at this time. Inform Colonel Pottinger that the British store-houses at Gidu Bandur and Mir Khan's Tanda,¹²⁹ with the store-boats on the Indus, were all plundered and burnt by Mir Sher Mahomed of Mirpur, assisted by Mir Mahomed and Sobdar,¹³⁰ that I had no hand in the matter and was not a party to the affair. They are to blame for it. I am quite innocent and have been in no way in fault."

I asked the messengers to wait and partake of food, but they begged to be excused and showed me two more letters which were entrusted to them for immediate delivery, one of which they said was addressed to Mian Abid of Tatta, the other to the Nawab of Ghorabari, Ghulam Shah. Mir Nur Mahomed, they said, had therein asked both these officers to take special care of British stores and to render every possible assistance to the army. I however forced the men to stay a while and went straight to Colonel Pottinger's tent with the letter, which I handed over to him. It was written in Persian and was read out by Lieut. Eastwick. I acquainted him with all the circumstances connected with its receipt, and I returned an answer with the messengers in the terms dictated by him. On the morrow, Agha Ismail Shah arrived in the English camp at Jhirak to tender an explanation on the part of the Talpurs of Hyderabad of the circumstances under which the British store-houses, etc., at Gidu Bandur were plundered or burnt. A long discussion ensued. Colonel Pottinger gave full vent to his anger and reprimanded and reproached Agha Ismail Shah in fitting language, in place of those whom he represented. It did not seem that the matter could be settled amicably, when Agha Ismail Shah solicited pardon with folded hands. It was then agreed to accept a money remuneration for the damage done, and Agha Ismail Shah

¹²⁷ Haj means the pilgrimage to Mecca.

¹²⁸ Mir Nur Mahomed was at this time the leading Mir of Hyderabad, son of the Mir Murad Ali, and as premier Mir wore the turban.

¹²⁹ Mir Khan's Tanda is close to Gidu Bandar, the wharf on the left bank of the Indus, whence passengers disembark for Hyderabad.

¹³⁰ These were subordinate ruling Mirs of Hyderabad. Sobdar was the son of the old Rais Mir Fatehali Khan, and was considered the most friendly to the British of all the Amirs.

passed a bond (an agreement) on the part of the Talpurs for the sum of Rs. 27 lakhs.¹³¹ After a stay of eight days at Jhirak the camp started for Kotri, where they soon arrived. The Talpurs frequently sent visitors to the camp to express their friendship and goodwill towards the British Government.

Soon after our arrival at Kotri I was desired by Colonel Pottinger to accompany Lieut. Leckie to the Mirs, and receive from them the sum of Rs. 27 lakhs, in liquidation of the agreement passed by Agha Ismail Shah. After nodding assent, I explained to him my position and made Him understand that the Mirs would take it to heart if I went to receive payment. He felt satisfied, and directed Moonshi Jethanand, the British Vakeel at the court of the Talpurs, to go for the money with Lieut. Leckie and some others. The Mirs had not in their treasury all the cash in the current and stipulated coin, the kori rupee, so they paid the deficit in the Gobindi or Mashedi¹³² coin which bore a higher marketable value. The army left soon after for Shikarpur, *via* Sehwan. Colonel Pottinger remained behind at Mirkhan's Tanda, and I stayed with him, Lieut. Eastwick, his First Assistant, going with the forces. Nothing of the stores at Gidu Bandur was left, and it was necessary that provisions for the army should be collected at other places along the route. It was determined to open commissariat depots at Sehwan and Larkana, and for this purpose Colonel Pottinger asked my aid and requested me to permit my brothers, Sookhramdas and Gopaldas, to accompany the army up to Shikarpur, and to arrange for the storing and purchase of provisions. I willingly consented to his proposals and immediately issued express injunctions to my *goomashtas* at Sehwan, Larkana, and other places to obey the orders of my brother Sookhramdas and to give him any assistance he might call upon them to render in starting depots, etc. One morning while I was sitting in my tent at Nurkhan's Tanda I was sent for by Colonel Pottinger, and on going to him he very kindly informed me that Rear-Admiral Sir Frederick Maitland, the principal naval commander of British forces in the Arabian Sea, was coming to Karachi with a fleet and would soon capture the town, that he had commended my people at Karachi to his care and had written to him in the following terms:

"There is one point to which I solicit your kind and minute attention—I allude to the protection under all circumstances of the house and family and property of Naomul Seth of Karachi. That individual is now with this force. He has most zealously and indefatigably assisted us, and I cannot convey my deep anxiety regarding him and his better than by saying that they ought to be guarded as though they were those of the Governor-General of India."¹³³

¹³¹ This sum could not possibly represent the value of the stores destroyed. It represents the sum which the Mirs on this occasion agreed to pay as arrears of tribute they owed to Cabul, of which 15 lakhs were to be paid to Ranjit Singh, so as to ransom Shikarpur from both powers.-EDITOR.

¹³² Gobindi were coins struck by Ranjit Singh, bearing the name of the Sikh Guru Gobind Sing. Mashedi were both rectangular and round coins minted in Persia, at Meshed or Tabriz, and imported into Sindh by Shikarpur merchants.-EDITOR.

¹³³ This letter is on the official records, dated 28th January, 1839. (See Appendix IV.)

He assured me not to be in any way concerned about any relatives at Karachi, which would soon be a British possession. I was exceedingly rejoiced to hear him speak so, and thanked the Almighty who is the dispenser of all good. I immediately communicated the news to my brothers at Karachi and strongly desired them to be serviceable to any Englishman who arrived there. The very next day I got a letter from Karachi stating that a number of British ships-of-war had arrived at the port and opened such heavy fire on the fort at Manora that within the space of three hours they had leveled down the western arm of the fort, that the thick smoke arising from the cannon had spread like a dark cloud over the town and changed daylight into night. Under such circumstances the officers of the Talpur Government at Karachi, *viz.*, the Nawab Ker Mahomed, a Belooch of the Nizamani tribe, Haji Alah Rakhia, with other minor officers, all waited upon my elder brother, Seth Pritamdas, and represented to him that the smoke had begun to suffocate the people, that they had no power to face the English, and that steps should be taken to stop the firing of cannon. In the meantime, two or three English officers came ashore, and my brother being informed of it immediately went to receive them at the *bandar* where the Mirs' people too soon appeared. The English officers accompanied my brother to his residence, and thence mounting horses went out with my brother to select a spot for the encampment of the troops. The plain between the town and the Rambagh¹³⁴ was preferred, and the next day all the troops were landed and quartered there. My family were entrusted with the business of landing the stores and keeping them in their custody. They were taken on indents sent from time to time, which entailed a task of no small responsibility. But my family gladly undertook to perform it all gratuitously, as I constantly wrote to them to spare no pains and labor in being useful to the British force and in meeting their wants. I feel grateful to the Almighty that everything was managed so well that the Rear-Admiral frequently acknowledged in his letters to Colonel Pottinger the assistance and services rendered, and the latter communicated his personal thanks to me. In recognition of the services and as a mark of distinction, Sir Frederick Maitland appointed European soldiers to guard our family residence. This distinction was continued even long after the conquest, though the European guard was replaced by native soldiers. Soon after the landing of the troops, my brother invited the Rear-Admiral and his party to dinner, to which they all gladly responded, and came attended by a company of soldiers with the band playing and colors flying.

My younger brother Sookhramdas, too, rendered successful service to the army up to Shikarpur, and I thank the wise Creator. At Shikarpur my brother was earnestly asked to accompany the army up to Cabul and to arrange for the supply of stores along the route. He replied that he was subject to me and that I had simply entrusted him with the task of accompanying the army and supplying their wants up to Shikarpur, but that

¹³⁴ Ram Bagh, or the Garden of Ram Chunder, is now a quarter of the native town of Karachi, so called from the legend that the mythical hero Rama Chandra passed a night here, many centuries before Christ, when he and his wife, the goddess Sita, were passing through Sindh on their way to holy Hinglaj.

he would nevertheless consult my wishes and obtain my permission to proceed further. When I heard from him I did not like the idea of my brother going along with the army into Afghanistan; moreover, as I was not bound by any previous promise to arrange for the supplies or transit required by the army beyond Sindh. I therefore spoke to Colonel Pottinger and consulted his wishes. He told me in reply that he was responsible for the unimpeded transit of the troops through Sindh only, that Mr. Burnes (the elder) had undertaken to arrange for provisions for the army beyond Sindh, and that my brother might go into Afghanistan if I or he wished. I therefore wrote to Sookhramdas not to proceed to Cabul, and to obtain permission to return. He did accordingly, and clearing all previous accounts he returned to Karachi in the month of Chaitra (May), sumbat 1895 (A.D. 1839), leaving Chimandas Mamdowdas, a native of Shikarpur, who was our *goomashta*-in-charge of our firm at Bombay and had then returned to his native place, to accompany the army instead.

Until April of the same year I was with Colonel Pottinger at Hyderabad, and communicated to him such political news as I received. Mirs Nur Mahomed and Nasirkhan paid him visits at different times separately. Mir Nur Mahomed one day desired Diwan Hiranand, who was related to me and held the principal and most influential post under the Mir, to take me to him and Mir Nasirkhan. Diwan Hiranand therefore came to me and requested me to pay the Mirs a visit. I declined, but he urged the matter upon me for fifteen days continuously, saying that I might not care much for the Mirs, but that Sindh was still subject to them, that a large number of my relations was in their employ, and that these and himself would find it hard to pass a night in comfort if I declined to see the Mirs. I thereupon consulted Colonel Pottinger and solicited his advice. He told me I had better not show an interest in the Mirs. I then explained to him how much my relatives among the amils¹³⁵ in the employ of the Mirs would suffer on that account. He thought over the matter well and permitted me to pay them a visit. One evening, accordingly, I repaired to Hyderabad and passed the night with my relative Diwan Hiranand. On the morrow, while returning to the English camp, I peeped into the citadel and at Mir Nur Mahomed's bungalow. The guard at the entrance informed the Mir inside and I was accordingly called in. On my entering, Mir Nur Mahomed stood up to receive me, and taking me by the hand offered me a *munji*¹³⁶ (a kind of low chair). Mir Nasir Khan was also present, and sat with his brother Mir on the same cot. After the usual salutations were over, Nur Mahomed addressing me, said: "Seth Naomul, have you now fully avenged the wrongs inflicted on your father? Do you now feel satisfied?" I replied, "Sir, why should you say so, and why speak thus?" So

¹³⁵ Amil, literally "educated person," a term applied in Sindh to Hindu clerks, who form a kind of superior educated caste amongst the Hindus themselves.

¹³⁶ The "*munji*" was offered to few men only as a special mark of distinction. The generality of visitors, or petitioners, squatted on carpets spread on the floor in the presence of the Talpurs, who alone sat on cots, or bedsteads, at durbars and other special occasions. When the Editor first called on one of the Amirs, Mir Mir Mahomed Khan, he was a little surprised at being invited to sit upon his highly lacquered bedstead, which was really a great compliment.

saying I remained quiet, and soon took my leave and departed. I informed Colonel Pottinger of all that passed, and he told me it was well done, and desired me not to be much concerned about it.

Five days after the news of the troops having left Shikarpur on their way to Cabul reached us, I returned to Karachi with Colonel Pottinger. This was in the month of April. At Karachi, Colonel Pottinger was very much delighted to learn and see in person the services rendered by my brother to the English troops stationed there. Colonel Pottinger soon afterwards prepared for departure to Bombay, and asked me to accompany him. I informed him that my family owned a firm (mercantile house) at Bombay ever since the time when Bombay was subject to the Shidis,¹³⁷ but that none of our family had ever visited it. If he, however, wished me to accompany him, I was not very reluctant. He was then pleased to excuse me, but said that he would send for me when he returned to Bhooj.

The command of the force stationed at Karachi was entrusted to Colonel Spiller. He was a married gentleman and had his family with him. I visited the camp daily at nine o'clock in the morning, passed the day in my tent that was pitched next to Colonel Spiller's, and returned home at six o'clock in the evening. Colonel Spiller was a gentleman of a very kind, frank and noble disposition. One evening at five o'clock Captain Hand went out for a ride on horseback to the hills towards Mugger Pir, and he was murdered by some people. He failed to return to camp till past seven, when Colonel Spiller sent some sepoy to look out for him in the direction of the hills. They soon returned with the news that his body was found dead in a hollow. At ten o'clock at night Colonel Spiller sent for me, and accompanied by a few sepoy, who were then present, I immediately went to the camp. Colonel Spiller informed me of what he had learnt concerning Captain Hand. I directly ordered my sepoy to hasten to Mugger Pir with some "pagis,"¹³⁸ (foot trackers) and obtain a clue to the murder. I told them that I would remain in camp until they returned. They came back after a few hours with the information that the dastardly deed had been perpetrated by Kalipha¹³⁹ Chakur of Shah Bilawal, who was accompanied by fifty men of the Chhuto and Badija tribes. On being informed of this, Colonel Spiller directly wrote to Lieut. Leckie, Assistant to Colonel

¹³⁷ The Shidis, literally "black natives of Africa," still retain their old state of Jinjeera, a strong island fortress on the mainland a little south-west of Bombay harbor. The Shidis or Hubshidis were by tradition admirals of the fleet to the Kings of Gujerat and the Emperors of Delhi, and several times occupied the whole island of Bombay. Even after its occupation by the British, the Shidis took the island of Bombay on two occasions, all excepting the British Castle.

¹³⁸ "Pagis" is derived from "pag," a footprint, and pagis are trackers. The gift of following and discriminating footprints which a Sindhi pagee possesses is little short of miraculous. They can recognize in passing along a road the footprint of a stolen camel or of a thief who has been wanted, years after the crime, track him and pick out the thief or beast from amongst a crowd of men or beasts. Such valuable aid they still afford to the regular police that about twenty years ago the Commissioner in Sindh (the writer of this) arranged that subsidies should be paid from the rates to pagis of special ability, who were to be included in the village revenue establishments, with a view to preserving the art.—ED.

¹³⁹ Kalipha, an honorific title for head priest.

Pottinger, who was left in charge of the agency at Hyderabad, to demand the personal presence of Kalipha Chakur at Karachi. I then returned to town and inquired if any men of the Chhuto and Badija tribes could be found. Eight men were traced and these were immediately secured and sent over to the English camp under a strong guard. These persons confessed orally in the presence of Colonel Spiller that they were the disciples of Kalipha Chakur of Shah Bilawal,¹⁴⁰ who was their religious head, that the cowardly murder was committed by him, and that they were with him at the time, and that the glittering facings on the coat which Captain Hand wore had roused their cupidity. This evidence was recorded, and the men kept in custody. Lieut. Leckie prevailed upon Mir Nur Mahomed at Hyderabad to send for Kalipha Chakur, and the Mir accordingly deputed Ninda "Khijmatgar" to Shah Bilawal to secure Kalipha Chakur and to take him to the English camp at Karachi, where a court-martial was held, and the charge being brought home to Chakur, he was ordered to be hanged on the very spot on which Captain Hand was murdered. The court of enquiry was composed of Colonel Spiller, Major Donnohy, and myself. The special service rendered by me in this case was communicated by Colonel Spiller in detail to Colonel Pottinger, and he addressed me a special letter of thanks.

In August, corresponding to the Sindhi month Sawan, sumbat 1896 (A.D. 1841), Colonel Pottinger wrote to me to see him at Bhooj, whither he had returned. I accordingly set out for the capital of Cutch in the following month, accompanied by my elder son Trikamdas. I went by land *via* Tatta and Seergundha¹⁴¹ to Narainsar. After a day's stay at the last place, I proceeded on to Lakhpat, where I had the happiness of seeing my father, with whom I stayed two days. From Lakhpat I stepped over to Bhooj and was delighted to be in the company of Colonel Pottinger again. Before my departure from Karachi, I had written to Colonel Pottinger to inform him of my intention to visit him, and he had on the receipt of my letter written to the Rai of Cutch to keep a residence ready for my reception. On my arrival at Bhooj, I was conducted to the house so set apart for my lodging. When I visited Colonel Pottinger the next day and exchanged various news relating to Sindh and Candahar, he desired me to pay a visit to Rai Desar, the ruler of Cutch, and ordered the residency Moonshi, Mr. Pitamber, to accompany me to the Rai at five o'clock in the evening. He also wrote to the Rai to inform him that I would pay him a visit that evening. When I went to the Rai¹⁴² Sahib, he received me with marked courtesy and distinction. He seated me by the side of his throne and conversed with me for a long time. After the durbar was dissolved, the Rai took me over to his palaces known as the Shishah Mahal (crystal palace) and the Hira Mahal (diamond palace). I admired much the manner of the court of Bhooj. I visited the tanks, ponds and the principal places in the city of Bhooj, and formed a high opinion of the

¹⁴⁰ Shah Bilawal is a holy place with hot springs, close to the Khelat frontier, about sixty miles north of Karachi, and the headquarters of the powerful Chhuto tribe, mostly subjects of the Khan of Khelat.

¹⁴¹ Seergundha is situated on the Seer Creek, the most westerly but one of the mouths of the Indus, and adjoins a ghastly desert covered with one foot of pure salt, as white as snow.

¹⁴² The title is now known as "Rao," not Rai Sahib.

people. I lived in Bhooj for six months and kept a journal of that part of my life, which I wrote in the Hindu-Sindhi character peculiar to Sindh, and have therein described in detail all that I saw and felt at the Rai's capital.

The English rassalah at Bhooj¹⁴³ consisted of 200 horse only, and it was under the command of one Mr. Watt, an Assistant of Colonel Pottinger's. The next in command was Lieut. John Jacob. I called upon Captain Watt in compliance with his desire, and he informed me that the Government of Bombay had sanctioned the addition of 300 more horse to the strength of the Bhooj rassalah,¹⁴⁴ but had expressed their inability to meet the expenditure immediately, and had authorized him to arrange with some banker for the purchase of 300 horses. The Rai of Cutch had undertaken to find him horses, but there was no banker (*shaukar*) in Bhooj or Mandavi who could advance him a loan to enable him to complete the bargain, and he would feel much obliged, he said, if I could assist him in the matter, adding that my services would strengthen my claim to the regard of Government. I replied that pecuniary gain was not a consideration for which I rendered service, and if Colonel Pottinger desired me to assist, I should fain do all I could. Captain Watt wrote to Colonel Pottinger informing him of what I had said, and on Colonel Pottinger advising me to be useful to Captain Watt and assuring me that it would be doing a service to the Government, I wrote with my own hand a Gujrati letter to the Rai of Cutch to request a loan of 2½ lakhs of koris (Cutch coin), which I promised to repay within fifteen days. The Rai very kindly sent me immediately on carts the amount asked for, which I forwarded straight to Captain Watt, who received the treasure and passed a receipt. Captain Watt soon set to purchase horses, and he obtained sowars from Poona through the Bombay Government, and the Rassalah of Bhooj (afterwards the Scinde Irregular Horse) of 500 horse thus started. I soon drew *hundis* on my firms at Bombay, Muscat and Karachi to the amount of the loan I had obtained from the Rai, and had them cashed at Mandavi through my mercantile agent at that place. Within a week's time my Mandavi agent sent me the required amount in cash, which I thankfully returned to the Rai's treasury on the eighth day.

The combined forces of Shah Sijawal and of the British Government successively took possession of Candahar, Ghazni, Cabul and Jelalabad without the least difficulty. Shah Sijawal was again seated on the throne of Cabul. Amir Dost Mahomed and his brothers all fled beyond the mountains and sought refuge at Bokhara. A part of the British forces returned from Cabul to Khelat (of the Brohees)¹⁴⁵. Mihrabkhan, who then ruled Khelat, behaved in an unfriendly way towards the English, so much so that British stores sent to Candahar were plundered on their way through Khelat. This led to a disagreement

¹⁴³ The celebrated Sinde Irregular Horse, which later, under Brigadier General John Jacob, C.B., put down freebooters and kept order on the north-west frontier of Sindh, and in the adjoining territory of the Khan of Khelat, was formed from a squadron of the Poona Horse, at that time serving in Cutch.

¹⁴⁴ Rassalah, *i.e.*, cavalry, the Resident's body-guard.

¹⁴⁵ Brahuis, who form the bulk of the Khelat population, are of Mongol descent, and in features, language and customs differ entirely from the tribes in Sindh and Khorasan. The Khan of Khelat is a Brahui.

with the Khan which resulted in a war. Mihrabkhan was killed in a fight, and his young son, Nasirkhan by name, fled with all his family from his domains. Shah Nawazkhan, a cousin of Mihrabkhan, was therefore put in power at Khelat by the British under treaty.

Colonel James Outram was with the British force at Khelat, and soon after the change of government effected there he left the place to carry the news to the Government of Bombay. Rahimkhan, the chief of the Menghals¹⁴⁶, being apprised of his departure from Khelat, pursued him at the head of 500 men, some mounted and others on foot. Colonel Outram rode a camel and was unaccompanied by any but the camel-man. He got information of the pursuit and travelled post-haste to reach Sonmiani, where, as soon as he arrived, he enquired if any of my *goomashtas*, servants, or agents were present. A number of my men offered their services at once, and he desired them to hire him a boat that night to take him forthwith to Karachi. He would not come down from his camel until a vessel was engaged and furnished with provisions for a voyage, and he set sail to Karachi without delay. My *goomashtas* stayed on shore until his boat was fairly off the coast and out of sight, and then they returned to their business house. Two or three hours after Colonel Outram's departure from Sonmiani, Rahimkhan Menghal¹⁴⁷ arrived in the town and enquired if any European had come thither. He was told that one had done so, but that he had immediately left for Karachi in the first vessel that was ready to start, and he went back much disappointed. My *goomashtas* communicated the news to my brother at Karachi by means of a *kossid*. The letter was read out to Colonel Outram, who offered thanks for his providential escape. I was then in Bhooj and the news was conveyed to me by means of letters. I informed Colonel Pottinger of it, and he in return read out to me Colonel Outram's letter to him to a similar effect. Colonel Outram was two days at Karachi and then proceeded on to Bombay.

¹⁴⁶ The Menghals are a powerful Belooch tribe.

¹⁴⁷ Sir James Outram himself states that the chief from whom he had this very narrow escape was the son of Wali Mahomed Khan, Chief of Wadd (the Menghal capital), who had been killed at the siege of Khelat and who desired to avenge his father's death.

CHAPTER VI.

Pottinger leaves Cutch – Offers to befriend Naomul – Letter to Supreme Government – Naomul joins Outram – Ceases keeping cavalry accounts – Naomul's confidential mission to Mir Sher Mahomed, and furnishing of supplies to troops entering that Mir's territory – Naomul's diplomacy – Interview with the Mir – Mir Sobdar's moonshis' arrival – Naomul visits Mir Shah Mahomed who gives him forged letter, supposed to be from Outram – Naomul hands letter to Outram – Punishment of forger – Mir Sher Mahomed's letter to Sobdar offering bribe to secure Outram's good offices – Ubhrial's knavery – Threatened hostilities between Hyderabad and Mirpur Amirs – Naomul an arbitrator – Sher Mahomed's letter to Mir Sobdar secured but afterwards stolen – Naomul's mistake in not giving it to Lieut. Leckie at once.

During my stay at Bhooj, Colonel Pottinger informed me that the Government of Bombay had appointed Colonel Outram Political Resident in Sindh. Mr. Melville was nominated to the post of Resident at Bhooj, and Colonel Pottinger prepared for departure to Bombay. He therefore one evening sent his residency Moonshi, Mr. Pitamber, to me to consult me what I would wish him to do for me before his departure. Mr. Pitamber told me from Colonel Pottinger that the Government had left it to him to make any proposals about Sindh he pleased and they would meet with approval, and that if I therefore liked, Colonel Pottinger would recommend me for a very handsome reward in cash in recognition of my many and important services; or, if I preferred it, he would recommend me for a seat in the Legislative Council of Bombay¹⁴⁸ as a mark of special distinction. I heard Mr. Pitamber and told him in reply that I would wait in person upon Colonel Pottinger on the morrow, and explain to him my views on the subject. I saw Colonel Pottinger the next day and on his speaking to me on the subject I informed him that as for a cash reward for my services I cared little for money, that I owned a very large and undivided family, and however large the amount of reward, it would be comparatively of no use to them, riches being so unfixed and unstable. In respect to the other proposal, I told him I did not understand of what earthly advantage my nomination to a seat in the Governor's Council at Bombay would be to me, when it was so improbable that I should ever be able to go up to that city, that my family owned a mercantile house at Bombay ever since the days of the Shidi Rulers but that none of them had visited the firm in person. I told him further that Sindh was yet subject to the Talpurs and had not become a British province. I therefore requested him that, in consideration of the services rendered, we might be permitted to enjoy the privilege of a permanent claim on the regard and interest of the British Government, and be permitted to maintain for ever a firm hold on the waist-band of the Government. Thereupon in my presence he took up a paper and filled all the four sides. He then

¹⁴⁸ This is evidently a mistake. See Introduction.

made two more copies of the document with his own hand and gave me one duly enclosed. With respect to the other two, he said he would send one to the Bombay Government and forward the other to Colonel Outram for the office files of the English Resident at the Sindh Court. He read out the letter to me wherein, among other strong expressions with which he recommended me to the patronage of the Government, he wrote that the Government had entrusted him with the difficult duty of arranging for the safe and convenient transit through Sindh of the Bombay portion of the British forces sent out to replace Shah Sijawal on the throne of Cabul. He willingly undertook the arduous duty, but that he was not ashamed to acknowledge that it was a task which he should have been hardly able to perform without my valuable assistance and aid. "Seth Naomul," he wrote, "was my arms and legs, which held up and supported my body, and were it not for his assistance the army under Sir John Keane would have found it difficult to move on from Bamnikote to Shikarpur as easily as it did." The letter contained much more to a similar effect. (I regret, much, however, that the original letter in my possession was stolen, as the sequel will disclose, and I have not been able to obtain another copy of the same from any of the Sindh offices.) Colonel Outram soon arrived and received charge from Colonel Pottinger.

However much I rejoiced at the nomination of Colonel Outram to the agency in Sindh, Colonel Pottinger's severance of connection was the cause of great sorrow to me. I left Bhooj soon after in company with Colonel Outram, and arrived at Lakhpat, where I again saw my father, Seth Hotchand, who paid a visit to Colonel Outram. At Lakhpat I feasted the Brahmins, Fakirs and the poor people of the place, and therefore stayed behind four days. Colonel Outram meanwhile proceeded to Hyderabad, where I soon joined him. I passed my day in the English camp in my tent, which stood next to Colonel Outram's, and at night I daily repaired to the town in compliance with his wishes and spent the interval with my relations to collect such political information as I could obtain. On my return to camp in the morning I usually called upon Nawab Ahmed Khan Lagari, who was among the first Sirdars of the day, and with whose family my forefathers were on very friendly terms since the days of his ancestor Nawab Wali Mahomed Lagari. Nawab Ahmed Khan himself visited me in the English camp once every week, and I generally took him to Colonel Outram. From Nawab Ahmed Khan I often learnt much, but I obtained more information from his Diwan, Diwan Fatehchand of Sehwan, who came to me every day in the morning and dined with me. Colonel Outram also tried to gather information through the Residency Moonshi, Mr. Aliakbar, who was also advised to spend his nights in the town of Hyderabad. He heard all I communicated to him, and took down notes of what he considered important. It would be too long to mention all the little services I rendered to Colonel Outram at Hyderabad.

After some time the Bhooj Rassalah, under the command of Captain Watt, came to Hyderabad and from thence proceeded up to Khanpur (Jacobabad). I was requested to appoint my *goomashtas* to pay the soldiers their salaries every month and to arrange for

the supply of provisions. I continued the work for five or six months, at the end of which I perceived that it was the business of an ordinary shroff or banker and did not suit my position. I explained my objections to Colonel Outram and told him that I should feel much obliged to him if he could kindly permit me to transfer the duty to someone else whom he might appoint, and allow me to clear up all old accounts with the Rassalah, and obtain from the Government the amount I had originally advanced to Captain Watt at Bhooj to enable him to raise the Rassalah. He accordingly wrote to Government and obtained sanction to pay off my loan, and I soon severed my connection with the Rassalah and called back my *goomashtas*. Captain Watt was succeeded in command by another officer, Curtis by name, and after Curtis's departure Lieut. Jacob, who was all the while a junior officer, was appointed to the command of the Rassalah, and he changed the name of Khanpur to that of Jacobabad.

One day at 2.30 p.m., in the month of Poh, sumbat 1897 (A.D. 1840-41), Colonel Outram sent for me, and after I was seated he lifted up a pencil and held it up saying, who would take up the gauntlet. I stood up and requested him to let me know what it was for. He said he knew well that I could successfully carry out what he wished to propose, that he, in fact, considered me the most proper person for it, but he could not, he added, communicate his proposals to me until I offered to undertake any task that might be imposed. I then salaamed him, and took the pencil he held in his hand. He then disclosed to me that the Government of Bombay had ordered¹⁴⁹ a portion of their army at Bhooj to proceed to Shikarpur by land, *via* Bellary, that he had written to Mir Nur Mahomed on the matter, and the Mir had in reply informed him that he had personally no objection to the passage of British troops through Sindh, but that Bellary and that part of the country belonged to Mir Sher Mahomed of Mirpur and formed his possession. Colonel Outram further told me that Mir Sher Mahomed was inimical to the British interests, and that he had learnt for certain that the Mir would oppose the passage of British troops through his territory, and that there would therefore necessarily be some fight. He consequently desired me to go to Mirpur of Sher Mahomed at once, and thence dispatch my *goomashtas* to the army at Bellary to arrange for their provisions and carriage, and to remain with the force until it had passed Sher Mahomed's territory. He wished that I should myself remain at Mirpur, where Sher Mahomed himself resided, and from that as from the centre of action watch the movements of Sher Mahomed and direct my *goomashtas* as I might think proper. He added that it was the most delicate and arduous duty which he had entrusted to me, and although he had the fullest confidence in me he would nevertheless desire to impress upon me the necessity of using the greatest care, attention and promptitude.

¹⁴⁹ The Government records show that this incident occurred in October or November, 1840. The units were the 3rd Light Cavalry, under Lieut.-Col. Wilson, from Rajkote, and the 4th Troop Horse Artillery, under Capt. Leeson, from Deesa. Both crossed the Lesser Rann *via* Santalpur (in Palanpur) to Shikarpur (Cutch). They then came to Bhooj, and, marching separately on account of scarcity of water, proceeded due north, and crossed the Greater Rann.

In accordance with Colonel Outram's directions, I immediately prepared for departure to Mirpur. He got twenty camels for me from the Commissariat Department to carry my luggage, and ordered twenty mounted soldiers out of the one hundred horsemen left behind with him by Captain Watt, to accompany me, and he drew an order on the Residency treasurer to place Rs. 50,000 at the disposal of such of my *goomashtas* as I might appoint to receive the sum for my use. I told him that I felt disinclined to carry treasure with me, that my measures could not be obstructed for want of money, especially in Sindh, which was my native province, and that wherever I went I could find a home, that in Sindh I could command money even in a desert, and therefore wished that he should not burden me with the carrying of cash. He replied that such were the orders of the Government, and I must necessarily take some cash with me, and if I did not require it at Mirpur I might send it on with my *goomashtas* to the Commander of the force, and obtain a receipt from him on delivery. The amount was, however, at my request lowered down to Rs. 20,000 only.

I was ready dressed in my military garb and went to bid farewell to Colonel Outram who was much pleased to see me prepared to start. As a last piece of advice he told me to keep the news of my going to Mirpur a perfect secret until I reached the place, which he wished me to do as soon as I could. My eldest son Trikamdas was with me at Hyderabad, and I left him in my tent under the care of one of my confidential *goomashtas*. I started for Mirpur at 4.30 in the afternoon. I made all possible haste to journey on, but my march was necessarily guided by my baggage camels, which were camels of burden and walked slowly. I had only crossed the Fuleli when the sun set, and when I reached Dabiari, a place eight or nine miles distant, it grew so dark that we could not proceed further owing to pitfalls, canal excavations, and other difficulties of the way incidental to a country not traversed by regular roads. Our people could not find their way and we had to alight at a little distance from the village. When the moon, however, rose, at 12 at night, we again reloaded our camels and proceeded on. At 5 o'clock in the morning we neared Alahyarka-Tanda. Not wishing to enter the town, and thinking it impolitic to go to Mirpur during the day, I put up in a *dharamsala*¹⁵⁰ along the banks of a canal a mile-and-a-half distant from the Tanda. I restarted at about 5 o'clock in the evening and passed Allahyar's Tanda by the fish market. A number of men were informed of my arrival, and soon hundreds flocked around me and begged of me to stay a little. I told them that I had urgent business at Lakhpat, and I must go. So I took my leave of them and journeyed on. At midnight I reached Mirpur and observed a nice spot to the east of the town. I thought of pitching my tents there, but expecting to find a still more suitable spot I passed straight through the main bazaar of the town from one extremity to the other, and I saw a spot more elevated which, however, on close examination, was discovered to be a resting-place for sheep and goats and spread over with their dung. I therefore retraced my steps the same way to the first spot, and was amused to find that not even a dog barked both on my way up and down. Mirpur was

¹⁵⁰ A public rest-house, or caravanserai.

the seat of government and the headquarters of Mir Sher Mahomed, and what struck me most was the fancied security in which the Amir thus lived in his own capital. I had my tent pitched to the east of the town opposite the fort, within which Mir Sher Mahomed resided. I had no sleep for two nights, and so feeling weary I went to rest after giving directions concerning the pitching of different tents. Before four in the morning the arrangements were all perfected, all was in order, and I was accommodated in my principal tent. I had instructed my men not to inform anyone of my arrival. With the dawn of day, the whole of Mirpur was startled to find a number of tents, having as it were sprung up during the night, on the plain opposite the fort. Various rumors went afloat: some conjectured that a sahib-lok (European) had come, and numbers collected to obtain some information or a glimpse of him who lodged within the tents. The whole town was in agitation. It was the month of Ramzan and the Mussalman fasting-days. Mir Sher Mahomed, in accordance with the custom of his court, held no durbar and kept all the time within his private apartments. When he was, however, informed of what had as it were sprung up during the night, he lost all rest. He repaired to the durbar rooms and sent men after men to learn who had come. But the guard would not permit anyone to approach my tents. His curiosity therefore grew still more intense, and with it his anxiety increased. At length some of my men happening to go to the town on business, people came to learn who had arrived. The news was communicated to Mir Sher Mahomed, who sat all the while in durbar. He then desired to know the reason of my going to his capital. Thereupon two Hindu gentlemen, Messrs. Jethmal and Pirimal, who were originally in the employment of Mir Ghulamali Peroz and had since taken service under Mir Sher Mahomed, offered to bring him the information. These two men accordingly came to my tent and told the guard to inform me that they had come to offer their services and pay their respects to me. I called them in and after some indifferent conversation they said they wondered to know how I should have condescended to honor their poor town with a visit. In reply I simply told them that I was advised to go there for a change of climate. They then departed and communicated the news to Mir Sher Mahomed, whom they further informed that his principal muktyarkhar, Diwan Chatursing, was related to me, and advised him to send the Diwan to me to know further particulars. Mir Sher Mahomed accordingly directed Diwan Chatursing to see me and prevail upon me to pay him a visit. Diwan Chatursing was doubtless related to me, and he came to me in the evening by direction. After some indifferent conversation he enquired from me why I had come to Mirpur, but I gave him no direct reply. He then informed me that Mir Sher Mahomed had given me his salaams, and that he had desired to see me, adding that the Mir had learnt of my arrival at Mirpur in the morning and, unlike the usual practice of the Mirpur Sirkar during the month of Ramzan, which I knew was the month of fasts for Mussalmans, he had left his private apartments and was seated in the durbar room earnestly expecting a visit from me, that it was almost evening and Mir Sher Mahomed had not stirred out from the durbar room and that he had deputed him (Diwan Chatursing) to accompany me to the Mir. I replied that I did not feel well then, nor did I consider it essentially necessary to go to the Mir immediately, but as his ancestors and

my ancestors were on very friendly terms I would pay him all the respect he deserved at some other time when I felt better. The Diwan then said that Mir Sher Mahomed was informed that he was related to me, and that if I did not accompany him the Mir would feel greatly disappointed, and it would lower him in his estimation and damage his prospects. I then considered it a proper and fit opportunity to visit the Mir and sound his heart, so taking four *sowars* with me I rode up to the Mir's bungalow, a remarkably old and dilapidated building of the days of Mir Thara,¹⁵¹ where he sat in state. On my entering he offered me a "*munji*," and after the usual salutations were over he asked me why I did not give him either a letter or message from Colonel Outram nor even his salaams. I told him that Colonel Outram had neither given me any compliments to him nor a letter, and so I could not tender any. He said he and Colonel Outram were friends. I replied that they were not, but that I and he (the Mir) were inhabitants of the same country and our ancestors bore goodwill towards each other, and so I went to pay him a visit and respects on my own account.

One Imambaksh, a Sayed, inhabitant of Nagore, who attended the durbar and was present on the occasion, then enquired of me if I knew anything of a fight that had taken place somewhere towards Jodpur, in Hindustan proper, between the English and others. He addressed the question to me, and several mouths at once opened to answer him, some stating they (meaning the English) received hard shoes (meaning severe beating with shoes), and others said they were well discomfited; many others followed in the same strain, imputing various acts of shame and disgrace to the English arms. I looked on in silence without uttering a single word. The Mir, then turning his face towards me, enquired why I did not reply to what I had heard. I then answered, Sayed Imambaksh put me a simple question, and before I could reply a number of people sitting around began to speak the most unbecoming things in the most unbecoming language, of the English Government, whereby they, however, only displayed their folly and ignorance. "Well, Mir Sahib," I added, "hear me now. Your ancestors," I continued, "spent lakhs and lakhs of rupees in the employment of *elchees* (ambassadors) at the courts of various kings, who communicated trustworthy information, but you young Amirs considering such expenditure useless have discontinued that policy, and have chosen instead to spend large sums of money on personal pleasures and the purchase of luxury. And what is the result?. In place of authentic and trustworthy information that one would expect to hear at the courts of kings, here are circulated the bazaar gossip and the tales that opium-eaters and chersh¹⁵² or ganja-smokers delight to tell. Mir Sahib, when one hears another blaspheming his god, his religion, his religious preceptor, or him whose salt he eats, *i.e.*, his employer, he should if he has the power cut off the tongue of the blasphemer, but if he be powerless he had better turn a deaf ear to the abuses. I have been hearing all this blasphemy uttered against the British Government, and that at your durbar, and feel much aggrieved. But I am a resident of

¹⁵¹ Mir Thara was the grandfather of Sher Mahomed, and the founder of the Mirpur dynasty.

¹⁵² Chersh is a sweetmeat made of the intoxicating flowers of Indian hemp, and ganja consists of the dried flowers and seed, which are used for smoking.

Sindh, and subject to you, and therefore powerless and can do nothing." So saying, I stood up and bade him farewell. He said, "Wait, wait," but I took my leave and departed, telling him that I should see him again on some other occasion.

As I returned from Mir Sher Mahomed I directed my confidential *goomashta*, Rewachand Mahirchand, to prepare to go to the English camp at Bellary, and carry with him the treasure given by Colonel Outram, which he was to make over to the Commander of the forces, and obtain a receipt. I further told him to remain with the troops to render any assistance he might be called upon to give until they had passed the territory subject to Mir Sher Mahomed into the domains of the Hyderabad Amirs, that he was then to return to me at Mirpur where I should remain until his return and bring with him a certificate from the English Commander testifying how useful he had been. I ordered sixteen Sowars to accompany him, and he started, though much afraid at heart. I did not inform him of the result of my visit to Mir Sher Mahomed.

Mir Sher Mahomed having failed to learn from me direct why I went to his capital, wrote to Mir Sobdar at Hyderabad, whom he always consulted, and with whom he was at one, to enquire the reason of my visit to Mirpur. He grew restless and the delay made him more anxious, and he started a regular post to Hyderabad to obtain the news. At length Mir Sobdar sent his principal officers, Moonshi Awatrai and Diwan Salamatrai, to Mirpur to quiet the fears of Sher Mahomed, and to give ease to his mind. They came with very great pomp, mounted on horses covered with gold and silver trappings. Diwan Salamatrai was my friend and relation, and he came to visit me directly at the advice of Moonshi Awatrai. He began to dive variously into my heart, and asked me over and over again why I went to Mirpur. I gave him but one answer, that Mirpur was known for its good water and climate, and I was advised to visit it for the sake of my health. They stayed at Mirpur for eight days, during which time Diwan Salamatrai came to me every day. They then went back to Hyderabad, and I was informed that Moonshi Awatrai promised Mir Sher Mahomed to effect his friendship with Colonel Outram, and the Mir in return agreed to pay Rs. 20,000 on account of expenses in a letter addressed to Mir Sobdar, wherein he further desired that his friendship with Colonel Outram should be concluded on the same basis as that of the Hyderabad Amirs. Moonshi Awatrai, I was told, after having obtained this document from Mir Sher Mahomed, left for Hyderabad immediately. I was at Mirpur when I heard of the death of Mir Nur Mahomed, and learnt that Raja Kharaksingh, of the Punjab, eldest son of Raja Ranjitsingh, had breathed his last, and that his grandson Nao Nihalsingh, too, had been killed by the fall of an arch of the Lahore fort while returning home from the funeral ceremony of his father.¹⁵³

¹⁵³ The fall of the mass of stone may have been the result of a plot, as Sir Lepel Griffin thought, or purely accidental, owing to the firing of cannon at Kharaksing's death having loosened the masonry. It happened on 5th November, 1840.

My *goomashta* Rewachand having seen English troops safely cross over into the territory of the Hyderabad Mirs, and having carried out my directions in every respect, returned to me after the expiration of a month, at Mirpur, where I stayed all the while. He brought with him a receipt for the amount handed over by him to the Commander of the forces, and a certificate testifying to the service he had rendered.

In the interval I never went to see Mir Sher Mahomed again, and after Rewachand's return I soon left Mirpur to return to Hyderabad. I arrived at Alahyar's Tanda and halted there for the day. All respectable people of the town, whether Hindus or Mussalmans, honored me with a visit, bringing with them according to the custom of Sindh, sugar candy or butter as presents. At seven o'clock in the evening some confidential servants of Mir Shah Mahomed, the younger brother of Mir Sher Mahomed, who resided at Alahyar's Tanda, visited me on behalf of the Mir, and after communicating to me the Mir's salaams, told me that the Mir earnestly desired to see me in private on some important business, and that he had repaired to a small bungalow in a garden close by the spot where I resided, and there awaited my arrival. They pressed me to meet him, and I consented to visit the Mir. On my going to him he received me very courteously, and informed me that he was on very friendly terms with Colonel Outram. I contradicted him directly, when he repeated his former assertion, and said that as a token of his friendship Colonel Outram had lately addressed him a letter bearing his official seal and sent two European pistols. He added that his friendship with Colonel Outram was negotiated by Agha Ibrahim Shah, son of Agha Ismail Shah, whom he had on that account handsomely rewarded by conferring upon him a Jaghir of 1,000 bigas, and paid him Rs. 2,500 in cash for the purchase of presents in *kimkhabs* (silks embroidered with gold and silver thread) for Colonel Outram, and that he had moreover agreed to give him Rs. 100 (*kori*) monthly for all future negotiations between him and Colonel Outram. He offered to produce both the letter and the pistols, and on my asking him to do so he showed me both. I looked at the letter and found that it was drawn up in Persian, and the envelope in which it was enclosed bore a square seal on wax in Persian characters. I then gave him assurance and told him to take heart, and only asked of him the use of the letter he had shown me for a few days, and this he willingly handed over to me. I took my leave of him and returned to my tents near Sataunmal's Well, where I had put up, and immediately gave orders for a start. My Supper was ready, but I would not wait to partake of it until I had reached Jam Hala's Tanda, eight miles distant from Alahyar's Tanda, where I rested for a few hours, and restarted for Hyderabad while it was yet night. Next morning I rejoined the English camp, and had the happiness to be in Colonel Outram's company again. I informed him of all that had passed at Mirpur, my conversation with Mir Sher Mahomed, and how it threw the Mir into consternation. I informed him how my *goomashta* Rewachand had served the British troops while passing through Sher Mahomed's territory, and handed over to him the certificate of the Commander testifying to Rewachand's usefulness. He was pleased with all that I told him and thanked me for it. In a letter dated 8th December, 1840, addressed to the Government of

India, he took an official notice of my services which he summed up in the following terms: —

"I take this opportunity of calling to recollection my letter to your address, dated 4th June last, recommending a small pension and dress of honor to be conferred on Naomul Seth for former services, to which no reply has yet been received. Since when I have received much assistance from that devoted friend of the British Government in the present negotiation with Mir Sher Mahomed, as shown in the accompanying correspondence, in assisting the troops in passing through the country, and also in bringing to light the peculations of Moonshi Jethanand, whereby he has not only brought upon himself the enmity of that individual but also of all the most influential *soucars* of the city who were concerned in Moonshi Jethanand's frauds."

When I, however, lastly told Colonel Outram of my meeting with Mir Shah Mahomed, and how I had managed to obtain possession of the letter of alliance addressed to the Mir in his name, he felt exceedingly rejoiced. I showed him the letter which I had with me at the time, and after he had read it he informed me that the letter, which was drawn up in his name bore a forged seal in Persian, that it acknowledged the receipt of the present of *kimkhabs* from the Mir, and informed him of a return made in pistols. I informed him that the Mir had told me that the alliance was duly negotiated by Agha Ibrahim Shah, whom he had rewarded for the service thus supposed to have been rendered. He said it was a case of the grossest fraud against the English Government, and that I had caught a big fish. He addressed a letter to Mir Nasir Khan on the subject in the strongest terms possible, and demanded the presence of Agha Ibrahim Shah at the residency for enquiry and investigation. Mir Nasir Khan sent for Ibrahim Shah and all his elder brothers at his court and enquired into the matter. Ibrahim Shah ultimately acknowledged his guilt. Mir Nasir Khan thereupon rode up in person to Colonel Outram one evening at seven o'clock, and requested him to desist from holding the enquiry himself, as Agha Ibrahim Shah was a son of the chief Sirdar of the Sindh Court, Agha Ismail Shah, who, as a special mark of distinction, was allowed to ride in a palanquin, and it would be therefore detrimental to the honor of the Sindh Court if he surrendered Agha Ibrahim Shah to him, but that he, nevertheless, promised to mete out deserving punishment to the Agha himself, as he had acknowledged his guilt. Agha Ibrahim Shah was accordingly sentenced to two years' imprisonment by the Mir, and he remained in custody at the English camp in charge of a gunner. Thereafter Colonel Outram desired me to try to obtain possession of the letter sent by Mir Sher Mahomed to Mir Sobdar, through his officer Moonshi Awatrai, soliciting Mir Sobdar's good offices in effecting his alliance with Colonel Outram, and promising to pay Rs. 20,000 for necessary expenses. I told Colonel Outram that that was an affair which would cost money, and he assured me that the British Indian Government would defray all expenses that might be incurred. I therefore set to work and took no little pains and trouble to secure the document. At last, one Ubhriamal, an Amil resident at Hyderabad,

offered to bring me the letter in original provided I gave him Rs. 900 (kori) as reward money. Ubhriamal was a well-known character. He had had both his ears cut off by the orders of Mir Sher Mahomed for some fraudulent act that he had committed. Feeling that Colonel Outram was anxious to get possession of the letter I did not grudge to advance 900 rupees to Ubhriamal after he had promised and sworn that he would bring me the document immediately. But Ubhriamal never afterward showed his face, and ran away from Hyderabad. I communicated the fact to Colonel Outram, who said that I had lost my money and that the Government would not pay me a penny, as it was my business to have taken particular care before I paid anybody cash in this connection.

Soon after, a boundary dispute arose between Mir Sher Mahomed and Nasir Khan, and both sides prepared for war. Colonel Outram interfered and offered to mediate and settle the dispute amicably. At his advice, arbitrators were appointed, and both parties agreed to abide by their decision. Colonel Outram nominated (1) Mr. Whitelock, his Assistant, and (2) myself on the part of the English Government. Mir Nasir Khan deputed (1) Nawab Ahmed Khan Lagari, (2) Mahomed Yusif (the elder), (3) Moonshi Wahram Advani; and Mir Sher Mahomed was represented by (1) his father-in-law, Alikhan Talpur by name, and (2) Jafarkhan Nizamani. We proceeded up to Allahyar's Tanda, and were there for fifteen days until the matter was finally decided.

After our return to Hyderabad, Colonel Outram went to Bombay for a month. When departing he said to me that he would expect to receive from me on his return the letter sent by Mir Sher Mahomed to the address of Mir Sobdar. He desired me to try to secure it and keep it safe. In accordance with Colonel Outram's desire I set to work anxiously, and after much toil and trouble and at great expense obtained possession of the original document at last. I took it to Captain Leckie, who was Assistant to Colonel Outram, whom he had left behind in charge of the residency. He had the document read, and asked me to give it to him. I told him quite innocently that Colonel Outram had desired me to keep it safe in my possession, and that he would take it from me on his return. I requested him therefore to write to Colonel Outram to consult him. He then returned the document to me, but from his face I could see that he felt somewhat angry. Colonel Outram soon arrived, and Captain Leckie filled his ears against me. Pleased with what I had achieved, I went to meet Colonel Outram with a heart full of joy. I was announced, but to my great amazement he replied that he could not receive me and that I had better go and wait upon Captain Leckie. I had always such a high hope of Colonel Outram's regard that I should have been the last man to expect that message from him, and I was much aggrieved to feel that all exertion made and trouble taken and expenses incurred in obtaining possession of the document, which he so earnestly and anxiously wanted, were to no purpose. He did not seem to appreciate perhaps my services rendered so gratuitously, and I returned home feeling greatly disappointed. I could never afterwards take courage to go either to Colonel Outram or Captain Leckie. Ten or twelve days after this occurrence, one night after I had retired to rest, a private box of mine was stolen. This contained Mir Sher Mahomed's letter above referred to, a certified

copy of Colonel Pottinger's letter to the address of the Government written by him when he was about to sever his connection with Sindh, a pair of pearls worth Rs. 600, ornaments, and various other valuables. I lived in the English camp, which was well arranged and well guarded, and I was assured that nobody could dare commit theft there. I nevertheless took every precaution for the safety of my things, and when I was first informed that the box was missing, I could not lead myself to believe that it was lost, as my tent was well guarded at night. I thought that someone had only played a joke in concealing the box. But when after a great search and earnest enquiry the box could not be found, I learnt with sorrow that enmity and jealousy, and not temptation, were at the bottom of the affair, I did not in the least degree mind the loss of the ornaments or jewels in the box, nor did I much care for Sher Mahomed's letter to Mir Sobdar, what I felt most aggrieved at was the loss of the copy of Colonel Pottinger's letter in the box. Colonel Pottinger had spoken to me in very high terms of the letter, and had assured me that though Sindh was yet then subject to the Mirs, I should one day or other reap very good fruit on the strength of his letter. I attributed the loss of the paper so valuable to me to the Mirpur document, and repented of the day when I kept both together in the same box. I remembered Colonel Pottinger once telling me that he had sent a copy of the letter to Colonel Outram for the Sindh Residency Office, and I asked the head clerk of Colonel Outram to kindly give me another copy from the Resident's Office Records, which he consented to do. But he soon informed me that on looking for the paper he found the letter missing from the files although he had seen it there at one time.¹⁵⁴ This news added to my grief, which, combined with the effect of the hot summer days of Hyderabad, brought on fever accompanied with vomiting. The Residency doctor attended upon me, and administered medicine. One day, however, I was dangerously ill, and Colonel Outram hearing of it came to see me accompanied by the doctor, under whose kind treatment and care and by the grace of God I began to improve, though I was not restored to perfect health for a long time, as the loss of Colonel Pottinger's recommendatory letter continued to prey upon my mind.

¹⁵⁴ These incidents well illustrate the intrigues that used to surround a Political Agency in India, and the methods adopted for ruining confidential individuals. Seth Naomul had not been wise in keeping the Mir's letter in his own custody, and he certainly would have been ruined had not his character been so remarkably high.- EDITOR.

CHAPTER VII.

Marriage festivities – Distinguished guests – Return to Karachi – Naomul receives through Lieut. Eastwick the dress of honor from the Governor-General – Constructs houses in Sadar Bazaar – Mir's threats – Sir Charles Napier's arrival – Mir Ali Murad solicits Napier's aid against his brother Rustom – Rustom's flight – Attack on Hyderabad Residency – Battles of Miani and Hyderabad – Designs of Numria, Karmati and Jokhia chiefs to surprise Karachi and slaughter garrison – Alarm of Naomul's family – Panic in the City – Arranges with officers for defending Karachi – Talpur flag hauled down and Naomul sends kossids to Sir Charles Napier with letters secretly hidden – Naomul invites the help of Sahib Khan Chhuto – Marauding Beloochis pursued – Triumphant return of Hotchand – English detachment cut up by Beloochis – Naomul procures guides and follows detachment into difficult hills – Pistol shot fired – Suspected treachery – Belooch camps taken – The three chiefs surrender to Capt. Preedy – Naomul appointed Deputy Collector.

In the month of Akhar, sumbat 1898 (A.D. 1841), it was agreed to hold the marriages of my seventh and youngest brother, Lekhraj, of my nephew Atmaram, and of my eldest son Trikamdas. My *goomashtas* came up from Karachi a month before to make all preliminary arrangements, and on the arrival of my family at Hyderabad, I left the English camp and removed to the town. The nuptials were celebrated with all due ceremony, and people of all classes were feasted for more than twenty days. Invitations were sent to persons living at the Tandas immediately adjoining Hyderabad, and they all kindly attended. Captain Leckie, the English doctor, and all other people connected with the Residency, with Nawabs Mahomed Khan and Alabadad Khan, and other men of note, honored me with their visit and company. My health, however, showed no marked improvement all this time. I could not forget the loss of Colonel Pottinger's letter, and distress on that account aided by the effect of the summer heat of Hyderabad continued to undermine my health. After the marriages were over, I returned with my family to Karachi in Sawan, sumbat 1898, corresponding English date, August, 1841. The climate of Karachi proved congenial to my health, and I began to improve. I had been absent from Karachi for two years continuously, six months of which were passed with Colonel Pottinger at Bhooj, and the rest with Colonel Outram in the English camp near Hyderabad. All this while I rendered service gratuitously and lived and travelled in a style suited to my local position and rank at my own expense. When I returned to Karachi I was however exceedingly happy to see that my brothers continued to be greatly useful to the British force and navy at that station, and that things were managed as well as when I left Karachi for Bhooj. I visited the British officers commanding the troops, and was much pleased with their company. I had my tent, as before, pitched opposite the general's, and I repaired to the camp every day in the morning at 10 a.m., and returned home after 5 p.m. Two or three months after, Mr.

Eastwick,¹⁵⁵ the younger, who was Assistant Political Resident for Shikarpur in Sindh, arrived from Hyderabad. I went to pay him a visit, when he informed me that the Right Honorable the Governor-General of India had sent for me a dress of honor, consisting of twenty-seven cloths, which he asked me to receive. I accepted the gift thankfully. A month after, one Mr. Candy,¹⁵⁶ of the Bengal Service, was appointed Political Resident in Sindh, and when I went to see him he informed me that His Excellency the Right Honorable the Governor-General of India was pleased to confer upon me a political pension of Rs. 100 per mensem,¹⁵⁷ that the Government would in return only expect me to advise them on matters in which I might be consulted. I thanked him and the Government for the communication. The Sindh Political Department was in existence for only three months more when, with its abolition, my pension allowances also ceased.

I however continued to visit the English camp regularly. One day, Captain Henry Preedy, who was at the head of the Commissariat Department at Karachi, and acted also as Bazaar Master (Cantonment Magistrate), took me to the Commander of the forces, in whose presence he told me, "We have tried much and exerted our best to improve the Sadar Bazaar. We have got the Amirs to consent to exempt all goods intended for sale in the Sadar from transit duty. But with all that no natives of the town would open shops in the Sadar, and we learn that the officers of the Talpur Government do forbid and frighten the traders, and no one can muster up courage to come to sell within Cantonment limits." He therefore solicited my offices and assistance in the matter of the development of trade in the Sadar. I replied that I was ready to do anything they commanded even at the sacrifice of incurring the displeasure of the Talpur Government. I knew for certain that the native officers did discourage traders from opening shops in the Sadar, but since they desired my assistance and aid, I should gladly do what I could to open shops in the Bazaar for the sale of various articles. Accordingly, the very next day I ordered several houses¹⁵⁸ to be built at my own expense, started my own branch firm in the camp, and induced several traders to open grain, cloth and other shops for the convenience of the residents in the camp. I appointed one Narsingdas, of Ahmedabad, as my manager, and he was very useful to the sepoy in the way of granting them *hundis* in favor of their families on Hindustan proper and other parts of India. Trade in the Sadar thus began to thrive and prosper. The officers of the Talpur Government at Karachi thereupon conjointly complained to the Hyderabad court that I had ruined the trade of Karachi, and thus materially injured the revenue¹⁵⁹ accruing therefrom. This so incensed Mir Nasir Khan that he dispatched

¹⁵⁵ Lieut. E. B. Eastwick, author of *Dry Leaves from Young Egypt*, subsequently a Professor at Haileybury. Secretary to the British Legation, Teheran, and M.P. for Penrhyn and Falmouth, 1868-1874. Later in life he was the author of *Murray's Handbook for India*.

¹⁵⁶ This name the Editor cannot trace.

¹⁵⁷ See Appendix X.

¹⁵⁸ See Introduction. These houses were pulled down under Sir Charles Napier's regime.

¹⁵⁹ The inference is that the Amirs' tax collectors would find it difficult to enforce imposts in a British cantonment.

a party of 20 horse to arrest me. I was apprised of the order by my relatives connected with the Hyderabad court, and no sooner did I receive the letter than I communicated the news to Captain Preedy and the Commander of the British force. They directly wrote to Lieut. Mylne,¹⁶⁰ Assistant Political Agent, to inform him of what they had learnt, and requested him to protest against it. The letter was sent with an express messenger, and as soon as Lieut. Mylne received it, he went in person to Mir Nasir Khan to ask him if the report he had heard was true. Mir Nasir Khan angrily said "Yes, he had given the orders—that I had ruined Karachi and injured his revenue of lakhs, and that I was in his clutches and he would have me hauled up." Lieut. Mylne as angrily replied that he should understand that I was under the patronage of the British Government and secure under the care of the Governor-General of India. He therefore warned the Mir against the adoption of any proceedings hurtful or injurious to me. So saying Lieut. Mylne left him, and it had all the desired effect. Mir Nasir Khan privately recalled his order, and no Talpur *sowar* ever came to Karachi.

In 1842 Sir Charles Napier, being appointed Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in Sindh, arrived at Karachi, which he however soon left for Hyderabad. In the beginning of 1843 a quarrel arose between two brother Mirs of Khyrpoor —Mirs Rustom and Ali Murad, and both collected their men for a fight. The latter was in communication with Sir Charles Napier, whose aid he solicited in subduing his brother. Sir Charles Napier readily consented, and Mir Rustom fled and sought refuge with the Mirs of Hyderabad, whither he was followed by Sir Charles Napier. The Hyderabad Government was in a rage, and thought of opposition. As preliminary to the rest of the drama, the Beloochis suddenly attacked the Residency house, which Colonel Outram however gallantly defended against odds for a few hours, until he could arrange to get on board a Government steamer on the Indus. The Talpurs collecting their men advanced with an army of 30,000 strong to Miani, about four koss distant from Hyderabad, to check the progress of Sir Charles Napier, who had by that time arrived at Halla, Sir Charles commanded a force of 2,500 fighting men only, but they were all well disciplined and well trained, while the army of the Amirs was a crowd of hastily collected and ill-experienced Beloochis under unskillful generals, unacquainted with the tactics of war. The battle of Miani followed, in which the army of the Talpurs was defeated, and it fled. The Beloochis fought well and used the sword bravely, but they were all untrained otherwise. The Mirs fled with their army and shut themselves up within the citadel of Hyderabad. The victorious Sir Charles followed them, and encamped at Mirkhan's Tanda, where the Hyderabad Mirs all went and surrendered to him. The families of the Mirs withdrew beyond the Fuleli, and Sir Charles Napier occupied the citadel.

¹⁶⁰ In the original Memoir the name of the officer is stated to be Melville, but the Parliamentary Blue Book shows clearly that the writer was Lieut. Mylne.

Before the battle of Miani and about the time when the Residency at Hyderabad was rashly attacked by the Beloochis, the Mirs had written to Jam Maherali Jokhia of Mallir, Malik Ahmed Khan Numria, and Malik Ibrahim Khan Karmati,¹⁶¹ to say that, instead of going to Hyderabad to cooperate with the rest of the Belooch army, they should unite their strength and with their combined forces suddenly fall upon the British camp at Karachi, plunder and burn all that they could lay their hands upon and kill every British soldier, European or native, not leave an English dog alive, and put to the sword every other person in Karachi connected with the British or their party. The Amirs informed their officers at Karachi of what they had written to the Jokhia Jam and the Maliks, and further desired them to give the Sirdars every possible assistance in money and grain to enable them to carry out their orders.

The three Sirdar Jaghirdars immediately collected their men and intended to surprise Karachi and the English camp. But feeling desirous that no Mussalman should be injured in the indiscriminate slaughter and carnage that was to follow, they privately informed some of them to withdraw from Karachi as speedily as they could, while they pillaged and plundered the villages adjoining Karachi. The news, however, leaked out from the Mussalmans to other residents of the town, and all felt panic-stricken. On 16th February, 1843, as I was returning from the English camp at eve, I was struck with the suddenly changed appearance of the town. All shops and doors were closed, and the town which in the morning I had left busy with the bustle of men, looked all deserted. I reached home, and to my great amazement I found my whole family assembled together in one place and anxiously awaiting my arrival. I had in the meantime sent out men to enquire for certain what the matter was, and they soon brought me very authentic information about what the Talpurs had written to their officers, and how these had sympathetically communicated the news to their relatives and friends among the Hindu merchants, who were all prepared to betake themselves on the morrow to the ships and boats in the harbor, which were all well furnished with provisions to last for several days, and ready to sail away to some friendly port on the slightest appearance of danger. On going home, where all the members of my family had collected, I found my grandmother, Lady Dharianamal,¹⁶² sitting among the rest, and she angrily addressed me thus: "Boy, I have witnessed various vicissitudes of fortune and changes of Government. I can call to mind many fights and flights of the Talpurs themselves, and I well remember the flight of people before the invading army of Madad. Boy, I know not what you mean by compelling your whole family on your account alone to expose themselves to danger and slaughter." This took place on the night of the 16th February, 1843, and my grandmother anxiously desired me that I should arrange somehow or other to send them away immediately; that it mattered

¹⁶¹ It was from these three chiefs, the heads of extensive Belooch clans in the hilly and desert country around Karachi, that Seth Naomul originally had procured camels for transport. They were all men of considerable influence and power, and the Numria chief was related by marriage to the Talpurs.

¹⁶² Seth Naomul's grandmother was the wife of Seth Lalmandas. the lady in the text would therefore be his grand-aunt.

little if all property were plundered, provided lives could be saved. I then quietly and calmly replied: "Be happy, fear nothing; be afraid of naught, and quietly pray to God. Our ship, the Kotia Haripasa, is anchored in the harbor with Seth Hotchand on board. The vessel is well and plentifully provisioned, manned by Hindu sailors of Porebunder, and we can all sail away at a moment's notice. There are besides a number of English ships in the harbor, my men take provisions to them every day, and we can find shelter even on board any one of these vessels in case of need; but it is too late now to do aught, the night being far advanced. In the morning I will do as you will desire, and arrange for your departure if it should please you."

I gave them great assurance and then retired to my business house to seek rest. But anxiety drove away all sleep from my eyes, and I impatiently watched the break of dawn. As soon as it was morning I was mounted and I rode up to the English camp. I called at Captain Preedy's cottage door. A *jamadar* who slept outside awoke, knocked at the door, and Captain Preedy admitted me inside. I communicated to him all that I had heard, how the Hyderabad court had directed the Jokhia, the Karmati and the Numria Burphats, to surprise and attack the English camp, to plunder, burn and cut down all English soldiers, and all connected with the British in name or interest, and to spare not even a dog belonging to the British camp. I related to him what consternation the news had spread in the town, and how people were prepared to flee. I informed him how angry all my family were, and what they earnestly desired me to do, but that I would not send them away until I had previously consulted those with whom I felt myself intimately connected in interest; and I therefore requested him to obtain me the requisite permission to embark my family on board one of the vessels, myself remaining behind with the English soldiers of the camp, their companion in weal or woe. I said it was a moment of great trial, and it required promptitude and courage, the more so as the English force in camp did not exceed 275 or 300 soldiers at the most. Captain Preedy then informed me that it was three days past and no post had arrived from Sir Charles Napier's camp. They knew not therefore what had transpired after he had left Khairpur, nor where he was. Thereafter he dropped a line to Colonel Boileau who commanded a regiment of English soldiers. The Colonel arrived within ten or fifteen minutes, and there being no other private room in the house we all removed into the bathroom. Colonel Boileau and Captain Preedy conversed together for more than three hours while I sat all the while listening. Captain Preedy told the Colonel all I had communicated to him. After they had done their consultations, Colonel Boileau desired me to stay at Captain Preedy's till he had offered his prayers (it being Sunday), and partake of a piece of loaf and a cup of tea. On my representing to him that it was past ten o'clock, that it was growing warm, that I had neither food nor sleep the night previous and felt thirsty, he offered me sugar candy to suck. I replied that sugar candy would only increase my thirst instead of quenching it. He said I might then go to the house of my *gomashta* Naraindas, in the camp, and wait there for a few minutes. I then told Captain Preedy that I wondered that Colonel Boileau should suspect me. He therefore spoke to Colonel Boileau and told him that I was a devoted friend of the

British, and they should have as much confidence in me as in one of themselves. Colonel Boileau then permitted me to return home. I mounted my horse and rode homeward post speed. When I neared the Rambagh tank I met a fakir by the roadside who was almost naked and had only a piece of cloth wrapped round his waist and front. He was not a native of Sindh and looked like a Turk. I heard him exclaim in a mood of madness in the Hindustani dialect, "The English have gained the victory and conquered Sindh. The Mirs have lost it forever." It was for the first time I ever saw the man.

I returned home through the panic-stricken town and found about fifty or sixty persons, all the male members of my family, with their *goomashtas* and servants assembled at the business-house, awaiting my return and directions. They informed me that they had packed up things and were ready to start, and that most people had already left. I was feeling exceedingly thirsty, and I said "Let me first abate my thirst, and I shall soon tell you what to do." I bathed and went home, where my grandmother again desired me to spare their lives and let them go. I changed my clothes and sat to dine, and had taken only a few mouthfuls when a servant came in to tell me that Captain Preedy was standing outside and wanted me. I went to see him immediately, and he asked me to walk before him, which I did, dressing as I went along. When we arrived at the flagstaff, where sat the officers of the Talpur Government, Captain Preedy desired me to ask them to come down. There were present the following three: (1) Mahomed Sidik, on the part of Mirs Nasir Khan and Hussanali; (2), Diwan Tickchand, on behalf of Mir Nur Mahomed; and (3), Diwan Mulchand, on behalf of Mir Sobdar. These *ijardars* (revenue farmers) immediately descended from their seats and stood before Captain Preedy, who asked them to walk on in front. They obeyed, and we went on till we arrived at the spot now known as the Joria Bazaar, where my servants met me with a horse and a camel both ready saddled for mounting. Captain Preedy then desiring me to take care of the *ijardars*, galloped away to some distance. The *ijardars* gazed in wonder at one another, and at me, and wished to know what the matter was. I replied that I was as ignorant as they. Captain Preedy returned within five or six minutes with the artillery and soldiers following him. We again went towards the town, the officers of the Mirs walking in front, I next, Captain Preedy following with the artillery guns and soldiers. Karachi was then surrounded by a mud wall, and had two gates, the Mitha and the Khara Darwazas. When he came to the Mitha Darwaza, Captain Preedy ordered four or five sepoy who sat there on raised platforms to alight therefrom. They were forthwith disarmed and replaced by British regimental sepoy. We then proceeded to the *Chouri* (town hall) where the Talpur flag fluttered in the air. In accordance with Captain Preedy's directions, the flag, which had five or seven streaks red and white alternately, was immediately cut down and the Union Jack raised instead. All the articles, papers and books of account at the *Chouri* were locked up in a room under seal, and I was requested to take charge of the place. We searched on through the main bazaar to the other extremity of the town at the Khara Darwaza, where the same course of procedure was adopted as at the first gate. The mud fort was

then carefully manned at different points and mounted with guns. Other minor arrangements having been attended to, we returned to the *Chouri* where a proclamation was drawn up declaring Karachi to have become a British town, and myself placed in authority. Copies of the proclamation were placarded on the *Chouri* walls and at the two gates, the purport thereof being tom-tomed throughout the town. Confidence was restored and shops and trading firms were re-opened in the town, which again looked busy and full of life. The change of Government was quietly effected without the least damage being done, or a single person being injured. A European sergeant of the regiment was appointed to superintend the soldiers placed at different points, and sepoy were directed to guard my house and dwelling-place. The officers of the Talpur Government were removed to camp and kept in custody there.

I had sent out people to observe the movements and doings of the Jokhias, the Karmatis and of the Numrias. These returned to inform me that the marauders had arrived within two or three miles of the English camp, and plundered or burnt all that they could lay their hands upon in the adjoining villages, but that having learnt that the English were apprised of their intentions, and had in consequence thereof occupied Karachi and imprisoned the officers of the Talpur Government, they felt much discouraged and durst not attack Karachi. I communicated this to Captain Preedy, and the Commander thereupon made what arrangements he thought proper.

For generations past my family kept a number of Beloochis of the Brahmani clan in their private employ. I had in my service at that time about twenty-five men of this tribe as sepoy. When I went to camp the next day after the capture of Karachi, Colonel Boileau desired to thank me for the communication made, and said that he had taken every precaution against a sudden attack on Karachi by the Beloochis, and what he earnestly wanted next was some trustworthy information of the movements of Sir Charles Napier, of whom nothing had been heard after his arrival at Halla. The postal communication by land with Bombay, or Sir Charles' camp, and every other place having been cut off, he and the other officers felt very anxious to know correctly what Sir Charles Napier or his army were about, and requested if I could assist them in the matter. I asked them to write out their letters which I undertook to send on immediately. I then had with me four or five of my Brahmani sepoy, and I ordered one of them, Jado by name, a very faithful, true and daring servant, to prepare to go to Sir Charles' camp on one of my own riding camels. While Jado got ready, and purchased provisions for the journey, the British officers wrote out their letters, which covered sixteen sheets of thin paper. These were folded up after the fashion of native letters and enclosed in Jado's sandals under a thin covering of new leather sewn up for the purpose. Jado left for Hyderabad directly by the Mugger Pir route, avoiding the path infested by the Jokhias and others. He reached Hyderabad exactly thirty-six hours after starting, and found Sir Charles encamped in the capital of the Mirs. He went on enquiring where Sir Charles was, telling all who questioned him that he was my servant and was sent by me on business. He found Sir Charles' tent at last, and was admitted by

him inside, on his reporting that he was sent by me. In his presence he tore the leather of his sandals and took out the post, with the delivery of which he was entrusted. Sir Charles was highly pleased with the skill and intrepidity with which Jado had performed the task, and with the glad tidings of the capture of Karachi. He offered to reward him, and asked him if he could take post back to Karachi. Jado consenting, Sir Charles entrusted him with replies, communicating in return the result of the battle of Miani, the fall of Hyderabad, and the surrender of the Talpurs. These he brought to me in the same manner within forty hours after leaving Hyderabad. I took the letters to Captain Preedy and Colonel Boileau, who felt much rejoiced. My private Brahmani servants thus maintained postal communication to and from Sir Charles Napier's camp for a period of fifteen days continuously, during which interval the Jokhias and other Beloochis continued plundering and marauding all round Karachi.

The depredations of the Karmatis, Numrias, and of the Jokhias on the outskirts and in the vicinity of Karachi struck terror in the hearts of the people, and all intercourse and communication with the outside world was cut off. Captain Preedy and Colonel Boileau therefore one day consulted me if I could devise any means to check the ravages of the Beloochis. Sahib Khan of Shah Bilawal, the Sirdar of the Chhuto tribe, professed friendship towards me. I had shown him great hospitality in sumbat 1895 (A.D. 1839) when he visited Karachi in connection with the murder of Captain Hand (*vide supra*, p. 95), in which some Chhutos, his followers were implicated along with Khalifa Chakur. In return for the kindness shown to him then he had pledged his faith and honor to be useful to me whenever I should command his services. He had said, "I am a resident of the hills, and, believe it, my word is unalterable, I will be only glad to serve you even at the risk of my head." When Captain Preedy and Colonel Boileau solicited me to assist them with men, till they could get reinforcements from Bombay, I sent a Brahmani *sowar* to Sahib Khan Chhuto with a letter, asking him to recall to mind the promise made by him some years back and to be useful to me with his followers when I needed his aid, that if even he had applied "*met*" (fullers' earth) to his head to clean it, he should not wait to wash it off but start for Karachi with all possible expedition. The good Hill Sirdar, a faithful Mussalman, directly collected a body of 300 men, who were at hand, and speedily set out for Karachi. When he arrived at the Habb he sent a man in advance to inform me of his approach, and soon came up himself and encamped along the garden. I went to meet him and ordered provisions to be sent to him and his men. I took him to the British camp with all his followers, who were all well armed, and I presented the Sirdar to Colonel Boileau and Captain Preedy. They expressed great satisfaction, and the camp people were surprised to see the Mussalman soldiers. Captain Preedy enquired how I arranged about their provisions, and offered to meet all demands from the English Commissariat Department, but I informed him that I liked to defray their feeding expenses from my own pocket. Sahib Khan recovered nearly the whole of the cattle and other property which had been driven off or stolen by the plundering hordes who hovered about Karachi, and restored them to their rightful owners. When the Karmatis, the Jokhias and the Numrias were informed of Sahib Khan's arrival to render

assistance, they felt still more discouraged and disheartened. In the meantime, reinforcements came up from Bombay, and Sahib Khan was allowed to depart, after having stayed at Karachi for eight days. He and some other headmen who accompanied him were, at my request, presented with dresses of honor by the British officers.

Soon after this, my father, Seth Hotchand, who had stayed for a fortnight on board our "Kotia Haripasa," which was anchored near Manora, came to shore. Thousands of people, both Hindus and Mussalmans, of all grades, collected at the *bandar* to receive him, and he was brought home with great *éclat*, accompanied by a large concourse of people preceding him in a joyous procession.

The officers of the Talpur Government were afterwards released from custody, and my brother Sookhramdas being appointed Collector of Customs, I selected Diwan Mulchand, with the permission and sanction of Captain Preedy, to take charge of the town *chowki* (police-station). All other arrangements concerning the administration were similarly perfected. A little after this, Sir Charles Napier was nominated Governor of Sindh, and he selected Captain Preedy for the post of Collector of Karachi. At ten o'clock daily I repaired to the English camp and communicated intelligence respecting the feeling of the people at Hyderabad and other parts of Sindh, which I obtained from various sources. I wrote down all that I heard, and read out the papers to Captain Preedy, who took notes of what he thought important, which he, in his turn, reported to Sir Charles Napier. My family *goomashta*, Faiz Mahomed Hussan, who managed our mercantile business at Candahar, sent me very trustworthy news about the doings and inclinations of the people of those parts. I obtained similar information respecting Persia and Arabia from my agents in Muscat, Bussorah, and other places. All this I placed without reserve at the command of the British officers, and of Sir Charles through Captain Preedy. A month and a half after the battle of Miani, the dispersed Beloochis having rallied round the standard of Mir Sher Mahomed, enabled him to face Sir Charles Napier at Dubiari (Dubha), a village eight miles distant from Hyderabad, on the road to Alahyar's Tanda. The Beloochis were again defeated and Sher Mahomed fled to the mountainous passes of the country of Doda Murree. His brother, Mir Shah Mahomed, directed his flight towards Chandka and Katcha to collect new fighting men. Sir Charles was apprised of his intentions, and he sent a body of men to pursue him. He was overtaken near Janghar and brought back a prisoner. All the Mirs, whether of Hyderabad or Khairpur, Shah Mahomed included, were after this sent to Bombay by Sir Charles Napier as prisoners of state.

A small detachment of troops soon after arrived from Bombay to join Sir Charles Napier's camp at Hyderabad, and to enable the men to start at once a number of camels belonging to the Memans of Mallir were engaged for their conveyance. They left Karachi for Hyderabad, *via* Tatta. When they reached Guja they were surprised and attacked by Chakar Khan Jokhia, a nephew of Jam Maherali of Mallir, at the head of 200 or 300 Jokhias. The English party being considerably smaller, could offer no resistance;

their luggage was all plundered, and most of them were killed, ten or twelve men alone being able to escape to Karachi to tell the sad tale. Be it known that the Memans acted in concert with the Jokhias. News of the disaster was communicated to Sir Charles Napier for advice, and he ordered that the force at Karachi should take immediate steps to avenge the insult offered to the British arms, and to punish the Jokhias, but that great circumspection and skill be employed in effecting the object. At the request of Captain Preedy I sent out a few of my Brahmani Belooch sepoy as spies to learn the whereabouts of the Jokhias and the Memans and their movements. They soon returned with the information that Jam Maherali Jokhia and Ibrahim Khan Karmati had both left Mallir with their families and men, and had in fancied security occupied a very difficult pass near a *makan*¹⁶³ known as the Mala Muhari on the road to Hyderabad, while the Memans had removed to a pass, equally difficult of access, in the bed of the river above the village of Damb, on the way to Sehwan. I communicated the information to Captain Preedy in detail. Next day, at four o'clock in the evening, Captain Preedy informed me of what His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor of Sindh had desired them to do, and enquired if I could furnish trustworthy servants acquainted with the nearest route to the retreats of the Jokhias and of the Memans. I took to him twelve of my Brahmani Belooch sepoy, in whom I had the greatest confidence, and who were familiar with all the secret paths to the retreats among the adjoining hills. He enquired from them personally if they had thorough knowledge of the mountain passes and whether they knew the nearest routes. They said they were acquainted with a path which was nearest of all routes to the retreat of the Jokhias, and of the Memans, and which would enable him to take them by surprise, but that it was at the same time the most difficult, and little or no sweet water could be had along the way. But the inconvenience on account of water could be avoided, they added, by traversing the country at a quicker pace, and the most difficult part of the way devoid of sweet water was not more than two koss in length. At this Captain Preedy told me that they were going to prepare for an immediate start, and would be ready to depart at eight o'clock at night, when he desired me to be present with my confidential servants. I attended accordingly at Colonel Boileau's tent at the time appointed, accompanied by my brother Sookhramdas and twelve of my mounted sepoy, with other Brahmani servants, all well accoutered and dressed in military garb. We did as we were desired, and at nine o'clock at night we were fairly on our march. We travelled the whole night. At daybreak the next morning we reached Damb, my servants leading the way. We entered the village of the Memans at about seven in the morning. The number of females in the village exceeded that of the males, most of the latter having fled for fear. Those that remained behind, whether males or females, appeared before the English officers and with folded hands prayed for their lives, saying that they were poor and helpless people. Most of the utensils and other things belonging to the British sepoy, who were murdered near Guja, were found in the possession of the people at Damb. We stayed there four or five days, and then one evening started for Mala Muhari, where Jam Maherali and the Karmatis had

¹⁶³ Makan = hamlet.

hidden themselves. We took ten *pakhals*¹⁶⁴ full of fresh water with us for use on the way. It was a moonlit night, and till three o'clock in the morning we experienced not the slightest difficulty on the way which we found straight and smooth enough. Then we entered upon a path between high hills, which from its sandy bed then dry, marked the course of a river. This led to a more rugged ground overtopped by a range of rocky hills, beyond which, and on the other side of another dry channel, within a valley guarded by another range of difficult hills, the Jokhias and Karmatis had taken quarters in safety. Our passage through this stony and rocky ground with the cannon, wagons and soldiers on foot was necessarily slow, and the day continued to advance. It was the month of April, and the sun shone fiercely, more so on account of the vicinity of rocks. The toil of a whole night's march over uneven and rocky ground, aided by the heat of the sun, increased our fatigue. The English officers began to grumble. It was past eight and close upon nine. The Jokhias and the Karmatis being in the meantime apprised, took to flight, and after the break of morn we could distinctly see on the hill-tops a number of the enemy, now stopping to look behind like deer to catch a glimpse of their pursuers, and now taking to their heels. Our men grew enthusiastic, and were fired with a spirit of revenge. One Khodadad, a Chandia Belooch, belonging to a tribe of Sindhi Mussalmans known for their desperate soldiership, who accompanied me as one of my most faithful servants, unacquainted with the tactics of British warfare, let fire a shot all of a sudden from a pistol which he carried. The British officers with the artillery, already chafing under fatigue and intense thirst, could curb their impatience no longer. No sooner was the shot fired than they raised a cry of "Treachery! Treachery!" I would leave the reader to imagine my anxiety and sorrow at the moment when I found that one of my own servants was charged with the fault, and how his act might be made to reflect against myself. The officers urged that by firing the shot the man had betrayed their intentions and given a signal to the enemy to fly, and thereby defeated their aim. Some thought yet differently and imputed still worse motives to the man. The Chandia was immediately hauled up before the officers, and on their enquiring why he fired the pistol he replied that they had almost come up with the enemy, and as his pistol had remained loaded for more than a month he was afraid it might betray him in the moment of need, and so he fired it off to try if he could depend upon it. The rage of the officers, however, did not abate. We were soon at the foot of a steep hill, myself and my men in front with Jado, the Brahmani servant, as guide in advance of us all, the same man who had rendered faithful services on many previous occasions, and who was well acquainted with the passes. The hill was steep and the passage up and down again was difficult, and it lay through a narrow path. But there was no better way for the artillery to cross to come up with the enemy encamped in a valley within a valley. We managed to get up the hill-top, but we knew not how to get down again, save through a pass beaten into a track by goats and sheep. It was the moment of the greatest trial—myself broken down by fatigue and thirst, with the artillery officers roaring through rage as well. I dismounted from my horse directly, and, fastening the reins of the bridle to the

¹⁶⁴ A large bag made of bullock-hide, filled with water, a pair of which are a bullock's load.

saddle, I held the horse by a cord. Then allowing him to walk before, I followed, gradually reclining against the rocks, until I reached the bed of the river at the foot of the hills. My men did the same after me. As for the cannon, and wagons, the parts were immediately disunited and the wheels and the rest were all easily let fall precipitately down the hill, and were as soon connected and rearranged again, after the artillery officers and men had descended.

Meanwhile my brother Sookhramdas had, with the assistance of the guide Jado, managed to take the foot-soldiers and the rest of the officers across through a shorter but more difficult pass, which was unsuited for artillery owing to the very rugged, crooked and uneven nature of the ground. That way lay, as our guide had previously informed us, through an intricate range of hills, I had therefore remained behind to arrange to take the artillery across the single hill, at the other foot of which we had just arrived, and beyond which on the other side of a dry channel which extended along the hill, the enemy had taken quarters in supposed safety.

From that hill we could distinctly see the huts of the Jokhias and the Karmatis at the distance of about a mile. It took us no time to reach the spot, and we observed numbers of females running away, with hair disheveled, towards the hills in the opposite direction, carrying their little babes in arms, and other children speedily following them on foot. On entering the huts we discovered various vessels on the fireplace with food half cooked and grain lying before the mills partly ground and partly unground. I felt extremely tired and thirsty, and ordered my servant to bring me water and a cot. They immediately brought me Malik Ibrahim Khan's bedstead and, having got my bedding spread thereon, I lay down under the shade of a tree to rest, until a servant brought me water in the leather bag. Having next obtained some wheat flour, I made a paste of it in a porringer which I carried with me in a leather case, and, molding the paste into a thick cake, I threw it to bake on a cow-dung fire, which was kindled in the meantime by my Mussalman servants. My men having then obtained permission went and gorged themselves with the rice which the Karmatis had left cooked in their pots. The huts of the Karmatis numbered about 75, and in none of them could my men discover a single valuable, save corn flour and different things made of coarse broadcloth, which people in the country give in dowry.

The infantry soldiers and the rest of the English officers whom my brother Sookhramdas had taken by a different route, similarly fell upon the huts of the Jokhias, whom they distinctly saw running away before them. The soldiers plundered the huts and found among the rest the articles of dowry which were presented to Chakar Khan's sister, whose marriage ceremony had been completed only a short time before, the men being unable to carry the articles with them in their precipitate flight.

We remained at the spot for two days, and on the next day left back for Karachi by way of Ranna Piteani, a much longer and circuitous but easier route. An interval of about a

fortnight passed between our first start from Karachi and our return to it, during which I lost all rest and sleep from anxiety and fear that the slightest mishap to the force through the difficult mountain passes which they had however willingly and with full previous information undertaken to cross as the nearest route to the enemy's camp, might tend to speak against the many valuable services I had rendered at great personal risk and private expense. My doubts were not all idle. I knew well the very suspicious character of some of the officers, and when we reached Ghaghar on our way back, Captain Preedy informed me that the General felt much enraged at the stupid conduct of my Chandia servant who had fired the pistol unmeaningly, and that he intended to report the fact to the Government against me. I felt as it were thunderstruck with the communication, and enquired of Captain Preedy whether they doubted my fidelity, having known me so well. He replied that he had the fullest confidence in me, and knew me to be one of the most devoted friends of the British Government, and that he would try to explain the circumstance to the General. We reached Karachi in safety, crowned with success, and offered blessings to the all-powerful God for the happy termination of the expedition. I for one was fully satisfied with the conduct of all my private servants, and I gave them gifts and rewards each according to his merit in addition to his fixed salary and feeding expenses.

The Jokhias, the Karmatis, and the Numrias of the party of Malik Ahmed Khan soon felt themselves very miserable. They had learnt that the Mirs had surrendered to Sir Charles Napier, and were sent up by him to Bombay as state prisoners. They knew not what to do under the circumstances. In this plight they sent their messenger to me to solicit my interference on their behalf, in order to secure to them their jaghirs, prestige and position. After consultation with Captain Preedy, Collector of Karachi, who on my communication wrote to and consulted Sir Charles Napier and obtained his advice and orders, I guaranteed them their jaghirs and position on condition of their quietly and peaceably submitting to British authority, and I asked them through their messengers to come to Karachi to offer their submission. They informed me in reply that they were afraid to visit Karachi lest the British Government should detain them as prisoners, and pack them off to Bombay as they did the Mirs. They nevertheless offered to approach Karachi within a koss of Muggur Pir, and said that if I could visit them there and pledge to them my word that they would be treated honorably, and that their jaghirs would be continued, they would have confidence enough then to accompany me to Karachi, and offer their submission to the British Government. They said they knew it as well as I that there existed old friendship between our ancestors, and they were not afraid to entrust their lives to my hands, as they felt that their confidence would not be abused. In accordance with the advice of Captain Preedy, I rode up to them accompanied by a few sepoy only; I found the three Sirdars, Jam Maherali, Malik Ibrahim Khan Karmati, and Malik Ahmed Khan Numria, encamped on the other side of the Muggur Pir, above the hot springs, with a force of about a thousand men all armed with matchlocks. After a lengthened discussion, Jam Maherali addressing me said that they attributed the late attack on the Jokhias and their families in the valley of Mala Muhari solely to me; it was

next to impossible for the English, he added, to have found out their deep retreat among the difficult mountain passes without my assistance and guides, that it was an act of mine which they much regretted and which it did not become me to have undertaken, knowing as I did the friendship which existed between our ancestors. I then explained to him how the whole fault lay at his door, and I reminded him of his pledge of fidelity to the British Government, which he had made through me at Tatta to Colonel Pottinger at the time when the British forces under Sir John Keane were passing through the country, and for which he was rewarded by the British with the sum of Rs. 2,000. I reminded him how he had broken that vow, first by undertaking in person to attack, plunder and kill every British soldier and all connected with the British at Karachi, and, secondly, by his immediate nephew Chakar Khan falling upon and plundering at Gujo a small British detachment proceeding to Hyderabad and killing several sepoy. After a tedious and lengthened conference, I told them that the day was fast advancing, and if they wished to accompany me they should delay no longer. They then grasped my hand and wished me to assure them again that they would meet with no dishonorable treatment, and that they would be allowed to hold their jaghirs in peace. Then with a cry of "Allah-tu-har" they stood up, and we all immediately started for the English camp, which we entered about five in the evening, accompanied by a thousand men all armed. I took them direct through the main bazaar to the residence of Captain Preedy. Going in first I acquainted Captain Preedy with all that had transpired between me and the three Sirdars, and explained to him the necessity of leaving them unmolested in the possession of their estates. Captain Preedy having approved of my proposal, I introduced the three Sirdars to him. When the interview was over, the Sirdars were told to take their station along the Layari route. One day I gave them and all their followers a feast on my own account and at my own expense, and I sent them the customary provisions in wheat flour, rice, sugar, clarified butter, and cash in lieu of meat. They were only a day or two after that in Karachi, and then they departed, Captain Preedy having removed all their fears and advised them to return to their permanent abodes and live in peace as British subjects and under British protection, assuring them that all that I promised them in reward for good and peaceful conduct would receive due consideration. Captain Preedy reported the whole matter fully to Sir Charles Napier, who approved of his proceedings and appointed him permanent Collector for that part of the country extending from Ghorabari to Sehwan. Captain Preedy knew me long and expressed great kindness and regard towards me. He one day told me that he had obtained Sir Charles Napier's permission to confer a Deputy Collectorship upon me, and desired me to accept the post, to which I consented.

CHAPTER VIII.

Sir Charles Napier's durbar on Queen's birthday, 1843 – Organisation of police – Sirdars and great landowners summoned – Napier's ungracious reception of Naomul – Resignation of Deputy Collector's post – Plundering – Murder of Parsee – Sookramdas arrests murderers – Civil appointments made on Naomul's nomination – Diwan Chandiram prosecuted – Naomul and his relations threatened – Removal of houses in the Sadar Bazaar – Birth of Alupal, 1846 – Naomul suspected – Charged with illicit gains in remitting treasure – Full acquittal – Private distillery abolished – Illness – Sir Charles Napier's departure.

Soon afterwards Sir Charles Napier wrote to me that he would hold a durbar at Hyderabad, on the 24th May, 1843, and that such of the jaghirdars alone who attended the durbar would be allowed to retain possession of their free holdings,¹⁶⁵ the rest would forfeit their claim to any jaghirs they might have enjoyed, and, further, that it was incumbent on every respectable person and man of any social standing to attend the durbar. Captain Preedy desired me to send intimation of the approaching durbar to all Sirdars and Jaghirdars and other people of note living in the part of the country to the right of the Indus, from its confluence to the sea up to Katcha and Larkana. Circulars inviting people to the durbar were accordingly issued, and I was required to make all necessary arrangements.

Meanwhile the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Charles Napier, organized the Police Department for Sindh,¹⁶⁶ portioning out the whole into three sections according to the Collectorates into which the province was divided for revenue purposes. Lieut. Marston, of the 25th Regiment, who had distinguished himself by his valour at the battle of Miani in defending Sir Charles Napier against the attack of an infuriated Belooch, was appointed to the head of the Karachi Police. He soon came to Karachi, and put up with Captain Preedy who belonged to the same regiment with himself. Lieut. Marston looked scarcely eighteen years of age when he arrived to take command of the police. Captain Preedy and Lieut. Marston appointed Sheikh Ghulam Hussen,¹⁶⁷ who

¹⁶⁵ It was mainly owing to his liberal settlements of the land-tax, and especially to all that related to the military landholders, that Sindh remained so contented in 1857. (Sir B. Frere.)

¹⁶⁶ Frere writes of this: "His police system was, at the time he introduced it, far in advance of any other in India. It has been the model for most of what is good in subsequent reforms of the Indian police, and its performance has not yet as a whole been surpassed. It was in entire accordance with the views of the most experienced Indian statesmen, but was elaborated in Sir Charles Napier's mind, as he once told me, when he was watching the Greek coast from Cephalonia and thinking how he would manage such a country of brigands if he ever got the opportunity."—EDITOR.

¹⁶⁷ Though doubtless inimical to Seth Naomul, he was, in the Editor's recollection, a valuable and loyal public servant.

was *chowdri*¹⁶⁸ of the 25th Regiment, to the post of *Fouzdar*¹⁶⁹ of Karachi. The brother of the elder Brown, Secretary to Sir Charles Napier, was appointed to the command of the entire police of Sindh.

The durbar circulars were sent round with my men, and Jam Maherali, the Sirdar of the Jokhias, Malik Ibrahim Khan, the chief of Karmatis, and Malik Ahmed Khan, the chief of the Numrias, with whom arrangements had been previously entered into, immediately responded to the call. I had also sent circulars to the chiefs and sirdars towards Sehwan and Katcha and to the following: Bahwal Khan, Chief of the Rinds; Bulando Khan, Chief of the Gabols; Haji Khan Lagari, Chief of Katcha; Bakhshio Khan, Chief of the Jemmalis; and Sayed Kaimshah, Resident of Jhangara. These wrote back to me to say that they were exceedingly willing to attend the durbar to avow their submission to the British authority, but that the interval allowed being short they requested to be looked upon as British subjects in case of failure to attend the durbar in time in spite of all their endeavors. The Sirdars of Chandka expressed their inability to attend, having to look after their harvests, which were ready for reaping, but they acknowledged British supremacy, and would, they said, take the earliest opportunity after the harvest to tender their submission in person. Accompanied by such of the Sirdars and Chiefs as came up to Karachi, Captain Preedy and I set out for Hyderabad, and arrived at Tatta. We put up in the house known as the *Angrez-Ji-Mari* (the storied house of the English), myself occupying one side of the house and Captain Preedy the other. Tatta was then an abode of religious fermentation. No Mukhtyarkar had yet been appointed, and Captain Preedy at my suggestion nominated Assomal, a Hindu, and Mahomed Saleh, a Moslem, the two great merchants and influential men at Tatta, joint Mukhtyarkars of the place. From Tatta we went to Jhirak, where Mr. Matthew was Deputy Collector, and from thence to Hyderabad. Captain Preedy put up in the citadel with Mr. Brown, and I also got lodgings within the fort. I entertained very high hopes of receiving marked distinction at Sir Charles' hands in consideration of my long and valuable service.

We reached Hyderabad on the 23rd May. The durbar came on the next day, which Mir Ali Murad of Khairpur also attended. He had managed to bring with him from Larkana, forcibly and as a captive, Wali Mahomed, the Chief of the Chandias, whom Sir Charles Napier, however, set at liberty on his acknowledging British supremacy. When Captain Preedy was introduced, I also stood up to offer my respects, when to my great surprise Sir Charles Napier viewed me with a stern look of anger, and then turning to Captain Preedy spoke to him something in English, which he explained to me by saying that Lieut. Marston,¹⁷⁰ of the Karachi Police, had preferred a complaint against me, to

¹⁶⁸ Overseer-Superintendent of the Native Regiment's bazaar, responsible for sanitation and for supervision over strangers and disreputable characters.

¹⁶⁹ Fouzdar is the old title for the Chief Constable of Police.

¹⁷⁰ The gallant Lieut. Marston, whom the Editor knew very well, was not a man likely to act from mere caprice against Seth Naomul, but his own right-hand man was a Mahommedan and would naturally persuade him to

the effect that I purchased away all fuel-wood that arrived in Karachi, and that the inhabitants of the town suffered great inconvenience and hardship on that account. May it be known that Sir Charles Napier was himself of an eminently frank and noble disposition, but that very excellence of his nature made him too credulous. He could not personally converse in Hindustani, and in reply to what was communicated to me I requested Captain Preedy to inform Sir Charles Napier that my servants at Karachi were commissioned to purchase fuel for supply to all British ships and steamers anchored in the harbor, as well as to the Commissariat Department at that station for the use of British troops. I could well understand that some mischievous person, taking advantage of Lieut. Marston's inexperience and unacquaintance, had put him up to make the complaint against me; and I told Captain Preedy accordingly, whose personal knowledge of things enabled him well to explain matters to Sir Charles Napier. It did not grieve me the less, however, that notwithstanding the many reports made by Captain Preedy, showing what particularly valuable services I had rendered at different times, Sir Charles Napier deemed it fit to blame me in open durbar for a comparatively insignificant and unimportant matter. What a reward, I thought, for all the toil and trouble. In short, Sir Charles Napier's simplicity of heart astonished me no less than the frankness of his disposition. From all that I observed I could perceive that the elder Brown and Moonshi Aliakbar enjoyed great influence with Sir Charles Napier. After the durbar the visitors were permitted to depart, and accordingly we set out for Gidu-Bandar the next day, the 25th of May. From Gidu-Bandar we set sail for Tatta on board a Government river steamer, and thence we returned to Karachi by land. After our arrival at Karachi, Captain Preedy enquired from Lieut. Marston how he had lodged a complaint against me. He said he was quite new, and was not personally aware how things actually stood, but that Sheikh Ghulam Hussen, the Fouzdar, and one Khushalrai, a Punjabi, laid the information before him, and that Captain Preedy being then absent from Karachi, he (Marston) reported the matter to Sir Charles. Captain Preedy repented much his impatience, and I was convinced that the report owed its origin to enmity.

Plunder and violence and consequent fear of unsafety to person or property, did not cease in Sindh. Towards Ghorabari, one Sadik, a *khijmatgar*¹⁷¹ of the Amirs, plundered a Government granary,¹⁷² containing about 4,000 kharars¹⁷³ of grain, and declared himself ruler of that part of the country. Towards Manjhanda, the Khosas carried on

destroy the influence of a prominent Hindu, and in such circumstances a young subaltern would be easily led. (See Introduction.)

¹⁷¹ *i.e.*, a personal attendant.

¹⁷² Under the Talpurs the land revenue was paid in kind, and the produce afterwards sold to bankers and grain dealers. Seth Naomul's banking agency therefore was extremely useful in remitting the treasure which thus accumulated to the Head Treasury at Karachi, so as to avoid the risk of forwarding cash by road. As will be seen later, his enemies afterwards wrongfully accused him of charging too highly for this service, which had really been performed on very reasonable terms. Land-revenue in cash was not introduced till Sir Bartle Frere's administration.

¹⁷³ A karer, or kharar, is 27 bushels of English measure. By weight it varies according to the kind of grain, from 20 to 24 maunds of about 82 lbs. each.

depredations along the banks of the Indus, and in 1843 a Parsee merchant while travelling on to Tatta, in a palanquin, was attacked near Guja by a crowd of Beloochis and killed, his luggage being all plundered. Captain Preedy frequently expressed a great desire to organize the Revenue Department and to appoint Mukhtyarkars throughout the Collectorate, but he could do little as the country was yet unsettled, and there was no end to plunder and rapine by lawless people. When Captain Preedy learnt of the murder of the Parsee, he informed the joint Mukhtyarkars of Tatta of the occurrence, and he desired me to lend him the services of my brother Sookhramdas to find out the murderers. Accordingly Sookhramdas, accompanied by twenty policemen which Captain Preedy had placed at his service, and twenty more of our own private sowars, set out in search of the doers of the black deed. He went to Gharo and thence sent out various men to obtain information and some clue of the murderers. They soon returned with the information that the dastardly act was perpetrated by some Chandia Belooch cultivators who lived in a village known by the name of Karampur, situated on the other side of the Baghar,¹⁷⁴ towards Ghulamalla. Sookhramdas accordingly paid the village an unexpected visit, and on searching the houses of the Chandias he found in their possession articles of various kinds which the Parsee had owned. Seven men were apprehended and brought to Karachi for trial, where two who had murdered the Parsee were sentenced to be hanged and the rest committed to prison. Sadik, the Khijmatgar of Mir Sher Mahomed, who had usurped power at Ghorabari, having enriched himself by plunder, secretly withdrew from the country.

At Captain Preedy's strong recommendation, my brother Sookhramdas was appointed Mukhtyarkar of Ghorabari, and the following appointments suggested by me at his desire were approved of and made:-

- (1). Diwan Chandiram¹⁷⁵ of Talti to be Mukhtyarkar¹⁷⁶ of Sehwan. He belonged to a family which held high posts of honor both under the Kalhora and the Talpur rulers of Sindh. When first addressed on the subject he showed a disinclination to serve. Feeling, however, that I could not recommend a more respectable, experienced and trustworthy person for employment under the Government, I wrote to him again myself and he was induced to accept the place offered to him.
- (2). Diwan Pohoomal of Tatta was nominated to the Mukhtyarkarship of Laki.
- (3). Diwan Jethmal of Hyderabad was appointed in charge of Manjhanda.
- (4). One Moonshi Lalchand of Tatta was posted to Jheruck.

¹⁷⁴ Baghar is a branch of the Indus, now a fine irrigation canal.

¹⁷⁵ See Introduction, describing Diwan Chandiram.

¹⁷⁶ Mukhtyarkar is the chief Revenue or Local Magistrate in the Taluka, or division of a district.

(5). Mr. Assoomal and Moola Mahomed were placed in charge of Tatta; and

(6). A Mr. Bharimal was appointed to Sakra.

The Mukhtyarkars being duly appointed, the revenue work was performed more smoothly. In September, 1843, Sir Charles Napier came to Karachi and put up in a bungalow that Captain Preedy had then newly built. I called upon him and found that he was chiefly guided by the elder Brown and Moonshi Aliakbar, who drew monthly Rs. 400 as salary.

Salary lists containing the name and amount of monthly pay of each officer, mukhtyarkar, moonshi and peon in the Karachi Collectorate were soon afterwards received. In these the services of Captain Preedy as Collector were put down at Rs. 1,200 per mensem, and my salary was fixed at Rs. 200 a month only. I thereupon told Captain Preedy that I should continue to serve Government without remuneration, as I had hitherto done, and I declined to receive any remuneration. I could plainly understand that Sir Charles Napier was not to blame in the matter, and that ill-feeling and enmity in some quarter had succeeded in effecting a change in the salary at which it was originally proposed to remunerate my services as a Deputy Collector. Captain Preedy informed me in reply that he was not ignorant of what was going on, and that he did understand things well enough; but he desired me to accept pay for the seven or eight months which had elapsed at the sanctioned rate, and promised to have it raised at an early date. I could not refuse to comply with Captain Preedy's earnest desire, and consented at last to receive remuneration for the past eight months at the rate of Rs. 200. It was originally proposed to remunerate me like the other two Deputy Collectors, at Rs. 700 per mensem, and I was surprised to find that the list of appointments and salaries as finally sanctioned was left unaltered save where it affected me personally.

In October of the same year all the European officers moved out into the districts. The younger Brown and Lieut. Marston went to Sehwan, and were visited by all the well-known persons of the place. Some of these people led them to believe that Diwan Chandiram was no friend of the British Government, that he belonged to a very respectable family which always enjoyed places of honor and influence under the late Government, and that the British authorities would derive no benefit from his appointment to so important a post as the Mukhtyarkar of Sehwan. Diwan Chandiram's enemies soon got up a case against him, and Lieutenant Brown and Marston preferred reports against him to Sir Charles Napier.¹⁷⁷ Brown privately informed his brother, the Secretary, of all that the enemies of Chandiram alleged against him and of the consequences likely to result from Chandiram continuing in office. The elder Brown thereupon obtained Sir Charles Napier's sanction to imprison Chandiram at once, and sent an order to that effect to his brother at Sehwan. Diwan Chandiram was accordingly

¹⁷⁷ See Introduction.

taken into custody and brought down to Hyderabad, where after a summary trial he was condemned to pay a fine of Rs. 5,000, and to undergo imprisonment for a term of two years.

Diwan Chandiram had served as Mukhtyarkar for two months and a half and had drawn pay for that period only when the accusations were trumped up. The news soon got abroad, and the treatment accorded to Diwan Chandiram was everywhere attributed to enmity. Lieut. Marston next came to learn that Pohumal, Mukhtyarkar of Lakhi, Jethmal, Mukhtyarkar of Manjhanda, and Hassomal, Kardar of Bada and Petaro, were all three related to me in one way or the other, and he had them imprisoned on the charge of misappropriating a few pice each from the cattle-grazing fees, which, it was alleged, were collected but not shown in the account books. Witnesses could easily be procured to prove the charge, and Pohumal was condemned to two years' imprisonment and to pay a fine of Rs. 1,000, Jethmal was rewarded with two years in jail and a fine of Rs. 2,000, and Hassomal was made to undergo two years' imprisonment and to pay a fine of Rs. 1,000.

All Sindh felt startled at the news of the summary proceedings, which earned me a bad name by throwing discredit upon the selections made. I felt extremely dispirited and sorry, but was powerless. Captain Preedy showed sorrow, but pleaded his inability to do aught, being bound to obey Sir Charles' orders. I, however, quieted my mind with the reflection that it was an act of Providence, and that perhaps there was a mystery underlying the whole affair. Sir Charles Napier returned from circuit, and one day soon after his arrival he came out of the bungalow to see me, accompanied by Aliakbar, his favorite Moonshi. He eyed me sternly and spoke something to Aliakbar in English which the latter translated to me in Hindustani, and stated that wherever Sir Charles Napier turned his steps he heard the people proclaim my name and exclaim "Naomul, Naomul!" that he (Sir Charles) had conquered the country by the power of his sword – what weapon had I wielded, what had I done that the people should attribute the success of the British arms to me? So saying, he withdrew and retired into the bungalow.

Within the space of a short interval of time after this the elder Brown, Aliakbar and Marston filled Sir Charles' ears against me, and getting into a passion one day he addressed a letter to Captain Preedy in his own hand-writing against me, stating that if he continued as the Governor of the Province he would see me committed to jail within another two months' time. Captain Preedy trembled when he read the letter and explained it to me word by word. He said he knew that it was owing to pure ill-will and enmity, but that he was quite powerless to assist me, being subordinate to Sir Charles Napier. Convinced at heart that I was not guilty of any improper act, I did not lose courage and told him in reply that, so far as the Revenue administration was concerned, I had no hand in the work and could not be held responsible, as a separate Shroff received and paid all dues, and he (Captain Preedy) himself signed the account books.

But if, notwithstanding, Sir Charles wished to hold a trial, I was ready to submit to any examination. I was not dumb, and had a tongue to speak. I knew that I was innocent and feared naught.

My personal enemies, among whom Sheikh Ghulam Hussen and Khushalrai Punjabi took the lead, tried their best to find some evidence, some proof, to entrap me. With the sagacity of hunting dogs they caught every scent and pried into and searched in every direction, trusting to find me there. "But what can a doctor do if there be no disease?" says a Persian proverb; and there is a good old adage in Sindh, stating "If the Almighty take mercy the un pitying enemy are simply rewarded with a storm of dust in their face." The most critical and searching inquiry took place, but out of the trial I came out as unscathed and pure as ever, to the great disgrace and shame of my harassers. But may God spare their souls! Sheik Ghulam Hussen, the Fouzdar, and Lieut. Marston then thought of injuring me through my brother Sookhramdas. They therefore proceeded to Ghorabari where my brother was mukhtyarkar. Khushalrai Punjabi gave them men to act as spies. They stayed at Ghorabari for over a month, and spared no device or effort to gather information against him. They returned to Karachi at last, much ashamed at heart I think. A short time after, a great Zemindar of Ghorabari, Jam Mahomed by name, came to Karachi on business in connection with the lands he cultivated. He was acquainted with Marston and Ghulam Hussen, and the latter one day said to him that Lieut. Marston desired to entrap Sookhramdas somehow or other, and he (Ghulam Hussen) wished him to state on the Koran if he had ever given Sookhramdas any gratification. Jam Mahomed replied that he, Ghulam Hussen, was laboring under a wrong impression, and was led by an idle fancy, as Sookhramdas was above temptation by nature, and opposed to bribe-taking. Ghulam Hussen returned, "The holy Koran says 'A true Mussalman is he who will quietly bow down his head before a stroke from the sword drawn by the faithful, but a Hindu foe may be allowed to mount up to the shoulder only to be stabbed in the belly with a hidden dagger when opportunity offers.'" Then Jam Mahomed, swearing on the Koran, told him that he never heard of Sookhramdas taking bribes, and that he dare not speak falsehood and perjure himself and thereby earn punishment in the court of God. Jam Mahomed came to see me subsequently, and with an expression of deep sorrow gave me an account of his visit to Ghulam Hussen, which greatly surprised and pained me, as it did Captain Preedy, when I related it to him. He wondered at the audacity and meanness of the attempt, but expressed his inability to take action. Feeling, however, that it was not safe to serve when jealousy and ill-will were so strong at work, I wrote to Sookhramdas to tender his resignation, which he did and returned home after a service of fifteen months.

The evil-minded and the vicious failed in all their wicked design to injure me. I however owned several houses in the camp,¹⁷⁸ which I had built before the conquest, at

¹⁷⁸ See Introduction.

the earnest desire of Captain Preedy and General Boileau, and for which I had incurred the displeasure of the Talpur Government, as has been narrated above. Mir Nasir Khan had ordered some sowars to be dispatched to Karachi to arrest me for building these houses and thereby giving a stimulus to the trade in the British camp, to the great prejudice and injury of the trade in the town of Karachi. These houses brought me Rs. 200 per month in the aggregate as rent, and were valued together at one lakh of rupees. Major Boileau was at this time Bazaar Master of the camp, and he was told that it was highly improper that I should be allowed to own property in the camp and receive rent therefrom to the extent of Rs. 200 a month' and that I should be desired to demolish the houses and remove the materials. Captain Preedy was written to communicate the order to me. He, however, gave the whole history of the houses and wrote strongly against the injustice of the order. He also wrote to Sir Charles Napier direct, but the Governor was implacable. I refused to remove the houses or the materials myself, when a committee was appointed to value the property, which estimated it at Rs, 1,240 only, and the houses were razed to the ground and the plots were made over to friends in the camp. The sum of Rs. 1,240 was made over to Captain Preedy, but I refused to receive the amount and it was deposited in the Treasury. At the end of a year and a half, Captain Preedy quietly sent the money to my house with a letter stating that it had been shown as balance from time to time, and that there was a fear of its lapsing if I refused any longer to receive payment, I was powerless and could do naught, and only grumbled at the injustice in secret, as did all my friends and the late lamented MacLeod and Stewart, who sympathized with me and expressed their strong disapprobation of the injustice done to me. But the last two gentlemen encouraged me, however, to hope for better days, and I sincerely thank them for their good advice. In sumbat 1902 (A.D. 1846), in the month of Jeth (corresponding Christian date, June, 1846), Trikamdas was blessed with a male child, Alimchand¹⁷⁹ by name – my grandson.

In sumbat 1903 (A.D. 1847), in the month of Akhar, Sindh was visited by cholera, and great mortality ensued. My brother Sookhramdas fell a victim to the epidemic. In the same year my father Hotchand divided his ancestral property, consisting of buildings, ships, mercantile houses, etc., etc., equally among his sons, reserving a like share for himself. The brothers were thereafter to live independent of one another in all matters, unless they wished to carry on trade together on the joint stock principle.

In A.D. 1847, the European gentlemen, whom to my knowledge I had never offended, desired to overload me with their tyranny¹⁸⁰ in reward for my long and arduous service rendered gratuitously, and they thought of entrapping me through the instrumentality of some notorious characters of Hyderabad, who were therefore patronized for the purpose. One of these was Ubhriamal, a man notorious for his ears having been cut off

¹⁷⁹ Now Rao Bahadur Seth Alumal Trikamdas Bhojwani, B.A. (See Introduction.)

¹⁸⁰ Seth Naomul's belief that personal animosity stimulated these officers cannot rest on any real foundation. Being informed by his enemies of his alleged want of fidelity, they no doubt determined as a public duty to sift those allegations to the bottom.—EDITOR.

in the pillory by Mir Sher Mahomed for some fraudulent act, and who did once cheat me of Rs. 900 in cash, as has been related above. Another was an Amil, Hotchand by name, a companion and relative of Ubhriamal. With these was associated a Sehwan Amil, Gulabrai Ranuga. These three daily visited the two Browns and Marston, and held frequent consultations. It was at last arranged among them that the account books belonging to the firm of Chelaram, Seth Hotchand's *goomashta*, might be seized all unawares. Marston was written to accordingly, and he directly deputed the Fouzdar, Sheikh Ghulam Hussien, with a number of sepoy, to seize the *daftar*, which was that very day removed in cart loads to the camp. Captain Preedy was also surprised with a letter asking him to suspend me immediately. He read out the letter to me, and I submitted directly. Two days afterwards I received a summons from the Judge Advocate-General for Sindh, Captain Young, requiring me to attend a court of enquiry. The court was composed of three judges, Captain Young assisted by two more. I attended, but was refused a chair and was asked to squat on the ground. Marston had, in consultation with Ghulam Hussien and Khushalrai Punjabi, arranged to get Karminal Brahmin, who was Khushalrai's *goomashta*, and Ramumal Kukra, a Punjabi, appointed to inspect and examine Chelaram's *daftar* (records). Ubhriamal Hotchand and Gulabrai were to act as accusers and prosecutors. Chelaram was to act as respondent and answer, after referring to the *daftar*, all queries proposed to him by Karminal and Ramumal. I had simply to attend and listen. The examination of the *daftar* lasted six days, and they could find nothing to place their finger upon save that once upon a time Captain Preedy sold Government hundis (bills of exchange) to the amount of a lakh of rupees through me, and these were purchased by my father's *goomashta*, Chelaram, at one per cent. discount. This was all they could find against me, and here the prosecution side closed their examination.

Next day I was called upon to put in my defence for what was alleged to have been found against me. I replied with respect to the *hundis* in question that, soon after the conquest, while terror and confusion yet reigned in Sindh, the Mukhtyarkar of Sehwan complained that in making revenue collections he received daily large sums of money. He had already a large collection on hand, and he knew not how to remit the treasure collection to Karachi. The country all around was infested by plunderers and freebooters, and he could not venture to send up the treasure with an escort while the roads were so unsafe. At Sehwan there was not a single rich banker through whom he could remit large sums of money. The Mukhtyarkar sent in report after report, complaining of the state of the country and the unsafely of the treasure, and he requested that if no arrangements could be made for the conveyance of the collection he might not be held responsible if the treasure were plundered. Captain Preedy requested me to suggest or devise some means to get the treasure to Karachi. It was proposed that he should draw *hundis* (bills of exchange) on the Mukhtyarkar of Sehwan, which the merchants in the town might purchase. I had it accordingly proclaimed in the town, but none came forward to purchase Government *hundis* and pay down hard cash to the Collector at Karachi. Therefore, with the knowledge of Captain Preedy and the elder

Brown, and at the earnest desire of the former, I undertook to render this piece of service with the aid of my father's firm. The managing partner, Mr. Chelaram, would not at first agree to my proposal, but I encouraged him and induced him to consent to the proposal on the ground that it would be considered an additional piece of service, and would enhance the respect of my family in the estimation of the Government. Meanwhile I wrote to the bankers at Sehwan to enquire if they could get Chelaram's *hundis* cashed at Sehwan, and receive payment on his account and remit the same to Chelaram by means of smaller *hundis* on different parts in Sindh. They consented to undertake the business at Chelaram's risk, and on their being paid liberal commission I agreed that Chelaram and they should share the profits equally, Chelaram alone undertaking all the risk. At last I brought round Chelaram to agree to my proposals, and as his money came in he purchased off Captain Preedy's drafts on the Mukhtyarkar of Sehwan in the name of the firm. These were cashed and discounted at Sehwan, and Chelaram received back drafts for small sums payable at Hyderabad and elsewhere. The whole transaction left a clear gain of Rs. 500, of which Chelaram got only 250, the other 250 going to the Shroffs at Sehwan. All this was shown in the accounts and stood there. The Commission had seen and read it themselves. I requested that Captain Preedy, who knew all about it, might be examined, and I expressed great sorrow and surprise at my good services performed at great risk being misinterpreted in the manner in which they were. Captain Preedy was accordingly sent for. He came and on oath deposed to the truth of all that I had said, and added that it was at his earnest desire and with the knowledge of the elder Brown that I had undertaken to perform what he considered a special act of service to the Government. Here the Court adjourned.

After a short interval I was sent for again, and Captain Young' addressing me said my character and conduct had been perfectly cleared of all blame, and there was nothing proved against me¹⁸¹; but they were, however, of opinion that, considering my position, interest and importance in the Province, I might be employed in some post of honor in British territory outside Sindh. With this ended my trial.

I then stood up and in reply to what was addressed to me I said that I thanked the all-wise Providence for the termination of my trial; as for future employment under the Government I would, I said, be glad to go without it. That they might enquire of Captain Preedy on oath under what personal pressure I consented to take up the post of Deputy Collector when it was first offered to me, and under what friendly pressure and solicitation I agreed to continue in the post, until I was at the end of eight months informed that I was to receive no higher remuneration than Rs. 200 per mensem, I never wished and do not wish to serve in a position which I consider derogatory to my status and honor, I had always served Government in a more honorable capacity, and I now only thank God that He has brought me out so honorably safe from the deadly fire of

¹⁸¹ See Appendix, No. XI.

enemies and the poison of vicious snakes. Ever since A.D. 1831 I have been employed by the British Government to serve their interest in this province, and have rendered many an important and useful service. But all this I did without remuneration and at great personal risk and expense. I was induced to enlist myself as a paid servant only four years ago, and you have just seen from the *daftar* (account books) of my family examined in your presence that all the money I got as pay during the four years went to feed my old servants and employees, and that I did not appropriate any part of it to my personal use. As to your recommendation," I continued, "to give me a post of honor in some other part of the British domains, I thank you much. But there is a well-known story which you all may have heard and which runs thus: "There lived in Punjab a fakir, Farida by name. This man was highly religious, and he was devoted to the service of God. One day he happened to pass by a musk-melon field and observed that someone had thrown close by a number of empty musk-melon rinds, devoid of all pulp, which had been greedily devoured. He lifted up a few rinds and began to lick them. In the meantime the owner came up and laid hold of him, saying 'We have at last caught the thief who has been daily devastating our field.' The thief or thieves had of course long gone away. But the farmers in their anger chastised and beat hard poor Farida, who with undisturbed temper and absorbed in his thoughts quietly submitted with bowed head to all the blows they could in their vengeance heap upon him. When they felt satisfied and had done, Farida uttered the following bait (verses) in the Punjabi: —

'Woe, Farida, what pleasure you did taste.
The whole had turned to so much dang'rous pain,
What sadder fate mayn't on the pulp await,
If empty rind-chewing hard shoes¹⁸² doth gain.'

So saying, I left the court, leaving the judges to understand what just grounds for complaint I had, when honest and faithful service during a period of great anxiety and trial to the British Government earned me great pain and infamy for my immediate reward, because I had consented to take Rs. 200 a month for a short time. Ever since the time of the Kalhoras, my family enjoyed the privilege of extracting liquor for their consumption, and to maintain a private still for that purpose. This privilege was not withheld even by the Khelat Government when Karachi was transferred to Khan Nasir Khan, and it was guaranteed by the first Mirs of the Talpur house, and allowed to remain in full force by the successors of the "Char Yar."¹⁸³ My family held *sanads* from all the past Governments confirming the privilege. After the British conquest of the province, I showed all the old letters of grant to Captain Preedy, who ordered the *sanad* granted by the later Talpurs to be copied out for his *daftar*, and having endorsed the original affixed the seal of his office thereto and returned it to me. My family were allowed to continue in the enjoyment of the privilege and to extract liquor for private

¹⁸² *i.e.*, to the victim being beaten with the heel of a shoe, a punishment even more degrading than painful.

¹⁸³ See Introduction.

use at their own distillery for full five years after the conquest. But soon after the events narrated above, the elder Brown being apprised of the fact, wrote to Lieut. Marston to stop our distilling liquor. Lieut. Marston acted according to orders and removed all the metal pots in use at the distillery. I reported the matter to Captain Preedy, who immediately wrote to Brown to explain to him that the privilege was continued to me on the strength of various letters of grant of past Governments and under the spirit of an order from Sir Charles Napier himself. He was, however, told in reply that I could not be allowed to keep a private distillery, as such a privilege was not allowed anywhere else in the whole of British India, and that it was a mistake on his part to have allowed my family to enjoy the privilege so long.¹⁸⁴

I considered the prerogative so abruptly stopped as one of the most valuable and sacred privileges of my family, both on account of its antiquity and the convenience and cheapness of extracting at our own still the beverage, to us a most indispensable necessary of life. I felt much injured in consequence but was helpless. These events produced great anxieties which told on my health, and brought on in sumbat 1905 (A.D. 1849) the most painful and dangerous sickness I was ever before subject to. I daily lost large quantities of blood, which totally prostrated my health. All despaired of my recovery, but thanks to the mercy of the All-wise and All-protecting Providence I soon began to recover under the treatment of the physician, Mr. Ramsay, an Englishman. I had grown very weak and my friends and relatives, giving me up for lost, on one occasion placed me upon a deathbed. I was internally conscious, however, and all the great and noble truths of the Shastras sprung up before my mind's eye. I seemed to recite and reflect upon several parts of the Bhagwat Gita, and I cannot forget the happy and pleasurable sensations I then experienced. When I recovered strength enough to move about, Captain Stewart,¹⁸⁵ who always sympathized with me, and to whom I am very grateful for his friendly feelings, took me out with him into the district for a change of climate. I went, therefore, to the Ghorabari Division, of which Captain Stewart was Deputy Collector. I returned to Karachi after a month and a half, much improved in health.

Sir Charles Napier left Sindh, but I should refrain from detailing the various acts of tyranny and oppression perpetrated during his tenure of office, nor shall I undertake to describe the oppression used towards me and my relatives. Sir Charles Napier himself was, however, a simple-minded, pure-hearted and religious gentleman. All the faults of his government sprang from his placing undue confidence in those most near to him, and thereby allowing himself to be guided in all matters pertaining to the civil government of the country.

¹⁸⁴ Anyone familiar with administration in India will recognize that this kind of privilege could not be permanently maintained and was bound to be stopped, but only after negotiation and compensation.—EDITOR.

¹⁸⁵ Captain Stewart afterwards became Collector of Shikarpur.

CHAPTER IX.

Mr. Pringle – Interview with Sir George Clerk – Sir Bartle Frere arrives in 1851 – His gentleness and popularity – Naomul accepts arrears of pay – Declines jaghir on life tenure – Death of Hotchand – Frere's staff, Barrow Ellis, Gibbs and Goldsmid – Invention of Sindhi Alphabet (note) – Eulogy on Frere – Visits to Frere – Frere founds Municipality in Karachi and other towns – Taxes imposed – Anecdote of Frere's patience when a native petitioner caused his fall from his horse – Frere's behavior during Mutiny – Naomul offers to raise Arab troops – Executions of Mutineers at Karachi.

After Sir Charles' departure the post of Governor of the Province was abolished, and the official designation of the ruler was changed to that of "Chief Commissioner of Sindh." Mr. Pringle, of the Bombay Civil Service, was appointed to the Chief Commissionership after Sir Charles Napier's departure. This gentleman possessed a mild and quiet disposition. He was not given to much talking, and he wished to do good. He came, it seemed, to extinguish the fire of oppression raised by Sir Charles' administration. Sir George Clerk¹⁸⁶ was in those days Governor of Bombay, and to him I submitted a petition regarding myself, detailing all that had been done by me from the first, and the treatment which had been accorded to me. In the meantime Mr. Pringle went out into the district, and by his courtesy and kindness earned the praise of the people. After his return from circuit, His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, Sir George Clerk, visited Sindh. His Excellency desired to see me and accordingly wrote to the Commissioner, who in his turn requested the late lamented Mr. John McLeod.¹⁸⁷ the Collector of Customs, to inform me of it. Mr. McLeod called at my house and, accompanied by him, I went to Mr. Pringle. Having obtained a letter of introduction from the Commissioner, I went to the Governor's Secretary, one Mr. French. He informed His Excellency of my arrival, and was desired to let me wait on His Excellency all alone. His Excellency received me very kindly, and treated me very honorably, and his kind treatment I still remember thankfully. We conversed in Persian, which he spoke with remarkable fluency and good accent. I have not known any other European gentleman speaking Persian so well. I felt extremely delighted with the interview, which lasted over half-an-hour, and I returned home well pleased with the visit. When taking leave of His Excellency, I enquired if the petition in my case had been received, to which His Excellency replied "Yes." The Governor stayed in Karachi between ten and fifteen days in all, and then returned to Bombay.

¹⁸⁶ Sir George Russell Clerk, G.C.S.I., K.C.C.B. (1800-1887), one of the strongest and ablest Indian administrators of the nineteenth century, was Governor of Bombay for the second time from April, 1860, to April, 1862.

¹⁸⁷ Mr. John McLeod was the Collector of Customs, and the principal road in Karachi, between the town and cantonment, is named after him.

Mr. Pringle, of the Civil Service, remained in all a year and a half in Sindh, and during the period he earned a name for his kind and mild disposition. He left for Bombay *en route* to England, and Mr. (afterwards Sir Bartle) Frere was nominated to the Chief Commissionership of Sindh in his place. It must be looked upon as a special act of divine mercy and providence that one possessing the qualities of the future Governor of Bombay was at this time selected to rule over this benighted country. Sindh had suffered long and much. God, however, ultimately provides against all misery, and Mr. Bartle Frere was chosen to rule over the destinies of the province. His affable manners and amiable disposition attracted all classes of people to him, and encouraged them to approach him. Endowed with a soothing and angelic tone of voice, he never failed to enquire after the condition of the people he met in the most kind and sympathetic manner, which won him the hearts of his subjects, Hindus and Moslems, rich and poor, high and low, and inspired them with joy whenever he was seen riding through the town on horseback alone. The fragrance of his virtuous acts took air and spread over the whole province in a short time, and one could hear it said everywhere and by everyone that there never was heard of, nor seen, a Sahib-lok (European) with such angelic temper, that it was a special act of divine favor that Frere was sent to govern Sindh to effectually check and extinguish that fire of oppression which had been raised during the rule of Sir Charles Napier, and to give a lively aspect and cheerful smile to the land.¹⁸⁸

The petition submitted by me to Sir George Clerk had been forwarded on by him to the Supreme Government at Calcutta. After his return from Sindh, Sir George Clerk remained in Bombay for about two and a half months, when he left for England. The reply of the Supreme Government to my petition was received after Sir George had left. The Bombay Government communicated it to the Commissioner, who in his turn wrote to the Collector of Karachi, Captain Preedy,¹⁸⁹ to inform me of it. It was stated therein that the Government of India was pleased to bestow on me in consideration of my services a jaghir for life to the extent of 1000 begas, I respectfully declined to accept a jaghir on such conditions of tenure, and I told Captain Preedy, who knew well the character of the soil in Sindh, that my accepting a life jaghir would tend to lower me in the estimation of the people, My reply was communicated to the Commissioner, who proposed to recommend me for a life pension in lieu of a jaghir if that would satisfy me, I had a long discussion with Captain Preedy on the subject, and he ultimately agreed to suggest that the value of my pension should be Rs. 200 per mensem. But after the lapse

¹⁸⁸ Seth Naomul's eulogies upon Sir Bartle Frere and his work in Sindh are not merely Oriental hyperbole. Seth Naomul, indeed, received substantial benefits through Sir Bartle Frere, namely the jaghir, the pension for three lives, and the decoration of the C.S.I., as well as the honor of his personal friendship. Still, unquestionably, Sir B. Frere was one of the ablest and most benevolent administrators whom India has ever seen, and his popularity in Sindh is not exaggerated. He was Commissioner in Sindh from 1851 to 1859. The contrast between his courteous treatment of the Seth and the peremptoriness of Sir Charles Napier would emphasize Seth Naomul's gratitude.—EDITOR.

¹⁸⁹ Captain H. W. Preedy was the first Collector and District Magistrate of Karachi. (Wide his appreciation of Seth Naomul in Appendix I.)

of two months I was informed through Captain Preedy that the Government had agreed to give me a pension of the value of Rs. 100 per month. I declined to receive the pension unless it was raised to the amount originally proposed. After a long correspondence and varied discussion, the Government sanctioned the grant of pension to me from the date of my unjust suspension during the time of Sir Charles Napier, and I accepted the award.

As usual, I continued to obtain information from Cabul, Candahar, Bokhara, Herat, and from various parts in India. I arranged and wrote out in my vernacular on a separate piece of paper the different items of news, and communicated them to Captain Preedy from time to time. Captain Preedy translated them into English from my dictation, and forwarded them on to the Commissioner for information. I myself sometimes visited the Commissioner (Sir Bartle Frere), and always returned happier than I went. An interview with him always made my mind more tranquil, gave me greater hope, and inspired me with greater courage. In sumbat 1905 (A.D. 1848-9) my father Seth Hotchand took leave of his worldly life, and funeral ceremonies were performed in accordance with the usage of our family, at considerable expense.

In sambut 1907 (A.D. 1850-51) the mother of my grandson Alimchand, my eldest daughter-in-law, bade farewell to this world. The old family house wherein all the seven sons of my father resided failing to give sufficient accommodation for the growing family, I built a separate dwelling-house for myself and my family on a spot close by, and I removed thither with the customary ceremony in the month of Sawan, sumbat 1909 (A.D. 1853). Early next year 1910 (A.D. 1854),¹⁹⁰ in the month of Akhar, I celebrated the nuptial ceremonies of my two sons, Trikamdas and Thawardas. The festivals lasted for about a month and a half, and ended in joy and happiness.

The Commissioner, Sir Bartle Frere, travelled through the province each year during the winter. The very first visit disclosed to him the melancholy fact that the country and people were in no better state than the adjoining rude and uncivilized tract of Balochistan and its inhabitants. He therefore considered it a point of primary duty to improve both, and earnestly set about achieving the object of his heart. In this he was ably and wisely assisted by his immediate assistants, Mr. (afterwards Sir) B. H. Ellis¹⁹¹ (at present Member of the Council of the Governor-General of India), Mr. James Gibbs¹⁹² (Justice Gibbs, of the Bombay High Court), Mr. M. J. Shaw Stewart,¹⁹³ and

¹⁹⁰ Seth Trikamdas' eldest son was born in 1845, so apparently this was a second marriage. For first marriage.

¹⁹¹ Sir Barrow Ellis, K.C.S.I., was afterwards a Member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India from 1875 to 1885—one of the ablest members of the Bombay Civil Service in the nineteenth century.

¹⁹² Mr. James Gibbs, C.S.I., became a Member of the Council of the Governor-General of India at the time when the Earl of Lytton was Viceroy, but times had much changed, and his reputation was not improved by his promotion to that post.

¹⁹³ Mr. M. J. Shaw Stewart returned to the Presidency and became a Collector. He also filled the post of Chief Secretary to the Government, but retired early.

latterly Captain (now General) Sir F. J. Goldsmid.¹⁹⁴ This association of abilities and characters was the most fortunate incident in the annals of Sindh, a circumstance never seen before, nor ever witnessed since.

All were guided by the same integrity of purpose and desired the good and prosperity of the province, Mr. Ellis was the Commissioner's Revenue Assistant, a very clever and foresighted gentleman, gifted with a memory the most admirable. To him Sindh is indebted for its first regularly-written characters, the Arabic-Sindhi. Before his time, the Hindus of Sindh, the trading classes alone, had an alphabet of their own; but this was so imperfect and various and exclusive in point of use that it was deemed necessary to introduce writing characters which should serve a general purpose and meet the wants of the majority. To Mr. Ellis is due the honor of having fixed upon and molded the present Arabic-Sindhi alphabet now so widely used throughout the province. It may be mentioned here for the information of all admirers of Mr. Ellis, that his interest in the cause of education in Sindh did not cease with his labors in the province. He was ever ready to avail himself of every opportunity to do good to the land, where he had so successfully worked with Sir Bartle Frere, and so late as 1869, when the question of introducing the Hindu-Sindhi (the so-called Baniya) characters in the schools in Sindh was mooted, and the consequent necessity of improving and modifying them suggested, he took the most lively interest in the matter.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁴ Major-General Sir Frederic John Goldsmid, K.C.S.I., C.B. (1818-1908), one of Sir Bartle Frere's most able assistants, who spent many years in examining and recording the rights of the Sirdars and Jaghirdars of Sindh, and also was instrumental in laying the foundation of education in Sindh. He served for a short time during an interval in his Sindh service in the Crimea. He negotiated the transit of the European telegraph line through Makran, and in 1865 became Director of the Indo-European Telegraph. Afterwards he personally superintended the construction of the telegraph line across the whole of Persia. He was appointed the Chief Commissioner for the settlement of boundary disputes between Afghanistan and Persia, and later did valuable service both in Egypt and the Congo State. He was a great linguist and attracted the affections of all with whom he came in contact. He also wrote the *Biography of Sir James Outram*.

¹⁹⁵ It is a curious fact that Sindhi, though a distinct and separate tongue, founded on Sanskrit, much resembling the languages spoken in the neighboring provinces of Cutch, and Marwar, had, until the annexation by the British, no written alphabet. The Hindus of Sindh, that is to say the mercantile classes, used, it is true, a very barbarous character, often not uniform even in the same town, and undecipherable by other Hindus, resembling the characters used universally over India by Hindu money-lenders and tradesmen for writing bills of exchange and keeping their accounts, but there was no literature in those characters, of which there were no less than seventeen varieties. Amongst the Mahommedans, who constituted the bulk of the population, only the most cultured could write, and they invariably used Persian for their communications, and all people of education and standing were expected to converse and correspond in that tongue. The Sindhi language is much permeated with Persian and Arabic words, and therefore for the benefit of the people at large, especially Mahommedans, a Sindhi alphabet, based upon Arabic and Persian, in Arabic characters, was invented by Sir Barrow Ellis, under Sir Bartle Frere, which is now in universal use in Government offices and private correspondence. Later, a further reform was introduced, as narrated above, of creating for the benefit of Hindus only, a Hindu-Sindhi alphabet that should be legible amongst the entire mercantile community, based on Devanagiri, or Sanskrit. In the year 1872-3, therefore, type was founded for Hindu-Sindhi, in which school books were printed, and a certain number of schools were founded in which only Bunya-Sindhi, as it was called, was taught. But the general result has not been completely satisfactory. The Arabic-Sindhi is the character now universally taught and employed, and Hindu-Sindhi, or, as it is often called, Bunya-Sindhi, has almost been dropped. In a few towns like Shikarpur, with a strong Hindu

Mr. James Gibbs was, like the rest of the company, a gentleman of sterling worth. Amiable and frank in disposition, he gained merited applause and praise for his wise administration of justice. Mr. M. J. Shaw Stewart, a gentleman of the most quiet, kind and obliging nature, worked jointly with Mr. Ellis as a Revenue Assistant.

Major Goldsmid, a gentleman of varied learning and of manners the most obliging, keen-sighted, and entertaining noble views like the rest of his companions, assisted the Commissioner in superintending the Political, Educational, and Jaghir Departments. Of the reforms instituted by him in the Jaghir Branch¹⁹⁶, in consultation with the Commissioner, the present state of that department bears sufficient and ample testimony to his ability and patience. He cleared it of its weeds, greatly to the advantage of the administrative government and the good of the people in general. But what has left an everlasting impress of his character in Sindh was his fostering care of Education, that tender plant which was sown by and which grew up under the auspicious eye of Sir Bartle Frere, and which Major Goldsmid tended and reared even long after both Sir Bartle and Mr. Ellis had left the province. Schools for instruction were started in various parts of the country as the result of the system of education patronized by the Commissioner, under the immediate superintendence of educated men who were imported from other parts of India. Many poor people educated in these schools eventually obtained respectable appointments under the Government and lived a happy life. An English school was opened in Karachi just at the commencement of 1853, and I was requested to send the children of my family to it to induce other townspeople to send theirs. I sent my grandson Alimchand (Alumal) with ten other children of my family to the English school, and there was soon a large attendance on the rolls.

The Commissioner moved out into the district annually in October each year and returned from his annual tour of inspection towards the close of April following. Every year his sympathetic soul witnessed new wants, and his large mind thought of new means for the satisfaction thereof and for the further improvement of the general condition of the people. It would be impossible here to enumerate all the useful works planned or commenced during Sir Bartle Frere's rule of Sindh in compliance with his wishes or his proposals. He had broad roads laid out even over mountains and through jungles, to the great comfort of the poor and the helpless wayfarer, and for the convenience of merchants and traders. That all travelers might find a resting-place during the heat of summer or the cold in winter, and the travelling stranger a

element, patriotic Hindus still maintain Bunya-Sindhi schools, and in order that small Mahomedan cultivators should be able to read, if they so please, their accounts in the village bankers' books, the reading of the Bunya-Sindhi alphabet and numerals is compulsory in all local board schools. But since 1910 no books in that alphabet have been printed, and, excepting for accounts, Arabic-Sindhi seems likely to hold the field.—EDITOR.

¹⁹⁶ The examination of all the titles to Jaghirs (*i.e.* rent-free lands), and the compilation of accurate registers of the great land-holders' titles, and the boundaries of their estates, and the terms on which their estates were to be continued to heirs, was an extraordinarily complex matter, and its settlement was one of Sir Bartle Frere's greatest reforms.

temporary home, he ordered *dharamsalas* to be built along the highways at convenient distances from one another. To make the journey through a desolate country delightful, as well as to cover the roads with pleasing shade, he had trees planted on both sides of the road. Gardens to beautify the country were planned throughout the province, and soon became numerous. To enlighten the people and to keep them informed of what was passing around them, a press was started at Karachi at Sir Bartle's advice and under his patronage. Cotton-pressing machines and gins were established in the country, and trade increased under the encouragement shown by the Commissioner. This circumstance invited various enterprising men from Bombay, Calcutta and Agra to open banking-houses and mercantile firms at Karachi. The facilities for commerce thus afforded increased the inland traffic and the import and export trade of the country. Ships from various parts of the world could be seen in the harbor of Karachi. Exchange became brisker, and people could circulate their capital freely and oftener. Thus in a short time persons who originally possessed only a few thousand rupees became masters of lakhs, and the poor and the needy finding employment soon obtained sufficiency and relief from want. In doing all this Sir Bartle Frere did not neglect to develop the internal resources of the province. One of the greatest works of his times, the digging of the great Nara Canal,¹⁹⁷ which brought plenty and the blessing of abundance to a large tract of country, was commenced in his days. The people of Thar, who knew not even what sufficiency was, soon began to taste the fruit of plenty.¹⁹⁸

In consequence of these acts and the bright change in the aspect of the country, the name of Sir Bartle Frere became famous throughout the adjoining districts of Marwar, Cutch and Rajputana, and people sang his praise. In the province the name of Sir Bartle Frere rang in every Sindhian home in consequence of the reforms effected by him, his just and benevolent acts, and his particular care of and kindness towards the poor. It will ever continue to be remembered with pride and affection by every grateful heart. It was not the Sindhian tongue alone which uttered Sir Bartle's praise, but every hair on a Sindhian body expressed a feeling of gratitude and thankfulness. Not men alone, but the brute creation, too, it may be said, did not fail out of an overflowing of heart to solicit blessing on Sir Bartle Frere and his acts. Sindh never experienced such happiness

¹⁹⁷ The Eastern Nara was the bed of a long-disused course of the Indus. Sir Bartle Frere, following the proposals of Col. John Fife, R.E., the founder of scientific irrigation in Sindh, had a channel some miles in length cut into this ravine from the Indus from a point close to the town of Rohri, and such an abundant supply of water is carried by it as to water the large portions of the previously desert Thar and Parkur districts. From this again a new canal called the Jamra was cut while the Editor was Commissioner, which irrigates the east and south-eastern portion of the Hyderabad district. These canals are some of the finest and most successful irrigation works in India. — EDITOR.

¹⁹⁸ It is curious that Seth Naomul omits one of the greatest works of Sir Bartle Frere: the commencement of the first railway in Sindh, 105 miles in length, from Karachi to Kotri on the Indus, of which he cut the first sod, and which developed through trade or by river steamers with the Punjab. From this small beginning the network of lines now existing in Sindh and on its north-western frontier sprang, including, *inter alia*, two mighty bridges across the Indus. Nor are Frere's labors for the improvement of the Karachi port mentioned.—EDITOR.

of quiet and contentment before. One of the prophetic stanzas said to have been uttered by the Mamoyi fakirs¹⁹⁹ contained the following verses: –

"Mirmichi arms shall fall and rust,
And Sindh shall blossom in their dust.
How shall ye know Mirmichi hosts,
Whom Sindh shall drive to distant coasts?
Black locks and cinctures they shall wear,
Their wives two plaits of ebon hair,
The sons of these to distant lands repair."

If Sindh ever witnessed the promised bliss, if the prophecy has been verified in this respect as in other points, the rule of Sir Bartle Frere brought that happiness and prosperity to the province.

It was usual with me to visit the Commissioner and his assistants twice or thrice every week. I communicated to Sir Bartle Frere the different news that I received during the week, and which, according to my practice, I previously wrote out in detail on a separate piece of paper. Once upon an occasion Sir Bartle Frere and I were conversing together when he told me that whenever he visited the old town he found it in the dirtiest state possible, and that there was a bad smell everywhere. He wished to introduce the municipal system in order to effect sanitary improvements in the town. The city of Ahmedabad, in Guzerat, he added, looked once as dirty and unclean, but the Government having, in consultation with the people, established a Municipality and levied a local rate of one anna and six pice on a hundred-weight of ghee imported, the city had benefited much under the care and by the exertions of the Municipal Commissioners, and looked greatly changed in appearance. If a like system could be introduced in Karachi, and a ghee rate of one and a half annas per hundred-weight could be levied for municipal purposes, he hoped it would immensely help to improve the town. I consented, and said that I would ask the townspeople to agree to his proposal. When I went home I called the people together and induced them to agree to the Commissioner's suggestion. Such was the beginning of the Municipal Corporation of Karachi. Captain Preedy, revenue collector, Mr. John McLeod, the late collector of customs, and myself formed the first Managing Committee of that body. Daily in the morning we went out to inspect the town and to arrange for its cleanliness.

After a month or two when I once went to wait upon the Commissioner, he smilingly said that he was glad I had got the people to consent to a tax on ghee for municipal

¹⁹⁹ A great ruler of Sindh, about 1380 A.D., named Jam Tamachi, is said to have decapitated seven fishermen who came to him offering by spells to protect his country from invasion forever. After their execution each head gave utterance to a poetic prophecy, which have been interpreted in various ways. The prophecy quoted in the text is supposed by well-meaning people to indicate the expulsion of the Talpurs by the English. A full account of the legend and prophecies will be found in the late Sir Richard Burton's *Sindh Revisited*, chapter X.

purposes, but that ghee without sugar could not be indulged in long. Thereupon I consented to a sugar rate at 4 annas per hundred-weight, and the townspeople agreed to it also. Time passed and a couple of months elapsed when, going one day to Sir Bartle Frere, I heard him say that ghee and sugar without grain of some kind was not very valuable. A grain rate of one pice (quarter anna) per candy was accordingly proposed and agreed to. The Municipality began to command importance and influence, general and managing committees were appointed, and a municipal office opened. In course of time a municipal tax on European goods, such as wines, liquors, etc., and other articles of trade, was sanctioned, and the municipal revenue continued to increase from year to year. In the first year the income amounted to Rs. 6,000, the next to Rs. 18,000, and in the third it rose to Rs. 27,000. Thereafter, Sir Bartle Frere very kindly made over to the Municipality all waste land in Karachi, the property of Government, and a large revenue was realized by the sale thereof.²⁰⁰ The Municipality gradually gained strength and importance with the increase in its income, which in one year reached 4 lakhs of rupees. The duties of the Municipality were alike multiplied. A well-laid system of roads, the metalling and watering thereof, lighting the main roads and streets, the cleanliness of the town, and the appointment of a police for the convenience and safety of the person and property of the people, were all carefully attended to.

In the same manner municipal institutions gradually were started in various other towns in Sindh, to the great comfort of the people, and these towns, like so many trees in the desert, dried up for want of water and nourishment, began to wear a cheerful and pleasing aspect as a consequence of the care bestowed on them by municipal bodies.²⁰¹

Sir Bartle Frere's advent into this province and his treading on its soil was one of the most fortunate events for the country. While he ruled the land, trade and commerce flourished and seldom proved disastrous. The country gained in wealth, and both cultivation and population increased. In Karachi especially, people of different nationalities and creeds could be seen. The revenue income of Sindh, too, improved greatly during Sir Bartle's administration.

Sir Bartle's goodness of nature and judicious patience won him universal respect and admiration. Every petitioner to him, whether high or low, received a patient hearing, and when he perceived that people, owing to their ignorance of the law, did not understand their case or position, he not infrequently undertook in his generosity to explain it to them, and made them feel that there was actually no cause for grievance where they imagined one. Thus a short conversation with Sir Bartle Frere removed all the distress of a supposed injury. Every offender against law or the Government,

²⁰⁰ This valuable concession was really not made till some years later, about the year 1874, under the authority of the Government of India, when Sir Philip Wodehouse was Governor of Bombay.—EDITOR.

²⁰¹ The Karachi Municipality is now one of the foremost and best in India, conspicuous for its fine supply of water and for being sewer-drained on the Shone system.—EDITOR.

however, was checked and put down with a lion's threat and awful indignation. Gifted with the most amiable power of speech, possessing faculties of a divine order, Sir Bartle Frere's character seemed to gain additional luster from the magnanimity of his heart and his forbearance. It will not be out of place here to quote one instance out of many where he shone with a brilliancy unequalled to my knowledge. An inhabitant of Tatta once had a law-suit before the Assistant Judicial Commissioner, Mr. James Gibbs. The ends of justice could perhaps not permit the man's obtaining what he expected. But he so much harassed Judge Gibbs with obstinate solicitations and appeals, that the Judicial Commissioner was at last compelled to order his peons not to allow the man to approach him. The Tattai, nothing daunted by this, made bold to lay his case before Sir Bartle Frere himself. He therefore went to Government House one morning, and purposed to speak to the Commissioner as he went out for his usual ride. Afraid to enter the compound for fear of the peons, he sat him down behind a stone pillar at the gate, whence he expected Sir Bartle to pass. Sir Bartle rode out alone, according to his practice, at the appointed time. As he approached the gate, he could see a man clothed in a white sheet and a red turban sitting outside. When he was quite near, the Tattai stood upon his feet at once. The horse on which Sir Bartle rode took fright and started, throwing the rider. The men in waiting at Government House seeing their master fall, immediately ran up. One of Sir Bartle's legs was fairly bruised. He, however, kept hold of the reins and with courage helped himself back into the saddle. The reader may well imagine the consternation the poor Tattai was thrown into at the time. The color of his face quite faded and his heart beat high. But how think you acted Sir Bartle Frere? Seeing the man in great fright he signed to him to approach him, and addressed him thus in Hindustani, in his usual sweet voice, "O, Son (Baba), why should you have placed yourself here thus like a thief? Look, it has been the cause of such immeasurable fear to yourself, and of such painful injury to my leg." The man replied, "Sir, Gibbs sahib has desired the peons not to allow me to approach the bungalow, and so, afraid of the peons, I was here hiding in the hope of laying my case before your honor." Thereupon Sir Bartle ordered the peons present not to scare him away and to allow him to go up to Mr. Gibbs when he went there next. The Tattai, who had drunk immensely of the ocean of fear and looked almost drowned in it, seemed to revive with the kind expressions of the Governor. What rare great kindness does not this simple tale reveal! It is such acts of a truly great mind and noble nature that are deeply impressed on the Sindhian heart, which cherishes the memory of Sir Bartle Frere lovingly, and will do so for ever. It is a common saying in Sindh, that there never came such a sahib-lok here before, and none such has come since.

In sumbat 1913 (A.D. 1856-57) the British took possession of Lucknow.²⁰² This was the signal for one of the most dreadful fires that enveloped India. The Lucknow people rebelled, and many of the Bengal regiments, which were composed chiefly of men who

²⁰² The annexation of Oude in February, 1856, is alluded to.

sympathized with the Lucknowites, mutinied. Nana Sahib,²⁰³ who called himself a descendant of the great Baji Rao, joined the rebels, and took up arms near Cawnpore. The old Emperor of Delhi, who at this time lived on the bounty of the English and received a liberal pension, countenanced the cause of his rebellious brethren of the faith. Thus all the country from Lucknow to Delhi became one scene of slaughter and carnage. The British camp at Cawnpore was attacked, and many Englishmen, with their wives and children, fell into the hands of the rebels. These, with such as were captured at Delhi, were subjected to the most inhuman cruelties by the beastly mutineers. It will be impossible to describe all the bloodshed and misery caused by the cursed Mutiny. My heart shudders at the very thought thereof. Suffice it to say that, hearing what passed in other parts of India, the generality of people in Sindh said that the English rule in India had well nigh come to a close.

I cannot sufficiently admire the patience, thought, judgment and courage evinced by Sir Bartle Frere during these troublous and trying times. He spared no pains, begrudged no expenditure to forestall the danger that seemed to threaten the British supremacy in India. As usual, I continued to furnish Sir Bartle with various information. I tried to obtain every item of news I could get through many of my old family mercantile agents residing at Jodhpur, Jeypoor, Jesalmir and Pali in Rajputana, and at various places in the Punjab, and placed it unreservedly at the Commissioner's disposal as soon as it was obtained. I enjoyed the privilege therefore of calling at Government House and waiting upon Sir Bartle at any time of the day or night; and I can bear testimony how busy I always found him with his pen. He repaired to his usual office room, and allowed the flag, indicative of his presence at home, to flutter for about an hour each day so long as the danger lasted, and then retired in private and spent the rest of the day in writing his observations and in issuing orders, directions or instructions. I seldom saw him in those days go out for a ride. He generally retired to a small room on the upper floor of the bungalow, where few were permitted to see him. As for myself, he had given special directions to the man-in-waiting to take me to him whenever I went there. I was one day with him at 2 p.m., and while I was sitting a butler brought him his tiffin. Sir Bartle Frere showed particular kindness to me, treated me with familiarity, and observed no ceremony in my presence. He partook of his tiffin, and ate only half a small biscuit with butter, and took only a few drops of brandy. I felt surprised and sorry and was afraid it would not enable him to sustain the immense labor of writing he took, and I said to him that he did not take care of himself so well as he ought. He frankly informed me that he could eat no more; that at night, too, he sat down to supper simply to make a name and keep up the form. Judging from what Sir Bartle ate that day in my presence, I could hardly believe that he partook of more than 5 *tolas* (24 ounces) of food during twenty-four hours. Such was his anxiety and so mindful was he of his duty, and so alive was he to the danger of the times, and deeply engaged in the thought of forestalling it, that, like his appetite, Sir Bartle lost his sleep, and enjoyed only a dreamy rest of a few hours

²⁰³ Nana Sahib was the adopted son of Baji Rao, the last Peishwa of Poona.

during the night. I have known many an Englishman and European intimately gifted with many admirable qualities, but none could equal Sir Bartle in the various powers of patience, forethought, discernment, judgment and courage which he displayed in those days of trouble and anxiety.

I was afraid that the Mussalman sepoys in the employment of the Government here were not to be trusted, as the Indian Mutiny was assuming the form of a religious warfare. I wrote accordingly to Sir Bartle Frere one day and offered to bring a few thousand men from Zanzibar and Africa, who I knew were not bigoted religionists, and would prove able-bodied, trustworthy and faithful soldiers. I offered to perform this piece of service, and promised to bring over 3,000 or 4,000 men within the space of two or three months if Government could assist me with transport steamers, as it would otherwise take too long if sailing ships were employed. Sir Bartle Frere was much pleased with my readiness to serve the British Government, and wrote me back to say that he would communicate in the matter with the Government of Bombay and give me orders after he had received a reply.

Meanwhile the majority of the men of the Native Infantry stationed at Karachi, which was composed chiefly of people belonging to Oude, Lucknow, and Delhi, formed plans to mutiny, but the star of the British Government was in the ascendant, and praised be Sir Bartle's circumspection and skill that he came to know the plans and schemes that were hatched to perfection, and were about to be put into execution in their dreadful form. The intending mutineers were surprised and captured, and these met with deserved punishment, some of them being hanged, others blown from guns, and the rest kept in prison. And thanked be the Almighty disposer of all things, that at Delhi and in other places in Hindustan, too, the mutiny was soon crushed, the supplies and aid forwarded by Sir Bartle Frere having tended materially to extinguish the fire at Delhi.²⁰⁴ The old Emperor of Delhi was captured, his sons escaping. The principal ringleaders were duly punished, having been hanged, blown up, or imprisoned. Thus the Mutiny was everywhere put down with a heavy hand, and peace and order were again restored. I made very strict and secret enquiry through Sindh if the seed of rebellion was being sown anywhere, but by the grace of God perfect quiet prevailed. The judicious arrangements made and plans formed by Sir Bartle Frere for the safety of this province met with well-merited praise from Government.

²⁰⁴ Sir John Lawrence, writing to the Government of India, after the Mutiny had been practically suppressed, said he "could not allow his notice of the officers who have distinguished themselves to be closed without mention being made of the great obligations under which he lies to Mr. H. B. E. Frere, the Commissioner of Sindh. From first to last, from the commencement of the Mutiny to the final triumph, that officer has rendered assistance to the Punjab administration, just as if he had been one of its own Commissioners. It was owing to his indefatigable exertions that the 1st Bombay Fusiliers arrived at Mooltan so soon as they did. He dispatched the 1st and then the 2nd Belooch Battalion from Sindh to succor the Punjab. The Chief Commissioner believes that probably there is no civil officer in India who, for eminent exertions, deserves better of his Government than Mr. H. B. E. Frere."—EDITOR.

CHAPTER X.

Frere leaves Sindh – Government of India sanctions his recommendation for a jaghir in perpetuity and pension for three lives – Naomul accepts land chosen by the Collector – Alumal's marriage – Frere appointed Governor of Bombay – Invites Naomul to visit him – Reception at Government House – Inauguration of Bhor Ghat railway – Visits the holy places of the Deccan – Naomul appointed C.S.I.-Commissioner holds Durbar in Naomul's honor – Frere holds Durbar at Karachi and personally decorates Naomul with insignia of C.S.I.-Alumal receives his diploma of B.A. from Frere's hands – Sources of Naomul's information – Advice to his descendants – Conclusion.

In sumbat 1914 (A.D. 1857-58) my brother Pritamdas died. In the month of Badrapad of the same year, I thought to myself that I had passed my youth in the service of the British Government, that ever since A.D. 1831, with unflinching zeal, I had been exerting to render most valuable and important services, that my attention being wholly devoted to the British Government, I had neglected my trade and business during that long interval, and that all that while I had served the Government with a large private establishment maintained at my own expense. What fruit did I reap, what return did I receive for all the trouble I had undergone, said I to myself. The thought was painful, and with a heart full of sorrow I rode up to Sir Bartle Frere. Sir Bartle Frere felt I looked a little sad, and he enquired after my health. I told him then how useful I had been to the Government, and what arduous and trying duty I had performed during the days of Pottinger, Outram and Napier, and that Government had altogether, I thought, neglected me. The ultimate reward of the services rendered by me during Outram and Napier's times was pain and misery. I was afraid, I added, that my services had not been brought to the notice of the Government, or else it could not fail to shed the blessing of its luster on me. A sigh of sorrow here burst from my heart, and Sir Bartle saw that I felt myself greatly wronged. I told him I could do nothing now, having grown old. My youth had been spent in the service of the Government, and all my old mercantile agencies and business had passed into other hands. I was launched in the world to begin life anew. Sir Bartle very courteously and kindly began to soothe my heart, and told me that he knew all about me and remembered me, that he intended to recommend me for the title of Rao Bahadur, and for a monthly allowance of Rs. 60 on account of a Palki. I told him in reply that I was much obliged to him for his kindness, but that I never thought of a Rao Bahadur's title or a Palki²⁰⁵ allowance.

A short time after, Sir Bartle Frere was transferred to Calcutta as Member of the Council of the Government of India. The people of Sindh felt very sorry when they heard that their kind ruler was soon to leave the province. As the day of his departure approached, all the great men of Sindh, whether Mirs or others, flocked to Karachi to do honor to

²⁰⁵ The present of a palki, or palanquin, together with a small allowance for remunerating the bearers of it, was, in old days, a special form of honor in native states, and occasionally adopted by the British.

their departing Governor and express their great sorrow at their separation from him. The native inhabitants of Karachi gave the most magnificent entertainment ever witnessed in this town in honor of Sir Bartle Frere. Sir Bartle was seated on a temporary throne prepared for the occasion. I was in waiting on him during the entertainment, and few saw so well as I did what glory, what greatness, beamed in his countenance at the time, and I could distinctly read in his face indications of still greater honors that were in store for him. The entertainment was grand, and one that defies description. Those alone can understand its magnificence who witnessed it. All European ladies and gentlemen in the station attended on the occasion, which will never be forgotten. Sir Bartle Frere was succeeded by J. D. Inverarity, Esq., of the Bombay Civil Service, in the government of this province. Major F. J. Goldsmid continued as First Assistant Commissioner under Mr. J. D. Inverarity. The new Commissioner was mild and extremely gentlemanly in his behavior, and worthy of praise.

About two or three months after, the Commissioner in Sindh received through the Government of Bombay a copy of the Government of India's resolution sanctioning the continuance of the pension worth Rs. 100 per mensem bestowed upon me, to three generations.²⁰⁶ It was further ordered that I was to be rewarded with a jaghir in perpetuity,²⁰⁷ and that I might be allowed to select any piece of land anywhere in Sindh which did not bring Government more than Rs. 1,200 a year. On the receipt of this communication the Commissioner in Sindh sent for me and informed me of the good intentions of the Government towards me, hearing which I thanked God and felt overpowered with the feeling of gratitude towards the British Government. The Commissioner drew my special attention to the choice I was given, to select land for jaghir in any one of the three Collectorates of Sindh I pleased. Major Dunsterville, who was then Collector of Karachi, having sent for me and given me a copy of the Government of India resolution, enquired where I should like to take the jaghir. I told him that I preferred the Sehwan Taluka of the Karachi Collectorate. He then desired me to name the *makan* (plot) I should like to have, and by way of kind advice told me that, if I elected to take uncultivated land, I could obtain a larger piece as jaghir, from which, with due care and expense, I might reap larger profits hereafter. I therefore requested him to allow me time to visit the Sehwan Taluka and inspect different *makans* in person, to enable me to name one which I should like to have as jaghir. On the Collector granting my request, I proceeded to Sehwan and selected the following makans out of which Government might bestow upon me any one they pleased: (1) Sasni, (2) Gambote, and (3) Kura, in the Gahir sub-division. I returned to Karachi and informed Major Dunsterville of my selection. He replied that out of the *makans* I had named, I

²⁰⁶ These privileges had been recommended by Frere in October, 1859, a few days before he left his post in Sindh, and the Government of Bombay supported it; Frere having arrived in Calcutta as Member of the Government of India was just in time to speak, and he doubtless did so, a friendly word for his protégé.

²⁰⁷ The perpetuity clause is, in the eyes of an Indian, much the most valuable part of the gift, not so much for the pecuniary reward but because it perpetuates the name and services of him to whom it is given, as a peerage does, or used to do, in England.—EDITOR.

could expect only a small piece of ground according to the nominal valuation of Government, and that I had better name some uncultivated soil. I answered that I wished to secure a *peti* (a small treasure box), whereas he proposed to force upon me a *kheti* (field), which would necessitate my supervision and attendance all the year round, and compel me in my old age to remain constantly absent from home. A long discussion ensued, and the Collector ultimately desired me to accept the Deh of Duree Dera in the Taluka of Sehwan, which he said measured 10,456 bigas according to the Government register. On enquiring however what it brought to Government annually, I learnt that the Government share of income from the whole Deh did not exceed Rs. 500 or Rs. 600 on an average. But the Collector assured me that the Deh was capable of producing more and making larger returns if I spent money in improving the land. I would not, however, agree to it. Time thus rolled on in discussion, and more than four months elapsed from the date when the Commissioner first informed the Collector of the Government Resolution granting me a jaghir. The Commissioner in Sindh therefore enquired of the Collector to know what steps he had taken in the matter. The Collector desired me to see him and took me with him to the Commissioner. Major (now General) Goldsmid was present at the interview when the Collector informed the Commissioner that he wished me to accept the Deh of Duree Dera as jaghir, but that I felt dissatisfied. I explained to the Commissioner the reasons why I took exception to Duree Dera, that a large portion of the Deh was uncultivated, and waste land, and that it would require a large outlay and immense labor to bring it under cultivation, and that the zemindars of the soil were notoriously troublesome. The Commissioner, however, desired that I should, notwithstanding, accept the Deh of Duree Dera and that he invoked the blessing of God on the estate, which he hoped would produce glorious trees with golden fruit suspending from the branches. I was overpowered with a feeling of gratitude at the Commissioner's good wishes, and replied that, with his blessings on the land, I willingly accepted the Deh of Duree Dera in submission to his earnest desire. Accordingly, the Deh of Duree Dera was bestowed upon me as a jaghir in perpetuity in all its extent, as fixed by the terminus marks set by the Settlement and Survey Department. It is bounded as follows: on the east by the river Indus; on the south by the village of Karampur; on the west by the village of Talti; on the north by the village of Bilwalpore. On expressing my acceptance of the offer, the Commissioner was pleased to grant me a *sanad*, and the Collector furnished me with the necessary orders.

After I had obtained the *sanad*, I visited Duree Dera where my younger son Thawardas accompanied me. I had never before personally seen Duree Dera, and on inspecting the land, I saw nearly the whole of it uncultivated and covered with thick jungle. I found the zemindars a worthless lot, who cared not to cultivate more than what sufficed to maintain them and their cattle. I however tried to encourage them in industry and peaceful and honest vocations by advancing them *takawis* (cash money loans) for cultivation, and by bestowing on them various gifts in *loonghis* (scarves) and other cloths. With all the encouragement I could give, the first year's income from the jaghir amounted in gross to Rs. 500 only; but I spent during the first year four months at the

jaghir and my expenses far exceeded the income, as, besides a large number of ordinary people, I was visited by many sirdars and respectable men from various places as far as Johi and Kachha,²⁰⁸ and it was necessary to be hospitable to all according to the custom of the country. I returned to Karachi in April, when the hot season set in, and I went up again next year accompanied this time by my elder son Trikamdas. I passed about five or six months again at the jaghir, and realized in gross Rs. 800 only. Against this I had to count all that I spent, and with the advent of summer I returned to Karachi as before. Thereafter I appointed my son Thawardas to reside at the jaghir²⁰⁹ for nine months in the year and to look after the cultivation. The zemindars trifled away the takawi advances,²¹⁰ which they seldom thought of returning, and made idle excuses. The fools, careless of their own interest, continued to neglect cultivation.

About this time, my grandson, Alimchand (Alumal) having passed the Matriculation examination of the Bombay University, was, at the advice of Major Goldsmid, sent to Bombay to prosecute higher studies at a college. J. D. Inverarity, Esq., who had ruled Sindh quietly and peaceably, was appointed a member of the Governor's Council at Bombay, and Mr. Samuel Mansfield succeeded him as Commissioner of Sindh. Mr. Moore was nominated Mr. Mansfield's Revenue Assistant.

In sumbat 1919 (A.D. 1862-63), at Hyderabad, Alimchand's marriage had to be celebrated, and he had therefore to return to Sindh. He was detained for four months, at the expiration of which he went back to Bombay to continue his studies. Sir Bartle Frere was at this time nominated to the Governorship of Bombay. The news caused universal and unfeigned rejoicing in Sindh. When I was informed of his Excellency's arrival in Bombay, I addressed him a letter of congratulation, communicating further that although my family had owned a firm in that city from generations past, none of them had ever visited the place, but I felt an earnest desire to see His Excellency and tender my respects in person. Sir Bartle Frere very kindly replied that Bombay was a place that was worth seeing, and that I should visit it, when he would cause all the best sights to be shown to me. Alimchand was then in Bombay studying at college, and I wrote to other people to inform them of my intention. They accordingly hired a separate place for my lodging in Chhipiwara, at a rental of Rs. 100. I left Karachi in a steamer, and reached Bombay after a voyage of sixty hours. The sight of Bombay pleased me much, and I was rejoiced most to see His Excellency Sir Bartle Frere. While in Bombay I called upon His Excellency every second or third day, and I am grateful to His Excellency and the then Private Secretary, Mr. Arthur, the elder, for the kindness shown to me on each occasion. Many of the principal native gentlemen of Bombay honored me with a visit, amongst whom there were Sir Jamsetji Jeejee-Bhoy, Bart., Jaganath Sankerseth, a member of the Wadia family, and many others. I returned their visits and was glad to make their acquaintance. The inhabitants of Sindh of course came to me every day, as

²⁰⁸ The Johi Taluka and the Kachha are extensive dry tracts lying, on the north-west of the Sehwan Taluka.

²⁰⁹ See Introduction.

²¹⁰ Cash advances for purchase of seed, grain, etc., and repayable on the reaping of the crop.

did the friends, relatives or agents of my old acquaintances in Porebunder and Mandavi.

Shortly afterwards Lady Frere prepared to go to Europe, and a little before her departure there was a farewell reception at Government House, Parell. Invitations to attend at 8 or 8.30 in the evening were issued, and I was desired to be present on the occasion. I attended accordingly, and found myself in the company of numerous European ladies and gentlemen in the elegantly adorned and tastefully lit-up hall of the upper storey of the Government House at Parell. There were between ten and twelve other natives also present on the occasion. I cannot sufficiently admire the affability and gentleness of manners with which their Excellencies Sir Bartle and Lady Frere received each guest at the entrance door to the hall at the head of the broad staircase. The assembly partook of an Indian tinge, and it brought to my mind descriptions of receptions given by Indian sovereigns in times gone by. In those days the price of cotton had risen very high. The people of Bombay had gained large profits and the city rolled in riches. A railroad had just then been laid out through the Ghats direct to Poona.²¹¹ The way was planned through the mountains, and more than twenty large tunnels were in consequence carved out. The works had just then been completed, and the railway was to be declared open for traffic. An opening ceremony was therefore to be performed, and it was arranged to hold it on the other side of the tunnels at the station of Lanoli, below Khandala; His Excellency the Governor was to preside on the occasion. I was invited to attend and went accordingly, accompanied by my grandson. We started from the Byculla station in a railway carriage and passed through various tunnels. I was wonderstruck with the skill and patience of the men who had planned and carried out the works. At Lanoli there was a numerous assembly, and there was a treat for both Europeans and natives. The ceremony over, we returned to Bombay at about 10 o'clock at night. In the month of May, Sir Bartle Frere went to reside at Poona. Before his departure I obtained his leave to visit Nassik, which is a sacred Hindu place. From Nassik I went to Trimbak,²¹² where there is a shrine sacred to Mahadeva. In the hill overtopping the tank at Trimbak rises the Godavary. Wishing to see the source, I ascended a flight of 700 steps cut through the solid rock, at the expense of a pious Hindu, and saw the place whence the water oozes drop by drop. It came out of a piece of rock carved out in the shape of a cow's mouth. From Trimbak I returned to Nassik, and thence proceeded to Poona, *en route* to Panderpur which is another sacred place on

²¹¹ Bhor Ghat, from the low-lying tract of Konkan to the edge of the Deccan plateau, is a remarkable piece of engineering—the railway rises 1,800 feet in about fifteen miles, climbing the very difficult spurs of the Western Ghats. This branch of the G.I.P. railway connects Bombay with Poona, and ultimately with Hyderabad and Madras, and has branches to other parts of India.—EDITOR.

²¹² Trimbak and Panderpur are the two most holy places in the Bombay Presidency, the first on account of its being the source of the river Godavary, just as Gangotri and Hurdwar are of the Ganges, and also of a special temple in honor of Mahadeva the Creator; and the latter in possessing a very sacred image of the god Vittoba, the most popular deity in the Mahratta country. The great festival at Trimbak occurs only once in twelve years; at Panderpur there are three festivals annually.—EDITOR.

this side of India. I went round all Poona, and visited the shrine of Parwatti,²¹³ but I felt that, though once renowned, it was then a ruined city. The train did not take us direct to Panderpur; it dropped us at a place called Koorlaswari, whence we took horses to Panderpur. This place is sacred to the god Vittoba, and the river Chandrabagha flows below it. After spending a week at Panderpur, I returned to Poona, where I learnt that His Excellency had left for Mahableswar, I therefore addressed a letter to His Excellency, informing him of my intention to return to Sindh as the monsoon was fast approaching, and I returned to Bombay whence I took passage to Karachi after a stay of four days. I had a very rough voyage on my return; it was stormy and the sea ran high, but thanks to the Almighty I reached Karachi in safety after three days, well gratified with my visit to Bombay and the kindness shown to me by His Excellency Sir Bartle Frere.

In A.D. 1866, the Commissioner, Mr. Mansfield, proceeded to Bombay on six months' leave, and Mr. Robertson succeeded him as Commissioner *pro tem*. Two months after, news came from England that the Empress of India and Queen of England was graciously pleased to create a new order for the benefit of the princes and sovereigns of India, and her deserving subjects in her Indian Empire. This was called the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, and it was reported that my name had been enlisted for that distinction. When I was informed of this I could not sufficiently express my gratitude towards the Government, which had considered me deserving of such high honor.²¹⁴ The Commissioner in Sindh was formally informed of this by the Bombay Government, and he assembled a durbar, where, after enumerating the various services I had rendered to Government for upwards of thirty years, he communicated to me the Order of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen bestowing upon me the distinction of becoming a Companion of the Star of India. (*Vide* Appendix XIII.) All Sindh saw me thus highly honored, and they admired the incomparable justice of the British Government.

Towards the close of 1866 and beginning of 1867 A.D., Sir Bartle Frere honored Sindh with a visit. As soon as his intentions were known, all respectable people, Sirdars and Amirs, flocked to Karachi from various parts of Sindh to give His Excellency a hearty welcome. I was much rejoiced to see His Excellency once more. His Excellency soon afterwards held a durbar at the Frere Hall for the presentation to me of the insignia and grant of the dignity of Companion of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India. The Frere Hall was beautifully decorated for the occasion, and it was crowded to overflowing by all classes of people before His Excellency's arrival. The blowing of bugles with the beating of drums and the booming of guns announced His Excellency's approach. All stood up as the Governor entered the hall, and after he was seated I was led up to the foot of his throne, supported on either side by F. S. Chapman, Esq.,

²¹³ Parwatti, in the outskirts of Poona, is one of the favorite temples of the Peishwas, and from a verandah on the upper storey the last Peishwa watched the battle of Kirkee, which led to his dethronement.

²¹⁴ See Introduction.

Secretary to the Government of Bombay, and Major (now Colonel) Lambert, Collector of Karachi. His Excellency then stood up and addressed me in English, and at the conclusion of his speech²¹⁵ presented me with Her Gracious Majesty the Queen's Sign Manual enclosed in a kimkhab bag, and the Insignia of the Order – a brilliant star set in diamonds with Her Majesty's likeness in relief suspending therefrom. I was so overpowered with the sentiment of gratitude and thankfulness that I was at a loss to express adequately the feeling I experienced on the occasion, and in a brief reply in the vernacular I spoke in praise of the justice of Her Majesty's Government, which, like the sun, sheds the glory of its brilliant rays far and wide.

I have read and heard various accounts of past and present governments in India and Europe, and of their rule, but in my opinion there never has been a Government so benevolent, farseeing, and always ready to reward at last meritorious service as the British Government.

From Karachi, His Excellency Sir Bartle Frere proceeded to Hyderabad to hold a durbar there, and returned after an absence of two days to start back for Bombay, where he had to preside at the convocation of the University of Bombay for conferring Degrees. My grandson, Alimchand, who had come out successful at his B.A. examination, was at the convocation honored with the Bachelor's degree. He obtained his diploma from the hands of His Excellency Sir Bartle Frere, to whose and General Sir F. J. Goldsmid's encouragement he is indebted for his education. Alimchand returned to Sindh soon afterwards.

In May, 1867, Mr. S. Mansfield, having been appointed Member of His Excellency the Governor of Bombay's Council, left Sindh. Mr. Havelock succeeded him as Acting Commissioner in Sindh, Colonel Sir William Merewether having been appointed as the permanent incumbent of the post. Mr. Havelock left Sindh after a stay of about six months.

Sir Bartle Frere's term of office having expired in the interval, His Excellency left the shores of India to take up an appointment in the Council of India in England. Thereafter Sir Seymour Fitzgerald swayed the reins of government at Bombay. The new Governor visited Sindh towards the close of 1867 and held a levée at Karachi, which I attended.

In the month of Assoo, sumbat 1925, corresponding to 8th October, 1868, A.D., Alimchand was blessed with a son, Hushmatrai by name.

In the month of Maugh, sumbat 1927, corresponding to January, 1871, A.D., I proceeded to Hyderabad on the occasion of the celebration of the nuptial ceremony of Fatehchand,

²¹⁵ See Appendix XIII.

son of my nephew Atmaram. The marriage ceremony passed off with great rejoicings, and we returned to Karachi after a month.

In the month of Chet, 1927, corresponding to March, 1871, A.D., Trikamdas was blessed with a second son, whom he named Moolchand.

My grandson Alimchand once suggested to me that I should write out a short account of my life and of my family, that it was not unusual to do so, and that he had read several accounts of the kind written by people in their own lifetime. But I did not heed him. At last, at his earnest and repeated solicitation, I undertook the task in the month of April, 1871, corresponding Hindu month, Vesakh, sumbat 1927.

Be it known that what has been narrated in this book partly descends to me from Lady Parpibai, wife of Seth Bhojoomal, my ancestor four generations removed, who would cheer me up with reminiscences of old times while I sat playing around her in my childhood, and partly from recollections of accounts related to me by my grandfather, Seth Lalmandas, on whom I was in regular attendance from the twelfth year of my life, doing the *daftar* (account) business of the firm at Karachi. The rest is all from my personal knowledge and experience. I have tried to give a succinct but faithful and true account of each event related herein, but the benevolent Providence will with grace forgive any inaccuracy that may have inadvertently crept in. I am now past 67, my eyesight has grown dim, and I have not a single tooth left. If I were to write a fuller account of my family and their influence and position in Sindh at different times, it alone would occupy three times the space taken up by the whole of this volume, but the weakness of my sight and the pain arising from straining it, does not permit me to write more. Before concluding, however, I shall give a short admonition to my descendants.

When I was fifteen years old I learnt to read Sanskrit, Gujrati,²¹⁶ and Gurmukhi.²¹⁷ I have since then read and studied numerous books bearing on religion and the principles of government, and it is my firm conviction that the created man obtains in due time what the wise Providence has destined for him, and he should therefore in contentment resign himself to the will of God; avoid doing harm to anybody, even to an enemy; act in good faith and wish him well. The world is transient, and will swiftly pass away. Remember God always, and have faith in Him. Pity the poor, and exercise charity according to your means, and avoid the company of vicious men.

My second admonition is this: The British Government is like the ocean and the glorious sun, therefore act in faith and with sincerity of heart towards all Englishmen. Be always ready to serve the Government, and when occasion should arise render all

²¹⁶ The language of Cutch and the adjoining provinces of Kathiawad and Guzerat, which is the lingua franca for business men in Bombay and most of Western India.

²¹⁷ Gurmukhi, the language of the Punjab, the written characters of which are founded on the Dewanagri, or pure Sanskrit. The sacred book of the Sikhs (the Grant'h) is written in Gurmukhi.

assistance in your power. Act in all honesty of purpose, and steadfastly avoid touching Government gold with a dishonest hand.

This brief account of my life and of my family I wrote out with my own hand, and brought to completion in the month of Vesakh, 1927, corresponding to the Christian date 11th of May, 1871.

APPENDIX I.

MEMORANDUM BY THE COLLECTOR OF KARACHI, DATED 14TH JANUARY, 1848, RECAPITULATING THE GOOD SERVICES OF SETH NAOMUL.

Kurrachee, *14th January*, 1848.

As I am on the point of leaving Kurrachee, on medical certificate, I leave the following memorandum of the services of Naomul, late Head Kardar²¹⁸ of Karachi, with Captain J. R. Stewart, officiating Collector and Magistrate, whom I request will have the goodness to lay the same before the Commissioner for transmission to the Honble. the Governor of Bombay on the arrival of his honor in Sindh.

MEMORANDUM.

1. In the year 1837 Lieut. Carless, of the Indian Navy, was directed to survey the coast of Sindh and Makran, and to report particularly on the Harbor of Karachi. While anchored off Karachi he received much valuable information and derived great assistance in various ways from Naomul, who supplied his ship with fresh provisions and whatever else was required. He also rendered important service in saving the lives of several officers of the ship, who, without obtaining permission of the Sindh authorities, had gone on a shooting excursion into the country. The Nawab of the town, Ahmed Khan Bhurgree, as soon as he heard of the officers having gone into the country, sallied out in pursuit of them with an armed rabble at his heels, vowing that he would take their lives, and they were only saved by the prompt interference of Naomul who, at considerable personal risk, induced the Nawab to draw off with his followers, and to allow the officers to return to their ship.

2. In the same year Naomul having heard that 200 sheep sent by the Assistant Political Agent, Lieut. Leech, had been captured by the Brahuis chiefs, and having recovered the sheep forwarded them to their destination, Bombay.

3. In 1838, when Government espoused the cause of Shah Shujah and it was determined that the Bombay column of the Army of the Indus should march through Sindh, Colonel Pottinger, now Sir H. Pottinger, directed Naomul to lay in supplies of grain, forage, etc., and to provide baggage, cattle for the army, and to have the whole in readiness for dispatch to the mouth of the river when the army should disembark. The force arrived under the command of Sir J. Keane at Vikkur, in November and December, 1838, and Major Outram arrived about the same time at Karachi with orders

²¹⁸ Land Revenue official.

to Naomul to dispatch the cattle and supplies to Vikkur. Major Outram was hospitably received by Naomul's family and was escorted by his brother Sookram to Gharo where he met Naomul, who had taken up his abode at that village in order that he might with greater facility collect cattle and supplies without being interfered with by the Amirs' officers. After ascertaining that the carriage and provisions were ready, Major Outram, under Sookram's escort, pushed on to Vikkur, and joined Sir J. Keane, and Naomul shortly after followed him with 1,500 camels, and a vast quantity of grain and other supplies. Naomul continued with the army, giving much useful information and affording all kinds of assistance to the several detachments until they had passed Hyderabad, when, as Colonel Pottinger required his services, he remained with him at that place, and sent on his brother Sookram and servants, *goomashtas* or agents to afford such assistance as the army might stand in need of as far as Shikarpur. The services rendered by his brother and agents are well known and were fully appreciated by the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and by Colonel Pottinger, who acknowledged that but for the assistance rendered by Naomul and his family the Bombay column could hardly have effected a junction with that of Bengal in 1839, and when it is considered how greatly our success in that expedition depended on the celerity of our movements, it must, I think, be allowed that Naomul has done the State good service.

4. In the beginning of 1839 the Reserve Brigadier Valiant arrived at Karachi, and as Naomul himself was at Hyderabad, his brothers, by his order, rendered every assistance; they supplied boats for landing the troops, carriage for their baggage from the Bunder, supplies of provisions, etc., to them after they had landed. I was present with this force and can testify that but for the assistance of Naomul's family, scarcely any of the articles which we stood so greatly in need of could have been procured, as all the other natives stood aloof, evidently regarding us with fear or with no friendly feelings.

5. In the summer of the same year, Captain Hand, of the 2nd Grenadier Regiment, was murdered in open day, and within three miles of our camp, by a body of armed marauders. No correct information could be obtained as to who the murderers were until Naomul, after much trouble, discovered who they were, and where they resided, which being made known to the Resident, he demanded them of the Amirs, and they were brought to justice.

6. Towards the end of April, 1839, Naomul accompanied Colonel Pottinger to Karachi, and on the latter proceeding to Bombay he remained at Karachi, rendering all kinds of services for a period of six months to the camp authorities. Without his aid neither workmen nor materials could have been procured for the construction of *pendals* (huts) for the European soldiers, nor could the bazaars and commissariat have been supplied with provisions. The Amirs had positively forbidden any of their subjects to settle in our camp bazaars, but Naomul, in defiance of this prohibition, set the townspeople a good example by establishing several shops of his own in the Sudder Bazaar.

7. Naomul rejoined Colonel Pottinger at Bhooj in November, 1839, and remained with him until Colonel Pottinger resigned his appointment in February, 1840, when he accompanied his successor, Major Outram, to Hyderabad, and continued with him rendering political services until the Major was transferred to Upper Sindh, when Naomul was directed to return to Karachi.

8. During the anxious period which succeeded the Cabul massacre, Naomul was of the greatest possible service to the authorities at Karachi in procuring provisions and carriage; without his aid scarcely a camel could have been procured either for hire or for purchase, and the reinforcements which were so rapidly poured into Sindh, and whose services were so urgently required above the passes, could not have been forwarded. The Amirs were, it is true, ostensibly friendly, but as all their people hung back from assisting us, it was clear that they, the people, knew full well the secret wishes of their rulers at the period alluded to. It is my firm conviction that with the exception of Naomul and his family we had not a friend between Karachi and Cabul amongst the natives.

9. Towards the end of 1842 the fidelity of Naomul to the British Government so provoked the Amirs that they dispatched a party of horse from Hyderabad to arrest him, and these horsemen were only prevented from carrying their orders into execution by the interference of the Assistant Political Agent, Lieut. Mylne. The ostensible cause for this violence was the infringement of the Amirs' orders forbidding the establishment of shops in our bazaars.

10. In February, 1843, when hostilities commenced in Sindh, Naomul, as usual, was indefatigable in our service. He procured most correct information of the designs of the Amirs, and having obtained intelligence of their having ordered the Noomria, Jokiya and Kurmattee tribes to occupy the town of Karachi, and to harass our camp, he communicated the same to the authorities, and thereby enabled us to anticipate the enemy's movements. He also supplied Cossids who conveyed letters to and from Sir C. Napier's camp when all other communication was cut off. He obtained correct information as to the numbers and position occupied by combined tribes in the vicinity of Karachi, and by supplying us with a few camels and guides enabled us to move out and to disperse them; after which, with the assistance of Oomedali, chief of the Choota tribe, he succeeded in recovering nearly the whole of the cattle which had been stolen or driven off from our camp and restored them to rightful owners. After the battle of Hyderabad, Naomul did good service in allaying the fears and apprehensions of the Belooch chiefs and jaghirdars, and induced many to come and make their salaams to the General who would otherwise have joined Sher Mahomed in plundering the Government grains, etc.

11. After peace was restored, Naomul supplied much valuable information relative to the land tenures, customs and revenue system of the Amirs, and proved very useful to me in settling the affairs of the Karachi Collectorate. He also furnished memoranda of the debts due to the Amirs, the greater part of which might then have been recovered, but it was at that time understood had been remitted by the Governor-General's proclamations directing that no demands be made for arrears of revenue. Through information supplied by Naomul, concealed property to the value of one and a half lacs of rupees was recovered by the prize agents and brought to account.

12. In May, 1843, Naomul was appointed Head Kardar²¹⁹ of the Karachi Collectorate, and continued to occupy that situation until 1847, when with three of my office Moonshis he was suspended from Government employ, and about six months after the Moonshis and himself were dismissed the service without being ever called on for a defence. They were, it is true, informed that they could if they chose appeal to a Military Commission, but as the confirming authority of the sentences of these tribunals had already pronounced them guilty, and as they understood (though perhaps incorrectly) that they would be tried before the same Court which had already given an opinion on their case, they chose rather to wait and to bring forward their claims to justice at a more fitting time. Naomul and the Moonshis now submit the opportunity of being allowed to make their defence before such tribunals as the Commissioner or His Excellency the Governor may appoint, and should they be able to clear themselves, I beg most strongly to recommend that the eminent services of the former should be rewarded with a suitable pension, and that the three Moonshis be re-admitted to the service of Government.

(Signed) H. W. PREEDY, Capt.,
Collector and Magistrate,
Karachi.

EXTRACT FROM MEMORANDUM BY CAPTAIN H. W. PREEDY, COLLECTOR AND MAGISTRATE OF KARACHI, ON THE CHIEFS AND MEN OF IMPORTANCE RESIDING IN THE KARACHI COLLECTORATE, PRINTED AT PAGE 362 OF THE PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS FROM 1844-54:—

Naomul Hotchand, merchant, ex-Kardar. His family came originally from Sehwan, but they have for four generations been located at Karachi, where they have always been considered the principal mercantile firm in this part of Sindh. The services rendered by Mr. Naomul and his family to Government have been so numerous and so great that some years ago he was most strongly recommended by Sir H. Pottinger, to

²¹⁹ Land Revenue official.

the then Governor-General, Lord Auckland, for a pension. The change of Administration, however, prevented this being granted.

APPENDIX II.

TRANSLATION OF A PERSIAN LETTER ADDRESSED TO SETH NAOMUL, BY COLONEL POTTINGER, ASKING FOR ASSISTANCE IN MONEY.

To Seth Naomul,
Seat of Prosperity.

Be it known that as a large sum of money will be required for the payment of troops and other necessary expenses, you should arrange with other merchants to pay the money on bills of exchange at Calcutta, Benares, Ferrukhabad, Bombay or Surat, Malabar, Canara, or at any other place; and let me know soon the real state of affairs as to what sum of money can be readily procured, so that we may arrange to send you Hoondees accordingly. Be very particular in this matter, and let me know soon the real state of things.

(Signed) HENRY POTTINGER.

(2). LETTER FROM COLONEL POTTINGER, ADVISING HIS HAVING DRAWN BILLS AGAINST SETH NAOMUL, DATED OCTOBER 22ND, 1838: —

Secretary's Department,
Sindh Residency.

Sir, I have the honor to advise that I have this day drawn three bills on you, Nos. 9, 10 and 11 for Cutch corris (koris) fifteen thousand each, in favor of Naomul Hotchand, of Karachi, or his order.

2. The above bills I have sent to Naomul to be sold to any person requiring a remittance on Mundavee, so that there may be some delay in their being presented for acceptance.

3. As soon as I hear they are sold, I will transmit to you receipts for their amount that you may debit them to me. I have, etc.,

(Signed) HENRY POTTINGER,
Resident in Sindh.

APPENDIX III.

COLONEL POTTINGER'S REPORT TO GOVERNMENT, REPORTING THAT MIR NUR MAHOMED OF HYDERABAD HAD PROMISED TO GIVE PURWANAHS (LETTERS OF AUTHORITY) TO SETH NAOMUL, WHO REQUIRED THE MIRS' SANCTION TO ASSIST HIM.

The Resident in Sindh to the Secretary with the Governor-General.

Sindh Residency,
25th October, 1838.

On the 20th instant Noor Mahommed Khan sent me word that he wished to write to the Governor-General, in reply to his Lordship's letter which had come through Captain Burnes. He said he would give purwanahs both for the latter officer and Lieut. Leech, as well as for the Karachi merchant, Naomul, who had written to say he dared neither hire camels for me nor act as broker for the sale of my bills without the Amirs' sanction.

(2). EXTRACTS FROM LETTER TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, DATED 15TH DECEMBER, 1838, FROM COLONEL POTTINGER, NARRATING THE OPPOSITION TO SETH NAOMUL, AND REPORTING COLONEL POTTINGER'S DEFENCE OF HIM, AND THE SERVICES SETH NAOMUL, HAD RENDERED IN GETTING CAMELS FROM SONMIANI:—

The Resident in Sindh to the Secretary with the Governor-General.

Camp Vikkur,
15th December, 1838.

6. On the 4th instant I obtained positive information that the surmise which I made in my letters of the 27th ultimo, to Major General Willshire and Lieut. Eastwick, of Noor Mahomedkhan having secretly ordered no one to serve us was strictly correct. A Jamadar of 50 camels at Tatta who had agreed to furnish that number and had taken an earnest, fled from his house as soon as he had heard the troops were come, and on that evening (the 4th) a letter from Naomul Seth of Karachi to say that he had gone to a considerable expense in engaging 800 or 1,000 camels, that the owners had come forward to declare they dare not go to Vikkur without leave, and that he (Naomul) had in consequence waited on the Governor (of Karachi) who had declared that he could not allow a single camel to enter our service without special orders from Hyderabad.

7. His Lordship will perhaps recollect that I obtained a purwanah from Noor Mahomed Khan shortly after I came to Hyderabad, in the name of Naomul, which not only

authorized him to hire camels and sell my bills, but told him that all services he performed for us would be considered done to the Amir himself, and as he (Naomul) had been all along publicly acting on this authority and assurance, I considered this to be a gross case of perfidy such as was susceptible neither of explanation nor palliation; I therefore early on the 5th sent the Moonshees to Noor Mahomed Khan to tell him so, and to add that if the camels were not speedily forthcoming I should suggest to His Excellency Sir John Keane to send a detachment and take possession of Kurachee.

8. I quitted Hyderabad about noon on that day (the 5th) and joined the Commander-in-Chief's camp on the night of the 8th. I was overtaken on the river below Tatta by Syed Tukhee Shah, who had been sent after me by express in consequence of my threat about our taking possession of Kurachee. He was the bearer of a message from Noor Mahomed Khan, virtually admitting that he had failed in his promise about camels, but declaring he would now do all I wanted, and had sent off men in every direction to collect and bring to Vikkur some thousands. The Syed went on to remark that Noor Mahomed Khan considered the intimation I had made about Kurachee to be unworthy of my proved friendship.

* * * * *

9. My reply was as follows: That I would give credence to the affirmations regarding the camels when I saw them. That with respect to the Amirs and my friendship, that was on my side entirely at an end.

* * * * *

10. The Syed Khan began to speak of seizing and punishing Naomul of Kurrachee and the Jamadars of camels at Tatta for having been the cause of so serious a misunderstanding between the Governments, in which I interrupted him by warning him that if anything of the kind were attempted, I would instantly break all communications with the Hyderabad Government. I said that Noor Mahomed had made liars of his prime minister, his eldest son, and of all his principal officers, as well as falsified his own seal by his procedure; that he wanted to throw the blame on others, but that he must not imagine I would allow him to screen his double-dealing by punishing those who had done what they could do to meet our wishes.

* * * * *

14. Seven or eight hundred camels have already arrived at . . . or in the neighborhood of it, and about so many more may, I think, be looked for in another week. (These were all obtained and supplied by Seth Naomul, together with the four hundred previously mentioned, and which he obtained through his father's firm at Sonmiani.)

15. I am sorry to report that the demeanor of Mir Sher Mahomed of Mirpur has been of late equally insulting and unfriendly.

16. My intelligence from Hyderabad up to the 13th instant leads me to believe that the Amirs there, excepting Sobdar, are now really exerting themselves to obtain carriage for this army as the only means that offers of getting rid of it, at the same time they are adopting all sorts of precautions which evince a total distrust of our design, and have already assembled a considerable body of their rabble of troops at the capital. They have also written to all the Chiefs, whether Beloochis or not, to be in readiness with their quotas, in case of necessity, and one of the latter (the Jam of the Jokyas, a tribe of the aborigines of this province located near Karachi) has sent his brother to this place to tender his service to the British Government. He was however afraid to visit me openly, and proposed through Naomul Seth to do so at night by stealth, which I deemed it right to decline, both because it could not possibly be kept secret and because I had no hopes to hold out to him and no means of protecting him should he fall under the Amirs' displeasure, etc., etc.

APPENDIX IV.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM COLONEL POTTINGER TO REAR-ADMIRAL, SIR FREDERICK MAITLAND, NAVAL, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, SOLICITING SPECIAL PROTECTION FOR SETH NAOMUL'S FAMILY.

Camp Jerruck,
28th January, 1839.

4. Under these circumstances a force must of course go to Karachi and take possession of that place, which I trust for the reasons I assigned in my first instructions to Colonel Valiant will be effected peaceably, but it is needless to tell that all opposition must be put down.

5. There is one point to which I solicit your kind and minute attention. I allude to the protection, under all circumstances, of the house, family and property of Naomul Seth, of Karachi. That individual is now with this force. He has most zealously and indefatigably assisted us, and I cannot convey my deep anxiety regarding him and his better than by saying that they ought to be guarded as those of the Governor-General of India.

I have, etc.,
(Signed) H. POTTINGER.

APPENDIX V.

(1). THE RESIDENT IN SINDH TO J. R. COLVIN, ESQUIRE, PRIVATE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

Camp opposite Hyderabad,
4th February, 1839.

2. While I was writing the preceding sentence, I received news which greatly pleases me. The fort at Karachi fired one or two guns at the "Wellesley" when the Reserve went there. The Admiral brought his broadside to bear on it, and, it is stated, he has leveled it with the dust. This news has come by Naomul's people, mounted on express camels, but I hope there is no doubt of it. It will teach these people to pay due respect to the British flag in time to come.

(2). REPORT ON THE DISEMBARKATION OF TROOPS AT KARACHI, AND DESCRIPTION OF THE FORT AND TOWN:—

Brigadier Valiant commanding the Sindh Reserve Force.

Camp near Karachi,
5th February, 1839.

Sir,

With reference to my letter of the 3rd instant, I have the honor to state for the information of the Commander-in-Chief that Her Majesty's 40th Regiment disembarked at this place yesterday, with the 2nd Grenadier Regiment, excepting 100 rank and file just landed from the "Syren."

* * * * *

I have examined the town and fort of Karachi minutely. The fort was evidently a strong one, with bastions on all sides, so as to completely command all around, and in each of these bastions are one or two guns lying on the ground, of different sizes, and where they appear to have been for some years past. The walls of the fort are made of mud and a small portion of wood in the bastions. The whole of the walls have been built on an artificial bank of above sixteen feet high, and the parapet all around the fort, etc., appears to have been about ten feet above it. Most of the bastions and walls are in a ruinous state; the inhabitants pass through many parts of the latter. There are two gateways to the fort, which have an imposing appearance, with bastions over them, at which there are Belooch guards. I have merely placed a European non-commissioned

officer and a sepoy at each of the gates to prevent the soldiers from going into the fort and town without passes, and also a few non-commissioned officers and sepoys to patrol the streets to prevent any irregularity on the part of our people.

In the fort at the mouth of the harbor there is no fresh water at present, except such as is supplied from Karachi or from the shipping.

At this place there are a great number of wells, with abundance of excellent water for all purposes, many of them in gardens. The water is generally within 10 or 12 feet of the surface. On this point we have been most agreeably surprised as we had been informed that the water was bad at Karachi. The harbor is excellent, in which vessels may ride at all seasons of the year quite safely, and such a port, in my humble opinion, should be retained as long as we have troops in Sindh.

(3). AGREEMENT FOR THE SURRENDER OF KARACHI.

7th February, 1839.

1. That the full possession of the Fort and Town of Karachi shall be this day given up by the aforesaid Governor to the British forces.

2. That the British land forces under the command of the said Brigadier Valiant shall this day, or as soon after as the Brigadier may deem it convenient, be allowed to encamp near the town, and that such boats shall be supplied by the Native Government as may be required, upon payment of the usual boat hire for them, as also such camels and other means of conveyance as may be hereafter necessary upon the like terms; as well as that all kinds of provisions and other supplies shall be furnished for the use of the said British forces as they may stand in need of and require, the same being paid for at the usual rates of the country. In consequence of the fulfillment of these terms the British officers before mentioned agree, in the name of the Honorable East India Company that the persons and property of all the inhabitants of the fort and town of Karachi shall be held sacred, and that they shall be at liberty to carry on their business as heretofore; that their trading vessels shall be allowed to enter the port and trade as usual without the slightest interruption, and, further, that the civil government of Karachi shall be carried on by the authorities of the place.

(Signed) FREDERICK LEWIS MAITLAND, and Others.

APPENDIX VI.

THE RESIDENT IN SINDH TO THE SECRETARY WITH THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

Sindh Residency,
18th February, 1839.

About this time an unfortunate affair happened at Tatta which I think right to report for his Lordship's notice. Much pains had been taken to prevent spirituous liquor being smuggled into camp and sold to European troops. A Baloochee was caught in the act, and brought to my tent. My Moonshee (who is a native of Tatta) happened to be with me, and explained to the man that he would be sent to the Nawab Ahmed Khan to be punished for a breach of rules laid down for the good of all parties. The man on the way to the guard in which he was to be placed till I had leisure to send him to Ahmed Khan, drew his sword, made a desperate cut at a corporal of Her Majesty's 17th Foot (who parried it with his firelock) and got clear away, running through the tents on the headquarter lines, shouting and waving his sword over his head. A sepoy of the 19th Regiment Native Infantry, standing sentry over one of the Commander-in-Chief's store tents, seeing the Baloochee approaching him, loaded his musket with praiseworthy alacrity and shot the Baloochee dead on the spot.

The body was immediately removed, and I sent to the Nawab that evening to express Sir John Keane's and my own deep regret at the business, explaining that the Baloochee had wantonly brought his fate on himself, but saying I would give his family, notwithstanding, either some clothes or such a sum of money as the Nawab might suggest. The Nawab and his colleagues talked very big about the death of one of the Baloochees, hinted he might have been taken alive (which could only have been done by someone risking his life in rushing on him), and ended by observing that Noor Mahomed Khan had frequently been obliged to go to beg pardon for such accidents, and that the only way that it could be properly hushed up was for me to be the bearer of the clothes to be given to the deceased's relations.

* * * * *

13. The force moved on Tatta on the 23rd and arrived at Jerruck on the 25th of January. Everything at that moment denoted the early commencement of hostilities. Our Cossids had been stopped throughout the country. From 15,000 to 20,000 men of the Sindh army had been collected at Hyderabad. The officers of the Residency had been obliged to quit that place, the Native Agent was under a guard, and the large supply of forage and

grain which had been collected for the use of our army was plundered and destroyed by the Baloochees, who (the Native Agent wrote to me secretly) panted for the combat.

APPENDIX VII.

(1.) COLONEL OUTRAM'S REPORT TO GOVERNMENT ABOUT THE DEPUTATION OF NAOMUL TO MIR SHER MAHOMED, AND NAOMUL'S SUCESS.

Hyderabad,
8th December, 1840.

As, however, a fortnight elapsed without any notice being taken of my letters, I directed a wing of the regiment of cavalry which was passing through the country to halt in the neighborhood of Meerpore, instructing the officer to give out that he was merely awaiting the junction of the Guzerat forces (of which that was the leading division), without myself holding out any open threat, which might have driven the Chief to make the same show of opposition which was so uselessly displayed by the Amirs of Hyderabad last year, and which, I was convinced, was unnecessary; but I deputed Naomul Seth to Meerpore, on the pretext solely of making preparations for the supply of passing troops with a view, however, also of explaining to the Chief the extreme folly of his proceedings— that although he, Naomul, was not aware why the leading division of the forces coming from Guzerat was now halted, he had little doubt that it would not be allowed to proceed until ample satisfaction had been exacted, and that of course the expense of the troops thus detained would be entailed on the Chief who caused the delay.

Naomul was also instructed to disavow any authority from me to communicate on such a subject, and accordingly was provided with no letters to the Chief. In the conviction, however, that my object would immediately be effected, the *soucar* (banker) had a sealed letter from me to the officer commanding the troops, directing the latter to continue their march, which he was to forward the moment the Meerpore Chief complied with my demand. The able manner in which the Seth fulfilled his commission is detailed in the accompaniment, the Chief's letter being an ample apology, and complying with all I had a title to demand, which enabled me to move on the troops after only two days' delay to the leading detachment, and none whatever to any of those following.

* * * * *

(2.) LETTER FROM THE POLITICAL AGENT IN LOWER SINDH TO LIEUT. WHITELOCK, ADVISING HIM THAT SETH NAOMUL WOULD ACCOMPANY HIM TO MIR SHER MAHOMED'S TERRITORY, AND ASSIST HIM IN HIS ENQUIRIES.

The Political Agent in Lower Sindh to Lieut. Whitelock. Hyderabad, 13th January, 1841. Naomul Seth will be requested to attend you, to aid by his local knowledge such enquiries as you may think it useful to make.

An escort of one native officer, two havildars and twenty-five rank and file of the 8th Regiment, and a duffadar and twenty-four sowars of the Sindh Irregular Horse, will accompany you, and all the Government camels now here (20 in number) are placed at your disposal to prevent the necessity of calling upon the Amirs to furnish them, and hired camels being so difficult to procure at present.

While in the performance of the above duties you may have facilities of acquiring a knowledge of the real value of Mir Sher Mahomed's possessions, of which I beg you will take every advantage in your power, without letting it appear that your inquiries are so directed; and it is chiefly with a view to aid you in this object that Naomul Seth is deputed with you whose local knowledge and devotion to our interests can be relied on. You are aware that this inquiry is an object in consequence of the intrigue with which we have become acquainted to deceive us in this respect with a view of securing a treaty proportionally advantageous with reference to Mir Sher Mahomed's supposed means compared with that of the Amirs of Hyderabad, and it is necessary that I should be fully informed on this subject before transmitting any proposal the Amir may have to make to the Governor-General of India.

APPENDIX VIII.

(1). EXTRACT FROM A REPORT, DATED 11TH JUNE, 1841, BY LIEUT. LECKIE, ENCLOSING TRANSLATION OF AN AGREEMENT PASSED BY THE FRAUDULENT MOONSHIS TO ALLOW SETH NAOMUL TO SHARE IN A BRIBE FOR INDUCING MAJOR OUTRAM TO LOWER THE PAYMENT PROPOSED AS MIR SHER MAHOMED'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE SUBSIDIARY FORCE.

Afterwards thinking it necessary to the success of their plans that Naomul Seth should be engaged with them, he was sounded on the subject, and, having reported the circumstances to Mr. Leckie, he was told by that gentleman, by Major Outram's instructions, to pretend to acquiesce in Outram's wishes, with a view to obtain proofs of the conspiracy. Accordingly the Seth demanded a writing pledging the proportion he was to receive of the sum Mir Sher Mahomed had pledged himself to pay, *i.e.*, in the first instance, Rs. 10,000, afterwards Rs. 10,000 more. The writing thus obtained was delivered by Naomul to Mr. Leckie, a translation of which is as follows:-

Translation of an agreement entered into by Moonshi Awatrai and Churutsing (Mir Sher Mahomed's Diwan) and Salamatrai.

We have agreed that whatever sums on account of "Shireeni"²²⁰ we realize from Sher Mahomed, we will according to our oath with each other passed, divide into six shares, two of which will go to Naomul, and the other four shares to be divided amongst the Diwans and other agents. We do take oath before our god (name unintelligible) that we will not deviate the least from our oath. We write this as a compact between ourselves.

(2). TRANSLATION OF A FORCED LETTER WRITTEN IN THE NAME OF MAJOR OUTRAM TO MIR MIAN SHER MAHOMED KHAN.

High in rank and of sublime dignity, possessor of great pomp and magnificence, superior in rank to other Lords, and chief amongst the great, bearing the knowledge of friendship, Mir Mian Sher Mahomed Khan. May God protect you forever. After the performance of the usual ceremonies and preference due to you which is more magnificent than the bazaar of unity and friendship, I now report this to your enlightened understanding in the most ornamented style of friendship and sincerity with some verbal messages. These messages have been entrusted to a man of high family, like the shrub of the Garden of Gentility, a very kind Lord, Savior of the and faithful friend Syed Mir Soliman Shah, we have sent to you, who will lay before you each message By the will of God what is required for my friendship is to act up

²²⁰ "Shireeni" means a gratification.

to your desires and the condition of our friendship. For between me and the great in and dignity, the greatest lord among the chiefs, of illustrious name, the much respected Mir Mian Jhan (Shah) Khan Talpoor, our friendship has risen to the highest pitch and towards you also our friendship will daily increase. I hope that you will always delight me by writing friendly letters of your wellbeing; this is not requiring much of you. The other affairs are well.

(3). TRANSLATION OF A LETTER FROM MAJOR OUTRAM TO MIR SOBDARKHAN:—

It is now some time since I have been informed that your Highness's Moonshi Awatrai has prevented Mir Sher Mahomed Khan from entering into a treaty which he wished to do for his own benefit, and the Moonshi has several times for his own advantage delivered false messages as if from me, throwing obstacles in the way of Mir Sher Mahomed Khan having a treaty, and has written and made known by messages to the Amirs that I had agreed for Rs. 30,000; this is entirely false. Such a seditious and treacherous person being in your service is detrimental to your dignity, and again this Moonshi has entered into a compact with Seth Naomul and caused Rs. 20,000 to be brought here by Kazi Nur Mahommed and Diwan Salamatrai as a bribe for himself and others. I have learned from Mir Sher Mahomed's agents that the Moonshi had written to their master that I would take much less on account of tribute.

6. I have heard that some ill-disposed persons have told you that I had agreed to take Rs. 30,000 as tribute from Mir Sher Mahomed Khan; this you should consider entirely false. The Governor-General, at my recommendation, in consideration of the Amir's country being smaller than that of the Amirs of Hyderabad, have fixed 50,000 Company's rupees.

APPENDIX IX.

LETTER TO THE POLITICAL AGENT IN SINDH REPORTING ABOUT THE THREATS TO SETH NAOMUL:—

Lieut. Mylne, Assistant Political Agent to the Political Agent in Sindh.

Hyderabad, .
1st October, 1842.

I find that after all on the day of their going to their *shikargah* on the other side of the river, the Amirs dispatched, or rather I should say Mir Nusser dispatched, people to apprehend Seth Naomul at Karachi, and has quoted me as having given permission. Preedy and Gordon both write to me that Naomul was on the point of writing to Hyderabad to compromise matters with the Amirs, and pay up the duty upon the things he has imported and sold under their permission, and the Amirs' perwanah a month ago, but that they dissuaded him. Now it appears to me to be of the utmost importance to show the Amirs that we will not allow them to infringe our rights in the smallest degree.

I have therefore addressed them a letter, a translation of which I enclose, and I trust you will agree with me that the occasion warrants the plain language that I have used; for I contend that the Amirs have no more right to seize Naomul than they have me.

(2). SUBSTANCE OF A LETTER FROM LIEUT. MYLNE TO MIR NASIR KHAN, DATED HYDERABAD, 1ST OCTOBER, 1842, REMONSTRATING WITH HIM ON HIS TREATMENT OF NAOMUL.

I have been informed that your Highness has sent people to apprehend Naomul Seth, the British Government's Native Agent at Karachi, and that the reason assigned for this act is that he has taken into camp and sold goods free of duty; moreover that it is stated that my permission was asked and granted for his seizure. I trust Lieut. Gordon has been wrongly informed, and I am sorry to be obliged to trouble your Highness at any time, more especially when you are hunting; but I think it my duty as a friend to inform you that Naomul being a servant of the British Government and in its monthly pay, you have no more right to seize him without the permission of that Government than you have to seize me; and, in the second place, he has only done as authorized by your own perwanah, given many months ago. My Government will not permit its servants to be unjustly treated, and I would advise you to revoke your order. If my name has been made use of, it has been falsely used, and I request you to punish the informant.

(3), TRANSLATION OF A PERWANAH (SUMMONS) FROM MIR MAHOMED KHAN TO NAOMUL, NATIVE AGENT OF GOVERNMENT AT KARACHI, DATED THE MONTH OF SHAHBAB, 1258 (A.D. 1842).

You are now called to our presence. It is necessary that on receiving this perwanah, you should immediately contentedly present yourself at our door. In your coming do not make one moment's delay, and, believing the favor of both Amirs to be with you, do as you are desired in this writing, and consider the injunction most imperative.

(4). TRANSLATION of A PERWANAH FROM MIR SHAHDAD KHAN TO NAOMAL, NATIVE AGENT OF GOVERNMENT AT KARACHI, DATED THE MONTH OF SHAHBAB, 1258 (A.D. 1842):—

You are now called to our presence, you are of old and from the time of Mir Nur Mahomed a servant of the Government and a payer of taxes. It is necessary that on the receipt of this perwanah you should contentedly and without fear quickly leave Karachi and present yourself at our door. Make no delay, and believing the kindness of this Sirkar to be with you, quickly bring yourself here and make no delay in coming. Take what has been written into full consideration and do as directed.

APPENDIX X.

LETTER FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA TO MAJOR OUTRAM, DATED 27th APRIL, 1842, INTIMATING THE APPOINTMENT OF A NATIVE AGENT AT KURRACHEE, AT A SALARY OF RS. 100 PER MONTH.

To Major Outram, Political Agent, S. & B. Sir, I am directed by the Governor-General to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th of March, No. 926, suggesting the appointment of a Native Agent at Kurrachee, and in reply to inform you that his Lordship would prefer that the appointment should be during pleasure, and that this should be directly understood by the individual appointed, and that he should receive Rs.100 per mensem for the duty performed, without any specific appointment. I have, etc.,

(Signed) S. W. MADDOCK,
Secretary to Government.

APPENDIX XI.

(1). CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO AN ACCUSATION AGAINST SETH NAOMUL, AND HIS ENTIRE ACQUITTAL.

From the Judge Advocate of Sindh to Naomul, late Head Kardar of Karachi.

24th August, 1848

Sir,

With reference to paragraph 21 of your letter to my address under date the 5th instant, in which you allude to the purchase of certain bills from Cheloo by Tofomull and Revamull, I am directed by the Commissioner to request that you will explain how (the supposition being that Cheloo had obtained the bills from Government at rates more favorable to him than were current in the market) their purchase from him by other parties at the same rates, should be so improbable as to remove that suspicion. It is my intention to examine the books of Purrestam and Khama on Monday next, the 28th instant, at 11 o'clock a.m., and you are at liberty to be present at the examination, or if unable to attend to depute a substitute for that purpose. I have, etc.,

(Signed) KEITH YOUNG, Capt.

(2). FROM THE DEPUTY COLLECTOR OF GHORABAREE:—

To Seth Naomul, Karachi. Sir, 14th November, 1848. Under instructions from the Commissioner in Sindh, I beg to forward copy of a letter, No. 6,840, of 1848, dated 1st inst., to his address from Mr. Courtney, Assistant Secretary to Government of Bombay, conveying the decision of the Governor in Council upon your case, and in reference thereto intimating that there were not sufficient grounds for charging you with dishonesty, and that your exclusion from public employment should be divested of anything implying a reflection on your character.

I am, Sir, etc.,

(Signed)

J. R. STEWART, Capt.

(3). To R. K. Pringle, Commissioner in Sindh. Sir, With reference to my letter 6,840 of the 1st November last, I have been directed by the Right Honorable the Governor in Council to transmit for your information and guidance the annexed extract (para. 7) of a

letter from the Honorable the Court of Directors, No. 6, dated 4th ultimo, relative to the case of Naomul, formerly Head Kardar of Kurrachee.

I have, etc.,
(Signed) W. COURTNEY,
Acting Secretary to Government.

(4). EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM THE HONOURABLE COURT OF DIRECTORS, NO. 6, OF 4TH APRIL, 1849.

Para. 7. "After a careful consideration of these proceedings we are of opinion that there are no grounds for charging Naomul with dishonesty in the exercise of this office, but considering the extensive local influence possessed by his family in that place, we agree with you in thinking him an unsuitable person for the situation of Head Kardar in the Collector's Office. We see no objection, however, to his being employed elsewhere in the Service of Government."

APPENDIX XII.

(PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE WITH SIR BARTLE FRERE.)

India Office,
7th January, 1869.

My good Friend, I have had the pleasure to receive your letters up to the 9th December, and am much obliged to you for your very clear and connected account of all that has happened in Afghanistan. Let me hear regularly from you when anything fresh occurs, of all my old friends at Kurrachee, and what you are doing to get a good supply of water for the town and shipping. What has become of Morad Khan and his scheme on the Hubb? And what are the Chiefs doing in Beloochistan? Tell Alupal to let me know how education prospers in Sindh, and who is following in his footsteps among any of my old friends or their children. When next he visits Goolam Ali's Tanda, beg him to remember me kindly to my old friend Mir Khan Mahomed, and ask him when one of his grandsons is going to write me an English letter.

I wish when next Alupal is at home in Kurrachee you would get him to write down what you used to tell me about the ancient prophecies and traditions concerning the coming of the Talpurs and the English, which you told me many years ago, and which I carefully wrote down at the time, but lost what I had written with other papers in the Hooghly. I wish you could get him to write down in English as much as you can tell him of your recollections of old times in Sindh, both what you have heard from your father and from those old people you used to see in your youth, and what you have yourself seen during your own eventful career. The more you could write on these subjects the better, and I should be exceedingly obliged to Alupal if he will let me have from time to time all that you can tell him. With my kind regards to all old friends, Believe me,

Sincerely yours,
(Signed)
H. B. E. FRERE.

(2). IN REPLY TO THE ABOVE, SETH NAOMUL FORWARDED THE FOLLOWING LETTER, DATED APRIL, 1869.

Between camp and Clifton there is a hillock surrounded on all sides by marshy ground. On this elevated spot there originally stood a goodly town with pucca houses. The town was built by King Dalurai. To the north of this town and between Clifton and Keamari ran the (Chini Nar) China Creek. At tide time the sea water flowed into the camp. All kinds of country vessels found access to the town through the China Creek. Between

400 to 500 years ago the town was in flourishing condition and commanded a good harbor and ample trade. The inhabitants of the town drew their supply of fresh water from the Rambaugh tank and from a huge well in a garden to the north of camp, which is now known as the Commissariat Well. I remember to have seen, when ten to fifteen years of age, ruins of numerous pucca brick houses. Poor people used to visit the ruins during the rains and bring away to my personal knowledge small articles made of gold and silver. I had pointed out the spot to you, which you will doubtless recollect well. The British Government have built upon the spot a small stone house.

2. I had also related to you a brief account of Waghudar, which you had noted down at the time. Waghudar was a famous town. About 250 to 400 years ago the country all around Waghudar was under the sway of the Rajputs of Jodhpur. There lived in the town of Waghudar a wealthy merchant, Shet Bhudumal by name, who had built his residence within a citadel. Springs in the hills and the Malleer river supplied fresh water to the town. During the monsoons, when the passage by sea was impracticable, all country boats coming down the Indus from Multan, Bhawalpur and New Sukkur, enter the Bajhar and find their way to Waghudar to unload their cargo of grain.

3. The Karmati Balochi now found in Sindh came originally from Karmat in Mekran. They were a pastoral tribe and possessed their wealth in cattle, consisting of goats, cows, buffaloes and camels. About 150 to 200 years ago, a body of these Balochis, numbering between 300 to 400 men, squatted alongside the river Habb. Gradually mustering strength they were tempted by the rich pasturage available round about Waghudar to attack and capture the town. The Burj rulers of Waghudar were defeated in the fights which ensued and forced to Dharaj in the Sakro Purganas, which was under the rule of Rana Arjun, a Hindu prince. The town of Rato was the capital of the principality, and Lahori Bunder was the chief seaport town in Dharaj. Rato was then pucca-built, and Lahori Bunder was in a very thriving condition about 125 years ago.

4. The Jokhias. The Jokhias are originally residents of a tract of country known as Kangoor "near Shaw Bilawal." They were also a pastoral tribe and settled with their cattle in Malleer as the subjects of the then rulers of the Purgana. Their headman was known by the name of Dariakhan. One of the tribe, Bijar by name, took up employment as a sepoy under a nabob of the Kalhoras who swayed power at Tatta. Ghulamshaw Kalhora was the Supreme Lord of Sindh at the time, and he desired his deputy at Tatta to arrange to get rid of Rana Arjun and take possession of the country he ruled over. The Nawab commissioned Bijar to dispatch the Rana and accordingly Bijar repaired to Malleer, where he hired 80 to 100 Jokhias to cooperate with him from Malleer; Bijar came to Karachi and obtained a loan of money from Shet Bhojmal, my ancestor four degrees removed, to enable him to start upon a maritime expedition, and he set sail from Gizri Bunder. Having learnt that Rana Arjun had started upon an excursion and was encamped on an island spot in the river with about twenty men, he crossed over with his people, and falling upon the Rana and his followers when they were asleep, he

quietly murdered them all. He communicated the news to the Nawab of Tatta, who took possession of the Rana's territory without further trouble or opposition. Bijar was awarded a dress of honor by Ghulamshaw and nominated as the headman of the Jokhias with the name of Jam. Bijar's son was Muradali, who was succeeded by Jam Maharali, whom you will remember to have seen.

The account of the Burfat Numrias and Malk Ahmed Shah of Kotri. Once upon a time Rajput residents of Jessalmir in Marwar set out in search of employment and fortune. Wandering through various countries they found their way to Ketch (Kej), the capital of Mekran, which was a populous city, and took up service at last as sepoy. They were gradually raised to the rank of jamadars and appointed to the command of a body of men. The then ruler of Mekran was a powerful despot, and he invariably demanded that every woman who married in Ketch should pass her first night after the performance of the *nikah* in his company before she went to her husband. It happened that a niece of his was about to marry, and his sister realizing the unrighteousness of her brother's demand, so revolting to all sense of honor, consulted one of the Rajput jamadars as to what she should do. He undertook to rid the country of the tyrant, and true to his word the Rajput assassinated the ruler. Next starting at the head of a body of men who were under his command, he occupied Beyla and established himself as an independent governor of the place. It was after this event that the Rajputs accepted the Mahommedan faith and became converts to Islamism. After a short lapse of time other tribesmen compelled the Rajputs to evacuate Beyla and fly the land. They crossed over to Sindh and offered their services to the Kalhora ruler of Hyderabad as frontier policemen and watchmen along the line of hills on the other side of the river opposite Hyderabad, in return for which the Kalhora king conferred upon them in jagheer all the hilly tract of land extending westward from the banks of the river at Kotri. The descendants of these converted Rajputs are known as the Burfat Numrias who recognize Malk Ahmed Khan as their chieftain. Numria is a general term applied to people from Mekran, who are said to have descended from the "Nao Marads," the nine men.

(3).

22, Princes' Gardens,
4th February, 1874.

My good friend Naomul,

I have received with great pleasure the book²²¹ you sent me on the 13th October and your subsequent letters. I have read the book with great interest, and I hope to take measures for its being published wholly, or in part, in this country, where I think it will attract general attention to the valuable character of your services. I have also been

²²¹ *i.e.*, Naomul's own Memoirs.

greatly interested in all the news you so kindly sent me from Sindh, and its environs, and I trust you will continue to write to me regularly and give me news of yourself, of Alupal, and of all your family, and of everything connected with Sindh and its neighborhood, which you know is always of the utmost interest to me. May God bless you and yours, and grant you many happy years of life to see your descendants growing up around you in honor and happiness.

Believe me,
Sincerely yours,
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

APPENDIX XIII.

SPEECH BY THE COMMISSIONER IN SINDH AT THE DURBAR HELD TO PRESENT SETH NAOMAL, WITH THE GRANT OF HIS APPOINTMENT AS C.S.I. UNDER THE QUEEN'S SIGN-MANUAL.

The Acting Commissioner of Sindh, Archibald David Robertson, Esquire, C.S., thus spoke of the services rendered by Seth Naomul Hotchand to the British Government: –

"I have great pleasure in performing the pleasing task of handing over to you this letter which conveys an intimation that Her Majesty the Queen has been pleased to confer on you the dignity of a Companion of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India as a further recognition of your services and attachment to the British Government – a more substantial mark of the appreciation of which has already been bestowed on you, first, in 1852 by the grant of a pension of Rs. 100 per mensem, and subsequently in 1860 by the extension of that pension for two lives further, together with the grant of a Jagheer worth Rs. 1,200 per annum.

"As it is a quarter of a century since your services began, and as the nature of those rendered during your earlier years may not be fully known to those who have more recently become connected with this place, I will, with your permission, briefly allude to them.

"They began as far back as 1839, when I find that you gave material assistance in procuring cattle and furnishing supplies for the column sent from Bombay to cooperate with the forces which were then being dispatched from Bengal to support Shah Shuja in Afghanistan. Afterwards, during the anxious period which succeeded the Cabul massacre, you again rendered the greatest assistance of a like nature to the reinforcements which were poured into Sindh in order to assist the troops which were sent for the release of the Cabul captives; and again in 1843, when hostilities broke out between the Amirs and the British Government, you were indefatigable, at considerable risk to your life and property, in procuring intelligence and obtaining correct information as to the designs of the Amirs, by means of which the British authorities were enabled to anticipate some of their plans and movements.

"Subsequently during the two and a half eventful years of the Mutiny, you showed the same devotion to the British cause as you had done in the days of Eastwick, Pottinger and Outram; and by your conduct then added to the claims you had already established on the consideration and favor of Government, and for which, as I have already stated,

you were rewarded with a grant of land and the continuance of the pension for two lives further.

"The additional honor which it has pleased your Sovereign now to bestow on you, will, I am sure, be no less highly prized than these by so faithful and devoted a subject, and I trust that you may long be spared to enjoy it."

(2). REPORT OF SIR BARTLE FRERE'S DURBAR FOR THE DECORATION OF SETH NAOMUL, WITH THE INSIGNIA OF THE C.S.I.

His Excellency Sir H. B. E. Frere, G.C.S.I., K.C.B., held a Durbar at the Frere Hall, Karachi, on the 1st January, 1867, for the presentation of the Insignia and Grant of the Dignity of Companion of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India to Seth Naomul Hotchand, of that city, for meeting the Municipal Commissioners, and of conferring rewards on distinguished native gentlemen.

These, together with the principal civil and military officers of the station having assembled, His Excellency the Governor, accompanied by the Honorable B. H. Ellis, member of the Executive Council, entered the Durbar, attended by Mr. Samuel Mansfield, C.S.I., the Commissioner in Sindh, Mr. F. S. Chapman, Chief Secretary to Governor, and other officers of the general and personal staff, and took his seat under the usual salute. His Excellency the Governor, after acknowledging the salutation of the assembly, requested Mr. F. S. Chapman, the Chief Secretary, and Major W. R. Lambert, Collector and Magistrate of Karachi, to introduce Seth Naomul Hotchand, which being done, His Excellency rose and addressed him as follows: —

"Seth Naomul Hotchand, I have received from His Excellency the Viceroy and Grand Master of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, instructions to deliver to you a Grant under Her Majesty's Sign Manual, conferring on you the dignity of a Companion of the said Order, together with the Insignia thereof, and in so doing I have been instructed to omit no circumstance which may conduce to give dignity and honor to the occasion." It is not necessary that I should now dilate on the character and greatness of the distinction which Her Majesty thus confers on you. It admits you to a brotherhood which numbers among its members all that is most illustrious in or belonging to India, the Sovereign and the Heir Apparent to the Throne, the Viceroy of this great Dependency, the heroes and the statesmen who have contributed to acquire and maintain the Indian Empire, and the princes most illustrious for their descent, or most distinguished for their great qualities as rulers.

"Of your claims to be enrolled in such noble company it is not necessary that I should here speak. Very recently in this Hall, the Acting Commissioner of the Province, in announcing to you Her Majesty's gracious purpose, dwelt on your life-long devotion to the British Government; and I need not further describe the services which he then

recounted, but I am personally glad of the opportunity of expressing my own strong sense of the assistance I received from you during the troublous years of 1857-58. You had great influence amongst your countrymen, you possessed information drawn from every part of Northern and Western India, and you placed all unreservedly at the disposal of Government. When many of your countrymen were appalled by the greatness of the danger, and believed that some catastrophe threatened the existence of the British Empire in India, you never faltered in your sagacious trust in the power of the British Government to uphold the cause of law and order, and had you been one of those brave men who fought for British supremacy, you could not have shown a more thorough confidence in the ultimate triumph of the British arms.

"It is a great source of pleasure to me, in now leaving Sindh before I take my final departure from India, to be permitted to confer this honor on you in the presence of the Commissioner of the Province and of my colleague, the Honorable B. H. Ellis, both of whom have labored so long in Sindh, and so highly appreciate your services. This honor will, I trust, be regarded by your countrymen in Sindh not simply as a distinction conferred on you personally, but as an evidence of the gracious regard of Her Majesty for this distant province, and for those commercial interests of which you may here be regarded as the chief representative among the native community. There is one act of yours to which I would more particularly allude as showing your just appreciation of the character of the British rule, and which will, I trust, find imitators among your countrymen. Few know better than yourself the power of the British nation in war, and their skill in all the arts of commerce. But you also know that there is in every Englishman's mind a strong conviction that man does not live by bread alone, and that there are things more valuable than victory in battle, or success in commerce. You have not personally had the advantages of an English education, and it is therefore the more remarkable that you should have determined to send your grandson (Mr. Alupal Trikamdas), to what is, in your estimation, a distant land, there to acquire such an education as an Indian university can give, and learn the principles by which the conduct of educated Englishmen is ruled. I trust on my return to Bombay to see conferred on your grandson the distinction of a University degree, and I trust that God will grant you a long life, not only to enjoy your own honors, but to see them continued and augmented by those you leave behind you."

His Excellency then delivered to Seth Naomul Hotchand the Grant under the Queen's Sign Manual and the Insignia of the Order.

(3). "VICTORIA, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, and Sovereign of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, to Seth Naomul of Kurrachee, Greeting. "Whereas We being desirous of conferring upon you such a mark of Our Royal Favor as will evince the esteem in which We hold your person and the services which you have rendered to Our Indian Empire, We have thought fit to nominate and appoint you to be a Companion of Our Most

Exalted Order of the Star of India. We do therefore by these Presents grant unto you the dignity of a Companion of Our aforesaid Order of India, and hereby authorize you to have, hold and enjoy the said dignity and rank of a Companion of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, together with all and singular the privileges thereunto Belonging or appertaining. "Given at Our Court at Osborne House, under Our Sign Manual and the Seal of Our said Order, this thirtieth day of April 1866, in the twenty-ninth year of our Reign.

"By Her Majesty's Command,
(Signed)
"DE GREY AND RIPON."

APPENDIX XIV.

To Rao Sahib Alumal Trikamdas Bhojwani, B.A., Deputy Educational Inspector at Karachi. I hereby confer upon you the title of Rao Bahadur as a personal distinction.

(Signed)
LANSDOWNE, Viceroy and Governor-General of India.
Fort William, 1st January, 1889.

APPENDIX XV.

In the April number of the Asiatic Quarterly Review for the year 1888, in an essay entitled "Karachi and its Future," Sir Frederic Goldsmid eulogizes Seth Naomul in the following terms:-

"Nor when speaking of the dead must the natives be forgotten who enabled Frere in the hour of danger to British rule to dispense with his legitimate garrisons and trust to resources drawn to himself from the hearts of the people he governed by strong will and tender unselfishness. One alone, whose familiar figure has for some years passed away from the midst of his countrymen, may be mentioned by name, the banker Seth Naomul. Connected with what may be called the Intelligence Department of the province from the first hour of British occupation, he remained until the period of his demise the most trustworthy informant and adviser of the several officers who administered the affairs of Sindh. Especially from Baluchistan were his reports of value, for his agents in that quarter had means of ascertaining the state of local politics which even money might not always command; and his loyalty invariably led him to place their periodical budgets at the disposal of the ruling power. His manner was singularly refined for a Hindu, and though his professed caution and occasional diplomatic reserve laid him open to the charge of entertaining *arrières pensées*, his error was very possibly in thinking diplomacy to be a virtue rather than a necessity. He had a high opinion of European statesmen and would speak of European politics with a significant smile, as though he saw through the hidden aim of empires and kingdoms, and could unravel tangled skeins which perplex the most learned politicians of the West. His memory is especially noted here, for Karachi in its zenith was not Karachi without Seth Naomul."

APPENDIX XVI.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PRESENT PROSPERITY OF SINDH.

The following few figures may be quoted as evidence of the progress made by Sindh since the Conquest. They are only illustrative, as a compilation of statistics even of only railways constructed and canals excavated would fill a volume.

The Land Revenue, which in India can be taken as an index of the area cultivated, was supposed to realize under the Talpur rulers, 35 lakhs of rupees annually. In 1904-5 it exceeded 103 lakhs, and in 1912 rose, in round figures, to 120 lakhs. Of this last sum, about 80 lakhs were derived from irrigation, and the area irrigated was more than 3¼ million acres.

The extent to which commerce has developed can be estimated from the following figures of the Karachi Port Trust, during 1912-1913: —

The total shipments for 1912-13 amounted to 2,183,090 tons, which constitute a record in the history of the Port. The number of vessels which entered the Port, exclusive of vessels put back and fishing boats, was 3,742, with a tonnage of 2,195,9044 tons, against 3,706, with a tonnage of 1,937,305 tons in 1911-12. The number of steamers which entered the Port was 990, against 914 in the previous year. The tonnage of steamers entering the Port was 2,049,219, as compared with 1,800,581 in the previous year. The number of vessels over 5,000 tons gross entering the Port was 161, against 135 in 1911-12. Three ships of the Royal Navy entered the harbor, besides six of the Royal Indian Marine, and two Indian troop service transports, embarking and disembarking 15,316 troops. Also 73 pilgrims from Mecca disembarked, and 201 pilgrims embarked.