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GILGIT
THE NORTHERN GATE OF INDIA

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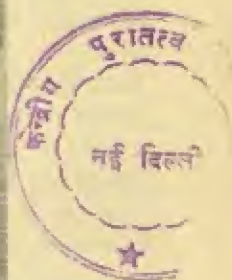
British Policy Towards Kashmir (1846-1921)

Also in collaboration with S.S. Gergan

A History of Ladakh

GILGIT
THE NORTHERN GATE OF INDIA
F.M. Hassnain

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GILGIT : The Northern Gate of India

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PREFACE

Gilgit, in the words of Lord Curzon, the then British Viceroy of India, "is one of the northern gates of India, through which a would-be invader must advance, if he advances at all." On account of its unique geographical position, it occupied a place of great strategic importance for the then British Government of India. Even today, Gilgit is a meeting ground of many close neighbours like Afghanistan, China, India, Pakistan and Russia.

In order to remain fully informed of the Russian moves towards India, the British encouraged the Dogra rulers of Kashmir to subjugate various chiefships in the region and then selected Gilgit as their watch tower for spying purposes. They started posting of British Agents at Gilgit since 1868 and continued it upto 1947. In the words of Arthur Neve, "the word Gilgit should recall the many gallant deeds of the nineties—the capture of Hunza, the relief of Chitral and the Pamir Commission."

One cannot but admire the spirit of independence, which the people of Gilgit exhibited, time and again, to keep their homeland free from the invaders. They had never known a foreign master and as such, they bravely fought against the Dogra Maharajas and the British imperialists. Their attitude remained hostile against foreigners. But they could not withstand British diplomacy and had ultimately to surrender. The affairs at Gilgit having been settled, the British Government diverted its attention towards Chitral, because it occupied a place of importance in the defence of the British empire.

Accordingly, instead of making the Dogra Maharaja responsible for political and military supervision of the natural borders of India, the British Government took all the issues into their hands. In order to punish Hari Singh for his utterances at the Round Table Conference at London, they

forced him to hand over the Gilgit region to them, on a lease for sixty years in 1935. At the time of the partition of India, this lease got terminated automatically, but the British engineered a revolt in Gilgit, which resulted in the arrest of the last Dogra Governor of Gilgit in 1947. All these events have been narrated in the present work, which is based on original source materials housed in the Kashmir Archives.

I am grateful to Shri J.L.K. Jalali of Karan Nagar, Srinagar, for having permitted me to use his private collection of documents relating to the retrocession of Gilgit. Without his help the story of Gilgit would have remained incomplete. For photographs, my sincere thanks are due to Shri M.H. Makhdoomi, Curator, S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar, Shri J.N. Sadhu of the Indian Express Newspapers and Mr Masato Oki of the Himalayan Alpine Association of Japan, Nagoya.

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F.M. HASSNAIN

Srinagar

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GILGIT

“ Gilgit ! Great Gilgit ! ”

Gilgit lies between the parallel of latitude 35° and 37° and the meridians of longitude 74° and 75° in the south eastern portion of the Hindukush range of mountains. During the ancient period of its history, it was known as *Sarjan* and later on, came to be known as *Gilid*. According to Vigne, the real name of Gilgit is said to be *Gilgid* but Leitner speaks of it as Gilgit. The locals pronounce it as *Gilyit* but it is known to the world as Gilgit. Thus it is evident that its ancient etymology is shrouded in mystery.

Gilgit is bounded on the north by the Hindukush mountains separating Wakhan, a province of Afghanistan from Ishkoman. On the north-east, in continuation of Hindukush, are the Mustagh mountains, separating Hunza and Nagar from the Chinese Sinkiang. On the east is Skardu the capital of Baltistan. On the west are the States of Swat, Dir, Chitral. On the south is the Burzil separating Astor from Gurez, a *Tehsil* of Kashmir. Amongst it is the renowned peak Pavalo Slovikovaski, being the meeting place of Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, China and the Soviet Russia. The distance from this peak to Kamri pass in length is 165 miles, while the breadth from Sandhur pass to Mushtagh river is 190 miles. In the north-east and east are almost inaccessible mountains. Here and there, a narrow valley opens, where people set up habitations and these patches of distant villages are like oases, scattered all over the country of bleak barren hills.

The nature of the region on the borders is such that no considerable force of an enemy country can successfully invade its frontiers. If an army attempts to cross the natural barriers, it is bound to be annihilated by a defence force equipped with modern weapons even if numerically less. The whole region is extremely mountainous. Biddulph describes it as follows :

“A glance at the map will show that Gilgit is situated in the centre of the most mountainous regions of the Himalayas. No where else in the world probably, is there to be found so great a number of deep valleys and lofty mountains in so small a compass. Within a radius of 56 miles from Gilgit the survey maps show, the amidst innumerable smaller peaks, eleven varying from 18,000 feet to 20,000 feet, seven from 20,000 to 22,000 feet, six from 22,000 to 24,000 and eight from 24,000 to 26,000 feet.”

This immense mass of mountains is intersected by numerous deep valleys, which are generally narrow at their mouths than higher up. Gilgit is 48,000 feet above the sea level. The entire region is about 3,200 square miles, of which Gilgit and Astor respectively cover 1,750 and 1,450 square miles, consisting mostly of brown mountain ranges, partly covered with vegetation. Prior to 1947, the political districts known as the Gilgit Agency covered an area of 14,680 square miles.

Gilgit Wazarat

The Gilgit *Wazarat* which comprised the *Tehsil* of Gilgit, with its sub-division at Astor, was formerly made up of the *Tehsils* of Gilgit and Astor and the *Niabat* of Bunji but Astor was subsequently converted into *Niabat* forming a sub-division of the Gilgit *Tehsil* and the *Niabats* at Bunji and Gilgit were abolished.

There are no other towns in the district and the main town of Gilgit was a military base station and headquarters of the Political Agency, *Wazarat* and *Tehsil*. It was also the headquarters of Medical, Public Works and Commissariat Departments. In addition to the European quarters located at the western corner, there were the Commissariat stores, the

Engineer's Workshop and the Rest House, the Telegraph Office, the New Bazar, the Police Station and the Post Office. The *Wazarat* and the *Tehsil* officers and other quarters were situated contiguous to each other. The fort, the parade ground and the quarters of the military officers were also situated in their neighbourhood. In early days there was no grain market here, but local produce of grain, ghee and gold of the *illaqa* was purchased by the traders from the *zamindars*, to whom some money was occasionally advanced by the former.

Bunji

Bunji, situated 4,630 feet above the sea level, was another military station with a small *bazar*, a State Primary School, the Post and Telegraph Office, a Dispensary and the Public Works Department bungalows. Other buildings consisted of the Sepoys' barracks and the quarters of the officers. It served as the headquarters of the Imperial Service Battery, and a detachment of the Kashmir Imperial Service Infantry was also stationed there. Its position is strategically important. The surrounding villages depend upon it for small local commerce.

Astor

Astor, the Sub-division of the *Tehsil* Gilgit, was formerly the capital of a kingdom. It is situated some five stages from Gilgit towards Kashmir, and in those days, served as the headquarters of the *Niabat*. It has an old fort and a small *bazar*, the first to be met with after leaving Bandipur. There was a commissariat store, a godown in addition to the military barracks, the Post and Telegraph office, a Dispensary, a Primary School and a Rest House. Some traders used to bring goods from Kashmir and the Punjab, taking back gold dust instead. Sanitary conditions of the place were rather unhygienic as pure drinking water was not procurable.

The Gilgit *Wazarat* was administered by a *Wazir-i-Wazarat* appointed by the *Maharaja* on the recommendations of the Revenue Minister. The *Wazir* held the same powers as of the Governors and the Chief Judges. He was assisted by a *Tehsildar* and *Naib Tehsildar*. The Public Works Department was in the charge of a Divisional Engineer and the Medical Department

was under the supervision of the Agency Surgeon, who was appointed by the Government of India but whose pay was met from the State revenues. He was assisted by a State Assistant Surgeon and other medical staff.

Gilgit

The Gilgit District is divided into the following valleys.¹ About 6 miles above Bunji, the Gilgit river falls into the Indus. The lower part of the valley, nearly forty miles in length, occupied by Gilgit proper, is bounded on each side by steep rocky mountains.

The valley itself contains stony and alluvial plateaus of various forms, and varies in width from one to three miles. The eastern portion of this space is arid, where scarcity of water is keenly felt. The mountains on the south-west side of the valley, however, are intersected regularly by ravines. In front of each ravine on both sides of the river is the widespread alluvial fan, with a portion of it cultivated, where water from the streams is carried for irrigation. The alluvial fan near Gilgit on the right bank of the river is very extensive and has a gentle slope towards the river. This mass of cultivation, 5 to 6 miles long and about a mile wide is studded with a group of villages having considerable space of fertile land with fruit trees. This tract is dependent for its water supply mainly on the Kargah and Jutial streams, which enter this part of the valley at the western and eastern ends respectively. Situated on the right bank of the river the town of Gilgit, which is 4,800 feet above the sea level is one of the group mentioned. Here the cultivated ground is not a part of the fan of a side stream, but is situated on the flat plain of the river alluvium, extending from the river bank to the mountains on the south. From the Gilgit, the roads run into all the surrounding valleys.

The lofty mountains around Gilgit though bare and rocky at their base, are covered with verdure higher up, and on the south-west side, high up above the lower cliffs, is a growth of pinewood. But wood for fuel is scarce in Gilgit.

Four or five miles above Gilgit, the valley narrows, being

1. *Assessment Report of the Gilgit District—1916.*

hardly more than one mile broad at any point. The valley opens out, however here and there showing alluvial fans and patches of cultivation on one side or the other of the river. Between the villages of Sharot and Gulapur, the district ends, and the political territory known as Punial begins.

Nomal

The lower part of the Hunza-Nagar river from the village of Danyor, where the stream falls into the Gilgit river, to the border of Nagar is called the *illaqa* of Nomal, after the name of the village situated 18 miles north-east of Gilgit. The lower part of the valley, though fairly broad, appears entirely barren, the hill sides being formed by alternate layers of sand and water-worn stones, and are almost bare of vegetation. The ranges of mountains in the upper part of the area are intersected by streams on both sides of the valley and cultivation lies only along the banks of the Hunza-Nagar river tributaries. Nomal is the largest village in the valley and is an important place in the region, inasmuch as its area extends as far north as the boundary between the Gilgit District and the Nagar State. The Naltar stream flowing from west to east, before falling into the Hunza-Nagar river, passes by the fort and the Rest House of Nomal. The upper valley of the Naltar yields a large quantity of good timber and affords site for summer camps for the troops, the ground being good enough for pasture. Many trees are felled yearly in the summer months of May and June, when the snow melts away and the forests are quite accessible. The wood is brought for use for building purposes, as well as for fuel required during the winter. The logs of wood are thrown into the stream, which flows into the Hunza-Nagar river, and are picked up at Danyor about three miles from Gilgit, thus saving a considerable amount of labour.

The Bagrot stream flows from the southern glaciers of Rakha Poshi and falls into the Gilgit river about 12 miles below the town of Gilgit.

Bagrot

At the mouth of the Bagrot valley, lie hundreds of acres of culturable waste. The lower part of the valley is narrow, where

not a drop of water is met with nor is a tree or glimpse of vegetation to be seen anywhere. The first village in the upper part of the valley on the right bank of the river is Sinekar situated at the mouth of a deep ravine. In this part of the valley, three villages on the right and one on the left bank of the river, are situated not far from each other. Two more villages in the lateral valley of Tasot Bilchhar are surrounded by the hills. The only practicable means of ingress and egress is along the deep and narrow stream which intersects the high rocky hills. The slopes of the hills bounding these valleys are dotted with forests, and almost all are excellent pasture lands; the limited cultivation between the stream and the hills on the two sides of the river is highly terraced. The water channels are carried along very difficult cliffs, and the people experience great difficulty to keep them in repair. Above Bulche, the last village on the right side of the Bagrot, is a conical hill, said to be an abode of the fairies. The Bagrot stream is famous, because the best quality of gold is found in its bed, and also in that part of the Gilgit river into which the Bagrot stream runs.

The small area of Haramosh consists of 4 villages lying on the right bank of the Indus, which flows from Rondu to within a few miles of Bunji between two continuous and lofty mountain ranges. The general character of the tract is rocky, which is intersected by deep valleys of fairly good cultivation. The villages lie at an elevation of 5,000 to 7,000 feet. During summer, the heat is so intolerable that the people mostly camp out with their flocks in the higher pastures or cultivations.

Sai

Immediately opposite Bunji is the narrow but fertile Sai valley, separated from that of Gilgit by a ridge of hills of moderate height. The Gashu village passes through this valley. A large area at the mouth of the valley is available for extension of cultivation. The villages in the valley itself, excepting a few are watered by the Sai river, which rises in the mountains forming the boundary line with Chitral and flowing south-eastwards until it falls into the Indus. The abundant water in this stream is well known for its purity. The main slopes of the mountains enclosing the valley face the north and are consequently

sprinkled with forests. The land here has the full benefit of the summer sun and the crops are generally good.

Astor

On the left of the Indus is the extensive Astor valley. The Astor river which is the basin of the Indus, is fed by the two main streams on the south, which meet at Gurikot. One of these, which comes from the Burzil pass is the eastern branch of the Astor river, while the other stream descending from the Kamri pass is the western branch. Astor may, therefore, be divided into these sub-divisions :

- (i) along the Kamri stream
- (ii) along the Burzil stream
- (iii) along the Astor river below Gurikot.

In the south of the Kamri valley the vegetation on the hill sides is not so abundant as it is towards the Gurez valley, and the pine forests are less extensive towards Astor than on the Gurez side. Birch and *pinus excelsa* are also found here along the hills. The valley, almost all over is covered with flowers of which *spriaea* and roses abound. Cultivation is met with at a level of about 10,000 feet and the fruit trees are found further down at the height of some 8,500 feet. Between the junction of the Kamri and the Mir Malik streams lies the plateau of Rattu, a bare windswept and bleak looking place. The main feeders of the Kamri stream are the Mir Malik and Rupal streams, the former flowing from the mountains which separate the valley from Muzaffarabad, while the latter has its origin in the base of the great Nanga Parbat, which towers above in great snowy and rocky mass and separates this part of the Astor from Chilas. The Burzil valley is enclosed by mountains, which are not very steep. The Bandipur-Gilgit road runs through the Burzil pass. It affords an easier alignment and opens for traffic early in summer. There is not much grass on this way but the hills around are dotted with forests of moderate density. However, the Bubind stream and other side-valleys are mostly covered with grassy and pine meadows, where fire-wood, timber and grazin glands are plentiful.

At Astor, and for miles further on, the valley is very narrow at the bottom of the river. The river here is confined between the ends of the spurs from the high mountain ridges. The space left for cultivation extends usually along the hill sides above the bottom of the valley. The grass grows over the hill sides in tufts. Bushes of pencil cedar are also met with, while *pinus excelsa* of small size grows in parts sheltered by the sun and makes a thin forest. Above the vegetation, mountains rise to lofty, rocky and snowy peaks.

In the valley of the Astor river and its tributaries, there are large pine forests. Over both sides, the base is an extensive forest mixed with growth of edible pine.

Prior to 1917 the Gilgit Agency comprised :

- (i) the States of Hunza and Nagar
- (ii) the Shinaki Republics of the Chilas region
- (iii) the Chiefship of Puniāl
- (iv) the Chiefship of Yasin
- (v) the Chiefship of Kuh-Ghizar
- (vi) the Chiefship of Ishkoman.

Hunza and Nagar

Hunza and Nagar are the two States situated to the north of Gilgit. They are divided by the Hunza river. Nagar lies on the left bank and Hunza, opposite, on the right bank.

The inhabitants of Hunza and Nagar come from one stock and speak the same language but there has always been in the past, considerable amount of ill feeling between the two communities. The people of Hunza are Mulais and the followers of the Agha Khan, while the people of Nagar are Shia Muslims.

Chaprot and the fort of Chalt and its connected villages, lying between Hunza, Nagar and Gilgit, were since long a source of contention between the two States. But in 1877, the Chief of Nagar with the assistance of the Dogra Maharaja succeeded in obtaining possession of the disputed tract. From that date upto 1886, Chaprot and Chalt were held by Nagar and the Kashmir troops. In 1886, when William Lockhart visited Hunza, the *Thum* of Hunza refused to allow the British Mission to proceed, unless he would promise to restore these

places to Hunza. Lockhart induced the Chief of Nagar to remove the Nagar men and the garrison was replaced by the Kashmir troops. It was evident that by this stratagem, Lockhart had acquired the fort for the *Maharaja*, while the tribals had achieved nothing out of their mutual enmity. Later, however, they came to their senses, and joined hands to throw out the British and the Dogras.

Shinaki Republics

The territory of the Shinaki Republics of the Indus valley extends from Ramghat, where the Astor river joins the Indus to Seo on the right bank and to Jalkot on the left bank of the Indus. Within this area, the people are grouped into communities, inhabiting one or more ravines and each community comprises a republic itself. Starting from Ramghat down the Indus, these republics are :

<i>Right bank of the Indus</i>	<i>Left bank of the Indus</i>
Gor, Thaliche, Mohtar	Bunnar
Kinergah	Butogah
Hoder	Giche Thor

These republics comprised the area, which was known as the Chilas sub-division of the Gilgit Agency. Besides the above, the areas below this region are detailed as under :

<i>Right bank of the Indus</i>	<i>Left bank of the Indus</i>
Darel	Harban
Khilli	Jalkot
Seo	

Rainfall

There is but little rainfall in Gilgit throughout the year. The cultivation almost wholly depends for irrigation on canals, which take the origin from the surrounding hills, where the snow begins to melt with the advance of summer. In the economy of seasons and agriculture, this country therefore, may well be described as one, where artificial canals formed exclusively from hill torrents, are the main and only source of irrigation,

the little quantity of rain forming only a negligible factor.

The only place in the region, where there are arrangements to record rain, is Gilgit itself. There is no rain gauge in the area, but there is a regular observatory in Gilgit, where figures of rainfall and meteorological observations are regularly recorded.

The following figures show the average rainfall (in c.m.) during a year :

January	25	July	40
February	19	August	48
March	18	September	36
April	1.03	October	24
May	87	November	03
June	40	December	09
Average January to June		= 3.22	
Average July to December		= 1.60	

The following table shows the average heat (in F.) at Gilgit during a year :

<i>Month</i>	<i>Maximum</i>	<i>Minimum</i>
January	46.01	31.07
February	52.7	36.6
March	61.5	44.1
April	73.2	52.8
May	86.1	60.0
June	94.8	66.1
July	97.2	71.7
August	95.5	70.5
September	86.8	62.6
October	75.9	52.3
November	63.1	40.5
December	48.3	32.1
Annual mean	<u>73.4</u>	<u>51.7</u>

The rivers in Gilgit, are well known for their occasional inundations, which are usually due either to the bursting of glaciers or to the rivers being blocked up by avalanches and masses of ice.

Climate

As little snow falls in Gilgit itself, the climate is generally dry but salubrious. A further proof of dryness of the atmosphere is furnished by the brown and monotonous ranges of mountains stretching all round from one end of the country to the other. The valleys of Gilgit and the Indus river, and the lower parts of its tributaries are the warmest in the area, where 2 crops in a year are raised. In these parts, it seldom snows in winter and if ever it does, it is never more than an inch or so, which melts away soon after. The lofty and the rocky mountains around, generally contribute to the severity of heat during summer, in some parts, while elsewhere, it is mild and temperate. During the day the heat in places like Bunji seems oppressive in the summer, but the nights are generally cool. In other parts of Gilgit, at altitudes of 5000 feet and above, winter is very severe for about a month in January, when the average minimum temperature falls to the freezing point. But after the middle of February it generally rises. Then the current of wild wind sets in, and lasts for about a month, after which the season is followed by a brief spell of spring, which in turn yields place to summer.

Population

The population per square mile of cultivation was 1096, excluding non-agriculturists, and was somewhat denser in Astor than in Gilgit. Nevertheless, the figures show a very remarkable increase now, of no less than 75 per cent, during the last few decades, so that the population has increased at a much faster rate than the cultivation. The increase seems too large to be correct, though no doubt, it partly represents immigration and the return of people after the partition of India in 1947. According to the Census of 1911, the total population of the whole region of Gilgit was 78,314 souls, which rose to 89,697 in 1921. The Census of 1931 gave the figures for each division as under :

Gilgit	31902	Chilas	13534
Hunza	13241	Nagar	13672
Punial	6108	Ishkoman	2986

Yasin	8083	Kuh	2808
Ghizar	4112		

According to present rough estimates, the Gilgit region has a total population of 1,90,000 and it spreads over an area of 27,000 sq miles.¹

People

The people of Gilgit are the descendants of the Greeks, the Scythians, the Bactrians, the Parthians and the Kushans. They are known as the Dards and their country known as Dardistan. They are broad shouldered, moderately stout built, well-proportioned and of fair complexion. They are active and enduring. They are good as mountaineers and those, who have been used to act as porters are strong and quick in the work. But in some parts, they have never been trained to work, and will not undergo it. The people of Gilgit, according to some writers, are said to be generally lazy, who do not take much interest in cultivating their lands. They have also little liking for manual labour, which is provided at places by the Baltis and the Yagistanis, who work for the *zamindars* on lands. The people of Astor are, however, more laborious than those of Gilgit and do not depend on external labour at all. As such, the pressure on cultivation due to the growth of population is less heavy here. A distaste work probably constitutes the main reason that accounts for the sloven habits of the people in Gilgit. But basically, the people of Gilgit are a martial race and as such, they shun manual labour. They think very high of themselves and their ancestors and consider themselves as a race of rulers. They are very brave and one cannot but admire their determination with which they continue their struggle for independence against the Sikhs, the Dogras and the British during the twentieth century. Since ancient times, they have never known a foreign master. Their hair is usually black and sometimes brown but the shade is sometimes light enough for the red to show through it. Their eyes are either brown or hazel. Their voice and manner of speech appears to be somewhat harsh.

1. Sadhu, J.N., "Gilgit, the Hinterland of India," article in *Kashmir Today*, November-December, 1976.

They are not soft, mild or passive. As a race they have been described by the British writers as clever, cunning and quick.

The Dard language with its three dialects is generally spoken throughout Gilgit.

Society

The Gilgitis are divided into the following five classes :

1. *Ronu* : The highest class, being called on account of its having held some offices of power in the past.
2. *Shin* : The next higher class, which holds the cow in abhorrence. The Shins do not drink cow's milk; nor do they eat or make butter from it. Nor even do they burn cow dung. They do not generally eat fowls nor touch them, and object to cultivating tobacco and red pepper.
3. *Yashkun* : It is a hybrid class formed by the intermixture between the Shins and the aboriginals. Their chief occupation is agriculture.
4. *Dooms* : The lowest of the classes is the Doom, which is treated as unfit for ordinary social intercourse.
5. *Kamins* : It is a caste of low class people, who work as potters, millers, carriers, and coolies. On the whole, the people are divided into two main divisions; the Shins and the Yashkuns.¹

The *Ronus* were, formerly the most honoured class amongst the people and from amongst them, the *Wazirs* of the *Rajas* were generally chosen. They are still held in respect and rank next to the *Rajas*. Their number is however, small.

Next to the *Ronus* are the *Shins*, below whom are the *Yashkuns*, the *Kamins* and the *Dooms* standing last in order of their social status. One of the distinguishing features of these three high castes is that they give their daughters in marriage generally to the one, above themselves and not to the lower ones.

The *Shins*, it appears, were once rulers of the country.

1. Hashmat-ullah Khan, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, p. 766.

Naturally they introduced their own dialect, *Shina*, wherever they penetrated. They are not, however, numerically superior. Before their conversion to Islam they were Buddhists. Such of them as emigrated to Baltistan are identified by the *Baltis* as the *Brupas* or highlanders. They are not very enterprising. Physically, however, they are well built, and are attached to their lands, being averse to other manual labour. Formerly, they did not eat beef, drink cow's milk or even touch a vessel containing it. These feelings, however, have now practically died out. But it sometimes happens that a *Shin* would make over his cow and calf to a *Yashkun* neighbour to be restored to him when the calf is weaned. They used to regard the domestic fowls also as unclean and in the villages chiefly inhabited by the *Shins*, fowls were rarely seen.

The next in order of social position and number are the *Yashkuns*. They take to manual labour and carrying of loads as well. They do not arrogate to themselves any lien of superiority over their neighbours.

Living among the *Shins* and the *Yashkuns*, in varying number, are the *Syeds* and the *Pirzadas*, the *Kamins*, the *Dooms* and the *Kashmiris*. All of them are considered inferior in status except the *Syeds*, who are held in great esteem, receive girls in marriage from the *Rajas* and the *Ronus* without reciprocity, for a *Syed's* daughter is always married to a *Syed* only. These various classes are scattered all over the Gilgit region in small numbers. The *Kamins* are also not very large in number and they do not inter-marry with any other class. Formerly, they were treated like the *Kamins* of the Punjab, but as land-holders they no longer look upon themselves as inferior to other classes. The *Dooms*, whose number is also limited, work as musicians, blacksmiths and leather tanners. The *Kashmiris* form a fairly large section of the population. Their forefathers settled in the country long before its conquest by the Dogras.

The *Gujars* are found on the highlands, where the pastures are extensive. They do not mix with the people of the country; live in roughly made hovels, and cultivate small and poor patches of land. Some of them inhabit the upper part of the Sai valley, while others have found their way into the Kargah

and the Naltar villages. They speak the *Gujari* dialect which is popular with them. The *Daram Khels*, the *Pathans* and the *Baltis* are the immigrants to the region and call for no remarks. The *Baltis* having inter-married with the *Yashkuns* call themselves *Yashkuns* now. The *Daram Khels* have migrated to Gilgit from Gurez.

Religion

Gilgit is now largely inhabited by the followers of Islam but during ancient times, they followed their ancient faiths. In fact, after its extinction in Kashmir, Buddhism found a refuge in Dardistan.¹ This region was ruled over by the Sahi princes, who founded many Buddhist stupas in and around Gilgit in the 6th century. Among the important Sahi rulers of Gilgit, may be mentioned, Deve Sahi, Lalleya Sahi and Bhima Sahi, who patronised Buddhism.²

Islam was introduced in Gilgit by Hazrat Syed Mohammad Noor Bakash, but the pioneering work in this field was done by the great saints like Syed Shah, Syed Sultan, Syed Shah Wali, Syed Shah Afzal, Syed Shah Akbar and Syed Ibrahim during the reign of King Shamsheer (1120-1160). The tombs of these *Syed* saints are the places of pilgrimage even to this day. The people of Gilgit have retained some old customs and religious ceremonies of their former faiths and given these a new shape. As far back as 1842, the Muslims of Astor would burn their dead in fire like the Hindus. Curiously enough, even now they believe in keeping a burning light on the graves of the dead.

The Muslims are divided into three different sects such as the *Suni*, the *Shia* and the *Molai*. The *Molai* correspond to the Noor Bakshis of Baltistan, in the matter of prayers, and in the matter of fasting, they follow the *Suni* ways but in creed they are *Shias*. While the *Molais* and the *Shias* drink wine, the *Sunis* do not. Perfect tolerance prevails among various sects and they inter-marry, freely. The people belong to any of these religious sects and the differences among them do not

1. Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, Trans, Stein, I, p. 93.

2. Hassnain, *Buddhist Kashmir*, p. 30.

depend on the caste but rather on geographical and political grounds.

Standard of Life

The people of Gilgit are generally poor. They live in low roofed dingy houses, the walls of which are made of rough stone masonry in mud, as well as of logs of wood in places, where timber is available in plenty in the forests not far away from the habitations. There are no glass windows in the houses or regular fire-places with chimneys for kindling fires during the winter. The only arrangement for light and ventilation is a skylight, provided by way of a roughly made hole in the roof. Thus, the houses are very unclean and unhealthy. Walls, pillars and ceilings of the houses are all black with smoke. This skylight, the only means of light and air, is also closed or covered in winter for protection against rain or snow.

The only common dress of the people consists of a *pyjama*, a *choga* often tied with a country belt, and a cap. These are all made of rough *pattu*. People have, however, begun to wear cotton cloth during summer. It is the head-dress, which from its peculiar feature, distinguishes the Gilgiti and the Astori from others. It comprises a woollen bag about half a yard rolled up outwards to make into a cap, so as to fit the head right. It protects from cold or sun just as well as the turban, which is used only by men of high social status. Pieces of goat or ibex skin roughly joined together to fit as footwear are used by the poor. These are locally called *pabbu*. It consists of leather strips and scraps put together around the foot, bound with a long thin string.

The chief products of Gilgit are as under :

Wheat, barley, naked barley, rice, maize, millet, buckwheat, pulses, cotton, mulberry, peach, apricot, grapes, apple, pear, greengage, fig, walnut, pomegranate, musk melons and water melons.

Besides, silk is also produced, though in very small quantity. The worm is smaller than that of Kashmir and the cocoon is also small. Gold is washed from the river gravels. The chief articles of import are tea, cloth, salt, rice, kerosene and country oil, matches, etc.

The general food of the people consists of the coarse grains, vegetables and meat. They use wheat flour and rice only when available. At other times, they take gram, maize, china, and fruits such as mulberries and apricots are used as food in the months of scarcity. For winter use their stock is dry mutton, which is locally called *nishallo*.

The hygienic condition of the people is anything but satisfactory. They use stream water which contains germs and consequently, they suffer from diseases such as malaria, measles and small pox. The installation of pure water supply at Gilgit was started by the British in 1911 and now, some towns of the region have been provided with pure water. Prior to 1947, it was 22 days' march on foot from Srinagar to Gilgit.

Communications

During summer the rivers, fed by snow and glaciers, become deep with rapid torrents and thus disrupt communication between certain villages. In winter, however, the waters of these rivers subside and passage becomes easy for fording which is the usual means of crossing the great tributaries of the rivers particularly at points where the water is widely spread and is shallow.

About seven miles above Bunji, the Indus is crossed by a suspension bridge, which is called Partap bridge. In addition there is a boat bridge also above Bunji, for crossing the Indus by means of a large raft which is made up of a light framework of wood and inflated bullock skins.

There is another suspension bridge at Gilgit with a span of 530 feet which was completed in 1906. This is over the Gilgit river across which the road leads to Hunza and Nagar. The third suspension bridge lying between these two, is the one opposite the village of Chammogah, where the Skardu road is separated from Gilgit-Srinagar road. The Astor river has also been spanned by suspension bridges in its upper and lower courses. One is the Ramghat suspension bridge 7 miles below Bunji and another is at Gurikot 7 miles above Astor. There are several wooden and rickety bridges across the Astor, the Burzil and the Kamri and their tributaries. A wire rope ferry has been established over the Ruppal at about the place where

it joins the Kamri. Skin rafts are the only means of crossing the rivers, where bridges do not exist and these are used only at places where the current is less rapid.

Routes

The principal routes of communication which open the region to Kashmir and the Punjab are the two southern roads. One is the main thoroughfare from Kashmir, which runs through the Gurez valley over the Kamri or Burzil passes. The road over the Kamri leaves the valley of Gurez at Bangla and crosses the bridge at an elevation of 13,368 feet. The other road which passes over the Burzil pass, 13,755 feet high, affords an easier alignment, opens earlier in the summer and is, therefore, more attractive than the road over the Kamri pass. These two branches, however, unite at Gurikot, a village situated below the junction of the Burzil and the Kamri river. Further on the road runs along the Astor river and leads to the headquarters of Astor. Still further, it takes a zig-zag course over the Hattupir, crosses the suspension bridge at Ramghat and leads to Partappur through Bunji, by the left bank of the Indus. Thence forward, it takes the right bank of the Gilgit river and at 37 miles from Bunj, Gilgit is reached. The distance from Bandipore (Kashmir) to Gilgit is 195 miles.

The second southern route, which leaves the Gilgit road at Ramghat and runs along the left bank of Indus towards Chilas, is the shortest and the easiest of the two. It leads *via* the Babusar pass to Havelian (Hazara). Both the roads are about ten feet in width and are kept under permanent maintenance, but as they run over high snowy passes, they remain practically closed to traffic about six months of the year.

From Gilgit, a good pack road runs to the north along the banks of the Hunza river and leads to the States of Hunza and Nagar. There is another pack road from Gilgit to Punial and further upto other frontier districts to the east. It also leads *via* Gupis to Chitral.

The eastern route from Gilgit to Skardu leaves the Gilgit road just opposite the village of Chammogah, where the river Gilgit is crossed by a suspension bridge. It runs along the left bank of the river Gilgit to the place where the river joins the

Indus, and thence it follows the right bank of the Indus to within a mile of Sasi. This part of the road, 27 miles in length, is practicable for laden animals. From Sasi to Stak, the last village in the Skardu *Tehsil* on the right bank of the Indus, the path up along the Indus is very difficult and none is more dangerous throughout the frontier districts. It is impossible for baggage animals to negotiate it.

There are two roads leading to the Astor valley direct from Skardu. One is over the Alampi-la pass about 16,000 feet high along the Bubind stream, which joins the Burzil river at Gudal stage on the Srinagar Gilgit road. The second road which crosses the Banak-la pass 15,500 feet high, passes through the Pari Shing valley. The distance from the latter pass to Astor is about 32 miles, which lies through forests and along hill sides. Another road from Astor passes over the Mezano pass as far as Bunar. These roads, however, are only practicable for pedestrians and do not remain open for more than three months during the summer season.

It entails some danger and discomfort to cross Burzil and other passes in cloudy weather which may be followed by snow in the winter months. In spite of the shelter houses on either side of the Burzil pass, lives are occasionally lost by avalanches. The means of communication in the valley, almost inaccessible, are only practicable along the streams and ravines, which pass through the tract.

Gilgit is linked with Sinkiang through high passes named Shimshail, Khinjarib, Mintoka and Kilki. The recently constructed Sino-Pakistan highway passes through these, which are more than 15,000 feet high above the sea level.

Revenue and Taxes

Early fiscal history of Gilgit is so obscure that it is hardly possible now to throw light on any of the cognate matters, the reasons obviously being that no records of the arrangements than existing, were maintained by the various *Rajas*, who ruled over the tract from time to time upto the year 1860. Some account of the system of administration, which existed under the ancient rulers has, however, been provided by Biddulph and is reproduced below :

"The revenues of the *Raja* were derived as follows : from the land, a tax called *Koodkoon* was paid on every crop in kind, according to the quality of the land, which was regularly and apparently not heavily assessed. A pastoral tax of a sheep or goat, called *Ganoni Mari* was paid by each household every alternate year. This could be commuted at the will of the payer for the sum of two shillings yearly. A tax called *Nyoori Shairi* of four shillings a year was paid by each water mill, which was, however, exempted from payment the first year after construction. For washing gold-dust, in which a considerable number of people in certain villages found employment during the winter, a fixed tax of fifty-five pounds sterling called *Rai-Dilki* was paid yearly. In the Autumn, a grape tax called *Jacha Toni* was levied in kind on every vine according to its size, and when the wine making began, a certain number of measure of grape juice, called *Rakhoo* were also paid to the *Raja*. A money tax of sixteen shillings called *Gare Toloo* was levied on each marriage, for which the bridegroom was liable. Every weaver's house furnished eight yards of cotton cloth to the *Raja*, which was called *Buyetcho Patchi*. Silk also, which was produced by nearly every household, paid a tax called *Choosh Purtai* which consisted of as many cocoons as the *Charboo* could grasp in one hand, out of the heap collected by each family. Four villages, where silk was not produced paid a commutation of one flat sheep, valued at eight shillings, which was called *Chooshi Mari* per village."¹

Besides these, a curious tax, called a *Chaette Goa* was paid by the villages of Burmees, Khomer and Naupur only, which consisted of all the milk and butter produced by one cow from each house in those villages between the *Ganoni* and *Chili* festivals, that is, from the middle of May to the end of October. These three villages also gave the *Raja* one small kid yearly from each house. This impost was called *Cheloo*. No reason is assigned for the origin of these peculiar taxes, which are said to have been instituted by Queen Jowari. No *Shin* ruler would

1. Biddulph, *Tribes of Hindu Kush*, p. 41.

have received cow's milk. Another local tax called *Sategi* was paid by the village of Bagrot. This tax originated when during the reign of Queen Jowari, her child son, Habbi Khan visited the village and on that occasion, the village community made him a grant of a piece of land. It was, however, found inconvenient to cultivate it under the same system as the other crown lands. So, it was afterwards resumed by the village on an agreement to pay a tax of thirteen *taraks* of wheat, equal to five and a half quarters yearly.

Every trader, who entered the country paid a duty called *Masool* of one roll of cloth out of each load, or two per cent of live stock or the equivalent in other goods. At the time of sheep slaughtering, one hind quarter was furnished by each house, out of which a certain number went to the minor officials and the head, and hind quarters of all slaughtered was the prerequisite of the *Raja*. Money payments were made in gold-dust, which is still used as a circulating medium. An amount of the value of eight shilling is called *Baghaloo*. The *Yerfah* or ruler's steward was responsible for the collection of the land revenue but special men called *Burro* were appointed to collect the other dues.¹

In addition to these sources of revenue, the *Raja* owned tracts of land in each of the larger villages, the cultivation of which was managed by the *Yerfah*. In each of the villages, a certain number of families called *Wairetche* were responsible for the ploughing, sowing and irrigation of the crown lands, under the management of the *Yerfah*, in return for which, they were exempted from all other payments. The harvesting and winnowing were done by the whole village, who combined on certain days for the purpose. The *Wairetche* of the Gilgit who numbered twenty families as against six or seven in other villages, were also bound to furnish a load of wood from each family, daily during the winter, for the use of the ruler and one load of torchwood a year.

Cooks for the Rulers

Certain families in Gilgit also held the hereditary office of

1. *Ibid.*

cooks to the *Raja*, for which they were exempted from all taxes. There are still four families, who claim that their ancestors cooked for Shiri Buddut, and who take no part in the talent festival, which celebrates his death but shut themselves up in their houses, and regard it as a time of mourning. These are apart from several other families of hereditary cooks to the later rulers of Gilgit.

Administration

The country was divided into districts, each under a *Wazir*, who was responsible to the *Raja*. The *Wazirs* were obliged to be of good family and were chosen only from the elite and high sections of the society. The office was not hereditary but was held for life. On the appointment of the *Wazir*, three pieces of land were taken from among the peasants' holding and assigned to him in addition to his own family possessions. Four families were appointed to manage the whole cultivation of his land and furnish him with all dues of personal service to the *Raja*. The *Wazir* was responsible for the peace and welfare of his district. When the population was called to arms, the *Wazir* had the right of releasing one man in each fortified village from military service in return for which he received from the man so released, 3 *baghaloos* of gold dust. If however, the expedition returned without having fought, only half the fee was paid. On the occasion of a marriage taking place, a cake of leavened bread was sent to the *Wazir* of the region by the father of the bride.

The Trangfah

In each village, the *Trangfah* was appointed by the *Raja*. He acted under the orders of the *Wazir* within his own limits. During war, he had the right to release three men of his village from military service, from whom he received the same dues as the *Wazir*. He also received a fee of three shillings on each marriage taking place in his village. Further, he had three families assigned to him for service, who were exempt from all other tax or service. He further received sixteen yards of cotton cloth yearly from the village weavers. He was especially charged with the management and preservation of the irrigation

arrangements. The dues paid to all the officials were called *Luspil*.

The Yerfah

Next in rank to the *Trangfah*, but with totally different duties, was the *Yerfah*, who had charge of all private lands of the ruler. He was responsible for everything connected with the cultivation of the crown lands, in each district and received six *kharwars* of grain out of each crop. Four families in Gilgit and one each in the outlying villages, in which the ruler owned lands were assigned to him as his dues. It was their duty to furnish him each with a yoke of oxen for ploughing his own lands

The Charboo

The *Charboo* acted as an assistant to the *Trangfah* in each village. He was exempted from all taxes and two of the ruler's fees on marriage a year. It was part of his duty to collect the *Gare Toloo* tax. He also received a certain amount of meat as tribute. To help him in his work, he was allowed four men called *zeytoo*, who only served for a year as his peons and paid by an impost of a small quantity of grain from each house. It has been suggested that these names of the officials are of Tartar origin. None of them now exists in Baltistan except the *Wazir* and the *Trangfah*. Justice was administered by the *Wazirs* in their respective districts. Cases relating to the disputes about land were generally settled by a fine of cattle or sheep or gold dust. Any case involving a larger fine than one *baghaloo* of gold dust was heard by the *Raja*. Serious crimes, such as murder or treason, were punished by the destruction of the whole family of the offender. His house was razed to the ground and all his relations were reduced to slavery and sold or distributed, according to the will of the ruler.

Ancient Rulers

Nothing is known about the ancient rulers of Gilgit and its surrounding areas. Historically speaking, Agortham ruled over Gilgit in about 700 A.D. According to a tradition, he was killed by Abodgamo, who became the ruler of Gilgit in about 750

A.D. He assumed the name of Shah Rais. He was succeeded by his son, Sherri Begotham in 800 A.D. Nothing is known about him except that he was a Buddhist. Bidat, who came to power in about 1080 A.D. patronised Buddhism and got built many *viharas* in his kingdom. He built a big monastery near the capital town of Gilgit and installed statues in it. He also got built many *viharas* at Punial and Yasin and decorated these with idols. Remains of his magnificent palace at Gilgit are found even at present near the mountain. Numerous Buddhist relics of his time are found in the region but no systematic archaeological excavations have been conducted to unearth these relics and antiquities.

Shamsheer Khan

During this period, Azar Khan of Skardu invaded Gilgit and Sherri Bidat fell in the battle field. Shamsheer Khan, the eldest son of Azar Khan became the ruler of Gilgit. Thus, the *Tarakhani* line of rulers became masters of Gilgit, Hunza Nagar and the adjoining areas. Shamsheer Khan came to power in about 1120 and ruled upto 1160 A.D. It was during his reign that Islam was introduced in the region by the great *Syeds*. In the first instance, the poorer sections of the society known as the *Dooms* the *Kamins* and the *Yashkuns* accepted Islam, because they had suffered both economically and politically during the previous reigns. Shamsheer subjugated Punial, Yasin and Chitral and organised his kingdom on sound lines. He was a patron of Islam and had many mosques built in his realm.

Malik Khan

Malik Khan succeeded his father in 1160 A.D. He was brave, clever and wise. After consolidating his position on the throne, he invaded Darel and conquered it. He extended his kingdom further by the conquest of Astor. He was succeeded by his son, Khan in 1205 A.D. but nothing is known about his achievements. Tartar Khan, the next king, ascended the throne in 1245 A.D. He married a princess of Darel, who poisoned him and became the ruler of Gilgit herself. The rule of the *Tarakhani* dynasty came to an end in about 1335 A.D. when

Taj Mughal of Badakshan invaded Gilgit and conquered it.

Taj Mughal

In honour of his victory, Taj Mughal built a magnificent tower at Gilgit, known as the Mughlai Buruj, which stands to the present day. He introduced the *Ismailia* doctrines in the region, which is known as the *Maulai* sect now. After having conquered the State of Hunza, he introduced the *Ismailia* doctrines there also. After having crossed the Pamirs, he proceeded to Kashgar.

So Malik

So Malik became the ruler of Gilgit in 1335 A.D. During his reign, Taj Mughal again invaded Gilgit. So Malik having collected a large force faced the invader and defeated him. But the Mughal soldiers captured him and took him to Badakshan alongwith them. After two years of captivity, he fled from the Mughal prison and reached his capital after much suffering.

Khasro Khan

Khasro Khan succeeded his father in 1390 A.D. During his reign, the States Yasin and Chitral became independent and his kingdom extended to Gilgit and Punial only. Hunza and Nagar also went out of his hands.

Haider Khan

Haider Khan who came to power in 1435 A.D. was a weak ruler, who could not regain the States of Chitral, Yasin, Hunza and Nagar.

Chalis Khan

The next ruler, Chalis Khan was also a coward and ruled over Gilgit from 1480 to 1515 A.D. He was succeeded by Noor Khan, who died in 1565 A.D. The next ruler, Mirza Khan introduced the *Shia* doctrines in his kingdom. He invaded the State of Chitral and subdued its ruler. He passed away in 1600 A.D.

Ali Sher Khan

Ali Sher Khan became the ruler of Gilgit in the year 1600 A.D. He was murdered by his own minister, Resho Wazir, who usurped the throne for himself in 1635 A.D. But, after having ruled over Gilgit for nearly twelve years, he was killed by the people, who offered the throne to the queen Jowari.

Queen Jowari

She assumed the rulership of Gilgit in the name of her son, Habib Khan in the year 1650 A.D. Shah Murad of Skardu invaded Gilgit and killed Habib Khan. But the queen managed to recover her sovereignty and placed her grandson, Gori Tham on the throne of Gilgit in 1670 A.D. He passed away in the year 1700 A.D. and after his death the rulership of Gilgit was shared by the *Rajas* of Hunza, Nagar, Yasin and Skardu at different intervals.

Gori Tham

Gori Tham II, came to power in 1790 A.D. During his reign, Sulaiman Shah, the prince of Yasin came to his court and got an appointment there. One day, having got an opportunity, he murdered the *Raja* and fled towards Yasin.

Mohammad Khan

Mohammad Khan became the ruler of Gilgit in 1812 A.D. During his reign, Sulaiman Shah invaded Gilgit but suffered a crushing defeat. Mohammad Khan, who wanted to avenge the murder of his father, killed many soldiers of the enemy but could not capture Sulaiman Shah, who fled away towards Yasin. Next year Sulaiman Shah led another attack on Gilgit and defeated Mohammad Khan.

Sulaiman Shah

Sulaiman Shah, the ruler of Yasin also became the ruler of Gilgit in the year 1823 A.D. During his reign, Azat Khan, the *Raja* of Panial led an attack on Gilgit and defeated its ruler. After having killed Sulaiman Shah, he became the ruler of Gilgit in 1828 A.D. But, in the meanwhile, Tahir Khan, the

Raja of Nagar, attacked Gilgit and after having killed Azat Khan, became its ruler. He continued till 1837 A.D.

Shah Sikander

Shah Sikander came to the throne of Gilgit after the death of his father. He had hardly ruled for three years, when Gohar Aman invaded Gilgit with a huge army. After a fierce battle, he defeated Shah Sikander, who was murdered. Gohar Aman, thus became the last independent ruler of Gilgit in the year 1841 A.D.

Under the Sikhs

Gilgit, the Gibraltar on land, is the strategic point in the geography of Kashmir, where the three empires of China, Russia and England met in the 19th century. Before the region passed into the hands of the Sikhs, Gilgit was ruled over by its own *Rajas*. With the advent of the Sikhs into Kashmir, a new chapter was opened in the history of Gilgit. The *Raja* of Yasin, Gohar Aman, invaded Gilgit in 1840 A.D. and killed its ruler, *Raja* Shah Sikander. His brother, Karim Khan sent an agent to the Governor of Kashmir, imploring aid. Thus Gilgit was occupied in 1842 A.D. by Syed Nathe Shah, the commander of Sheikh Ghulam Mohi-ud-din, the Governor of the Sikhs in Kashmir. When Syed Nathe Shah defeated Gohar Aman, he made him agree to let the Sikh regiment hold Gilgit. Gohar Aman gave his daughter in marriage to him. This was followed by a similar step being taken by the *Rajas* of Hunza and Nagar, the allies of Gohar Aman, who also gave their daughters in marriage to Syed Nathe Shah. Karim Khan was made the titular *Raja* of Gilgit in the name of the Sikh Government. But Gohar Aman again raised the banner of struggle against the foreign intruders. Syed Nazar Shah succeeded Syed Nathe Shah, at the time when the British had succeeded in defeating the Sikhs in the Anglo-Sikh war of 1845-46 A.D. *Raja* Gulab Singh of Jammu, who had been installed as the Prime Minister of the Punjab State, was in secret liaison with the British, who entered into negotiations with him. The two treaties negotiated by him, resulted in the dismemberment of the Punjab State and handing over of all the

hilly or mountainous country to him with its dependencies, situated to the east of the river Indus, and to the west of the river Ravi.¹

After having suppressed the rebellion of the Kashmiris with the help of the British regiments, *Raja* Gulab Singh occupied Kashmir in October 1846.

With the conclusion of the Treaty of Amritsar in 1846, the British encouraged Gulab Singh to extend his political influence in the areas around Gilgit so as to secure a safe buffer state between Russia and British India.

1. The Treaty of Lahore, 1848.
The Treaty of Amritsar 16 March 1846.

DOGRA INVASION

"Gulab Singh had no right;
Legal or moral;
Over Ladakh or Baltistan;
What to speak of Gilgit!"

—Gilgit Memorandum.

After having consolidated his position in Kashmir, Gulab Singh deputed his troops for the subjugation of Gilgit, which had risen against the foreigners under the leadership of Gohar Aman.¹ All attempts to subdue these freedom loving tribes failed and the Dogra forces were completely annihilated. The Maharaja made frantic appeals to the British for help, who advised him to despatch more troops to Gilgit, and fortify it with arms, ammunition and provisions.² The main reason for the failure of the Dogra troops to subdue these hilly tribes in 1848 was that the Maharaja's Government had not settled down and the British were themselves engaged in consolidating their position in the cis-Sutluj States. Further, the chiefs of Hunza and Darel had joined hands with Gohar Aman and it was not possible to defeat the united forces of the hilly chiefs.³

Gulab Singh collected a huge force in 1851 and deputed it for the conquest of Chilas under the command of Dewan Hari Chand. The men and the women of Chilas fought the invader

1. Naba Shah, *Wajiz-ul-Tawarikh*, p. 196 (R & P.D.)

2. Henry Montgomery to Gulab Singh, January 13, 1848.

3. Hashmat Ullah Khan, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, p. 783.

and a substantial portion of the enemy was killed in various battles. But the Dogras held on to their pickets and succeeded in capturing the Chilas fort after many hardships. In the meantime, Gohar Aman led an attack on the Dogra reinforcements, which were advancing towards Gilgit under the command of Bhoop Singh. These forces were cut to pieces.

Bhoop Singh died in the battlefield and the remaining soldiers submitted. Accordingly, the Dard people, once again, succeeded in saving their independence and their territories. During the lifetime of Gohar Aman, the Dogra Maharaja did not dare to attack Dardistan and had to wait for 8 years.¹

Capture of Gilgit

After making ample preparations, and equipping his army with arms, ammunition and provisions, Ranbir Singh deputed a huge force for the conquest of Gilgit in 1860. Gohar Aman had died and there was no able leader to combine the strength of the tribal chiefs against the invader. As such Devi Singh, the Dogra commander had no difficulty in capturing the fort of Gilgit. Using it as a base, he proceeded to Yasin and carved out the buffer State of Punial between Gilgit and Yasin and nominated Isa Bhadar as its ruler. Thus a faithful feudatory was planted right within the tribal territory. This policy proved fruitful to the *Maharaja*, who succeeded in purchasing a traitor from the war-like tribes to fight his own kith and kin. The whole of Dardistan lay divided at the mercy of the Dogras. They planted another traitor Ali Dad Khan as the *Raja* of Gilgit and invaded Yasin. Malik Aman, the son of the deceased leader, Gohar Aman, fled to Chitral and Yasin was placed under the Governorship of Mehar Wali. Beneath the apparent calm, that prevailed after the subjugation of Gilgit, Chilas, and Yasin, a strong current of opposition to the foreign rule emerged again and again. The people though subdued expressed their resentment, whenever an opportunity offered itself to them. They resorted to guerrilla tactics under the leadership of Malik Aman. They inflicted heavy losses on the

1. Hashmat-ullah Khan, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, p. 792.

Dogra forces in Yasin, which had carried a general massacre of men, women and children in the fort of Yasin.¹ However, occasional outbreaks of open hostility continued to occur in the border areas. Taking advantage of rivalry between the people of Hunza and the people of Nagar, the Dogra forces led an attack on Hunza in 1866 but had to run away with disgrace. The people of Dardistan once again united to throw off the foreign yoke. Malik Aman, having received aid from Chitral, proceeded to take over Gilgit but succeeded only in occupying the left bank of the river Gilgit. The tribals, however, succeeded in capturing many forts in Punial. The whole border again engulfed itself into turmoil and disorder. The Dogras succeeded in capturing a few women and children who were brought to Srinagar as prisoners of war.²

In 1866, the Viceroy enquired into the causes of strife and turmoil in Gilgit, from Dewan Nihal Chand, the *Motamid* of Ranbir Singh. The Dewan told him that "it was in the nature of the Muslim tribesmen to break into violence occasionally due to their shortsightedness." According to the Dewan the Viceroy advised that at least 500 families of the Rajputs and other Hindus be planted in Gilgit and they be given all facilities for settlement, such as, land and jagirs, so that they and their successors could become the masters of the area and ensure peace in the region.³ The *Maharaja*, who wanted to punish the tribals decided to depute a huge force to Gilgit under the command of an experienced soldier, Zorawar. Having equipped this army with arms and ammunition, numerous Kashmiris were captured to work as coolies.⁴ In September 1866, Zorawar led an attack on the valley of Darel. Malik Aman, the leader of the tribesmen got it evacuated before the invasion and most of the inhabitants fled towards the mountains. As the snow had fallen, the Dogra forces could achieve nothing and many of them died due to scarcity of rations.⁵

1. Hashmat-ullak Khan, *Tarikh-i-Jammu* p. 793.

2. Hassan Shah, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, p. 577.

3. File No. 347 of 1923 Samvat (P.R.K.G.R.)

4. Hassan Shah, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, (Urdu) p. 578.

5. File No. 345 of 1923 Samvat (P.R.) K.G.R.

Most of the Kashmiri coolies, who had been captured for forced labour, as well as other captives died on the way.¹ Many suffered frost bites and got blind due to snow. Ranbir Singh achieved nothing, out of this misadventure.

Yasin

Next year, the people of Yasin again attacked Puniál which was serving as a base for the traitors under Isa Bhádur. They could achieve nothing except occasional loot and spoil. In the later half of 1859, both Russia and China had exchanged views on the possibility of deputing a secret mission to India to conclude an alliance against the British.² Hence the British Government in India became anxious about the frontiers of India and posted a British officer at Leh, in the north of Kashmir, to keep an eye on the imperial interests in Kashmir as well as in Turkistan.³ In the year 1869, the British Government deputed George Hayward to the Pamirs for reconnaissance purposes. He went to Yarkand to obtain permission of the authorities there, but had to return without success. But in 1870, he made his plans to enter the Pamirs through Yasin. After reaching Gilgit, he applied for permission and sent presents to Mir Wali, the *Raja* of Yasin. After having been invited, he remained at his court for 3 months. Mir Wali of Yasin wanted to free Gilgit from the yoke of the Dogras and establish direct political relations with the British. He asked Hayward to plead his case before the Viceroy. Accordingly, Hayward presented himself before the Viceroy but the British Government refused to establish any relations with Mir Wali. As such, Hayward returned to Yasin and reported his failure to Mir Wali, who got him killed alongwith his attendants near Darkot.

Gilgit Memorandum

One cannot but admire the love of independence, which the people of Gilgit, Chilas, Yasin and Ishkoman, together with

1. Hassan Shah, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, p. 578.
2. *Rebellion 1857*.
3. *The Times*, London, 20 September, 1867.

Chitral, showed again and again for keeping their motherland free from the onslaughts of the foreigners. They had never known a foreign master and as such, bravely fought the joint forces of the *Maharaja* and the British Government in India, whenever the opportunity came to them. They had refused to allow any outsider, to consolidate his position on their soil but at last, they were forced to submit. As far as the Treaty of Amritsar was concerned, Gulab Singh had been given possession of the country, situated eastward of the river Indus.¹ As such Gilgit, Hunza, Nagar and Darel and other hilly country situated on the westward of the river could not be deemed to come under the domain of the *Maharaja*. Even so, both Gulab Singh and Ranbir Singh took advantage of the troublous situation in which the British found themselves after the uprising of 1857. But, when the British had become free from their preoccupations, they turned their attention towards Gilgit. In order to remain fully informed about the Russian moves, the British, in 1868, selected Gilgit as a watchtower and posted a British Officer there.² The posting of such officers continued with intervals till 1935 when *Maharaja* Hari Singh was forced to lease out the region to them, under an agreement. The above would reveal the interest which, the British Government in India attached to Gilgit and the territories surrounding it. Arthur Neve, who remained in Kashmir for many years, wrote the following about Gilgit :

“To the Englishmen, the word Gilgit should recall the many gallant deeds of the nineties — the capture of Hunza, the relief of Chitral and the Pamir commission. During the last half century Kashmir is the only Indian native State that has increased in areas. And increase was not desired but was forced upon the Imperial Government by the advancing power of the Russian Empire and the intrigues of its frontier officers.”³

Curzon, the Viceroy of British India from 1899 to 1905

1. Article I, *The Treaty of Amritsar*, 1846 A.D.
2. File No. 1/C F-2 of 1868 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
3. Arthur Neve, *Thirty Years in Kashmir*.

expressed the same sentiments as under :

"It was a fortunate day when the mis-government of the Kashmir State and contemporary events in the Central Asia compelled the Indian Government to look more closely into and eventually to make itself responsible for the border defences of Kashmir. In 1878, the first British Agent or Political officer was appointed to reside at Gilgit. In one of the customary waves of political reaction, he was presently withdrawn. But the intrigues of Russians in most chauvanistic temper, on and beyond the outer frontier, compelled the Indian Government to reconsider its decision and the post was revived and made permanent in 1889. Simultaneously the duty of providing the frontier garrisons was withdrawn from the Kashmir Durbar, and was entrusted to the newly constituted Kashmir Imperial Service Troops, commanded by British Officers, in whose hands it has ever since remained. Thus it was that almost unwillingly to start with, as is the way with British Government, but not too soon, Great Britain made herself accountable for adequate defence of what are the natural boundaries, not of a feudatory state, but of the Indian Empire itself, and assumed a task which has ever since been not with local, but with an imperial significance."¹

From the above, it transpires that the British considered the frontiers of Kashmir as their own frontiers and the whole territory acquired by Gulab Singh and Ranbir Singh as their own.

The British had felt the murder of Hayward deeply and they decided to avenge it fully at the proper time. Drew was sent with presents to Gilgit for Mir Wali, just after a few months after the incident. He succeeded in obtaining the corpse of Hayward and got it buried at Gilgit. Later, Biddulph was sent to Gilgit to survey the region for a future onslaught. Having made full preparations, the British deputed Durand to complete the mission in 1888. Gilgit is surrounded by lofty mountains and it was a meeting point of Afghanistan, Russia,

1. Curzon, *Leaves from a Viceroy's Note Book and other papers*, pp. 160-161.

China and India during the period under review. In the words of Curzon :

"It is one of the northern gates of India through which a would-be invader must advance, if he advances at all. Gilgit occupies a strategic place and the Indian Government, harassed by Russia's growing restlessness in Central Asia, knew it for the key of great northern gateway into India; a key worth holding even at some cost in toil, money and valuable though less—human lives."

In the year 1847, the British Government, deputed Vans Agnew and Young to Gilgit to obtain information about the frontier regions.¹ But due to the opposition of the Mir of Hunza, they had to return without any success. The *Raja* had declared that he will not allow the British into his territories.² According to him the British Government in India had transferred to Gulab Singh, the country situated to the eastward of the river Indus and westward of the river Ravi. It clearly revealed that Gulab Singh had no right to cross the Indus and aim at subjugating Gilgit and other territories. The same views were held by the people of Dardistan and are given as under :

"The *Maharaja* could not conquer Gilgit during the life time of Gohar Aman. Ladakh and Baltistan had been subdued on behalf of *Maharaja* Ranjit Singh in 1833. Gulab Singh had no right, legal or moral over Ladakh and Baltistan. What to speak of Gilgit : The British Government had given him all lands and hills between western side of the river Ravi and eastern side of the river Indus. As such, he had no right to change his boundaries, more so, to cross the river Indus and occupy each and every area on the river, including Hunza and Nagar."³

Raja Gohar Aman in alliance with the *Rajas* of Nagar and other States besieged the Gilgit fort. Sant Singh, the *Thanadar*

1. Political Diaries, Vol. IV, p. 275, P.G.R.

2. Hashmat Ullah Khan, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, p. 783.

3. File No. 1154 (P.R.) K.G.R.

of the fort was murdered with the result, that Gilgit was again freed from the hands of the Dogras. But, it was again recovered by Ranbir Singh after a few years of his accession to the throne. From the State Archives, we find that peace was again secured in the frontier by exemption of the revenues, by grant of subsidies, rewards, annuities, pardons, etc., so much so, that most of the Chiefs made peace without any further disturbance. But Yasin did not come around and we find that not long after, the Chief of Yasin was defeated. The trouble did not cease here but the hostilities continued long after and late into the seventies of the nineteenth century. Later developments did not augur well and we find the son of Gaur Rehman, in one way or the other, causing anxiety to the *Maharaja*. In the words of Fredric Drew, the States of Chitral, Mastuj and Yasin became bound up together; the relation of all these to the *Maharaja's* officers at Gilgit consisted, in keeping and being kept at arm's length. As a rule, the agents of the Dogra *Maharajas* always avoided entering the other territories. Only some messengers from Yasin and Chitral used to come to Gilgit, knowing they need have no fear for their safety and hoping also to carry away some present worth having, in return for the smooth messages they delivered. But by and by, this state of affairs greatly improved and by the sixties, circumstances had totally changed and treaties were concluded with nearly all the Chiefs, one after another.

Relations With Nagar

Since about 1867 the State of Nagar is said to have paid a small tribute, to the *Maharaja* of Kashmir, receiving in return a present of larger value. Here is a translation of an undertaking in Persian given by the representatives of Nagar in 1870 A.D. :

- "i) We undertake to confer with Ghazan Khan, the *Raja* of Hunza that his son, as also the son of his *Wazir* should remain in attendance on the *Maharaja* of Kashmir and in case he does not agree, we shall send our forces against him.
- ii) If any *Motabar* of Hunza comes for secret work into

- our State, we shall kill him.
- iii) We shall ask *Raja Ghazan Khan* to hand over the forts of *Chaprot*, and *Nomal*; if he agrees well and good; if not, we shall march against him and take their possession by fighting out.
 - iv) That one of us four, *Shah Murad*, *Mohammad Shah*, *Mirza* and *Nadlu* will always remain in attendance at *Gilgit* turn by turn.
 - v) Intercourse between the *Gilgit* and the *Nagar* subjects of the *Maharaja* and others will continue. If any loss occurs, we shall be held responsible.
 - vi) One real son of the *Raja* of *Nagar* and one son of the *Wazir* will remain always in the service of the *Maharaja*.
 - vii) Friends of the *Maharaja* will be considered friends and his enemies, taken as enemies.
 - viii) In case, the *Maharaja* of *Kashmir* will demand any force, the same will be supplied without any hesitation, well equipped.
 - ix) That in return for the *Khilot* granted to *Raja Jafar Khan*, annually, the following *Nazrana* will be presented :

Horses = Two
 Gold = 21 Tolas
 Apricots = 5 loads"

In this connection, a letter from *Zafar Zahid*, son of *Raja Jaffar Khan* to the address of *Dewan Kirpa Ram*, the Prime Minister will be of interest :

"So long as there is breath in my body and head on my body, I shall not swerve from the sphere of your order. With your friends I shall cement friendship, your enemies I shall treat with vengeance and envy. In this work, I hold the *Maharaja* as my master and supporter and I believe he will think of my welfare, because I am always at his service and have just sent my tribute. The agreement which has been entered into and agreed by *Mirza*, *Shah Murad* and others is binding on me."

There is also a letter of August 1870 from him to the *Maharaja* saying that he had sent Wazir Shah with his two sons namely, Alidad Khan and Habib Khan and that the *Maharaja* was pleased to fix an allowance for Habib Khan and appointed Alidad Khan as the ruler of Gilgit. The letter referred to above is acknowledgement of an order of the *Maharaja*, in which the above proposals are embodied.

Relations with Hunza

The war-like State of Hunza had often been hostile to the *Maharaja* of Kashmir and had often made attacks on Gilgit, either in combination with Yasin or with some other State and given much trouble. But Ranbir Singh quelled the outbursts of tribal hostility and affected peace with the *Raja* of Hunza. There is a copy of an agreement of August 1870 A.D. on behalf of the *Raja* of Hunza to the following effect :

“By the Holy Quran.....

I am *Raja* Ghazan Khan son of *Raja* Ghazanfar Khan and grandson of the late *Raja* Saleem Khan of Hunza.

Whereas my father late Ghazanfar Khan remained under the control of Kashmir from a long time, especially the deceased *Raja* was obedient to the *Maharaja*, I also agree to remain obedient and present the tribute in the same manner. Hence, I on my own accord, without force or pressure, depute my *motabir*, *Wazir* Fazal Khan and accept the following terms :

1. The following *Nazrana* will be paid by me to the *Maharaja* annually :

- | | | |
|------------|---|----------|
| i) Gold | = | 12 tolas |
| ii) Horses | = | 2 |

In return, a *Khilat—Fakhira* and 2000 *Srinagari* coins will be granted to me and also a *Khilat* to my *Wazir*.

2. The revenue of Chaprot, that has been fixed from older times, will be paid annually at Gilgit.
3. One *Motabir* of mine will always remain present in Gilgit and he will be paid thirty rupees per month by

- the State and one *Motamid* will yearly present to the *Maharaja* the annual Nazrana.
4. The friends of the *Maharaja* will be my friends and his enemies will be my enemies.
 5. If a force be required in Gilgit, I shall place my troops at the disposal of the *Maharaja* for service and I shall not spare any effort in doing the service.

As this agreement has been written, after swearing the Holy Quran, no change whatsoever will take place on my part.

Signed
Fazal Khan

There is a letter from Raja Ghazan Khan of 1872 acknowledging the receipt of previous years' *Khillat* of 12 *thans*, for himself, 4 *thans* and one *choga* for his son, 4 *thans* and one *Choga* for his *Wazir* and rupees 2000 in cash. The letter demands payment of an allowance for the *Wazir* and asks for the services of a *Munshi* on the analogy of Chilas and Gor. It winds up with respects and expressions of loyalty from Fateh Ali Shah, and *Munshi* Yar Mohammad Khan, adding further that he, *Raja* Ghazan Khan and Fateh Ali Shah would show to the *Maharaja*, how they were prepared to render their services in regard to Yarkand, which they had taken upon themselves.

There is another letter from Fateh Ali Shah of Wakhan, saying that "there is no difference between him and the *Raja* of Hunza; that they both are united in rendering service; that he has a wish, in accordance with the pleasure of *Raja* Ghazan Khan, to be obedient; that he would keep the *Maharaja* informed of affairs of all districts; that he sends two horses through his man, Mohammad Shafi and that whatever Mohammad Shafi verbally submits be relied upon."

Joint Effort

In 1886 Ghazan Khan, the *Mir* of Hunza, was murdered by one of his sons, Safdar Ali. In order to obtain support of a powerful master, he, after his accession to the throne, professed his submission to the *Maharaja* of Kashmir. In 1888

however, both Hunza and Nagar joined hands and succeeded in ejecting the Dogra garrison from Chaprot and Chalt. The tribals even threatened Gilgit and this could neither be tolerated by the *Maharaja* nor by the British. Finally, however, in August of the same year, Chaprot and Chalt were re-occupied by the British Imperial Troops.

On the re-establishment of the British Agency at Gilgit in 1889, the British Political Agent, Durand visited Hunza and Nagar, and the Chiefs bound themselves to work under his advice and to permit, free passage to the officers deputed to visit their regions and to put an end to the raids on the Yarkand and other trade routes. Both the Chiefs felt that they had obtained the support of the bigger master. The then British Government of India sanctioned for the Chiefs, yearly subsidies of rupees 2000 each in addition to those already paid by the *Maharaja*. Shortly afterwards in October, 1889, an increase of Rupees 500 a year was granted to the *Raja* of Hunza, conditional on his good behaviour. Both the Chiefs were under the impression that they were now free from the clutches of the *Maharaja* but they understood it later that to be under the British or the *Maharaja* amounted to the same thing. Thus they began to show signs of disobedience. They again combined to fight for their independence and a combined force from Hunza and Nagar threatened the Chalt fort, but had to disperse on the arrival of re-inforcements of the British.

In November 1891, the Chiefs were informed that it was necessary to make roads to Chalt and on into their regions. They refused to agree, insulted the British Agent's messenger and assembled their tribesmen in strong positions, blocking the tracks leading into their valleys. Their positions, however, were destroyed after sharp fighting, and the States of Nagar and Hunza were occupied by the British and the State forces.

Raja Zafar Zahid Khan of Nagar, who had been acting under the ascendancy of his turbulent eldest son, Uzr Khan, submitted at once. *Raja* Safdar Ali Khan of Hunza and his *Wazir*, Dadu, fled to the Chinese Turkistan. *Raja* Uzr Khan of Nagar was deported to Kashmir where he died as a prisoner.¹

1. The descendants of *Raja* Uzr Khan continue to live near Hari Parbat Fort, Srinagar even at present.

The subsidies paid to both the Chiefs by the British and by the *Maharaja* were withdrawn. A military force was maintained in Hunza and a Political Officer was left there to supervise the affairs of the region. This arrangement continued till 1897 when the garrison was replaced by the Hunza and Nagar levies and the permanent Political Officer withdrawn. On the 15th of September 1892 *Raja* Mohammad Khan, a half brother of *Raja* Safdar Ali Khan was formally installed as the *Mir* of Hunza by the British Agent in the presence of the two Chinese envoys who attended the *Darbar* as honoured guests of the Government of India. *Raja* Zafar Zahid Khan was reinstated by the *Maharaja*, with the approval of the Government of India, as the *Raja* of Nagar. At the commencement of 1895, subsidies, amounting to rupees 4,000 each were renewed to the *Mirs*, half being paid by the Jammu and Kashmir State.

British Allies

In the same year, both the Chiefs loyally assisted in the operations for the relief of the British garrison in Chitral and were suitably rewarded.

Raja Mohammad Nazim Khan of Hunza and *Raja* Sikandar Khan of Nagar attended the coronation *Darbar* at Delhi on the 1st Jan. 1903, on which date they were both made companions of the Indian Empire. This clearly shows that the British Government in India had encouraged these tribal Chiefs to assume independent postures in their relations with the Kashmir *Darbar*. They had, by then attained a higher status directly under British protection.

In 1904 *Raja* Zafar Zahid Khan of Nagar, who had long been bed-ridden, died and was succeeded by his son, Sikandar Khan. The latter was formally installed as *Raja* of Nagar in June 1905 by the British Political Agent.

The *Mir* of Hunza, in view of his claim to Raskam and the Taghdumbash districts which were situated to the north of Hindukush watershed, was permitted by the British to continue to keep up an exchange of presents with the Chinese authorities in Kashgar. As regards Raskam, the Chinese authorities also acknowledged in writing, the right of Hunza to cultivate the tract, started in the past by a small contingent of the

Hunza people. Eventually, however, the settlers were compelled by the Chinese to leave. But since 1896, the local Chinese authorities had, permitted the *Mir* of Hunza to take small tribute from the graziers, who would resort to the Taghdumbash Pamir during summer. As regards the political status, both the States of Hunza and Nagar were autonomous but both acknowledged the suzerainty of the *Maharaja* of Kashmir to whom they paid tributes. Both the *Rajas* furnished a quota of levies for the defence of the frontier and these received their pay from Kashmir. Afterwards, the British armed them with carbines presented by the British Government of India.

Relations with Chilas

The Chilas were known for making raids on their neighbours and we are told that until about 1850, they used to make occasional expeditions for plunder into the Astor valley. It was these raids that determined Gulab Singh to send a punitive expedition in 1851-52 against them. The expedition had the effect of frightening the Chilas into submission. Although, we do not find substantial signs of submission until as late as 1869, they seemed to have been subdued and a treaty made with their Chiefs, by which they agreed to send messengers or envoys to the *Maharaja's* court, with yearly tributes and hostages, of whom a certain number used to remain in Kashmir until after a year or so, when others would come in exchange.

In the Kashmir Archives, we find a letter from one of the *Jirghadars* of Chilas, *Munshi Abdulla* of 1870 to the effect that "till there is breath in them they, as promised, would not swerve by a hair breadth from the agreement; that as they live simply by tilling of soil, they had no means to personally present themselves to *Maharaja*, and apologise for their inability. Further the *Nazrana* and hostages sent by them to Srinagar through Laskhar Khan, via Sharda consist of the following :

- (i) Hostages———their sons, five in number
 - (a) From Chilas = 3
 - (b) From Thaka = 2
- (ii) Gold———three tolas
- (iii) Goats———90

The letter further indicated that they had not for one or two years past, received any command bearing the *Maharaja's* seal, which does not therefore, satisfy them and even if they are poor people, they still expect the *Maharaja's* benignity, and in the end, entrust themselves to his care. The letter is addressed to Dewan Kirpa Ram and another letter to the *Maharaja*.

Another letter of 1872 is also to the effect that the usual *Nazrana* consisting of 3 tolas of gold, 91 goats and 3 hostages was sent to Srinagar and asks for certain concessions from the *Maharaja* and ends with expressions of loyalty and faithfulness. There is one thing noticeable in this letter namely, that the *Jirghadarans* submit a report in regard to one, Malak Shah, who was said to have deserted for several years and then returned and went over to the *Amir* of Afghanistan. After securing help, he had marched against Aman-ul-Mulk, who on hearing of it, is said to have left and reached Yasin with 800 men.

After the conquest of Chilas by Gulab Singh in 1851, the Dogras imposed a tribute of gold dust upon the country and arranged for its administration as a part of the Gilgit district. In 1889, when the British Agency was again established in Gilgit, the group of States known as Chilas proper were included in the Agency, except Thor and it was stipulated that the Kashmir Governor of Gilgit should take no important action in dealing with these feudatories except on the British Agent's advice.

In October 1892, the Gor headman came into Gilgit and expressed the desire that a British Officer should visit their country. On the 2nd November, the Governor of Gilgit granted the people of Gor, a *Sanad* countersigned by the British Agent at Gilgit, promising among other things, that no revenue should ever be taken from them beyond the tribute, then paid by them. This was reaffirmed by the British Agent on the 13th December 1894. At the end of November 1892, George Robertson was despatched on a political mission to Gor. An attack on the mission by Chilas resulted in the occupation of their country by the British and the subsequent appointment of the Political Officer at Chilas. The autonomy of Chilas was however, guaranteed, while the right of Kashmir to construct roads and

post a limited number of troops in that territory was secured.

In 1897, the lands which had been taken from the Chilas, after the disturbances of 1893 were given back to them and the whole system of tribute paid by Chilas to the *Maharaja* was revised and a new scheme sanctioned. In accordance with this, the valleys were to pay small fixed sums to the *Maharaja*, the Khan of Astor being given a lumpsum of rupees forty as compensation for the tribute hitherto paid to him.

In the same year, a proposal to invest the Political Officer in Chilas with certain judicial powers was rejected; the policy which had been enunciated in 1896, being re-affirmed that the internal administration of the country belonged to the Chilasi headman.

Thor

In 1893, Thor was, at the request of its inhabitants, incorporated in Chilas. A *Sanad* was granted to the people and they were given service money provided by the State Government, in return for a yearly *Nazrana* of 12 male goats. Thor had, like Chilas been a tributary to Kashmir after the conquest of Chilas by the Dogras but they were lost sight of in the subsequent tribal arrangements. In April 1894, their valley was visited by Powell, the then Political Officer at Chilas, when the people swore loyalty to the British Government.

Gor as Tributary

Gor which was a sub-division of Chilas, also was tributary to Kashmir. The letter of Samad Munshi to the effect that the representative of Gor had made a request that the tribute which they used to pay alongwith Astor would be paid separately and that six men would be detailed to remain in service on the State Officer at Astor, turn by turn and so on. It makes also mention of the *Nazrana* paid by Bunar.

Chitral

The earliest records available show that since the year 1864, the *Mehtar* of Chitral, Aman-ul-Mulk used to send his *Nazrana* through his representatives, sometimes his brother, Makhmul Shah to the *Maharaja* of Kashmir. In 1876, the *Mehtar* appears

to have approached the *Maharaja*, with a view to seeking his protection against the threatening attitude of the *Amir* of Afghanistan. As a result, an agreement was made which may loosely be translated as follows :

“This agreement is made on behalf of myself and my children.

- (a) I hereby agree that I shall ever endeavour to obey and comply with orders of the *Maharaja* and consider his well-wishers as my friends and his enemies as my enemies and in recognition of sovereignty, pay the following *Nazrana* :
 - (i) Horses=3
 - (ii) Hawks=5
 - (iii) Hounds=5
- (b) One *Motabar* of the *Maharaja* will always remain at Kashgar and one in Yasin and, they will be duly honoured and respected. Similarly, one *Motabar* of mine will remain in the *Durbar* of the *Maharaja* and another on behalf of the *Hakim* of Yasin in Gilgit for execution of orders.
- (c) I shall receive a yearly subsidy of rupees 12,000 from the *Maharaja* in observance of the above conditions and if instead of the *Motabar*, any of my sons takes up the place, he will receive a separate allowance from the *Maharaja*.”

In 1885, Nizam-ul-Mulk, the eldest son of *Mehtar Amanul-Mulk* visited Jammu. He was treated as the State guest throughout till he went to Calcutta to wait on the Viceroy. On his return, he continued to be the State guest and at the time of his departure was granted *Rukhstana* of rupees 3,125 for himself, in addition to the *Khillats* granted to him and his family and dependants.

In 1886, at the request of the *Mehtar* of Chitral, a report writer was sent by the *Maharaja* to Chitral.

Darel

Darel used to pay an annual tribute of gold dust to the

State Government ever since 1866 when the Dogra troops raided the country. This tribute was paid through the Chief of Punial, a family which had influence in Darel, owing to the relative geographical positions of Darel and Punial and to the fact that all the Shinaki tribals regarded with much respect, a well born neighbour. For this reason, Tangir, though a republic like other Shinaki communities, always respected the Khushwaqt rulers of Yasin, who had established a right to interfere in Tangir due to their birth and to the exercise of their authority amongst Tangiris. The Governor of Yasin was not allowed to interfere in the internal affairs of the Tangiris but as the latter were permitted to graze flocks in Yasin, territory, he was allowed to exact a small yearly tribute.

The invasion of 1866 under Zorawar and Raj Singh resulted in the subjugation of the Darelis, with the result that they agreed to pay tributes to the *Maharaja*. There is a letter of 1869 from the informer of Punial to the effect that Darelis had paid the usual *Nazrana* of 4 tolas of gold.

The remaining communities had no political relations with either Kashmir or India except Jalkot. Thor is situated at the head of the Kaghan valley, and this had resulted in attacks on Thor and raids on travellers in the upper Kaghan, at various times, during the months of June to October, when the passes are open.

The communities in the Indus below the limits of the Shinaki republics, are known collectively as Kohistan. Their intercourse was confined to the Swat valley and to the Black mountain tribes.

Punial

Punial is the name given collectively to the six fort villages and their connected hamlets, which are situated in the valley of the Gilgit river, between Gilgit on the one side and the Khushwaqt districts of Kuh and Ishkoman on the other. The region was a bone of contention between the *Maharaja* and the Khushwaqt rulers of Chitral, Mastuj and Yasin. But finally, about the year 1860, it came into the possession of the Dogras. The *Maharaja* in turn for services rendered in wars, which finally established the Dogra rule on the right bank of the

Indus, conferred the region as a *jagir* on Isa Bahadur. The majority of the inhabitants are the *Shins* and the *Yashkuns*, of whom three-fourths, are the *Molais* and the rest are *Suni* Muslims.

On Isa Bahadur's death, his son, *Raja* Mohammad Akbar Khan, succeeded to the Chiefship, which was brought under the Gilgit Agency on its re-establishment in 1889. Since that time, the Chiefship continued as independent of the State Government. *Raja* Mohammad Akbar Khan had rendered treacherous services to the British during the Hunza-Nagar rebellion and the Chitral revolt. For these services, he was made Khan Bahadur in 1901. But in 1905, owing to his complicity in certain murders and his systematic efforts to conceal crime, he was deprived of his title of *Raja*, and was sent down to Kashmir as a prisoner for 10 years. During the minority of Mohammad Anwar Khan, the Chiefship was administered by *Raja* Shifat Bahadur, a half brother of *Raja* Mohammad Akbar Khan. His position was that of a Governor who was a paid official and he was expected to report all cases of serious crime to the Political Agent. He was not permitted to apply the revenue to his own private needs. Shifat Bahadur was granted an annual allowance of rupees 300 in 1902 by the British Government. Punial furnished a small quota of levies for the defence of the frontiers. The Governor, when recovering the annual tribute payable to the neighbouring independent State of Darel, was permitted to take a nominal tribute for himself.

Relations with Dir

A letter from *Raja* Mohammad Sharif Khan of Dir dated the 21st *Jamed-ul-Awel* 1303 A.H. about 1885 A.D. indicates that "it was hereditary in his house to be loyal and friendly with the State officials and such relations established of long, would remain permanent; that nearly all officers of India and Kabul were anxious to make friends with his house but, that he, who was firm in fidelity and obedience to the *Maharaja* did not establish friendly relations with any of them. In the previous year, the officers of the British Government had tried to personally see him promising him much money and arms but being a servant of the *Maharaja*, he did not care to see them without

permission." The *Raja* further requested the *Maharaja* to secretly enquire from the British and Kabul and let him know about his views so that he might act accordingly. The letter concluded with a mention of 3 horses, 4 hawks, 4 hounds and 2 guns sent by the hand of the *Motabar* for presentation to the *Maharaja*.

Yasin, Kuh Ghizar and Ishkoman

The Chiefships of Yasin, Iskoman and Ghizar formed a part of Chitral and are known as Khushwaqt country. As for Yasin we find, that it had established treaty relations with Kashmir during the middle of the nineteenth century. Letters of 1864 from Prem Singh of Astor and Dharam Singh of Gilgit, reveal that *Wazir* Rahmat of Yasin accompanied by the brother of the *Mehtar* of Chitral, had reached Gilgit and then left for Kashmir under a guard of two sepoy, with presents of horses, hawks, and dogs for the *Maharaja* and the elder *Dewan*. Such a procedure continued upto 1879 and there are orders of the *Maharaja*, which speak of either a grant or a reward to the nobles of Yasin. A letter to the address of Ram Kishen, *Wazir-i-Wazarat* of Gilgit, indicates that the grant of annual *Mukarrari* of Rs 2,700 in favour of Pahlwan of Bahadur of Yasin, was paid to him for the year 1878. Another letter of the same date is to the effect that Rs 1000 were granted in recognition of the services rendered by him to Biddulph during his visit to the frontier.¹

When the officer on Special Duty in Gilgit was appointed in 1877, all these districts were under the rule of the *Mehtar* Pahlwan Bahadur, a member of the Khushwaqt section of the Chitral ruling family. The *Mehtar* acknowledged the suzerainty of the *Maharaja*, from whom he received a subsidy. But he failed to keep to his commitments and in 1880, invaded Punial. The Chiefship of Yasin was occupied in his absence by Aman-ul-Mulk of Chitral and Pahlwan Bahadur having failed in his attack on Punial, fled from the country. Accordingly Aman-ul-Mulk was permitted by the *Maharaja* to incorporate the whole tract in his own territory, and with his consent, he

1. *Irshad*, dated 25th Baisaka, 1936, Samvat.

partitioned it. He gave Ghizar to Mohammad Wali, Yasin proper to Mir Aman and retained Mastuj for himself. After the fresh disturbances created by Pahlwan Bahadur in 1882 Aman-ul-Mulk, turned Mir Aman out of Yasin and put his son Afzal-ul-Mulk, in his place and the *Maharaja* acquiesced to this high-handedness.

In 1895, on the restoration of peace in Chitral, these and the Khushwaqt districts on the west of the Shandur range, the boundary between the Chitral and the Gilgit Agency, were severed from Chitral and were placed under the administration of Governors, who held the position, as paid officials, without any hereditary rights.

The revenue of the district was exacted by the Governors, but a certain proportion was credited to the State Government as a tribute. In 1906, Yasin, Kuh and Ghizar were incorporated into one district under the Mehtar Jao Abdur Rahman Khan, the eldest son of the late Pahlwan Bahadur. But these were again separated in about 1912 into two governorships of Yasin and Kuh Ghizar while Ishkoman were administered by a separate Governor.

The British Intervention

After the permanent establishment of the British Agency which takes us to the year 1889, we find that the relations, which the State had established with the *Rajas* and the Chiefs in the region, underwent a significant change. Even as early as 1870 when Biddulph was planted in Gilgit as the representative of the British, the *Wazir* of Gilgit was required to inform him of any communication, he sent to the outlying regions. The whole region seems to have been categorised as a political district and the control seems to have passed into the hands of the Political Agent. In 1889 the proposals submitted by the British Agent and communicated by the Residency were sanctioned by the *Maharaja*. The proposal might be summarised as below :

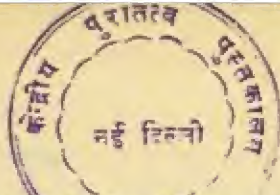
- (a) that *Wazir* Daud be granted an increase in allowance by rupees 300 per annum;
- (b) that *Raja* Safdar Ali Khan of Hunza had requested the

- British Agent that the yearly grant of rupees 270 which used to be given to the late Fazal Khan, the *Vakil* of Hunza, be granted to the son of the deceased.
- (c) that Raja Sikandar Khan of Nagar, the son of *Raja* Asgar Khan be permitted to marry the daughter of *Raja* Shifat Khan of Punial.
 - (d) that the *Raja* of Nagar was inconvenienced by the supply of free rations to the 50 sepoy of the Chaprot Fort and the British Agent made a proposal to the effect that the State should pay for it, which would amount to rupees 655 per annum.
 - (e) that the allowances granted to the *Wazirs* of Nagar be converted into the British coin.

In 1889, the Political Agent, in the Darbar held by him, granted on behalf of the Government of India, yearly subsidies of Rs 2,000 each to both the *Rajas* of Nagar and Hunza, in addition to those already paid by the *Maharaja*, on the condition that they bound themselves to accept the British control, to permit free passage to the British Officers deputed to visit their countries and to put an end to raids on the trade routes leading to Central Asia. After this understanding, a further increase of Rs 500 was granted in the subsidy of the *Raja* of Hunza conditional on his good behaviour. But when in 1891, they failed to keep engagements and a combined force threatened the Chalt fort, they were subdued by the combined forces of the British and the Dogra *Maharaja* under the command of Durand. The *Sanads*, which were granted to the new *Rajas* of Hunza and Nagar by the *Maharaja* after the quelling of the disturbances and on the initiation of the Government of India, are reproduced below :

“Whereas the State of Nagar has recently been in armed rebellion against my authority and whereas in consequence thereof, you, *Raja* Jafar Khan, have justly forfeited any rights which you may have possessed as ruler of the said State;

And whereas, by reasons of your submission and in consideration of your promise to abide by the following



conditions, it is thought desirable as an act of clemency to re-appoint you as Ruler of the said State;

Now, therefore, I have resolved with the approval and authority of the Governor General of India in Council to re-appoint you, *Raja Jafar Khan* as ruler of the said State of Nagar and you are hereby appointed to be the *Raja* of Nagar;

The Chiefship of the Nagar State will be hereditary in your family and will descend in the direct line by primogeniture, provided that in each case the succession is approved by the *Maharaja* of Jammu and Kashmir for the time being and by the Government of India.

An annual tribute of the following amounts that is to say :

Twenty six tillas of gold, equal to seventeen tolas and one masha, will be paid by you and your successors to the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

Further, you are informed that the permanence of the grant conveyed by this *sanad* will depend on the ready fulfilment by you and your successors of orders given by the Jammu and Kashmir State, with regard to the conduct of relations between the State of Nagar and the States and tribes adjoining it, the administration of your territory, the construction of roads through your country, the compensation of such troops as you may be permitted to retain and any other matters in which the *Maharaja* of Jammu and Kashmir for the time being, may be pleased to intervene. Be assured that so long as your house is loyal to the State of Jammu and Kashmir and to the British Government and faithful to the conditions of the *sanad*, you and your successors will enjoy favour and protection."

Installation of Raja Sikandar Khan

When the *Mir* of Nagar died in 1904, the Political Agent suggested that the *Maharaja* be now asked to formally recognise *Raja Sikandar Khan* as the *Raja* of Nagar and he might do this by sending him a *Kharita* on such occasions. The British had

decided the succession in favour of *Raja Sikandar Khan* because the eldest son of the Late *Raja* namely *Raja Uzr Khan* had been the prime mover in the rebellion of 1891 and was a political detenue in Srinagar. Further, the redistribution of the Nagar subsidy had also been sanctioned by the Government of India, whereby *Raja Sikandar Khan* would receive the total subsidy of Rs 3,000 a year. The *sanad* was drafted in Persian and was accordingly sent through the Residency to the Political Agent for presentation to the *Raja*. The translation of the *sanad* granted to the new *Raja*, is reproduced here :

“Whereas in consequence of the recent lamented death of *Raja Jafar Khan, Raja of Nagar*, the Chiefship of Nagar has fallen vacant;

And whereas *Uzr Khan*, the eldest son of the deceased *Raja* who would have been entitled under the provisions of the former *sanad* to succeed to the Chiefship, has lost his claims thereto by his participation in the rebellion of Nagar and Hunza, for which he is a political detenue in Kashmir;

Now, therefore, with the permission and approval of the Government of India, I appoint and recognise you, *Raja Sikandar Khan, C.I.E.* second son of *Raja Jafar Khan*, as the Chief of Nagar, in consideration of the loyal services of your deceased father and of the fact that you have been performing the duties of the Chief of the Nagar during the period of your deceased father's illness.

The Chiefship of Nagar shall remain hereditary in your family descending in direct lines to the eldest son of the *Raja's* body, by right of primogeniture, subject always to the condition that previous sanction and approval of the *Maharaja* for the time being and through him of the Government of India, is obtained before the succession takes place.

You and your successors shall have to pay 26 tilloos of gold equivalent to 17 tolas and 1 masha in weight, by way of annual tribute to the State.

You must understand that the permanence of this grant, hereby conferred on you shall depend on the prompt compliance with and, obedience of orders of the Jammu and Kashmir State pertaining to conduct of relations between

Nagar and other Frontier tribes as well as the administration of your State, the construction of roads within your territory, the maintenance of troops and number and kind of which may be permitted by the parent State as also any other matter in which the *Maharaja* for the time being, may think proper to interfere. Rest assure that as long as your family remains constant in obedience to the Jammu and Kashmir State, and the Government of India and faithful to the fulfilment of the terms of this *sanad*, you and your successors shall be recipients of favours and protection."

Sanad Granted to Hunza

In 1892, the following *sanad* was granted to the *Raja* of Hunza, at the initiation of the Government of India :

"Whereas the State of Hunza has recently been in armed rebellion against my authority; and whereas in consequence thereof *Raja* Safdar Ali Khan has justly forfeited any rights which he may have possessed as ruler of the said State;

And whereas the said Safdar Ali Khan had fled from Hunza and has not returned or made submission to me or to the Government of India and whereas I nevertheless desired to continue the Chiefship of the said State of Hunza in the person of a member of the ruling family of the State;

Now, therefore, I have with the approval and authority of the Governor General of India in Council selected you, Mohammad Nazim Khan to be the ruler of the said State of Hunza;

The Chiefship of the Hunza State will be hereditary in your family and will descend in the direct line by primogeniture provided that in each case, the succession is approved by the *Maharaja* of Jammu and Kashmir for the time being and the Government of India.

An annual tribute of the following amounts that is to say 25 tilloos of gold, equal to 16 tolas and 5 mashas will be paid by you and your successors to the State of Jammu and Kashmir;

Further, you are informed that the permanence of the grant conveyed by this *sanad* will depend upon the ready fulfilment by you and your successors of all orders given by the

Jammu and Kashmir State' with regard to the conduct of relations between the State of Hunza and the States and tribes adjoining it, the administration of your territory, the prevention of raiding and man-stealing, the construction of roads through your country, the composition of such troops as you may be permitted to retain and any other matters in which the Jammu and Kashmir State may be pleased to intervene. Be assured that so long as your house is loyal to the State of Jammu and Kashmir and to the British Government and faithful to the conditions of this *sanad*, you and your successors will enjoy favour and protection."

The tributes fixed by the *sanads* was annually paid by these Chiefs through their *Vakils* who came to Kashmir every year in summer. The *Vakils* and their followers were treated as State guests during their stay in Srinagar. They presented the usual tribute to the *Maharaja* in person, who enquired about the affairs of the States and welfare of the *Rajas*. At their departure, they were granted *Khillats* and *Rukhsatanas*. But later on, the tributes to the *Maharaja* were firstly, presented by the *Rajas* to the Political Agent at Gilgit in the annual political *Jalsa* and were then deposited in the Treasury under the joint seals of the *Wazir-i-Wazarat* and the Political Agent and then sent to Kashmir.

The State share of subsidies to these Chiefships was irregularly paid through the Political Agent alongwith the allowances payable by the State to their *Wazirs*. The Chiefs were also levy leaders and were paid by the State at the rate of Rs 480 a year. Two companies each of Gilgit Scouts were paid by the State, but for the purposes of command they were under the Military Assistant to the Political Agent, who was designated as the Commandant of Scouts.

Both the States referred to above, were autonomous as regards their internal affairs while acknowledging the suzerainty of the *Maharaja* of Kashmir. They were, however, under the control of the Political Agent, through whom all correspondence with them was generally held.

Chilas

Prior to the establishment of the Agency, the Chilasis, after their subjugation, acknowledged, like the other frontier people, the suzerainty of Kashmir, and paid, in token of it, an annual tribute. At the time of the establishment of the Agency, Chilas was included in it.

In 1896, the British Agent at Gilgit stated that the Chilasis had requested that the annual tribute of 56 goats and one tola and 5 mashas of gold paid by them to the *Maharaja* might be allowed to be paid by them at Gilgit as the *Vakils*, who carried the tribute were compelled to leave their homes and lands at a time, when they should be harvesting their crops. The British Agent added that the tribute might, in future, be paid into the State Treasury and the amount credited to the Jammu and Kashmir State, which would cause no inconvenience to the officials in Gilgit. But the *Maharaja*, on political grounds, did not consider it desirable to absolutely dispense with the attendance of Chilasis at Jammu for the purpose of presenting the customary tributes to the *Maharaja*. But having regard to the alleged hardship, he was willing to accept the payment of the tribute, every third year.

This arrangement appears to have not worked out smoothly, for in 1897, the Resident forwarded for the information of the *Maharaja*, a scheme for levying of tribute from Chilas district, which had received the sanction of the Government of India. The scheme aimed at returning the land taken from the Chilasis after the disturbances of 1893 and fixing small sums to be paid by the valleys to the State Government. The revenue, thus accruing amounted to 223 tolas of gold. In other words, this amount though small, confirmed the fact that Chilas and the adjacent valleys were the tributary to the *Maharaja*. The Resident, further concurred with the recommendations of the Political Agent, in regard to the discontinuance of the following payments to be made by the different Chilas communities :

- a. Hudar paid 2 tolas and 1 masha of gold to *Wazir-i-Wazarat*, Gilgit.
- b. Chilas and Thak paid 1 tola 5 mashas of gold and 56 goats to Kashmir.

- c. Bunar paid 4 goats yearly to the *Tehsildar* of Astor and to *Raja Bahadur Khan*.

Gor

From times immemorial, Gor had been paying to the Ruler of Gilgit, an annual tribute of 14 goats and one tola of gold, which was subsequently paid to the officers of the State, stationed at Gilgit. As after 1895, the Gor people showed some slackness in making punctual payment of the tribute, it was consequently being realised by sending a special man from Gilgit. A State representative used to stay in Gor with one follower, for about a month and the Gor people fed him at their own cost and gave him one goat for himself. The tribe, "with a view to demonstrating their sense of loyalty to the *Maharaja*, prayed that they might be allowed to take to Gilgit the tribute due from them instead of sending it through the *Wazarat* official." The Assistant Political Agent in Chilas and the Political Agent considered the proposal to be laudable and thought it more dignified and suitable in every respect. But as an alternative; the Political Agent suggested that the tribute in question be paid to the Assistant Political Agent at Chilas in the same manner as the tribute from all other valleys in the Chilas region, the Assistant Political Agent crediting the same to the State Treasury. The then Revenue Minister suggested that the presentation of goats be changed into a cash payment to avoid inconvenience and a round sum of Rs 101 be fixed as tribute of gold remaining as a customary presentation in kind. In 1912, the *Maharaja* was pleased to remark that the loyal sentiment displayed by Gor of presenting tribute in person was a laudable one and should be encouraged. It would be much better, if they present the tribute in person at Srinagar but if that course be inconvenient, the usual tribute in kind may be presented by the people of Gor in person to the *Wazir* of Gilgit, who will credit it to the State Treasury.

Remission of Tribute

In 1918, the Political Agent addressed one letter to the *Wazir-i-Wazarat*, Gilgit, and another to the Residency saying that during his tour, he learnt that owing to scarcity of water

in Gichi for the past two years the areas under cultivation had shrunk considerably. An enquiry from the Assistant Political Agent, Chilas, revealed that the water supply had dried up and the inhabitants were arranging to migrate elsewhere. He therefore, recommended the remission of the tribute, as it was unfair to demand it. Accordingly, the *Maharaja* agreed to the remission of the tribute.

Chitral

Upto the year 1892, the *Mehtar* of Chitral paid regularly the annual tribute fixed by the Agreement of 1877. When in 1892, the *Mehtar* of Chitral, Aman-ul-Mulk died, affairs in Chitral took a grave turn. However, the Chitral expedition of 1895 settled the matters. The proposal which the Government of India sanctioned in connection with the installation of Shuja-ul-Mulk as *Mehtar* of Chitral, comprised, *inter alia* the partition of Chitral into two tracts: the Katur region, which was to consist of Chitral proper with the neighbouring regions, and Khushwaqt region namely Mastuj, Laspur, Ghizar Kuh and Yasin. The control of the *Mehtar* was proposed to extend over the former tract only and the latter was to be administered by the British Agent, Gilgit. It was further decided that the British Agent, Gilgit should appoint and pay the Chiefs and Headmen of the Khushwaqt country who, except in the case of Mastuj and Laspur, should have direct relations with him. As a matter of convenience, it was decided that the Chief of Mastuj and the *Hakim* of Laspur should correspond with the Political Officer in Chitral. This arrangement was followed till 1896, in which year, the Chitral Agency was transferred from Gilgit to the Political Agent, Dir, Swat and Chitral. As a consequence, Mastuj and Laspur were placed under Chitral whereas Yasin remained with the Gilgit Agency.

In 1914, the Government of India, acceding to the wishes of the *Mehtar* of Chitral transferred the areas of Mastuj and Laspur to him by virtue of the Agreement signed by him on the 2nd of April 1914. The first clause of agreement runs as under:

"I acknowledge the suzerainty of the *Maharaja* of Kashmir

and Jammu and in token thereof will resume the annual payment of the following *Nazrana* viz :

Horses	=3
Hawks	=5
<i>Tazi</i> dogs	=6"

Further, the clause 8 reads as follows :

"In consideration of my acceptances of the above conditions, the subsidies now paid to me and certain officials, viz, rupees 12,000, a year by the Government of India and rupees 12,560 a year paid by the Kashmir Darbar will be continued, subject to the proviso that the payment at present aggregating rupees 4,560 a year, made by the latter to certain officials and headmen will gradually cease as the present recipients dies or are removed from office."

Punial

It was in 1860 that Isa Bahadur was installed as the Chief of Punial by the *Maharaja*. As such it was admittedly included in the administration of Gilgit but its control appears to have passed into the hands of the Political Agent in 1908 like that of other Chiefships in the region. The Chief received a subsidy of Rs 1,200 from the State per annum and an additional allowance of Rs 480 per annum as levy leader. At the time *Raja* Shifat Bahadur of Punial absconded with 80 men towards Darel, the report about the affair was submitted to the *Maharaja*, who passed the following orders :

"The Chief Minister is well aware of the fact that Punial is within State territories and that arrangements for filling up the post are to be made by the Darbar with the advice of the Political Agent."

A report was called for, from the *Wazir* of Gilgit, who stated that owing to the Chiefship being under the direct management of the Political Agent, it had been impossible for him to make any tour there.

The *Maharaja* in order to assert his authority in Punial, started negotiations with the nobles of the area for the successor

to the deposed Raja. But the British were not ready to tolerate such nonsense. The Resident wrote to the Chief Minister that the Government of India were deeply interested in the recent developments in Punial affairs, as they must be, in any matters concerning the external frontiers of the British Empire and requested that "the *Wazir-i-Wazarat* might be impressed upon that as far as the Imperial interests were concerned, he should be careful to see that no one failed to give active support to the policy of the Political Agent in Gilgit." As such, the *Maharaja* had no option but to reconcile himself with the existing circumstances.

Relations with Darel

Darel paid an annual tribute of 4 tolas and 2 mashas of gold, which was credited into the Treasury at Gilgit. In 1902, the Darelis had paid only 2 tolas and one masha of gold in kind and Rs 32 in cash, which the *Wazir-i-Wazarat*, Gilgit had pointed out to the Political Agent and informed him that as it had hitherto been the practice that the tribute be paid in gold dust and not in cash, the Darelis might be directed to pay it in future, in kind and that the present part payment of cash would not form a precedent for future.

Thor

In 1893, Thor was incorporated in Chilas. It was notified that as they had unitedly submitted a petition for being put under the protection of the Government of India in the same manner as the other sections of Chilas, the State of Thor would be considered to be one of the tributary States of Chilas. The *sanad* pointed out that the people of Thor being responsible for their internal government, would refer all cases, which they cannot themselves settle in accordance with tribal custom, and all questions of a political nature between themselves and other communities, to the Political Officer in Chilas for settlement and they will abide by his decisions. Further, in consideration of their faithfully performing the levy service required of them and in consideration of their opening their country at all times to the officers and troops of the *Maharaja* and of always giving assistance to the British officers travelling in Thor and always

obeying all orders sent to them from Gilgit, the people of State of Thor will be allowed to keep their arms for their own defence and will not be called upon for any tax beyond the tribute of 12 male goats. They were not to be called upon to do any work or forced labour outside the limits of their State. They were warned that in case, however, of the Thor people giving the Government cause for displeasure or in case of their showing any want of loyalty and refusing to carry out orders, it will rest with Government to impose any further tax or service which it may consider necessary."

A review of the above leads us to the conclusion that the *Maharaja* of Kashmir, prior to the re-establishment of Political Agency in Gilgit, exercised full control over the Chiefships and the States in the Gilgit region. But with the coming of the British on the scene and with the establishment of the Political Agency, the *Maharaja* lost hold of the region. When the Agency was established, the very first speech of Durand conveyed to the Chiefs assembled in the Darbar, the decision that the Agency would remain permanently established in the frontier region. Since then the matters pertaining to these States began to be submitted through the Political Agent and the Residency and not direct. The State ceased to exercise direct dealings with these areas and the question of their administration became the responsibility of the Government of India. In 1901, the British ruled that the State of Hunza, Nagar and Chilas, and the Khushwaqt Chiefships mentioned above, were not Kashmir territory and consequently the State of Jammu and Kashmir had no right to interfere directly in their internal administration.¹

By the Treaty of Amritsar, concluded on the 16th of March 1848 with Gulab Singh, the British Government of India made over Kashmir to him, as a reward for his loyal services to them. Although, according to the first article of the Treaty, he had no right to subjugate Gilgit and other frontier regions across the river Indus, yet the British encouraged him to invade these tribal areas and establish himself at Gilgit.

Gulab Singh died in 1857 and was succeeded by his son

1. Foreign Department. Letter No. 1800-F of 1901 dated 24th July, 1901.

Ranbir Singh as the *Maharaja* of the Jammu and Kashmir State. In 1864, he allowed many concessions to the British in connection with goods to be imported from Central Asia. He also permitted posting of the British officers, for the supervision of the trade routes with Turkistan. He also permitted construction of roads and telegraph lines to Gilgit. It was during his reign that a British Political Officer was posted at Gilgit in 1877. Subsequently, the Agent was withdrawn in 1881 but the Political Agency was re-established in 1889, fully equipped with a military garrison. Thus the British, in due course of time, took measures to bring the entire region under their direct control. How they did succeed in their mission is narrated in the subsequent chapter.

BRITISH INTERVENTION

"To the Englishmen, the word Gilgit should recall the many excellent deeds of the nineties—the capture of Hunza, the relief of Chitral and the Pamir Commission."

—Arthur Nave

The attitude of the tribals had always remained hostile towards the foreigners. In 1847, they had refused admission to Vans Agnew to enter their region. And then they actually murdered the British explorer George Hayward. The British Government considered the whole situation and devised plans to avenge the death of their agent. In the meanwhile, Pahlwan Bahadur had succeeded in driving out *Mir* Wali and had assumed the rulership of Yasin. He had been helped in his ascendancy to power by Chitral. In the same year Prince Zafar came to the court of Ranbir Singh and gave an undertaking for safe intercourse between Gilgit and Nagar. He further promised to work against the *Raja* of Hunza for which he was promised every support. Ranbir Singh had played his cards well in playing one chief against the other. Accordingly, the *Raja* of Hunza also submitted, with the result that Ranbir Singh succeeded in expanding his territories in Dardistan. He had the full support of the British Government in pursuing this policy of extension for it amounted in the final analysis to the extension of the British sphere of influence. The British gave a long rope to the *Maharaja* in his adventures. He was also encouraged to bring these tribal Republics into some sort of

mutual friendship. For this, Ranbir Singh was provided with material aid. In 1876, he was favoured with 500 guns and one mountain artillery brigade for effecting necessary supervision in the Gilgit territories.¹ In this way, Ranbir Singh extended his influence in various small Republics of Darel, Tangir, Khilli, Soo, Harban, Zazin and Jalkot and they paid him some from of tribute.²

Relations with Chitral

In the meanwhile, events on the north western frontiers of India were moving very fast. The British were anxious to isolate Afghanistan, which had leanings towards Russia. The relations between Afghanistan and Chitral were not good, for the reasons that the Afghans wanted to invade and conquer Chitral.³ Accordingly, the British Government formulated a policy to keep watch over the frontiers between Russia and India. With these objects in view, Biddulph was deputed to Chitral in 1877.⁴ The British, as they were situated, at that time, could not directly render any military aid to Chitral. For, it would have created unwanted suspicion both in Afghanistan and Russia. Accordingly, the Viceroy was anxious to secure an indirect control over the Hindukush through the *Maharaja* of Kashmir who was asked to go ahead according to the plan. This posture was most welcome to the latter for it satisfied his personal ego as well as it brought immunity to Gilgit from the raids by Chitral sandwiched between Afghanistan and Kashmir, the *Mehtar* of Chitral changed his mood from time to time. His main aim was to get more and more aid from any quarter so as to recover those territories which he considered as his own. As such, he followed a policy of keeping every one in good humour.⁵ Thus came into existence the political relationship between the British Government of India and Chitral on the one side and between Kashmir and Chitral on the other. The *Methar* of Chitral accepted aid and

1. Hassan Shah, *Torikh-i-Kashmir* (Urdu), p. 584.

2. Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sonads*, Vol. XII, 1931 Edition.

3. File No. 4 of 1884 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.

4. Younghusband, *The Relief of Chitral*, p. 2

5. Bates, *Gazetteer*, p. 116.

recognised Ranbir Singh as his suzerain. But, at the same time, he accepted the Amir of Afghanistan also as his suzerain. Lytton, told Ranbir Singh to ask the *Mehtar* that :

“having accepted the suzerainty of the *Maharaja*, he was not at liberty to change it for the suzerainty of Kabul.”¹

Ranbir Singh was further promised material aid and support in this difficult task. Thus, he deputed his envoy with presents to Chitral. At the same time, he deputed his spies, mainly the Afghan refugees, to ascertain the actual position of the happenings there. All information thus gathered by the *Maharaja* was passed on to the Viceroy, who deputed Henderson to Chitral fully informed of the progress of events. The British Government wanted to secure the allegiance of Chitral, Dir and Bajour, so as to isolate them from having any friendly relations with Afghanistan.² The rulers of these States changed sides at their convenience and, as such, it was considered advisable to bind them into some sort of agreement and understanding. The British Government, desired that such agreements should be as brief as possible, embodying :

Firstly, an express recognition of suzerainty;

Secondly, an agreement for the exchange of representatives and; Thirdly, grant of annual subsidy, subject to allegiance.

Accordingly, negotiations were started by the *Maharaja*, with the *Mehtar* of Chitral which resulted in the Chitral Agreement of 1878. Among other things, the *Mehtar* engaged that he will always, sincerely endeavour to execute the orders of the *Maharaja*. The *Maharaja*, on his part agreed to pay an annual *mawajib* of Rs 12,000 to the *Mehtar*.³

Moves and Counter Moves

Russia started moving towards the southern and eastern

1. Lytton to Ranbir Singh, May 14, 1874, K.G.R.

2. File No. 749/B of 1934 Samvat (P.R.) K.G.R.

File No. 749/A of 1877 (P.R.) K.G.R.

3. Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. XI, p. 176.

egions in 1864 when she occupied Chinkent. It was followed by the occupation of Tashkent in 1865, Kohj in 1866 and Yani Kurgan in 1867. The Russians subjugated Samarkand in 1868. Thus within a span of four years, the Russian influence had approached Afghanistan, Chitral, Gilgit and the Pamirs. As a counter-move, the British Government took effective steps in the consolidation of what they termed, as the 'scientific frontier' of the Indian Empire. They extended railway lines upto Quetta and the Khyber pass. A policy of reconciliation with the *Amir* of Afghanistan was enunciated, so as to secure a safe north-western frontier. Having done this, they desired to seal the other doors from the outside influence and these were Gilgit and Leh. Thus, Kashmir could serve as a barrier, if need be, against Russia. The British had to pursue a policy favourable to their imperial interests. As early as 1846, Hardinge had raised the corps known as Guide Corps, to be posted as spies in the borderland.¹

By 1870 Russia had nearly subjugated the whole of Central Asia. The Khanate of Bokhara had been brought under the Russian sphere of influence by 1868, when Samarkand was occupied by them. The British had developed an active interest in the affairs of Central Asia but they were not ready to come into direct conflict with Russia, by removing the buffer States of Kashmir and Afghanistan.

Leap Forward Policy

Ranbir Singh came to power in 1857 and from the outset he thought about the extension of his territories. He could not proceed towards the south, for it would bring him in clash with the British, who had extended their sway right upto Peshawar. He had no option but to look towards the north and fish in the troubled waters of Central Asia.² The first thing he did was to train a batch of persons, who could go to the Central Asian countries for spying purposes. To this end, he established the Russian language School at Srinagar, the first of its kind in India.³ He sent his agents into Central Asian Khanates, who

1. Smith Bosworth, *Life of Lord Lawrence*, (1) p. 254.

2. File No. 347 of 1866 K.G.R.

3. File No. 349 G of 1866 (P.R.) K.G.R.

could report to him about the events prevailing there.¹ Foremost among those, who did useful work for him and for the British were Mehta Sher Singh, Mohammand Khan Kishtwari, Khawaja Qadir Joo, Mian Salab Singh and Soba Khan Bandooki.² Khawaja Qadir Joo and Mian Singh went to Yarkand on a political mission in 1864.³ Soba Khan Bandooki was sent to acquire military data about the Chinese in Sinkiang. Mehta Sher Singh and Mohammad Khan Kishtwari collected useful political data for him in the year 1866 and 1867.⁴ Fully equipped with facts and figures he even despatched his forces to occupy a fort here and there across the Karakoram. The British Government desired of the *Maharaja* to refrain from such adventures.⁵

It is clear that both the British Government and the *Maharaja* were not idle spectators of affairs prevailing in Central Asia and both had employed their agents to work in that vast region. It was in 1872 that Haji Tora reached Srinagar as the first envoy of Yaqub Khan, the *Amir* of Kashgar and Yarkand. The *Maharaja* directed him to the Viceroy for political discussions.⁶ This event excited the British and they began to cast doubts on the future designs of the *Maharaja*. They put a stop to his 'leap forward policy'. He was told to behave like the ruler of a native State, existence whereof depended on the will and pleasure of the Governor General, the paramount power to whom the native state is subordinate. In a letter, among other things, the *Maharaja* was told that the British Government did not approve of his adventures in the countries beyond Karakoram. He was further informed :

"inter communication with Russia is an Imperial concern. In view of the relations subsisting between Your Highness and the British Government, direct correspondence between Russia and Kashmir is not proper, but will lead to improper

1. File No. 313-C & 313-D of 1865 K.G.R.

2. File No. 536 (P.R.) K.G.R.

3. File No. 122-C (P.R.) K.G.R.

4. File No. 296, 379 K.G.R.

5. File No. 248 of 1923 Samvat (K.G.R.),

6. File No. 486-B (P.R.) K.G.R.

complications."¹

By 1876 the Czar revived the plan for an invasion of India. He declared that the downfall of the British in India would be the beginning of the downfall of England.² As Russia became involved in another war with Turkey, this plan did not materialise. Russia alleged that the war was engineered by the British and in order to pay them back in the same coin they deputed a Russian mission to Kabul, in 1878.³

Gilgit remained under the control of the Political Agent and the *Wazir-i-Wazarat* upto 1935 when the British obtained the whole region from the *Maharaja* on lease for 60 years. What happened in the region from 1889 to 1935 is treated hereafter.

Between 1889 to 1935

It appears that Mian Jawahir Singh was the first Civil Officer to be posted by the Dogras in Gilgit. Dharam Singh, happened to be the military officer in about 1860. He was succeeded by *Wazir* Radha Kishen, who in his turn was succeeded by Bhai Ganga Singh. After his recall in about 1877, Lala Ram Kishen was appointed in his place and we find Hoshiara holding the charge of the military post. Hoshiara was succeeded by Shankar Singh. In 1880 Bakshi Mul Raj was appointed as the *Wazir* of Gilgit.⁴ Although the people of the Gilgit region rose again and again and the Dogras were expelled several times, the course of events changed with Ranbir Singh's coming into power. It was during his reign (1857-1885) that the subjugation of Gilgit was completed in about 1869. Before the establishment of the British in Gilgit, the State Government exercised direct control over the independent States of the region. There existed direct treaty relations between the *Maharaja* and the *Rajas* of Hunza and Nagar, Gor, Chilas and even Chitral. It is evident from a letter of 1886 from the

1. Sir Henry Davis to Ranbir Singh, letter dated September 26, 1873.

2. Sutherland Edwards, *Russian Projects Against India*, p. 278.

3. Lady Betty Balfour, *The History of Lord Lytton's Administration*, p. 240.

4. State Administration Report, Samvat Year 1937.

British Resident in Kashmir wherein, he asks the then Prime Minister, Dewan Govind Sahai to "move the Chitral ruler to have the same amount of forage, viz., 28 maunds of barley and 53 maunds of *bhoosa* or an equivalent amount of grass placed at each stage between Baroghil and Gakuch" for a part of the Afghan Boundary Commission that was returning to India *via* Gilgit.¹ There is another letter dated 20th May 1886 from the *Maharaja* to the *Mehtar* of Chitral for the arrangement of the required supplies for the Commission wherein it is added that "you will consider it incumbent to arrange for the same."

The Beginnings of the Political Agency

In order to be well informed of the Russian moves, the British found it necessary to establish a regular secret service Agency at Gilgit.² Accordingly, Biddulph passed through Hunza in 1876. He was directed to "make all possible endeavours to collect and to enable the British Government to obtain early authentic information of the course of events in the adjacent countries situated on the frontiers of Kashmir and submit an account of the places, the capacity of the neighbouring localities, with connected particulars."³

The British Agency in Gilgit was first established in 1877, and Biddulph was the first officer on Special Duty. At the suggestion of Northbrook made to the *Maharaja* when he waited on him at Calcutta, Biddulph with Granada were received by the *Maharaja* at Jammu and necessary arrangements were made by deputing one *Motabar* with six sepoy to render all facilities to the British agents for their journey to Gilgit. It further transpires that the State Officer at Gilgit, Bhai Ganga Singh called upon the representative of Chitral and Yasin to render all facilities and to see that no inconvenience is caused to the British agents. When Biddulph was held up at Ishkoman, the Raja of Yasin was approached through an official, and the necessary permission for him to pass through Ishkoman was obtained. For this help, Biddulph offered thanks to

1. Letter No. 149 dated 23rd April 1886, File No. A 29 of 1886.
2. File No. 292/D of 1877 (P.R.) K.G.R.
3. File No. 292/D of 1877 (P.R.) K.G.R.

the *Maharaja* and his letters are preserved in the state archives.

The Agency.

At the time of the appointment of Biddulph as Officer on Special Duty in Gilgit, a letter was received from the Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, alongwith a copy of the *Dastur-ul-amal* issued to Biddulph. Its translation from Persian is given below :

“Under the orders of His Excellency, the Governor-General-in-Council, I have the honour to inform you that with the consent and concurrence of His Highness the *Maharaja* of Jammu and Kashmir, you have been selected for special duty in Gilgit”.

The object of your appointment will be found fully explained in the enclosed correspondence that has been passed between the Government of India and His Highness the *Maharaja* and may be treated in brief here also.

The duty you have been specially deputed for is that you will, with the concurrence of His Highness and his officials, make all possible endeavour to collect and enable the British Government to obtain early and authentic information of the course of events in the adjacent country, the frontier districts of Kashmir and submit an account of the places, the capacity of neighbouring locality with connected particulars.

That in consultation with the officers of the State you will make every effort to establish friendly relations with the communities on the frontier so that you will gradually bring them under the control and suzerainty of Kashmir Government. But you will, in no case, interfere in the government and administration of the territories or in the jurisdiction of His Highness the *Maharaja*. The people of the places should not be encouraged to make complaints against His Highness. If, in case of any hostility on the part of the people in the neighbourhood, it is considered advisable and necessary to move the Government force across the frontier, you are authorised to march with that force and to help and guide the Commandant of

the force with your advice and experience.

You are authorised to exercise your discretion in not allowing any subject of Her Imperial Majesty, European or local, when you consider proper, to undertake journey towards the frontiers of Kashmir, for political considerations.

You shall have to submit through Major Henderson, Officer on Special Duty in Kashmir, deputed to forward your communications to the Government of India, a weekly diary containing the news and work, in the form enclosed. In case of necessity, you are authorised to communicate direct with the Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, sending at the same time a copy thereof to Major Henderson."

On his part, the *Maharaja* also issued instructions to the *Wazir* of Gilgit, which are as under :

"As Captain Biddulph has been appointed in Gilgit, you should receive him properly for he is the representative of the British Government and a friend of His Highness.

Any communication that may be addressed to the ruler of Chitral and Yasin, should be made in consultation with the said officer, and you will be informed of any letter, message or communication that the officer might address to these places and he will act in consultation with you.

If the said officer asks for sending messengers or spies and getting information or news from outlying districts, you should comply and debit expenditure incurred on account of sending of and for bringing news to the State, but you should take a writ from the said officer and without writ nothing should be done.

As any act for the good of the British Government is of utmost importance, you should comply with anything that the said officer asks you and which will be for the service of the Government.

A copy of the instructions as also of the points on which information is required to be got by the messenger or the spy to be sent by the said officer to any of the districts

should be kept with."

On arrival at Gilgit, Biddulph took only a few days to understand the Governor and the officials. He found that the *Wazir* was an adept at intrigue. On the other hand, the *Wazir* considered himself superior to the Political Agent, which resulted in a conflict between the two. Biddulph was not a person to tolerate any sign of misbehaviour on the part of Bhai Ganga Singh, who had started flouting his orders on the plea that he was the servant of the *Maharaja*. Naturally, Biddulph approached the Viceroy and the *Wazir* was recalled by the *Maharaja*.

The Viceroy wrote to the *Maharaja* :

"I am aware that your Highness agrees with my estimate of the importance which attaches to the safety and honourable treatment of a British Officer stationed in Your Highness' dominions, but at a long distance from your Highness, own residence, which is to him a disadvantage, I therefore learn with satisfaction from your Highness' letter that you had at once recalled temporarily Bhai Ganga Singh and his son Gur Buksh Singh to appear before Your Highness."

Withdrawal of the Agency

In 1881, the Political Agency at Gilgit was withdrawn by the British because, "those objects, which are still regarded by the Government of India, as important will be, in no way, contravened by the removal at this time, of the Agency".

The British had consolidated their position in the north-western frontiers of India and had completely won over Afghanistan. They had gained much strength both politically and militarily throughout the world. It is interesting to mention here that Ranbir Singh offered all his resources and the State troops against Russia to the British Government and the Viceroy thanked him for this offer.

It appears that Biddulph was recalled by the Government of India at about the end of year, 1881 and the charge was taken over by Tanner. In the same year, Tanner got ill and was recalled alongwith his establishment by the Government of

India. The Viceroy wrote to the *Maharaja* as under :

“Your Highness had already been acquainted by Mr Henvey, when he was received by you at Jammu in May, that the retention of a British Officer at Gilgit, is not under present circumstances, considered by me to be necessary. I have now the honour to inform your Highness that Colonel Tanner had been instructed to leave Gilgit, with his office before the end of this summer.

Your Highness is aware that the main objects with which the Gilgit Agency was established in 1877, were to strengthen Your Highness' hands in the general administration of your relations beyond the frontier, and to enable the British Government to obtain early and authentic information of the course of events in the adjacent country. I trust that the prosecution of these objects, which are still regarded by the Government of India as important, will be in no way contravened by the removal, at this time, of the agency. But there are various questions, connected with the political situation in that quarter, which awaits settlement and the joint interests of the two Governments require that upon these questions Your Highness should be in complete possession of my views. I have therefore, directed Mr Henvey, an officer who possesses my full confidence to avail himself of your Highness' presence at Srinagar, as an opportunity for submitting all these matters to you in person, in order that by free discussion with your Highness and your Ministers, the necessary arrangements may be determined to our mutual satisfaction and advantage.

The principal question for early disposal relates to the affairs of Chitral, a Chiefship in subordinate alliance with Kashmir. The conduct of Aman-ul-Mulk in relieving Gilgit last winter and his claims and expectations are well known to Your Highness. I do not desire that any services rendered by him to the British Government should pass without recompense and trust this will be remembered when the future disposal of Yasin territory, now in his possession, is considered. But on this subject as on all other details I have empowered Mr Henvey to communicate my

views to Your Highness.

It is well known to me that Your Highness in understanding, administer the affairs of your northern frontier in accordance with the engagements entered into in 1876. I shall always be ready to aid your Highness in its discharge with my countenance and advice and I trust that in all questions of importance connected with your external relations, Your Highness will refer to me through my Officer on Special Duty in Kashmir."¹

Re-establishment of the Agency

In 1885, Ranbir Singh passed away and was succeeded by Pratap Singh. In 1886 Lockhart, an officer of the Government of India was deputed to visit the frontiers of Gilgit. The State Government rendered all necessary facilities to him during his visit, which were duly acknowledged by the Government of India. But, after a lapse of a couple of years, the frontiers had again become hot and signs of unrest prevailed among the tribals. The British who had withdrawn their Political Agent from Gilgit, reconsidered the overall position and again thought of establishing an Agency there duly equipped with full military defence.

Intelligence had arrived that the Russian agents were at work in the Trans-Himalayan region. Grombachevski had reached Hunza to have some secret talks with its *Raja*, but the exact nature of talks had not been divulged. It was feared that some sort of agreement had been arrived at between them. Thus wrote Curzon :

"From this time forward, Safdar Ali Khan began to speak of the white march, as he called the Tsar of Russia, as his friend, and in his correspondence and conversation to allude to himself as the equal of that Sovereign, or the Emperor of China, and of the Empress of India; a quarter of potentates who in his opinion divided the globe."²

During this very period, reports of similar activities of the

1. Viceroy to Maharaja, letter dated 18th June, 1881.
2. Curzon, *Leaves from a Viceroy's Note Book*, p. 185.

Russian spies were sent by Durand from Gilgit. It transpired that Russia had instigated these frontier chiefs to foment trouble in the hilly territories.

The reasons, which influenced the British in the re-establishment of the Agency at Gilgit are given in the despatch to the Secretary of the State known as the Blue Book relating to Chitral, C. 7864 of 1895. It reveals that the advance of Russia up to the frontiers of Afghanistan and the great development of her military resources, made it necessary to protect the British Indian Empire from attacks from the northern passes of the Hindukush. As such, the re-establishment of the Gilgit Agency was inevitable.¹

With the re-establishment of the Gilgit Agency in 1889, the garrison which had previously consisted of ill-trained Kashmir troops, was strengthened and placed upon a proper footing. The regiments were placed under the control of the British Officers of the Agency. Durand was appointed the first officer of the revised British Agency and he consolidated the powers of the British in Gilgit. He went to Gilgit in the month of August 1888 and the State Government made necessary arrangements for his journey and his stay in Gilgit and issued instructions to the then *Wazir* of Gilgit in the matter. Durand paid several visits to Chitral and developed relations with the *Rajas* of Hunza and Nagar. Preparations were also made to hold a political Durbar on 25th December, 1889, which extended for over a week. The *Rajas* of the states of Hunja, Nagar, Punial and other Chiefships were invited and the Union Jack was hoisted at Gilgit. The military and the band in their uniform, paid their salutes to the flag. Next day, the Agent in the presence of the *Rajas* and the *Wazirs* and others made a speech to the effect that the Chiefs and others present in the [function should remain loyal and faithful to the British Government and that an annual subsidy would be made to them on each annual Durbar. The Chiefs were granted *Khilats* and *Rukhsatana* by the Agent and were sent off.²

1. Durand A., *The Making of a Frontier*, p. 164.

2. Report of the *Wazir* of Gilgit dated 9th poh, 1946 Samvat.

Tribal Rebellion

The tribal people had risen against the Dogras under the leadership of Malik Aman of Yasin, who had led an attack on Roshan fort in 1886.¹ In 1889, the Chiefs of Hunza and Nagar had again combined to throw out the foreigners. Accordingly, they had started attacking the State garrisons.² The Kashmir troops had suffered defeat in the battle of Chaprot and the tribal Chiefs had succeeded in capturing a great number of the Dogra soldiers, who were sold as slaves in the Pamirs.³ Naturally, the British got alarmed at the turn of events. It was for these very reasons that Durand had been deputed to Gilgit on a political mission.⁴ Soon he entered into negotiations with the frontier Chiefs, with the aim of subsiding their fears and gaining their friendship.⁵ He informed the Resident in Kashmir, that it would be necessary to increase the amount of subsidy in favour of the tribal Chiefs.⁶ The British Government recommended increase in the allowances of the Chiefs of Hunza, Nagar and Chaprot, so as to strengthen the defences on the northern frontiers of Kashmir.⁷ Thus, new agreements were arrived at between the *Maharaja* and the Chiefs, by which their subsidies were increased. Now they were to receive annual subsidies of Rs 2,000 each from the Government of India as well as the State Government.⁸

Uzar Khan of Nagar

In 1891 owing to the failure of the Chiefs of the Gilgit Agency to toe the line of the British, a combined force of the British and the Kashmir troops advanced into Hunza and Nagar, and after sharp fighting occupied the country. A British Political Officer was appointed by the Government of India also

1. File No. 1015-A of 1943 Samvat (P.R.) K.G.R.
2. File No. 16 of 1888 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
3. Earl of Dunmore, *The Pamirs*, p. 302.
4. File No. 21 of 1889 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
5. File No. 10/A 28 1889 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
6. File No. 10 of 1888 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
7. File No. 21 of 1889 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
8. File No. 25 of 1894 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.

for Hunza and Nagar in 1892.¹ In April 1892, Macartney reported from Yarkand that there were about 5000 state troops in slavery in different parts of Turkistan. The Government of India came to the conclusion that those slaves should be ransomed.² The whole story is as follows :

Durand had been deputed to Gilgit for a definite purpose and he had to accomplish it sooner or later. For the first few months he turned his attention to the remodelling of the forts in the region. He also built up proper barracks for the military personnel, and equipped these with granaries and military stores. Some of the main roads were improved and the postal system was put on a proper footing. By 1891 Durand had moved the guns and the infantry to all the forts in the region. Now he waited for an excuse and that came readily from the tribals. Prince Gauri Tham of Nagar was killed by his own brother, Prince Uzar Khan, who came to know that the prince was in league with the British. Uzar Khan was also in correspondence with the *Raja* of Hunza.

Durand had waited for an opportunity and he explains it as under :

"There was not much time to think; moreover, I naturally had in mental pigeon-holes plans to meet emergencies, and I decided to make a dash for Chalt. I thanked my stars for Major Gokul and his sappers, and for our new road to Nomal. I gave the order at three in the afternoon, and by dusk two hundred men of the Kashmir Body Guard regiment, little Gurkhas and Dogras, were over the rope bridge and on their way, with their full complement of ammunition and rations".³

It is clear that the war was forced on the tribals by the British. *Raja* Akbar Khan of Punial took the side of the British and placed a couple of hundred Punial levies at the disposal of Durand. After having captured the fort of Chalt, Durand then

1. File No. 23 of 1892 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.

2. The Earl of Dunmore, *The Pamirs*, p. 302.

3. Durand, *The Making of a Frontier*, p. 316.

made a move towards the fort of Nilt, which was held by Uzar Khan.

After obtaining more re-inforcement, Durand issued an ultimatum to *Raja* Safdar Ali Khan of Hunza and *Raja* Uzar Khan directing them to open their States for free access by the British, in order to make military roads. Both of them refused to agree and decided to fight the British. As such, Durand advanced his forces towards the fort of Nilt. Both sides opened fire in which Durand was hit and got wounded. The tribals fought with valour but could not stand the superior arms of the British. The fort was stormed and captured. The majority of the inmates were murdered and shot dead but the commanders had escaped. In a general order of massacre, the Nagar tribals were picked up for murder.¹

After the capture of Nilt, the British advanced to capture the fort of Mayun. After crossing the Hunza river, the British stormed the fort through a practicable path discovered by a Dogra sepoy called Nagdu. During the attacks on various military posts, many tribals were either killed or captured and the road to Nagar lay open. After the occupation of Nagar, the Hunza Chief and the Crown Prince Uzar Khan of Nagar fled northwards across the frontier. The British installed Mohammad Nazim Khan, as the Chief of Hunza and Sikander Khan was allowed to take over the administration of Nagar in the name of his ailing father Jafar Khan.

Arrest of Uzar Khan

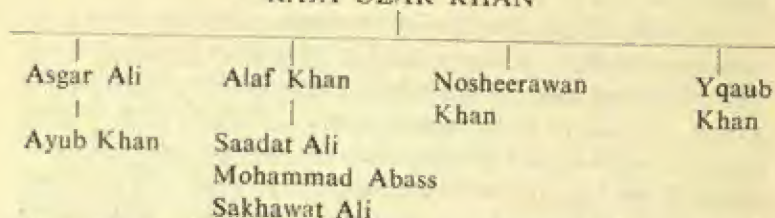
Safdar Ali Khan fled to Yarkand but Uzar Khan was arrested by the Chinese and handed over to the British. From Gilgit, he alongwith some of his kith and kin was despatched to Srinagar and kept under arrest in the Hari Parbat fort.² Uzar Khan passed away in 1922 and his descendants live at

1. Hashmat Ullah Khan, *Tarikh-i-Rajagani Jammu*, p. 818.

2. Hashmat Ullah Khan, *Tarikh-i-Jammu*, p. 826.

Srinagar. Their family tree is as follows :

RAJA UZAR KHAN



Now, the whole of Gilgit and the States of Hunza and Nagar lay prostrate at the feet of the British. This created a fear psychology among the Shinaki republics of Gor, Darel and Tangir as well as among the bigger states of Chilas and Chitral. In the meanwhile Umra Khan of Jandol occupied a portion of Chitral. Robertson advanced towards Gor where the people had risen against the foreigners. Thus the whole valley of the Indus showed signs of unrest and the people rose against the foreigners. Robertson captured Gor but had to face a revolt in Chilas which rose against him. Chilas was subdued after much fighting by him. In the meanwhile, Afzal-ul-Mulk invaded Chitral and established himself there. He declared *Jehad* or a religious war on the British. The tribals rose against the British and fighting started at many places. Chilas having been defeated, it was the turn of Chitral which was also occupied. The tribals were completely subdued for many years to come.

Pratap Singh

Ranbir Singh having died in 1885, his eldest son Pratap Singh succeeded as the next *Maharaja* of the Jammu and Kashmir State. His younger brothers Amar Singh and Ram Singh did not believe that he was their real brother. On the other hand, they nourished the misconception that their father, Ranbir Singh had exchanged his baby daughter with the son of a Brahmin on the same day when Pratap Singh was born. It was due to this misgiving that Pratap Singh was maltreated by Amar Singh and many conspiracies were hatched for the downfall of the *Maharaja*. In one of his letters to the Viceroy, Pratap Singh writes as under about Amar Singh :

"All my troubles, ever since my accession to the throne,

have been the outcome of his gymnastics of intrigue, with his nature, full of extreme selfishness, jealousy and ambition; polished by an acute and clever sense of intrigue, he has made my life altogether miserable."¹

On Ranbir Singh's death, the then British Government appointed a full time Resident for the State, much to the displeasure of the *Maharaja*. Pratap Singh had been a source of anxiety to the British, for intelligence had reached them, that he was in league with the Russians. He was directed to "consult the Resident at all time and be guided by his advice."

Deposition of Pratap Singh

In 1888, Plowden was posted as the British Resident in Kashmir. A diehard British bureaucrat, he was openly hostile to the Dogras. A past master in intrigue he immediately set out the scene for the deposition of Pratap Singh. His first act was to break up the Council of Ministers. The second thing he did, was to propose occupation of Gilgit by the British for strategic purposes. However, the Foreign Secretary suggested deputation of a selected Military Officer to Gilgit and to get the Kashmir force into thorough order and thus, "in a short time have the whole thing in our hands without hurting any one's feelings". Dufferin agreed with the suggestion of his Foreign Secretary and Durand was deputed to Gilgit on a political mission. Plowden protested to the Viceroy that as his scheme regarding annexation of Kashmir and occupation of Gilgit by British has not been accepted by the Foreign office, he be divested of his duties as Resident. Accordingly, he was promoted and Nisbet was sent in his place as the British Resident in the State.

In the meanwhile Nisbet acquired from Sardar Dyal Singh, the proprietor of the Tribune, a bunch of letters written by the *Maharaja* in Dogri. The Resident got them translated and found that these were meant for the Czar of Russia, *Maharaja* Dalip Singh, the deposed ruler of the erstwhile Panjab Kingdom and others asking for help against the British. Amar Singh

1. Hassnain, *British Policy Towards Kashmir*, p. 93.

came forward to testify that the Dogri letters were in the *Maharaja's* own handwriting.¹

Nisbet got very much perturbed and wrote to the then British Government in India as under :

"The day before yesterday I had placed in my hands such reliable evidence, as I have said invariably to those who have talked to me, would alone satisfy me of the disloyalty or utter inbecility of the present ruler of Jammu. This consists of a batch of 34 letters in the *Maharaja's* own handwriting, some of which are so compromising as to leave, I submit, no course open save his removal from the State, unless the alternative theory be accepted of his being a half witted-individual, irresponsible for his own acts. Of their authenticity I have, myself, no doubt, and they are admitted to be in the *Maharaja's* own handwriting by his brother *Raja Amar Singh*; besides, a mass of letters like this are not likely to be forgeries in the way one or two might be."²

Having sensed danger, the *Maharaja* made enquiries from *Pandit Suraj Kaul*, but the *Pandit* did not inform him about the action the Resident wanted to take in the matter. In sheer helplessness, he asked *Amar Singh* about it who told him as under :

"The honour of our house is at stake and we are ruined. Certain letters have been found which prove the *Jammu* family to be in league with *Russia* and *Dalip Singh*."

Pratap Singh was informed that either he would be tried for mutiny and hanged or he would be deposed and imprisoned. He did not take meals for two days when *Amar Singh* told him in his face that he had already identified these letters in the hand of the *Maharaja*.

The next day, the Resident came with a draft and *Amar Singh* made the *Maharaja* to sign it. *Pratap Singh* had himself signed his own deposition order entrusting the administrative

1. Foreign Department Proceedings No. 90, Secret dated April 1889 (N.A.I.).
2. Nisbet to Durand, dated February 27, 1889.



THE NATURAL DEFENCE OF GILGIT



RAJA GHAZAN KHAN OF
HUNZA



THE COMMANDERS



RAJA MOHAMMAD AKBAR KHAN
THE CHIEF OF PUNIAL



RAJA MOHAMMED NAZIM KHAN
THE MIR OF HUNZA



SHUJAH-UL-MULK, MEHTAR OF CHITRAL



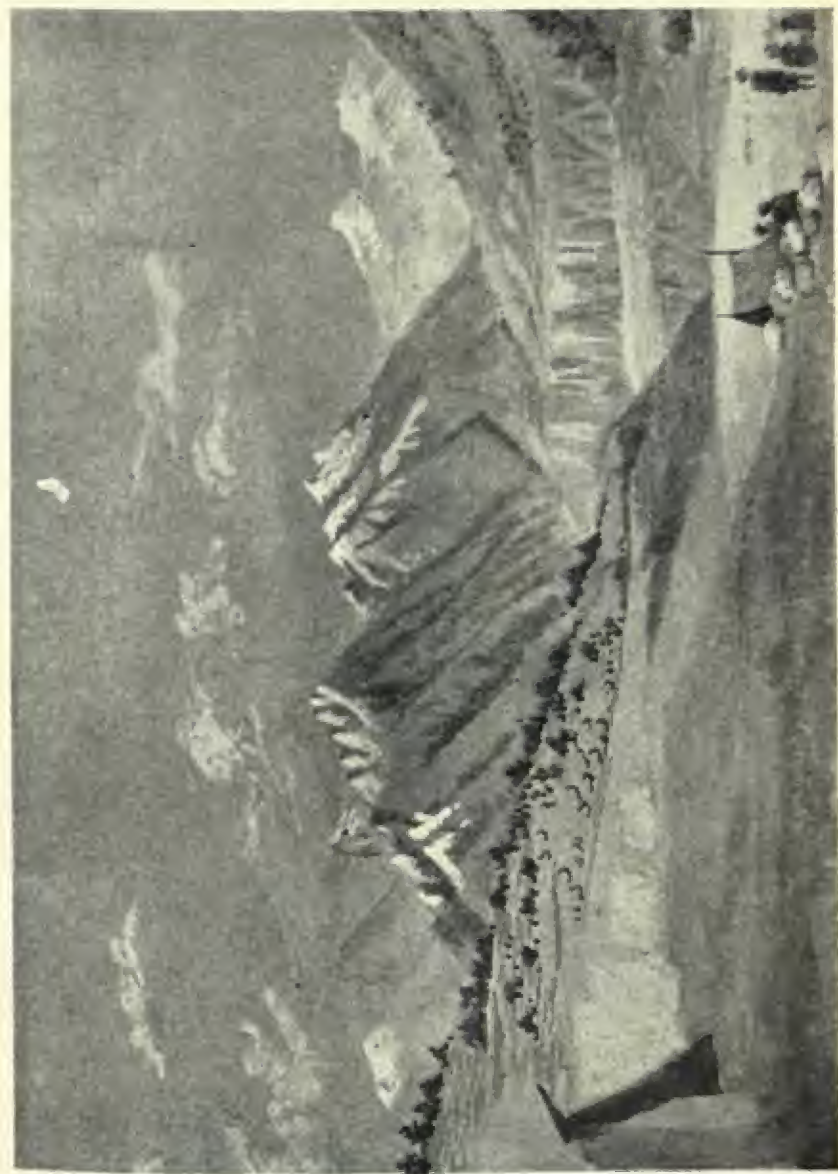
A GILGITI VILLAGER



THE PEOPLE OF GILGIT



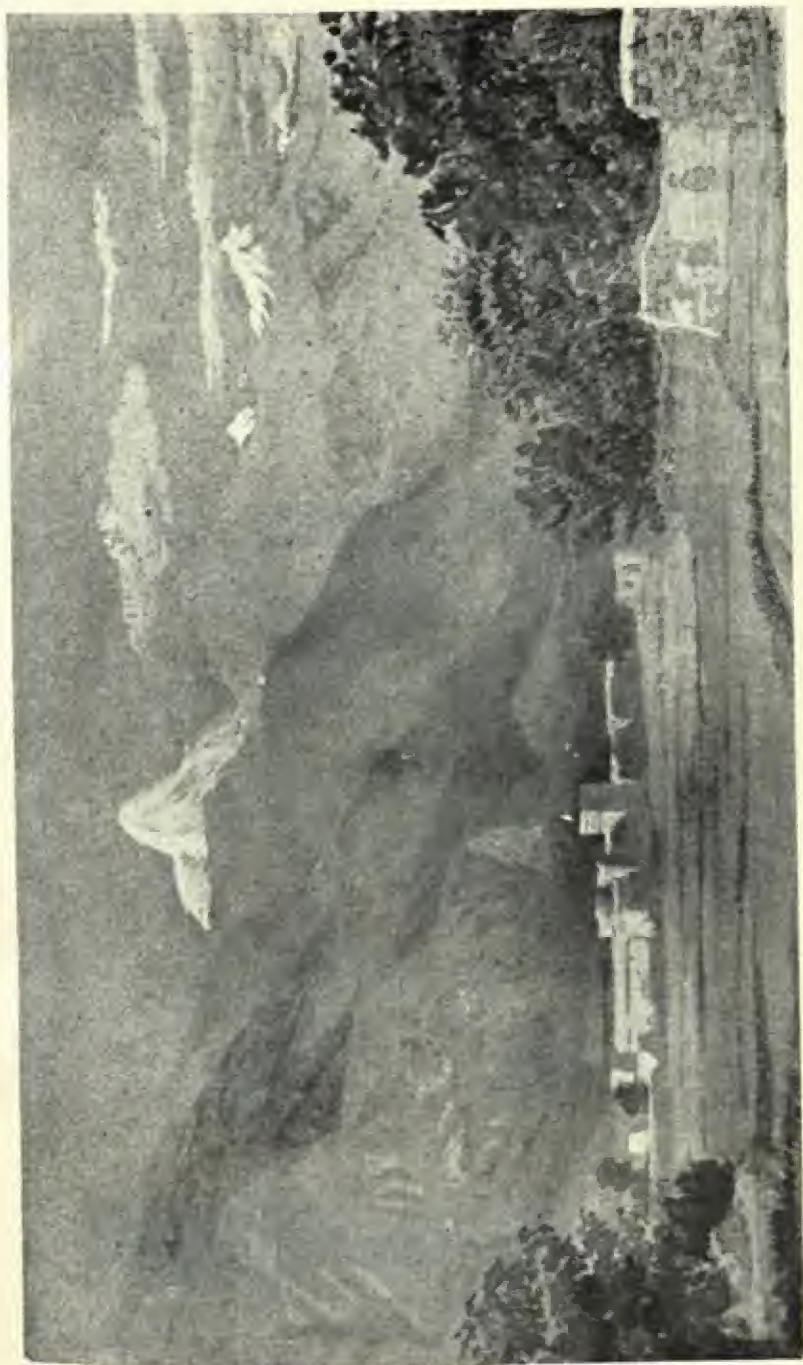
GILGITI CHILDREN



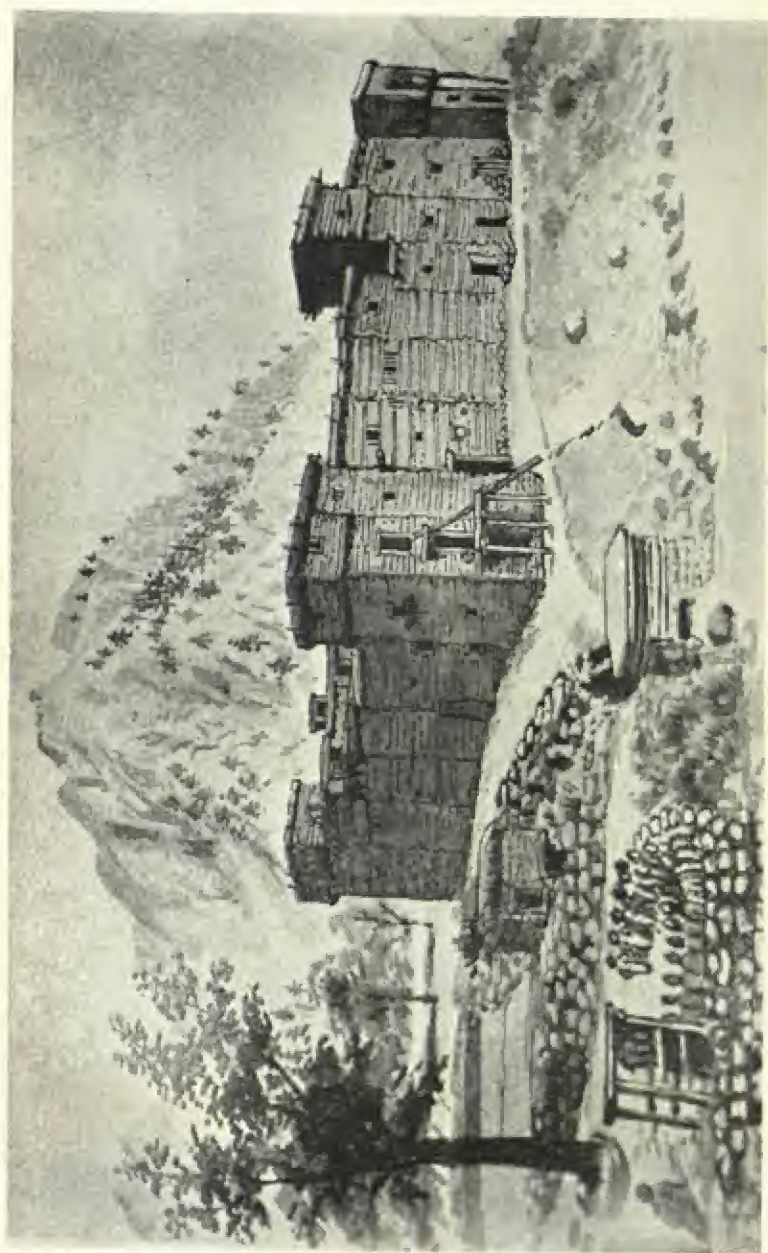
THE HINTERLAND OF GILGIT



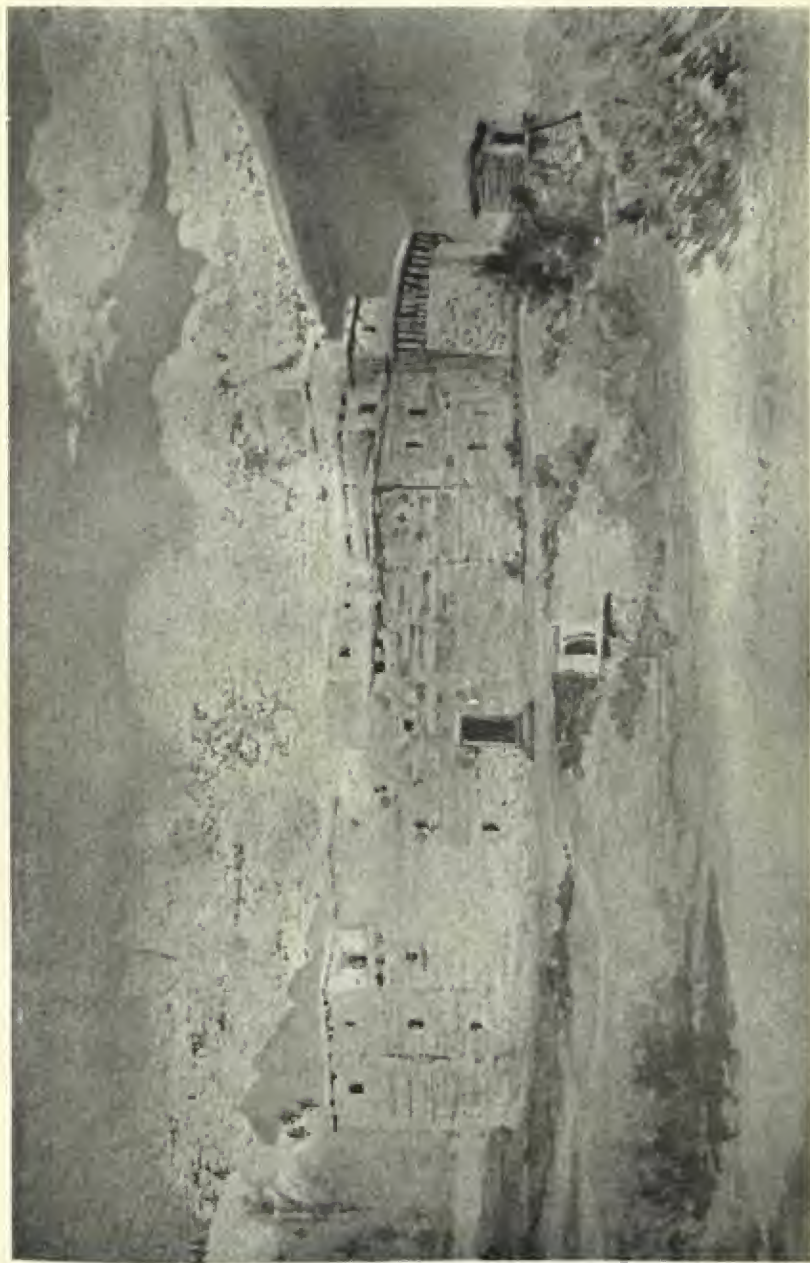
IDGAH AT GILGIT



GILGIT



A FORT IN GILGIT



A FORTIFIED VILLAGE IN CHITRAL



A KAFIR VILLAGE IN CHITRAL

authority of his State to a Council constituted of Ram Singh, Amar Singh, Suraj Kaul, Bagh Ram and a British nominee.

Hanging between life and death, Pratap Singh had no option but to swear that the letters were forgeries. But the Viceroy informed him :

“Many of these had every appearance of being genuine and they have, moreover a striking resemblance to those other papers, which came into the possession of the Government of India at a previous time.”

It is clear that Pratap Singh had written these letters and other papers in Dogri and passed them on to Sardar Dyal Singh, the proprietor of the Tribune for translation and disposal. We are now in a position to appreciate what were termed as treasonable activities then, and say with confidence that Pratap Singh did the same thing what Tipu Sultan had done in seeking outside help for driving out the British from India.

It was alleged that the British had removed the *Maharaja* to pave the way for the complete control of Kashmir and the hilly regions. The essence of the whole drama lay in the pregnant words; ‘it was Gilgit the Government wanted.’¹

The Making of Frontier

It may be recalled that in 1890 the famous Russian hunting expedition had appeared on the Pamirs. The then British Government of India had learnt that the *Mir* of Hunza had deputed his men for secret talks with the Russian Governor of Turkistan. After having extorted Davison and Younghusband, the Russian had instigated the frontier Chiefs to rise against the British. Further, Russia had promised every support to the Chiefs.² Accordingly when they captured the fort of Chalt, the British got alarmed and had decided to save Gilgit at any cost. Durand having been entrusted with the military operations against the frontier Chiefs, an operational force was organised in 1891.³ According to the British, “the object of the expedition

1. *The Punjab Gazette*, October 12, 1889.

2. Curzon, *Leaves from Viceroy's Note Book*, p. 186.

3. File No. 1055 Part I, O.E.R. (K.G.R.)

was to disperse the gatherings of Hunza and Nagar tribes which were threatening the forts of Chalt and Gilgit and generally to bring under control the Hunza and Nagar Chiefs who had broken their engagements with the British Agent, and had long acted in open defiance of their nominal superior, the *Maharaja of Kashmir*.¹ It may be pointed out that Russia did not come forward to help the Chiefs and thus deceived them with false promises of help.

In organising his operations, Durand had to encounter great hardships. Having overcome all difficulties, operations were started in December 1891 and important forts were captured by the British. The tribesmen had suffered heavy casualties and were pursued as far as Misgar.² The frontier Chiefs had to submit before the combined might of the British and the *Maharaja*. An agreement was signed by both the Chiefs of Hunza and Nagar, "who acknowledged the suzerainty of Kashmir and opened their territories to the free passage by the British. Thus a gap in the defences of the north-western frontier was closed by occupation in the Gilgit valley of two strongholds, commanding the road to Chitral valley, and certain passes over the Hindukush."³

The memorable campaign of 1891 carried the British flag to the very crest of the Hindukush. Durand was entrusted with the work of delineation of the Indo-Afghan border and soon after the Pamir Boundary Commission started its work.

After subjugating the Chiefs of Hunza and Nagar and having deposed of the *Maharaja*, the British Resident became the *de facto* ruler, and the affairs of frontiers were entrusted to the British Agent at Gilgit. As a result, far-reaching improvements were carried out in all spheres of administration. Communications between Gilgit and Srinagar were improved to a great extent. A cart-road that had already been completed between Rawalpindi and Srinagar by 1890 was improved. At the same time, the road leading to the frontiers in the Hindukush was improved so that "we should have a road for our

1. Military Department Notification, dated Simla, 29th April 1892.
2. *The Gazette of India*, April 30, 1892.
3. Curzon, *Leaves from a Viceroy's Note Book*, p. 186.

troops, in order to resist if necessary, any attack from that quarter."¹

Construction of Military Roads

Russia seized Panjdeh, an Afghan outpost in 1884. Fear as well as mistrust of the Russian manoeuvres across the Pamirs continued to disturb the British.² As Kashmir had acquired importance in the context of the Anglo-Russian rivalry, the question of developing road communications, attracted the first attention of the British. It was necessary to have roads to fortify the military position on the frontiers as well as resist, if necessary, an attack from Russia.³ A reconnaissance of the country for a railway to connect the Punjab with Kashmir was started in 1887, under the supervision of Major General De Bourbel. Twenty-two different routes were examined for this purpose and four were approved.⁴ Anderson, Engineer-in-Chief and a staff of 9 Engineers were appointed in 1890 by the Government of India, to carry out a detailed survey of the Jehlum route upto Srinagar in Kashmir.⁵ It was also considered advisable to connect Gilgit with Srinagar with a railway track. Elin Stuart and Victor De-Lepus, who had been on tour to Gilgit, opined that it was advisable to link Kashmir with the Punjab, through a railway line along the banks of the river Indus, which could contact Gilgit, Drass and Srinagar with a tunnel at Zojila.⁶ Henderson prepared other route maps also including the route from Lahul to Yarkand.⁷

For the same reasons, a strategic road was built between Srinagar and Gilgit, fit to serve military needs. The frontiers of India had been extended to the most extreme point of Misgar and the British Imperial interests then touched the Russian borders.⁸

1. File No. 34 of 1890 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
2. Chatter Singh Sharma, *India and Anglo-Soviet Relations*, p. 13.
3. Tyndale Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, p. 30.
4. Jammu and Kashmir Administration Report 1890-91.
5. Hassnain, *British Policy Towards Kashmir*, p. 103.
6. File No. 647 of 1933 Samvat (P.R.) K.G.R.
7. Hassnain, *British Policy Towards Kashmir*, p. 104.
8. *The Gazette of India*, April, 1892.

Expeditions Against the Tribals

The troops of the *Maharaja* were reorganised to serve the Imperial interests and they were used, even in the Black Mountain Expedition of 1891.¹ They were used in suppressing the Chitralis and the Pathans, who were fighting against the British intervention. The British achieved success in this campaign and the Viceroy recognised the devoted aid given by the loyal troops of the *Maharaja* of Kashmir.² Medals were granted to certain Kashmir troops and the *Maharaja* was conferred with the rank of "Major General."³ Having decided to maintain their position in Chitral, a British garrison was posted in Chitral Dir and Swat. It was decided that the retention of Chitral was necessary for the defence of the frontiers. The British policy henceforth, was to turn these tribal elements as "a source of strength to aid instead of obstructing us in the defence of our great Indian Empire."⁴

Chitral

Lytton wrote to the *Maharaja* on the 14th May 1873 on the subject and "suggested that the *Mehtar* of Chitral should promptly be informed that having accepted the suzerainty of the *Maharaja* of Kashmir, he was not at liberty to chance the suzerainty."

It may be noted here that though this engagement came into existence at the instance and with the concurrence of the British Government, no mention of the Government of India was made in it, probably not to raise fears among the Afghans. But in secret, the *Mehtar* was assured of the fact that "the British Government if need be, would afford you countenance and material aid." The *Mehtar* had to supply information and for this purpose, the reporters of the *Maharaja* resided in Chitral and used to send regular diaries and newsletters to the *Maharaja*, who in turn supplied information to the British Government.

1. Younghusband, *The Relief of Chitral*, p. 132.
2. File No. 197 of 1895 and File No. 107 of 1896 (O.E.R.).
3. *ibid.*
4. Younghusband, *The Relief of Chitral*, pp. 180-183.

It may be mentioned at the outset that in order to consolidate his authority over frontier districts, Ranbir Singh had to send several military expeditions to the region and ultimately he succeeded in his objective. His power grew so strong that it posed a real danger to the territories of the *Mehtar* of Chitral. The *Maharaja* received full support from the British Indian Government in his expansionist activities. The British were greatly perturbed by the "Russian menace". During the 20 years following the Crimean war, Russia had traversed 6000 miles eastwards and reached a point within striking distance of India. It was during this period that the *Maharaja* had succeeded in extending his suzerainty over Chitral.

Indo-Russian Frontiers

Meanwhile events on the Indo-Russian frontier were moving very fast. The Afghan war was in the offing and the British were anxious to isolate Afghanistan and eliminate a possible threat from Chitral. The Afghan Government too was re-exerting pressure on the *Mehtar*, threatening him with invasion. The British, however, were so situated that they were helpless to render him any assistance directly to meet this threat. They, therefore, encouraged the *Maharaja* of Kashmir to take over the obligation and to hold out the assurance of assistance to the *Mehtar*. The *Maharaja*, who had already shown more than ordinary interest in the affairs of this principality, was pleased to receive this good news.

Chitral Agreement

Eventually, negotiations resulted in the engagement of 1878 by which the *Mehtar* of Chitral promised to execute orders of the *Maharaja* and pay tributes to him.¹ The translation of the engagement is given as under :

"With the sincerity of the purpose and the cordiality of will, I, Aman-ul-Mulk, do hereby execute this deed on my part and on the part of my children, consisting of the following articles :

1. Aitchison, *Treaties*, Vol. XI, p. 176.

- (a) I will always sincerely endeavour to obey and execute the orders of the *Maharaja*, the *Wali* of Jammu and Kashmir; that I will overtly and covertly consider the *Maharaja's* well-wishers and friends as my friends and the enemies of his Government as my enemies. I will present the following *Nazrana* to him annually :

3 horses
5 hawks
5 tazi dogs.

- (b) One confidential agent of the *Maharaja* shall always reside in Chitral and another at Yasin. Due attention and consideration shall be paid to them. In the like manner, one confidential agent of mine shall reside at the *Maharaja's* durbar and another, on the part of the ruler of Yasin, shall remain at Gilgit for the purpose of carrying out orders.
- (c) I shall receive a yearly *mawajib* subsidy of Rs 12,000 *Srinagari* coins from the *Maharaja's* Government, on condition of my acting upon the above articles and giving satisfaction to the *Maharaja* in every way."

The *Mehtar* of Chitral also undertook to guarantee the remittance to the *Maharaja* of the annual tribute through his agents at Gilgit.¹ The *Maharaja's* influence and power at the court of Chitral at that time was so high that when in 1886, a part of the Afghan Boundary Commission was returning to India *via* Gilgit, the British requested the *Maharaja* to ask the *Mehtar* of Chitral to arrange transport, and make other arrangements for the Commission while in Chitral. The map issued during the period shows not only Hunza, Nagar and Chilas but also Chitral within the territory of the Jammu and Kashmir State.²

But things were not to remain quiet in the region. Soon the *Mehtar* of Chitral failing to carry out some of his engagements to the *Maharaja*, was engaged in a military conflict with

1. Administration Report Jammu and Kashmir 1880-81.

2. Trigonometrical Survey of India Map, 1874.

the forces of the *Maharaja* as well as of some of the smaller Chiefships. The net result was that some of his territories were detached from his rule and handed over to the more loyal Chiefs. Aitchison gives an account of these developments in the following words :

“*Mehtar* Pahalwan Bahadur, a member of the Khushwaqt family acknowledged the suzerainty of Kashmir State, from which he received a subsidy, but he failed to act up to his engagements, and in 1880 he invaded Puniál. Yasin was occupied in his absence by Aman-ul-Mulk of Chitral and Pahalwan having failed in his attack on Puniál, fled from the country. Aman-ul-Mulk was permitted by the Kashmir Durbar to incorporate the whole tract in his own territory, and with their consent, he gave Ghizar to Mohammad Wali, Yasin proper to Mir Aman, and retained Mastuj himself. After the fresh disturbances created by Pahalwan Bahadur in 1882, Aman-ul-Mulk turned Mir Aman out of Yasin and put his son Afzal-ul-Mulk in his place. The Durbar acquiesced.”

The Gilgit affairs having been settled, the British Government diverted their attention towards Chitral for it occupied a most important strategic place in the defence of the British Empire.¹ In 1884, Pahalwan Bahadur of Yasin began his expeditions against those Chiefs who had submitted to the British, and, accordingly invaded Darel and Yasin.² The time was ripe for such moves because Russia had already annexed Mary and was advancing towards the Pamirs. At the same moment it was feared that Afghanistan was making preparations for an attack on Chitral.³ Such events disturbed the British greatly. Accordingly, in 1885, they deputed Lockhart on a special mission to the Pamirs. The *Maharaja* was told to provide all facilities to the Mission.⁴ Lockhart was received at Kohala by the Dewan and all arrangements regarding boarding,

1. Younghusband, *The Relief of Chitral*, p. 180.

2. File No. 4 of 1884 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.

3. Hassanain, *British Policy Towards Kashmir*, p. 69.

4. File No. 56/19 of 1945 Samvat (P.R.) K.G.R.

lodging and transport were made right upto Gilgit by the State Government. An amount of rupees 33,000 was despatched to the *Mehtar* of Chitral, and he was requested to provide all cooperation to the Mission.¹ The *Raja* of Hunza promised to provide all facilities to Lockhart and in return asked for the fort of Chaprot. Lockhart travelled far and wide around the Pamirs and crossed into Badahshan.² After conducting negotiations with the Chinese, he returned to Simla to report on his mission to the Viceroy of India.³ His mission was a complete success. Ranbir Singh was thanked for his interest in this project.⁴

The *Mehtar* of Chitral, who had received the subsidy through Lockhart, expressed his thanks as under :

“It is not hidden from you that this humble self had enrolled himself as one of the sincerest, true and obedient well wishers of the Sarkar, who’s territory is fixed on the other side of Gahkooch and mine on this side of it. I am obedient and true to salt and ready to render all services in Gilgit. It is not hidden from you that my friendship with the British, dates back to the earlier period and I have rendered all facilities to their mission. It is due to the British that my territories are safe from the inroads of the Afghans.”⁵

It is evident that the *Mehtar* had arrived at full understanding with Lockhart and had entered into an era of political relations directly with the British.⁶ This letter further revealed that Chitral would not henceforth countenance any interference in its territorial limits. It also marks the end of the expansionist policy of Ranbir Singh. Chitral having assumed an independent posture, there could be no question of the *Maharaja* going further over the head of British. Chitral now asked for arms and ammunition from the Government of India as promised by Lockhart.

1. File No. 974 of 1885 Samvat (P.R.) K.G.R.
2. File No. 984-85 of 1942-43 Samvat (P.R.) K.G.R.
3. File No. 1000 of 1042 Samvat (P.R.) K.G.R.
4. File No. 998 of 1886 (P.R.) K.G.R.
5. File No. 1024 of 1943 Samvat (P.R.) K.G.R.
6. File No. 1025 of 1943 Samvat (P.R.) K.G.R.

Instead of making their feudatory responsible for the political and military supervision of the natural borders of India, the British Government formulated the policy of taking all the issues in their own hands. The Russo-Indian border had become hot and it was imperative that the British assume the task not merely with local but with an imperial urgency.

When the British virtually took over the administrative control of the Jammu and Kashmir State, Chitral affairs also underwent a drastic change.

In 1894, Nizamul-Mulk, the *Mehtar* of Chitral, was murdered by his own half brother, and trouble after trouble followed, till the British Agent was besieged in the Chitral fort and a relief expedition became necessary. That the Kashmir troops played a major part in the Chitral campaign is well known.

Ultimately in 1895, on the restoration of peace in Chitral, the Khushwaqt districts on the west of Shandur range or the boundary between the Chitral and the Gilgit Agency, were severed from Chitral. Accordingly, Yasin, Kuh, Ghizar and Ishkoman were placed under Governors, whose position was, at least in theory that of paid officials, with no hereditary rights. But the Governorship of Yasin had, in point of fact, always been held by a member of the Khushwaqt family.

The revenue of the districts was taken by the Governors but a certain portion thereof was credited to the State as a tribute. The Governors and certain headmen under them received fixed stipends from the *Maharaja*.

Partition of Chitral

The British decided to partition Chitral into two tracts, (i) the Katur country, which was to consist of Chitral proper, and (ii) the Khushwaqt country namely Mastuj, Laspur, Ghizar, Kuh and Yasin. The control of the *Mehtar* was proposed to extend over the former territory only, while the latter was to be administered by the British Agent, Gilgit. At the same time, it was suggested that the subsidy paid jointly by the Government of India, and Kashmir to the *Mehtar* of Chitral should be continued.

It was further decided that the British Agent, Gilgit, should appoint and pay the Governors and the headmen of Khushwaqt

country who, except in the case of Mastuj and Laspur, should have direct relations with him. As a matter of convenience, it was decided that the Governor of Mastuj and the *Hakim* of Laspur should correspond with the Political Officer at Chitral. This arrangement was followed till 1896, in which year, the Chitral Agency was transferred from Gilgit to the Political Agent, Dir, Swat and Chitral. As a consequence, the Governorship of Mastuj and the district of Laspur was transferred to Chitral whereas Yasin remained with the Gilgit Agency.³

The *Maharaja* agreed to these proposals of the Government of India and as a result of it, an agreement was executed by the *Mehtar* in April, 1914, according to which Mastuj and Laspur were transferred to his direct administration.

The Agreement reads as under :

"Whereas His Majesty's Secretary of State for India has been pleased to sanction the transfer of Mastuj, including Yarkun and Kuh, and Laspur to my direct administration, I the Shuja-ul-Mulk, the *Mehtar* of Chitral, hereby on behalf of myself and my successors accept and undertake to abide by the following conditions :

1. I acknowledge the suzerainty of His Highness the *Maharaja* of Kashmir and Jammu and in token thereof will resume the annual payment of the *Nazrana*.
2. I recognise the limits of my State to be the drainage area of the Chitral river as far south as the boundary with Afghanistan, demarcated by the Commission of 1895.
3. Without the previous approval in writing of the Political Agent, I will not :
 - a) enhance the revenue demand from the transferred territories,
 - (b) increase the *Kar Begar*,
 - (c) remove the present headmen,
 - (d) set aside decisions made by the Political Agent,
 - (e) dispossess the present owners of their lands.

1. Resident in Kashmir to the Chief Minister Jammu and Kashmir letter No. 1851 dated 7th April 1913.

4. In consideration of my acceptance of the above conditions, the subsidies paid to me and certain officials by the Government of India and the Kashmir Darbar, will be continued."

It will be evident from the Agreement, that henceforth, the British Government in India, started direct political relations with Chitral and the Article 1 in the Agreement was kept, simply to keep the *Maharaja* in good humour. It is clear that the *Mehtar* assumed an independent posture and did not pay the annual tribute to the *Maharaja* till he visited Jammu in December, 1921.

In 1922, the *Mehtar* of Chitral wrote to the *Maharaja* that the districts detached from his State in 1895, be retroceded or he might be allowed to appoint his own Governors to these districts.¹

1. His Highness, the Mehtar of Chitral to His Highness, the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, letter dated 16th October, 1922.

4

NORTHERN GATE OF INDIA

"Gilgit is one of the northern gates of India, through which a would be invader must advance, if he advances at all".

—Curzon

Since the re-establishment of Political Agency in Gilgit, many British Officers were, from time to time, deputed by the Government of India to be incharge of several departments in the region. The Agency Surgeon, the Royal Engineers, the Inspecting Officers of the Imperial Service troops, the Special Military Assistant, the Royal Artillery Officer, and others were appointed and the administration of the Gilgit region, excepting the Gilgit *Wazarat*, was carried on by the Government of India, through the Political Agent. The Supply and Transport Department was organised, the Gilgit road was taken in hand, the levies were reorganised, and a corps of Scouts was formed; the Public Works, the Medical and the Educational Institutions were brought into existence, invariably at the expense and with the consent of the *Maharaja*. As such, the control and the influence of the Political Agent became solidified day after day. By 1900, the British had fully reorganised the military and the civil administration of the Agency.

The British also deputed their officers to conduct a special survey of the Karakoram range.¹ The Government of India, also despatched reinforcements to Gilgit as a defence measure "in connection with the Russian movements."² Their policy

1. File No. 24 of 1892 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.

2. *ibid.*

underwent a change and now they desired to win over the friendship of the tribal Chiefs and utilise them for their imperial interests. Accordingly, the Chiefs of Hunza, Nagar and Puniál were invited to Calcutta in 1900, as guests of the Viceroy.¹ It is evident that the British Government had taken the view that these frontier States were not part of the territories of the Jammu and Kashmir States, though they had accepted, the *Maharaja* as their suzerain. It was for these very reasons that these Chiefships had been designated as States in Aitchison's Treaties.

Military Establishment

In 1900, the following changes in the military establishment of the Gilgit Agency were decided upon by the Government of India :

1. The Political Agent's escort of regular troops was withdrawn and their duties were assigned to the Imperial Service Troops stationed in the Agency.
2. The appointment of Inspecting Officer of the Imperial Service Troops was abolished and the five special Military Assistants were reduced to two, who were designated Assistant Inspecting Officers, in all matters affecting the drill and the training.
3. The Royal Artillery Officer in Gilgit, ordinarily a subaltern was brought on the Inspecting staff of the Imperial Service Troops in all matters relating to drill and training and the Kashmir Imperial Service Batteries was placed under orders of the Royal Artillery Inspecting Officer.

The Residency informed the *Maharaja* that under these arrangements, the Assistant Inspecting Officer in Gilgit would probably be fully occupied with his duties and would be unable to undertake political duties. He was further informed that the Political Agent at Gilgit would manage with the aid of his assistants at headquarters and at Chilas. The performance of the political duties henceforth would be entrusted to the

1. File No. 5 of 1891 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.

Special Military Assistant. The State Council, accordingly ordered that the Military Department be informed of the proposed change.¹

Imperial Service Troops

In the year 1883, the Viceroy deputed Mellis for the purpose of discussing the offer of assistance by the *Maharaja* in defending the frontiers of India. The object was to examine the best way to utilise the forces of the State in the general defence of the British Empire. The *Maharaja*, in order to prove his loyalty intimated that it was possible to utilise the loyal offers of assistance of the native Chiefs for the defence of the Empire by asking them to maintain some portion of their troops in a condition of readiness for active service. But at the same time he wanted to utilise this opportunity to his own advantage. He suggested the training of the State troops, about 2500 in number to be stationed at Jammu, and to arm them with suitable weapons so that these trained troops may, in due course, relieve the troops on the Gilgit border. In this way the *Maharaja* wanted to have his own control on Gilgit and its frontiers. But the British, on the other hand, sent a draft agreement intended for the introduction of more definite arrangements for the effective control and discipline of the Kashmir Imperial Service troops.²

Further, the Resident intimated that the Government of India were of the opinion that to make the reduction of military expenditure in Gilgit possible, the principal object of the State should be concentrated in reorganising the Kashmir Imperial Service Troops. The scheme approved by the Government of India contemplated the maintenance of the Mountain Batteries, as they were, and the reorganisation of the six battalions into four battalions, each 702 strong. It also contemplated relief of the troops in Gilgit being carried out every third year instead of every second year, and so on. Under this scheme, the garrison of the Gilgit Agency was to consist

1. File No. A-7/1900. State Council Resolution No. VII dated 16th May, 1900.
2. The Resident Kashmir's letter No. 4128 dated 23rd July, 1891 to the address of the Vice President.

of the British Agent's escort of 200 rifles, one Mountain Battery of 4 guns, two Infantry battalions each 700 strong, two companies of Kashmir Sappers and Miners, and 1600 rifles in addition to the Battery and the Sappers. It was added that in view of the diminished importance of Gilgit, and, of the fact that Chitral was then being held by the British Indian troops, the Government of India considered the garrison proposed to be ample for the requirements of Gilgit.¹ Previously, the Government of India paid political allowances to the military officers at Gupis, Chilas and Chalt for a limited period only. But, it was now considered that it would be necessary to retain an officer at Chilas. Accordingly, it was decided that one officer should remain with each of the detachments in Gupis and Chalt and carry on political duties in Yasin and in Hunza and Nagar respectively.²

It has been stated above that when the Residency forwarded the draft agreement respecting the control and discipline of the Imperial Service troops particularly when serving beyond the frontier of the State, a detailed proposal explaining the purpose was sent, which at the outset described the conditions of service of these troops. These conditions were as follows :

- (a) Service in their respective States,
- (b) Service in British India in time of peace,
- (c) Service in British India in time of war or revolt, and
- (d) Active service beyond the frontiers of British India.

We have further explained the changes that took place from time to time in the composition of the troops, and the steps and measures taken to instruct the State troops in order to equip them for service of the British Government.

The impact of the British policy on the organisation and use of the *Maharaja's* army was most significant. The basic policy of the British was to bring the forces in every native State under its control and utilise these for furtherance of its interests. Accordingly, the Kashmir forces were utilised in Chitral, North

1. Kashmir Residency letter No 2234 dated 28th May 1896.

2. Letter No 8650 dated 4th December, 1896 from the Resident to the Vice President of the Council.

Western Frontier province and the Afghan expedition. In 1888, the State army was brought under the control of the British advisers and Neville Chamberlain was posted as the Military Secretary of the State.¹ During the same year, the Kashmir Imperial Service troops were organised.² Besides, the State forces were also reorganised by the British.³ In order to bring the State forces under the complete control of the British, an agreement was signed between the *Maharaja* and the Resident, by which the former agreed that "whenever the Imperial Services Troops are engaged in the defence of the British Empire, they will be subject to the control of the officers and soldiers of His Majesty's Indian Army. In 1900, the whole military administration in Gilgit and other tribal areas of the Kashmir State was taken over by the British.

Safeguarding the Empire

Curzon, advocated the following policy in respect of the military preparations for safeguarding the British Empire in India :

"It is not desirable that the necessary measures of self-protection should be taken in a panic or a scare. It is not when a hostile movement is already being made across the borders of Afghanistan that it is of the greatest advantage to have offer made either of money or men. First, it is not money that is wanting at such a moment, so much so, troops and transport and it is not untrained forces that will be of assistance but only those, which have been brought by a long course of discipline to the requisite pitch of efficiency and training. Efficient Imperial Service troops will be ready at all times for imperial defence, much in the same manner as the forces of the combined German princes".

Complete reorganisation was effected by 1907. Local Levies, known as Scouts, were organised to watch enemy movements across the frontier at Kilik and Darkot passes.⁴

1. Roberts, *Forty-one Years in India*, p. 527.

2. File No. 4/Q-15 of 1888 (E.A.R.) K.G.R.

3. File No. 2 of 1893 (E.A.R.) K.G.R.

4. File No. 127 F.A. of 1907 (O.E.R.)

The Government of India advised the State Government to take precautions about anarchist activities in Kashmir.¹ When the shadows of the Great War of 1914 were approaching nearer, the British Recruiting Officers toured the territories of the *Maharaja*. The whole of the Kashmir army was mobilised for active service in the Great War and they fought against the Germans in East Africa. The total number of recruits supplied from the State for the war came to nearly sixteen thousand.²

Transport Arrangements

The Resident in Kashmir, intimated that the British had for some time past, under their consideration, the important question of transport arrangements between Srinagar and Gilgit and they observed that no proper system of transport could be obtained unless, one was organised and set in motion for the State Government by a trained British Officer. The *Maharaja* used to take Kashmiris on *begar* or force labour, for transport services. Most of them would die on the way of hunger, cold and fatigue. The Government of India observed that the arrangements made by the civil authorities had not been adequate, and that spasmodic efforts carried out at the expense of the peasantry involved serious risk of a break-down and might lead to further difficulty. Further, the country adjoining the Gilgit road being deserted owing to the natural reluctance of the cultivators to contribute animals and labour, they suggested that any scheme for providing a constant supply of transport must be based upon fair and liberal conditions as between the State and the Kashmiri peasants.³

The British therefore, decided to depute a selected officer to report upon the whole question of transport and chose Yielding for the mission. He was deputed to work under the immediate direction of the Resident. The object of his deputation was to ascertain the requirements of the Gilgit force, the extent to which they would locally be met, and the means by which the

1. File No. 264/N of 1910 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.

2. File No. 28 M of 1912 A.R. K.G.R.

3. Hassnain, *British Policy towards Kashmir*, p. 64.

4. File No. 24 of 1892 (K.G.R.).

local supplies should be supplemented. The British asked the *Maharaja* to cooperate, in providing all the information that it was in his power to afford. The *Maharaja* was further requested to issue orders for collection of rice and grain in Kashmir required for despatch to Gilgit. Accordingly, he issued necessary orders to his officials to comply with the instructions, as mentioned above.¹

Financial Arrangements

The British further decided, that a division between the Government of India, and the State Government, of the expenditure upon transport and supplies for the Gilgit region in the proportion of one to three, would be a fair proportion in calculating the incidence of charges. The Resident added that from the estimates approved by the Government of India, the total cost of transport and supplies for Gilgit for 1893-94 would be under Rs 5,00,000.²

The *Maharaja* had to eat the humble pie and :

“Resolved that thanks be conveyed to the Government of India, with an expression to entire concurrence, on the part of the State in their decision and that copies of the Government orders may be furnished to the Accountant General and the other officers concerned for information and guidance.”³

It also transpires that the *Maharaja* had also agreed to bear one-fourth of the expenditure incurred on the move of the office of the Chief Transport Agent from Srinagar to Bandipur and vice-versa.

Coolie Corps

At the instance of the Resident in Kashmir, it was decided to have a *Coolie Corps* raised as a purely administrative measure, unconnected with the Gilgit transport, with the sole aim of averting compulsory labour from the cultivators of Astor

1. Resolution dated 21st March 1892.

2. Letter No. 529 dated 9th Feb. 1893 from the officiating Resident to the *Maharaja*.

3. State Council Resolution No. XII dated 18th March 1893.

and Gilgit. In compliance with the orders, the *Maharaja* entertained the proposal and placed the Coolie Corps of 150 men under the management, supervision and control of Lawrence, the then Settlement Commissioner, for a period of one year.¹

It appears that in 1894, the Assistant Commissary General required a permit to pass on 1,400 camels and 350 camel men to the Gilgit transport force. The State Council in their Resolution No. XXXII dated the 4th August 1894 had directed that grazing fees in respect of camels and bullocks employed in Gilgit transport be remitted only for the year 1893, the Council being unable to remit the tax permanently. On 13th March 1895, it was resolved that permission be accorded on the distinct understanding that the Transport Department shall pay grazing fees in respect of camels employed in the Gilgit transport. The Revenue Member of the Council, however, brought the following facts to the notice of the Council :

1. That as a rule, the grazing tax, the *Markaban* tax used to be levied in respect of ponies in the Kashmir region only.
2. That last year, a tax was imposed on outside bullocks and camels, exception being however, subsequently made tentatively for the period of one year, in favour of the camel engaged by the Commissariat Department.
3. That the question for consideration now, was whether the tax should not be permanently remitted in favour of outside transport camels engaged for transport purposes by the British contractor.

He further observed that the tax on outside camels had only been imposed in the past and that having regard to the fact that a large proportion of the expense on transport was already being borne by the British Government, it was fair and reasonable that outside transport animals engaged for transport should be exempted from the tax. It was also added that the contract had been made with the Punjabi carriers on the understanding that no tax would be levied and if, therefore, any tax was

1. State Council Resolution No. II dated 12th Feb. 1925.

levied, the Commissariat Department would have to pay it and the amount so paid, would form a part of the cost of the Gilgit supply, and would be debited to the British Government. The Revenue Member therefore recommended the continuance of the exemption. The State Council thereupon resolved in supersession of the previous resolution that the tax be permanently remitted as proposed by the Revenue Member.¹ But this concession was not allowed in case of the *markabans* from Kashmir.

Transport Ponies

In order that the ponies engaged by the Transport Department for trip to Gilgit should reach Bandipur by July annually, in physically fit condition, it was directed that they should be prohibited from working and exempted from all baggage work during May and June of each year. The Resident further asked that the owners of such ponies should be exempted from demands by the Civil Authorities, for their ponies from 1st May until 30th September, annually and the ponies be allowed to graze during May and June (and from 1st July to 30th September to work on the Gilgit road. It was further ordered that any owner, who was found working his animals during May and June or absent from Bandipur during the remaining period specified above, would entirely forfeit all privileges.²

The Political Agent, Gilgit forwarding therewith a copy of the rules, for registration of the transport in the Gilgit Agency, proposed such registration in the Gilgit *Tehsil* early in May and in the Astor *Niabat* by the middle of June. The rules were framed with a view to determine the number of animals available in the Agency, to enable some sort of table of transport to be compiled for the defence scheme, so as to be in a position to know how long, it would take a column to move in case of mobilisation. The enumeration and registration of the animals was to be made by the Supply and Transport Officer, who would act under the orders of the Political Agent. It was further decided that the registered animals would not be called except in case of mobilisation or for inspection under orders of

1. State Council Resolution No. XXIII dated 25th May 1895.

2. State Council Resolution No. V dated 27th May 1905.

the Political Agent. The animals, in the words of the Political Agent, would be branded and registered but would remain the property of their owners.¹

Concession Rates

The issue of rations at concessional rates, to the Kashmir troops and others was formally sanctioned in 1893 by the then British Government of India. In 1922 certain revised orders governing the rates to be charged for repayment issue in Kashmir and Gilgit were issued, which were further modified in 1924. These orders envisaged the discontinuance of the issue of rations at concessional rates to all entitled persons, including the State troops and the followers.² The Supply and Transport Officer was of the opinion that as the concessional rates were specially fixed by the Government of India in 1893, their discontinuance would cause discontent all round. The Resident also considered the withdrawal of the concessions a hardship and before approaching the Government of India, asked the *Maharaja* for his views, who opined that the present system of issue of rations at concessional rates in the Gilgit Agency should remain unchanged. Eventually this view was accepted by the Government of India.³

Grass Farms

The question of the economical management of the grass farms in Gilgit had been engaging the attention of the Political Agent in Gilgit. The farms had hitherto been managed, partly by the Commanding Royal Engineers, and, partly by the Assistant Commissary General. Since the application of the orders of the Government of India, to place these farms on a similar footing as in Bengal and the Punjab, was not suitable to the conditions prevailing in Gilgit, it was proposed to change the status of these farms to that of the Kashmir State farms. It was decided to work them as such, on business lines employing permanent establishment, and selling the produce to the Commissariat Department at rates, which would cover both the cost

1. His Highness' order No. 1458 dated 14th October 1914.

2. File No. 6 of 1882, Military Records (K.G.R.).

3. Notification dated 7th October, 1926.

of that establishment and other incidental expenses of cultivation. The proposed scheme, which had the advantage of treating the farms on State land as State property, the letter added, would be recommended to the Government of India for their consideration if the State Department agreed.¹

The *Maharaja* who wanted to take advantage of the situation, made the following proposal :

- a. Placing funds at the disposal of the *Wazir* of Gilgit for the repair of water channels in the neighbourhood of Bunji and the country onwards, and for the construction of some important new ones.
- b. The deputation of a company of Kashmir Sappers and Miners to provide the necessary labour.²

It was clear that he wanted to depute his soldiers as labourers and extend his military sway in the region.

The *Maharaja* also intimated that during the winter season, the farm bands who will have very little work to do in the fields, should be made to undergo musketry training, so that in an emergency, they might strengthen the hands of the Gilgit garrison. He further suggested that the company should be recruited from the *Magh* and *Doom* inhabitants of Jammu only. But, the British saw the trick and disagreed with his proposal to introduce the *Maghs* and *Dooms* of Jammu in the Imperial forces.³

With forwarding a copy of the report on an inspection of the forts at Gupis and Chalt by Major Leslie and inviting opinion of the *Maharaja* thereon, the Resident presumed that the Government of India would, as usual contribute three-fourths of any charges incurred in carrying out improvements to these forts.⁴

The *Maharaja* was informed that the Commander-in-Chief was of the opinion that the money spent on the existing post at

1. Letter No. 1061 dated 26th Feb. 1899 from the Assistant Resident in Kashmir.

2. State Council Resolution dated the 26th Sept. 1892.

3. File No. Q-3 of 1899 K.G.R.

4. Letter No. 5652 dated 24th August, 1903. File No. A-17/1903.

Gupis would be thrown away, and added that the Resident presumed the State Government would agree that whatever measures are finally decided to be necessary in the "interests of Imperial defence, will have to be undertaken." The *Maharaja* was also informed that the Government of India had sanctioned the following measures :

- (i) garrison of Chalt being withdrawn, and sites for block houses selected, and block houses made,
- (ii) post of Gupis maintained as a Commissariat store depot and not classed a work of defence,
- (iii) supply of 1,500 sand bags for the Chilas fort.

He was further informed that the expenditure under item No. iii, will be met by the Government of India, while under item i, the State Government shall have to pay one-fourth of the cost involved.

Gilgit Scouts

In 1899, the Resident forwarded a letter from the Political Agent Gilgit, in which the latter had supported the scheme for the entertainment of a force of civil police levies of 36 persons to take the place of 35 *Tehsil* Sepoys of the Regular Army.

In connection with the defence of Gilgit and Chitral, it was proposed in 1902 by Conaghey that the strength of the local levies be raised from 205 to 550 and that they be armed with Martini Henri rifles. The Government of India did not agree to so large an increase nor to the arming of the levies with rifles.¹

The Government of India had no objection to the entertainment of 100 additional men for employment as Scouts. The note of Conaghey suggested raising of these extra men in Yasin and Ghizar by a reduction in the establishment of Civil levies. The note further showed that the new scheme associated the Chiefs of the States with the levies as leaders, and bodyguards were provided for Hunza, Nagar and Punial from among these levies. The new scheme of entertaining 100 additional men,

1. Residency letter No. 401-C dated 12th Dec. 1902.

as agreed to by the Government of India was approved by the State Council.¹

It was not until August 1913, that any changes were either proposed or made in the levies, except for the minor changes that had been effected by the Political Agent. The scheme was modified by the British Government of India in 1913 and the proposals are summarised as under :

- (a) creation of Corps of 656 Scouts of all ranks;
- (b) the Corps to undergo a month's training annually;
- (c) the Corps to be composed of eight companies of 80 men each, exclusive of the two native officers;
- (d) the companies to be furnished by :

(j) Hunza2
(ii) Nagar2
(iii) Yasin1
(iv) Ghizar & Kuh1
(v) Gilgit etc.,1

Total	7

- (e) the Chiefs of the States to be associated with their respective units;
- (f) two British Officers to be attached to the Corps;
- (g) Military Assistant to the Political Agent to be the Commandant of Scouts.

In this connection, the following extract from the Memorandum will be of interest :

"The enforcement of authority by a force drawn from among themselves cannot fail to have most wholesome disciplinary effect on the people. Moreover the aggrandisement of *Raja* Pakhtun Wali, whom nothing but strong hand will restrain from his designs on *Khilk* and *Bushgar*, the threatened extension of the Pathan influence, the influx of

1. State Council Resolution No. 2 dated 19/20 Dec. 1902.

modern rifles among the tribes of the upper Indus, the late complications in Yasin and the elements of trouble which are abroad in Hunza, these are all indications that the time has come to render the Levies, to some extent at any rate, an effective weapon from the quasi-military as well as the political point of view for the maintenance of order in the Agency. Endowed with an organisation led by British officers and possessing some idea of discipline, the Corps will be available for duty in any part of the District, irrespective of the local animosities and jealousies which detract from the already very limited value of the existing levies."¹

The Secretary of the State having sanctioned the proposal as detailed above and the State Government having agreed to bear the extra cost involved, the scheme was brought into operation with effect from 1913. The State Government was to pay only half the cost of the British establishment. It may be stated here that in connection with the movement of enemy subjects across the frontier, the Hunza and Yasin Scouts were employed from 1916 at the Khilk and Darkot passes. It was decided that the continuance of the location of a party of the Gilgit Scouts at Paik in the Chinese territory was desired in Imperial interests.

In 1926, the Political Agent, Gilgit made certain other proposals with a view to improve the efficiency, the training and the conditions of service of the Gilgit Scouts. These proposals were approved by the Government of India.²

It appears that the British Government had nothing to worry about the State, for its administration had passed into their hands. The position of the Resident was strong and the *Maharaja* could not oppose him. Pratap Singh had become old and had lost all interest in life and most of the work was done by Hari Singh, the senior member of the Council. The tug of war between the *Maharaja* and the Resident had come to an end. The British had decided to treat Hari Singh as heir-apparent to succeed Pratap Singh. He was being trained for future rulership and was placed under Wakefield, who was

1. File No. A-14 of 1902 (K.G.R.).

2. File No. 9 of 1983 (Samvat) Military Records.

appointed Chief Secretary of the Council.¹

Hari Singh working as senior Member of the Council, asked for immediate decentralisation followed by delegation of powers to the Council. The *Maharaja* who never wanted to part with his powers, even at his death-bed, opposed the aforesaid proposal. Accordingly, Hari Singh submitted a secret note to the Resident and the *Maharaja* was told by the Resident in 1923, to renounce his position as the President of the Council in favour of Hari Singh, but he refused to accept this suggestion. In 1924, Pratap Singh was told to abstain from attending the meetings of the Council, where the work could go on during his absence and he would be informed of the proceedings. Pratap Singh had to yield and agreed, that in future he will not attend the meetings of the Council. The following year, he passed away unwept and unsung as a frustrated scapegoat.

Bifurcation

In 1901, the combined *Wazarat* of the Frontier District was abolished and the two *Wazarats* of Gilgit and Ladakh were constituted in its place. The Gilgit *Wazarat* was to comprise the territory included in Gilgit and Astor *Tehsils* and the *Niabat* at Bunji, the tract Haramosh being added on the *Niabat* at Bunji. The *Wazarat* for purposes of executive administration was to be in direct subordination to the Revenue Member of the State Council, while in matters purely judicial, it was to be under the control and supervision of the Judicial Member of the Council. But for purposes of account and incorporation of the annual administration report, the *Wazarat* to be included in the Kashmir province.² As such, the effective control of the State over Gilgit began to languish. The *Wazir* was henceforth concerned with the affairs of the *Wazarat* only and even in this, he could not exercise his powers without interference from the Political Agent.

In connection with the removal of Hakim Miharban Shah, the *Wazir* of Ghizar, the Residency in March 1905 addressed the State Government and asked for their concurrence to the proposal, to which the Government of India had already agreed.

1. File No. 32 of 1923 (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.

2. State Council Resolution No. XXX dated 12th April 1901.

It had been decided that the Hakim would be removed and Ghizar would be incorporated in the Governorship of Yasin and Kuh. The State Government raised objections to the arrangements but the Residency informed the *Maharaja* that the Government of India, had in 1901 conferred jurisdiction of these tracts on the Political Agent, Gilgit and his Assistants in Chilas, Ghizar, Kuh, Yasin and Ishkoman. As such, the Kashmir officials had no *locus standi* to interfere with the internal administration of the State.

It was further decided that the only portion of the Gilgit Agency, which was to remain under the direct control of the State were the *Tehsils* of Gilgit and Astor and the *Niabat* of Bunji. The Political Agent was responsible to the Resident, for the proper administration of the remaining districts of the Gilgit Agency. Similarly, Chitral, Hunza and Nagar though deemed to be under the *Maharaja's* suzerainty, were not Kashmir territory. The Viceroy declared that the general policy of the Government of India towards these petty States was to allow the people to govern themselves, as far as possible, the British officers interfering only when it was imperatively necessary that they should do so. Such being the circumstances, the Resident informed the *Maharaja* that further discussions on this question would be unprofitable.

The Khushwaqt districts of Yasin, Kuh, Ghizar and Ishkoman, though under separate Governors were administered by the Political Agent, Gilgit. In 1896, Ishkoman had been separated from Yasin and placed under a separate Governor. Subsequently, Ghizar which had a separate Governor upto the year 1905 was included in the Governorship of Yasin and Kuh. But in 1912, the Governorship of these three States was again broken up into the governorships of Yasin, Ghizar and Kuh. Later on, Chilas was also made a sub-division of the Political Agency and placed under the Assistant to the Political Agent. The State of Hunza and Nagar, which were governed by the *Mirs* were kept under the political control of the Agent in Gilgit. Punial, which was considered to be a part of the *Maharaja's* territory was included in the political district in 1908 and was also placed under the control of the Political Agent, Gilgit. The net result was that the political districts, in

the words of the *Wazir* of Gilgit, "became a sort of forbidden territory, where no State official could ever go and the public forgot the *Maharaja* of Jammu and Kashmir." As time passed on, the State Government ceased to exercise any control over the region.

Judicial Matters

The *Wazir* of Gilgit and the Political Agent, Gilgit enjoyed independent power in regard to the administration of justice in the *Wazarat* and the Agency respectively. The Political Agent exercised powers of a District and Sessions Judge in regard to criminal cases in the Agency and appeal against his orders lay with the Resident in Kashmir. The jurisdiction of Yasin was vested in the Military officer, in the same way as the jurisdiction in Hunza and Nagar was vested in the *Rajas* of these States. Cases arising in Hunza and Nagar or Yasin were ordinarily triable by them. It was ordered by the Viceroy that where any person from countries beyond the Imperial border was concerned, the Political Agent would in his political capacity supervise the case. If the subjects of the *Maharaja* of Jammu and Kashmir were involved, the Political Agent, of course, at any time could obtain the advice and assistance of the *Wazir-i-Wazarat*.¹ The Political Agent was authorised to issue a warrant for the arrest and surrender of any person accused of having done any act against the law of such State.² Owing to the fact that the *Wazir-i-Wazarat* was not invested with the powers enabling him to deal with or try serious criminal cases, the State Council in 1892 invested the *Wazir* with the following powers :³

1. that, he shall exercise criminal jurisdiction as a First Class Magistrate within the civil jurisdiction of Gilgit with powers to inflict imprisonment not exceeding two years, fine not exceeding Rs 1000 and whipping not exceeding 30 stripes.
2. that, he shall obey all orders regarding all civil and

1. File No. A-13 of 1900 (K.G.R.).

2. State Council Resolution No. X dated 4th March 1899.

3. State Council Resolution No. X dated 23rd Nov. 1899, and No VII dated 19th March 1892.

criminal matters issuing from the court of the Chief Judge, Srinagar.

3. that, he shall refer all the cases not triable by him to the Chief Judge.

In civil matters, the *Wazir-i-Wazarat*, Gilgit, enjoyed the powers of a District Judge, and appeals against the orders of the *Wazir* lay with the competent courts, in Kashmir. The *Wazarat*, for purposes of purely judicial matters was under the control and supervision of the Judicial Member, later on, termed as Judicial Minister.

The procedure in regard to civil cases arising between the inhabitants of the settled and outlying regions had been a matter of dispute. The Political Agent, Gilgit informed the *Wazir-i-Wazarat*, that the following procedure in regard to civil cases had received the approval of the Resident in Kashmir, and the Kashmir State officials concerned might be informed accordingly:

- “1. If the plaintiff is an inhabitant of the *Tehsil* of Gilgit and Astor or the *Niabat* of Bunji, he will submit his claim in the usual manner to the local State authorities, who will forward it to the Political Officer in charge of the outlying districts in question, for necessary action.
2. Similarly, if an inhabitant of any outlying district has any claim against a person belonging to the settled districts before mentioned, he may first submit the same to the Political Officer concerned, who will forward it to the *Wazarat* office for enquiry and report.
3. The Political Agent will at his discretion, refer any claimant to the *Wazarat* courts, when it is apparent that such procedure would be convenient and in the interest of the State.
4. This procedure will not, however, debar any plaintiff from either side, who consents to have his case finally disposed off by the authority having charge or jurisdiction, where the defendant resides, from personally presenting himself before such authority.”

The procedure was later on, modified by the Resident as under :

- “1. If the plaintiff is an inhabitant of the *Tehsil* of Gilgit or Astor or of the *Niabat* of Bunji, he will submit his claim in the usual manner to the local State authorities, who will forward it to the Political Agent through the *Wazir-i-Wazarat*. The Political Agent will then address the Assistant Political Agent or the Chief or the Governor in whose jurisdiction the defendant resides, and if the latter admits the claim, the movable property in question will be recovered from him and forwarded to the *Wazir-i-Wazarat*, for delivery to the plaintiff. In the event of the defendant denying the correctness of the plaintiff's claims, the latter should then be called upon to submit his evidence to the Political Agent, who can then, if he considers it necessary, summon the defendant to appear before him or forward the file to the Assistant Political Agent, the Governor or the Chief concerned, so that the defendant's reply may be recorded. In such cases, the decision of the Political Agent should be final.
2. If an inhabitant of an outlying district has any claim against an inhabitant to the settled districts, he should submit the same to the local *Durbar* authority, who will decide the case in accordance with the procedure in force in the State courts.”¹

Due to the pressure exercised by the British Resident, the State courts ceased to exercise jurisdiction in the Gilgit Agency, but helpless as it was, it could give only some pinpricks. In 1923, one Chilasi prisoner Shaffi Ullah who was sentenced to death by the Political Agent as Sessions Judge, but the sentence being commuted to one of life imprisonment by the Resident of Kashmir, as High Court Judge, was then released by the State Government under Rule 1 of the Rules regarding remission to the prisoners. The Resident took exception to it remarking

1. Kashmir Residency letter No. 378 dated 6th Feb. 1906.

that the prisoner had served less than 10 years of his imprisonment and has been released without consulting him or the Political Agent. The Political Agent had asked for permission to re-arrest the released Shaffi Ullah, whose presence in Chilas was considered most undesirable and to despatch him to Srinagar to undergo the remaining portion of his imprisonment. The Resident stated that unless he heard from the State Government to the contrary, he proposed to authorise the Political Agent to do so, and added that he should be glad also, if orders could be issued, that in future the dangerous offenders, such as Shaffi Ullah, who had been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, should not be released without the concurrence of the Resident. On this, the State Council passed the following Resolution :¹

“that the Foreign Member of the Council be directed to point out to the Resident that the prisoner was released in the same way as the life convicts are released. He had completed, together with the remission earned, a period of 14 years. This is according to the rules in force both here as well as in the Punjab. Previously, all such prisoners have been released but no objection was raised by the Residency. As an instance, a reference is invited to the case of the prisoner Khalil, who also was the Chilasi and also was charged with the same offence, viz. murder and was also a life prisoner convicted by the Political Agent in Gilgit and who was released in January, 1923.

In view of the circumstance the State is not in any way to blame for the action taken in this case. If the Political Agent considers the man dangerous or undesirable he should take separate action in that respect.”

The Residency was informed accordingly, which then objected that the calculations in regard to the remissions granted to the prisoner was wrong. But the case was finally settled by the Residency intimating that the Resident had accepted the calculation of remissions made by the State authorities in the case of Shaffi Ullah but added that in the case of prisoners for the politically administered districts, notice may

1. State Council Resolution No. VIII dated 15th Dec 1923.

be given to the Residency before the release is ordered, so that the Resident may be in a position to consult the Political Agent, Gilgit. This shows that the State authorities had begun to show their existence. When in 1926, the Resident requested that in future, communications regarding the release of prisoners might be addressed to the Kashmir Residency, the matter was submitted to the Council, it passed the following orders :¹

"Council consider this to be the matter, in which the State should assert its right. It is accordingly resolved that the Foreign Department be asked to prepare for the approval of Council, a seasoned and a detailed representation on the subject against the suggestions made by the Resident in Kashmir."

Hari Singh the new *Maharaja*, had started to assert himself, much to the dislike of the British, for which he had to suffer after a short period of a few years. Political agitation against his rule in 1931 made him weak and he was made to surrender Gilgit to the British in 1935.

Treasury

The charge of the State Treasury was originally held by the *Tehsildar* of Gilgit. In 1898, the Political Agent proposed a scheme, providing for the appointment of a separate Treasury Officer on a pay, half of which plus the amount of contribution, leviable thereon, was to be paid by the State. The Residency asked for the approval of the State Council, which was accorded. In 1901, the Political Agent raised the question of a suitable building for the Gilgit Treasury. It was pointed out that the State Treasury was then accommodated in some godowns inside the Gilgit fort, which was quite unsuitable even for the present requirements of the Treasury and the building of a new treasury was, therefore, merely a question of time and funds. He suggested a combined Treasury building for both the State and the Imperial Treasuries. The Treasury Officer being partly paid by the State Government, the Resident was of the opinion that

1. State Council Resolution No. SC VII dated 29th Jan. 1927.

the proposal of having a combined building seemed to be economical and in every way desirable. The matter being laid before the Council, it was decided that they considered it more expedient to have a separate Treasury building and accordingly provision be made in the Budget for construction of the same.¹

But due to the pressure put upon by the Resident, the State Council decided that in supersession of its previous resolution, a combined Treasury building with separate room for the location of the Imperial and the State Treasury be constructed at Gilgit, the cost of the roof being borne proportionately by the Government of India and the State.²

In 1905, the Residency intimated that the Political Agent has proposed that the Native Assistant should be relieved entirely of the duties connected with the State Treasuries at Gilgit, so that he might devote his whole time to political work and that the Treasury Officer should be entrusted to Mohammad Ifrikhar Ahmad, the then Agency Head Accountant. It was added that no charge was proposed to be made in the amount of the salary of either Officer but to pay the Native Assistant entirely from the Imperial funds. It was further pointed out that the Government of India had conveyed sanction to the proposal and the approval of the State Government was awaited. The State Council approved the proposal as sanctioned by the Government of India.³

From the above, it would be clear that this officer was under the control of the *Wazir-i-Wazarat*, in the capacity of State Treasury Office, while as Accountant, Political Agency, he was under the Political Agent. This dual control resulted in several complications. For instance in 1905, he was ordered by the Political Agent, Gilgit to proceed to Punial and supervise the delivery of revenue purchase grain there, for the Supply and Transport Department. He made over charge of the treasury office to the Head Clerk, Agency but did not send any formal report to the *Wazarat* and on return from Punial,

1. State Council Resolution No. III dated 14th Sept. 1901.

2. State Council Resolution No. II dated 21st Feb. 1902.

3. State Council Resolution No. VII dated 19th May 1905.

took over charge of the Treasury and intimated the fact to the *Wazir*.

The *Wazir-i-Wazarat* of Gilgit took exception to the course adopted by the Treasury Office and reported the matter to the Revenue Minister. A strong argument in favour of the proposal to have a separate Treasury Officer was advanced by the State Government in 1902, but this was not agreed to by the then Resident in Kashmir.¹

At last in 1914, the *Wazir-i-Wazarat* again proposed that the then Treasury Officer, who was the Head Clerk of the Gilgit Agency in addition to being incharge of both the Imperial and the State Treasuries should be relieved of the charge of the State Treasury work altogether. But the Resident, at the instance of the Political Agent, Gilgit, intimated that the appointment of a separate Treasury Officer at Gilgit be deferred until his office reorganisation is complete. Accordingly, the scheme remained in abeyance, till 1916, when the Resident intimated that in deference to the wishes of the *Maharaja*, he had agreed to the proposal of having a whole time officer for the State Treasury, Gilgit. The State Treasury Officer, accordingly took over the charge in 1916 and the British and the State Treasuries were thus separated.

Revenue Administration

The Gilgit region termed as *Wazarat* and the British Agency were also known as the settled and the un-settled districts. Mention had already been made above, about the return of land to the Chilasis taken from them after the disturbances of 1893 and fixing small sums to be paid by them to the State Government. As for Yasin, Kuh, Ghizar and Ishkoman, we also learn that the revenue of these districts was taken by the Governor out of which certain portion was credited as tribute to the State. In 1907, the Resident in Kashmir addressed to the Chief Minister regarding revenue and other payment recovered in the Yasin Kuh and Ghizar districts of the Gilgit Agency. He stated that the Political Agent in Gilgit had submitted a report, which showed that the Hashmat Dyak people of Yasin, were too highly taxed, while the tribute paid by the

1. Revenue Member's Memo No. 1674 dated 26th August, 1904.

whole district of Yasin, Kuh and Ghizar to the State was disproportionate to the means of these petty States. The Resident accordingly, recommended that the tax called *meniti*, which was imposed by the *Mehtar* Nizam-ul-Mulk of Chitral and had since been imposed on the Hashmat Dyak class at the rate of sheep 2, *ghee* 2 *seers* and grain 6 *maunds* per family, should in future be fixed at sheep 1, *ghee* 2 *seers* and grain 2 *maunds* per family and that the annual tribute payment to the State Government by the combined districts of Yasin, Kuh and Ghizar, be fixed at 150 *maunds* of wheat. The Government of India sanctioned the proposal as a tentative measure, subject to concurrence of the *Maharaja*. The proposal as sanctioned by the Government of India were approved by the *Maharaja* in 1908 but he added that "when a matter was decided by the Imperial Government, the according of approval to the same by the State Government became only a matter of pure formality."

The issue came up for the consideration of the Viceroy and the British Resident informed the *Maharaja* that as the above-mentioned district, known as the Political District of Gilgit Agency, for the administration of which the Government of India is directly responsible, it was obviously desirable and essential that their opinion should be first obtained before the matter was laid before the *Darbar*. Cases, which had been already definitely decided and given the effect of the law are not to be referred to the *Darbar* for their opinion. This clearly reveals that the British considered the *Maharaja* a mere figure-head and did not take him seriously. Whatever they decided had the force of law and the *Maharaja* could not raise any objection to it.

In 1908, the Revenue demand of the district of Yasin, Kuh and Ghizar was as follows :

<i>District</i>	<i>Grain</i>	<i>Sheep</i>	<i>Ghee</i>	<i>Chaga</i>	<i>Cows</i>
Yasin	20 mds	151	7-12-8	4	4
Kuh	20-33	22	1-20	—	—
Ishkoman	41	20	20-8	—	—
Ghizar	69	7	14	3	3

This revenue was realised through the Political Agency and credited to the State Treasury.

The *Lambardars* and *Chowkidars* were allowed *rasum* in the villages of Yasin, Kuh and Gupis. The *Kotwal* got one goat, the remaining goats and all grain and ghee went to the *Lamberdar*, while the reverse was the case in Khaliti, where the scale of revenue to be recovered from the *ilaqas* was fixed by George Robertson in 1896. The *Darbar* share was then fixed at one-fourth of the total revenue and average actual receipts thus realised were as given below :

<i>District</i>	<i>Grain</i>	<i>Goats and sheep</i>	<i>Ghee</i>	<i>Chaga</i>	<i>Cows</i>
Yasin & Kuh	304-34	164	8-19	4	4
Ghizar	69	7	14	3	3

Subsequently, on the recommendations of the Political Agent, the *Maharaja* agreed to sanction remission of 100 *maunds* of grain out of 150 *maunds* credited to the State as tribute, in favour of *Raja* Murad Khan of Ghizar and Kuh.¹

The remission of 100 *maunds* sanctioned in favour of *Raja* Murad Khan was discontinued by the Political Agent in 1922 but again on the Political Agent's recommendations, 50 *maunds* of wheat per annum were allowed to him on the condition that the required quantity was not from the grain collected from Gupis.²

On the recommendation of the Political Agent, the State Government entertained the proposal for grant of lands in the Gilgit Agency to accommodate the surplus population of Hunza. The conditions on which grant of land was sanctioned are given as under :

1. That for the first 10 years, the *Mir* of Hunza shall be allowed to hold the lands free of payment of any revenue.
2. That for the 2nd and 3rd decades, he will be required

1. Order No- 2812 dated 25th January 1915.

2. Order No 20/m dated 16th April 1924.

to pay 5 and 10 per cent respectively to the State, out of the revenue assessed on the lands brought under cultivation.

3. That after the expiration of the said terms, land revenue shall be collected from him at the rates in force in the nearest villages for lands of similar description and quality, subject to the remission of 10 per cent, which shall be allowed to the *Mir* during the pleasure of the *Darbar*.
4. That the *Mir* will be clearly given to understand that he shall not possess or exercise any civil or criminal jurisdiction over the colonists.

These conditions were accepted by the *Raja* of Hunza. When this had been done, the Political Agent, Gilgit recommended to exempt the *Raja* of Hunza and the heirs of the *Wazir* Humayun Beg from payment of the revenue. The Settlement Commissioner for the State considered the terms to be liberal. The question was in his opinion, a purely political one. When the situation was explained to the Political Agent in terms of the above, he made a further representation that the Resident was of the opinion that the services of *Raja* of Hunza and his *Wazir* would be most gracefully recognised by the *Maharaja* by the exemption from revenue of land held by them, at Matamdas. Accordingly, the *Maharaja* had to agree and the Resident was informed by the Chief Minister that in consideration of services rendered by the *Raja* of Hunza and his *Wazir*, in connection with the war, the *Maharaja* had ordered that the lands held by the *Mirs* and his *Wazir* at Matamdas be exempted from revenue.¹

We again find that the Political Agent recommended a scheme through the Residency, to provide for the redundant and largely increasing population of Hunza, a tract of barren land on the left bank of the Gilgit river for cultivation, under certain conditions and handed over to the *Raja* of Hunza to colonize. His request was granted by the *Maharaja* on the condition laid down earlier.²

1. Maharaja to Resident letter No. 1121/R dated 15th Sept 1917.

2. File No A-25 of 1909 (K.G.R.)

It was decided that 800 acres of land be handed over to the *Mir* of Hunza.

Settlement Operations

The Settlement Commissioner of the State suggested in 1896 that in consequence of the completion of settlement operations in Gilgit, the jurisdiction in revenue cases relating to lands be delegated to the local Revenue Officers and the issue of instructions preventing the alienation of lands by cultivating tenants in favour of non-agriculturists be issued. He added, that in view of the importance attached to Gilgit by the Government of India, the opinion of the Resident might be obtained in regard to the authority, by whom such cases should be finally disposed of. The State Council, considered the proposal, and decided unanimously that under existing regulations these cases should be heard and determined by the Revenue Department, there being no occasion for making any special arrangements in regard to Gilgit, except that alienation of lands be prohibited by a fresh notification.

The Residency, to whom a reference on the subject was made in pursuance of the above, intimated that the Resident agreed with the proposal that jurisdiction in revenue cases in Gilgit should rest with the State courts at Gilgit. The Resident however, suggested that the British Agent at Gilgit be allowed to call for cases and see that orders contrary to the spirit of the settlement, were not passed.

Forests

The Assistant Resident forwarded a set of rules prepared by the Political Agent, Gilgit regarding forest conservation in Gilgit Agency. These rules regulated the felling of timber and were meant to enable the civil authorities to guard the interests of the State in regard to the forests.

The rules were revised by the State Conservator of Forests and additions and alterations were made from time to time, in consultation with the Residency and finally came into force in 1902. But in 1906, the *Wazir* suggested certain modifications, to which the Political Agent generally agreed. The matter was

again referred to the Conservator of Forests, and on receipt of his views, the Chief Minister, suggested that as the matter was of great importance, having regard to the political aspect of the question, a Committee comprising himself, the Revenue Minister, the Conservator of Forests, might consider the whole question. Accordingly, under the orders of the *Maharaja*, the Committee discussed the question and submitted their opinion for orders. The Resident in Kashmir, to whom the matter was referred concurred with the views of the *Maharaja* and as a result thereof the following rules were formulated :

1. The felling of forest trees without a written permit from the civil authorities, be prohibited.
2. Purchasers, who have obtained a permit will be allowed to cut trees, of which the girth at breast height above ground would not be less than six feet.
3. Villagers who pay land revenue to the State, will be given timber for building and agricultural purposes at the discretion of the civil authorities, on a written permit, such trees to be marked before being felled.
4. Firewood may be cut in the forests and on all hill sides, provided that only bushes, dead wood and trees unsuited for timber purposes, shall be so cut.
5. The lighting of fires inside the forests was to be prohibited, also the burning of charcoal.
6. Subject to the provisions of the Gilgit *Wazarat* Forest Rules, the sepoy of the Gilgit garrison only were allowed to cut and collect that unfallen fuel for their *bona-fide* domestic use and not for sale or barter.

In 1918, a scheme aimed at conducting a survey of the forest resources of the Gilgit Agency with special reference to the needs of the garrison in respect of fuel was prepared. The Political Agent stated that the arrangements governing the issue of wood to the troops were unsatisfactory, both for them and for the forests affected. The State had as a temporary measure sanctioned a money grant to the sepoy, who got the wood either by local purchase from the civil authorities or from the

zamindars or by sending out wood cutting parties, felled and transported the trees by water or by manual labour. The Political Agent, further stated that the civil authorities were unable to furnish more than an inconsiderable amount of wood. Practically, all the fuel required was furnished by the labour of troops themselves, which meant an undue proportion of the garrisons in Gilgit being engaged during a great part of the year, in furnishing wood for the troops to the detriment of their military duties and to the prejudice of the future of the forests concerned.

The problem was again raised by the Residency in 1927 stating that it seemed necessary to take measures to conserve the wood supply of Gilgit, as the then existing source of fire-wood were being rapidly depleted.

Auction of Land

In 1927, the *Wazir-i-Wazarat*, Gilgit, addressed a letter to the Revenue Minister to the effect that unclaimed plots of land as also plots that were mortgaged, were sold by the State by public auction and that at the time of auction, the inhabitants of Hunza, Nagar and Punial, bid for these plots. These people, the *Wazir* said, were such as either carried on business in Gilgit or resided temporarily with their relations there. The *Wazir* added, that the region of Hunza, Nagar, Punial, Gupis, Ghizar, Yasin and Ishkoman were under the administrative control of the Political Agent. The *Wazir*, therefore, enquired whether the inhabitants of these places should be or be not considered as subjects of the State.

The Revenue Minister forwarded the communication of the *Wazir-i-Wazarat*, Gilgit, to the Foreign office for opinion as to whether the inhabitants of the Political District, might be taken to come under the definition of the term "State Subject". The question was, whether it would be proper to include the inhabitants of the Political District of the Agency or such residents as took up their abode temporarily on account of business or otherwise, in the Gilgit *Wazarat* in the term "State Subject". In this connection, it was pointed out that the Government of India while conferring jurisdiction over these tracts on the Political Agent, Gilgit and his Assistant in 1901,

had expressly laid down that these tracts, viz. Chilas, Ghizar, Kuh, Yasin and Ishkoman, though under the suzerainty of Kashmir, were not Kashmir territory and the Kashmir officials were not allowed to interfere with their internal administration. Similarly, it was pointed out that though Chitral, Hunza and Nagar were under the Kashmir suzerainty they were not Kashmir territory. It was pointed out that if any of the Chiefs, Governors of the communities, in any of the tracts mentioned, misbehaved themselves, their conduct was to be enquired into by the British Officers and the result submitted to the Government of India through the Chief Commissioner, Frontier Provinces or the Resident in Kashmir as the case may be.

When the papers were submitted to the *Maharaja* by the Foreign Minister with the remarks that the point raised by the Revenue Minister was a delicate one, and that it was better not to answer it till the exact position in the frontier was defined and settled, the *Maharaja* directed that the matter should be held in abeyance for the present.

The above would clearly show that the *Maharaja* appeared to be helpless and he was not sure about the boundaries of his State. He knew that the region belonged to him by conquest but he also knew that the then British Government in India, had practically usurped the region, which was now administered by the British Political Agent in Gilgit in the name of the Crown.

REVOLUTION IN GILGIT

"It was Gilgit the Government wanted."

—William Digby

A study of the above has given us a sufficient insight into the changes that took place from time to time in the administration of the Gilgit region. It also reveals, as to how the control once directly exercised by the *Maharaja* passed on to the Political Agent, how the relations between the Chiefs and the State underwent a change after the re-establishment of the Agency and how the political control of the British Agent, extended over the region, so much so, that he became the virtual ruler.

To begin with, we find that the Political Agent, in proof of the sovereignty of the British Government, started holding annually a *Darbar*, known as the political *Jalsa*, to which all Headmen, nobles and the Chiefs of the region, all officials of the State and the British, both civil and military, were invited under the direction of the Political Agent and at his own discretion. This function used to be formally held in the last week of December but later began to be held in the last week of March or sometimes in the first week of April every year. The practice of the *Darbar* started with Durand in 1889 and he held the first function in the month of December of that year. He invited the Chiefs of the region, granting them subsidies and proclaiming the establishment of the British Agency.¹

1. File No. 1091 Persian Records (K.G.R.)

Darbar

From the orders of the years 1906 and 1907, we find that on the *Darbar* day, the Assistant Political Agent, the Agency Surgeon, the Military Assistant to the Political Agent, the *Wazir-i-Wazarat*, the General Officer Commanding and the *Rajas*, the nobles and the officials, waited on the Political Agent at the Agency House and then conveyed him to the pavilion. On the Agent's arrival, a salute of 11 guns was fired and the troops presented arms and the band played ceremonial music. All the *Darbaries* stood up to receive the Agent and when he took his seat, the presentation of the *Nazar* began. *Wazir-i-Wazarat*, Gilgit took the lead and then followed the General Officer Commanding, who simply presented his sword, and other Chiefs of the region followed. Then, the *Political Agent* delivered his speech and after the speech, *Khillats* were distributed and when all the ceremonies were over, the Political Agent left accompanied by the British Officers and the *Rajas*. With the passage of time, the function became a recognised function and the *Jalsa* week became a week of Gazetted holidays. Since 1915, a change seems to have been introduced. It was decided that all the British Officers were required to be present at the Agency and attend the Political Agent mounted to the *Darbar*. When he dismounted, the drums played a roll and all present stood up. The Agent accompanied by the Agency Surgeon, Military Assistant and the Assistant Political Agent inspected the guard of honour. The *Wazir-i-Wazarat*, and the Officer Commanding were required to await the arrival of the Agent on the dais and salute him as he reached the steps and then move off to their seats. Then, the *Wazir* would stand up and present *Nazar* and the Commandant his sword. Then, the Officers of the Kashmir State Force and the Gilgit Corps of Scouts would present their swords to the Agent. The Chiefs in the following order of seniority presented the *Nazars*, which were touched and remitted except in the case of Hunza and Nagar. The Chiefs mentioned are as below :

Mir of Hunza

Mir of Nagar

Governor of Puniial

Governor of Yasin
 Governor of Ishkoman
 Governor of Kuh and Ghizar
Raja of Gilgit
Raja of Astor.

The Agent would then deliver a speech in English and on the Agent's rising to make the speech, all present would stand up and remain standing until permitted to resume their seats. After the distribution of the *Khillats* the Military Assistant would declare the *Darbar* closed. The Political Agent would then take his departure with the British Officers, all others standing up and keeping their places until he had gone.

Arrangement of Seats

Before taking up the question of presenting *Nazar* by the *Wazir-i-Wazarat*, a few words about the seating arrangements in the *Darbar* appear to be necessary. On the right of the *Shamiana*, under which the Political Agent in his glory used to be seated, the British Officers of the Agency were given seats, while on the left, the State Officers were seated and then came other Chiefs and Headmen according to their position. A dais was erected under the *Shamiana* and there were three chairs placed on it. In the middle, was the chair for the British Agent, on the right, the chair was reserved for the *Wazir-i-Wazarat* and on the left, was the chair for the Officer Commanding.

Presenting of Nazar

Now coming to the question of the presentation of *Nazar* by *Wazir-i-Wazarat* to the British Agent, we find that since the establishment of the Agency all present, presented *Nazars*, which were touched and remitted. But in the year 1906, it appears that after the usual function, when the Agent took his seat, the *Wazir* stood up and simply *salaamed* the Political Agent and then the General Officer Commanding, and the Field Officer of the State presented swords, which were touched and returned and then the other Chiefs, the *Rajas* and the Headmen presented *Nazars*. The Resident moved the question of discontinuing the practice of presentation of *Nazar* to the Agent in the

annual political *Jalsa* by the *Wazir-i-Wazarat*. When the matter was submitted to Pratap Singh, he passed the following order :

“This practice of presenting *Nazar* is not a recognised and established one and it is therefore desirable and reasonable that it should be discontinued. The matter be talked with the Resident and explained clearly, before any orders can be passed.”

The then Chief Minister submitted a memorandum to the *Maharaja* saying that he was inclined to think that because the *Nazars* had been presented for some years past, it would not be desirable to stop the usage on the ground that it was not a recognised and established one. Meanwhile, he requested that orders be given that on the coming occasion, the custom might be followed. On this, the *Maharaja* passed an order but regretted that his previous orders had not been complied with. In the meanwhile, the Resident intimated that it had been the custom since the Agency was established for the *Wazir-i-Wazarat* to present a *Nazar*, the Resident did not see any special reasons why it should at this stage be discontinued. He added that “to discontinue the custom now would convey to the people on the frontier, a decline in respect of the State towards the British Government.”

It is evident that the Political Agent had completely taken over the administration of the Gilgit region by virtue of his having the representative of the Crown. His authority had been fully established and the influence of the British was paramount on the north-western frontiers of India.

Sparks of Revolution

Darel, Tangir and Seo are small republics on the right bank of the river Indus, below Punial. It was in 1866 that Darel promised to pay an annual tribute of gold dust to the State, when the Dogra forces raided this region. As these people used to bring their flocks and herds to Punial during the summer months, the *Raja* of Punial used to collect the tribute for the *Maharaja* but at the same time, he utilised this opportunity for recovering grazing tax and other presents from the Darelis. The

Khushwaqt rulers of Yasin often interfered in the affairs of Tangir. *Raja* Pukhtun Wali settled in Tangir after the turmoil of Chitral in 1895. He succeeded in building up his position as the ruler of Darel and Tangir and ruled with a strong hand. He was recognised as the ruler of this newly carved out kingdom by the British, on the condition that he will allow construction of roads in the region.¹ The tribal communities, who hated outsiders did not like it and as such, they murdered Pukhtun Wali in 1917.

Jalkot had been brought under the influence of the State and this republic, from its position, dominated Thor and other Shinaki republics. Naturally, the Darelis and the Tangiris used to raid Jalkot, for it served as a stronghold of the Dogras and through them of the British. The tribals, who were deadly against the British, several times gave a call of *Jehad* or the religious battle against the British and the *Maharaja*. Since 1902, they continued raids on the military posts as well as the territories of the *Maharaja*. *Raja* Shifat Bahadur of Punial, proceeded to Tangir in 1922 to carve out a kingdom for himself. But, at the instigation of the *Mehtar* of Chitral, he was murdered and Abdur Rehman was made the Governor of Yasin.

Raids

In 1902, certain Darelis and Tangiris committed a raid on the levy post at Kargah. The raiders escaped and the Political Agent, Gilgit addressed two letters to the Headmen of Darel and Tangir, to prove their innocence of any complicity in this outrage, by endeavouring to surrender the offenders. The letters were sent through the *Wazir*, who selected two messengers for this purpose. The replies received from them were considered by the Government of India, as unsatisfactory. It was directed that the Darelis and the Tangiris must be made to understand the meaning of their tribal responsibilities. As such, the institutions of blockade against these tribes was ordered as well as the levy of fine from them, the recovery of these fines being accompanied by the seizure of property of these tribes, in the Agency limits. On receipt of the instructions, the following

1. Aitchison, *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, pp. 18-19,

proclamation dated the 27th October 1902 was issued by the Political Agent in Gilgit :

“As raid having recently been made on the levy post in Kargah, in which two men on the post were killed and five carbines carried off, the Government of India having considered the facts, which have been brought to their notice, are of the opinion that in failing to arrest the offenders, the tribes of Darel and Tangir have been guilty of culpable remisses. To impress these tribes with a sense of their tribal responsibility in such matter, fines are being imposed on them and pending the recovery of these fines, a blockade will be at once introduced, in pursuance of which all Darelis and Tangiris who may now or at any time be found within the limits of this Agency should be at once arrested and their property attached pending the receipt of instructions as to disposal.”

As a result, a number of arrests were made. Owing to the recovery of the fines from the Darelis, all prisoners were released and the blockade instituted against them was raised. The Political Agent was instructed to address the Darelis and warn them again that they would be held responsible in all such cases.¹ But the blockade against Tangir continued and 17 Tangiri prisoners were arrested by the Political Agency. They were sent to Kashmir and imprisoned in the Srinagar jail. The *Wazir* behaved as more loyal than the king and the arrests made by him, amounted to 73 in number, 56 in Gilgit, 12 in Puniel and 5 in Bunji. Out of them, 35 persons were released under instructions from the Political Agent.

Blockade

Again in 1924, we find the Political Agent referring to the institution of a blockade against the Tangirs for having committed several raids in Ghizar. The Political Agent declared :

“Our Tangiri neighbours carried out several raids in the Ghizar district. They lost both men and arms and the

1. The Resident to the Political Agent, Gilgit, letter No. 3058 dated 28th May 1903.

reprisals, which I ordered fully outweighed our losses in property. But we do not want the lives, arms or property of our neighbours; all we desire is to be able to live on terms of friendly intercourse with them."

Call of Jihad

More serious was a raid on the Hindu shopkeepers perpetrated in Hazara by the Tangiris under the leadership of Mulla Karim, a rebel leader of Chilas, who instigated his followers to rob the rich Hindus. It was a call of Jihad against the British as well as the Hindus. The Political Agent passed an order against the Tangiris, making their person and property liable to seizure in the Agency and prohibiting all commerce with them. The Tangir headmen stated that the goods of the shopkeepers had been taken by the poor, who had sold and dispersed them beyond recovery. The Hindu shopkeepers, who advanced money to the agriculturists of the region on exorbitant rates, had usurped their lands. In order to save their hearth and homes, they rose against moneylenders and looted them. Some of them ran away to the neighbouring areas to save themselves from the moneylenders. The refugees from Jalkot ran away to the hilly regions of Kagan and Karnah in Kashmir.

In 1925, it was suggested that no refugee from Jalkot or other regions be permitted to settle in the Kagan valley until the Political Agent in Gilgit had been consulted respecting their character and antecedents. The *Maharaja* wanted to save his State from incoming refugees, which would create a law and order problem for him. He proposed the establishment of the military post at Mir Malik. Since the Political Agent doubted if there was any necessity for the post, the matter was dropped.

Political Powers

From a perusal of the State records, we find that it was generally on the recommendations of the Political Agent that advances to the *Rajas* of the region were made by the State Government or mutations, in regard to allowances or subsidies, were sanctioned. As an instance, when the son of *Raja* Jaffar Khan was to be formally recognised as the *Tham* of Nagar in 1904, the Political Agent suggested that the *Maharaja* might do

this by sending him a *Kharita*. Accordingly, the *Sanad* in Persian and the *Khillat* were forwarded to the Residency for presentation to the *Raja* of Nagar. In the speech delivered on the occasion of the *Darbar* in 1923, the Political Agent referred to the restoration of seniority of Punial over Yasin. Further, while dwelling on the internal affairs of the Agency, he referred to the establishment of a punitive post of the Scouts in Thor, owing to the unsatisfactory state of affairs there.

It is evident that the British Agent in Gilgit, enjoyed real power and in the words of Durand :

"As the suzerain power, the responsibilities of Kashmir became ours, and it was recognised that the Hindu-Kush for these hundred of miles be our natural frontier."¹

Postal and Telegraph Arrangements

Communication with Gilgit was considered to be a very pressing necessity. In 1892, the British had ordered Olpherts, an experienced officer of the Telegraphic Department, to be deputed to Kashmir for the purpose of examining and reporting on the various routes. The Government of India, was to have an independent line from Srinagar to Astor via Burzil Pass and from Astor to Gilgit completed with the least possible delay. It was further intended to connect this extension with the telegraph lines in India by a special wire via Kohalla to Murree.² The Government of India therefore, desired that :

- (a) The construction of the line from Srinagar to Astor and thence to Gilgit to be carried out by the officers of the Indian Telegraph Department.
- (b) A wire to be suspended from Srinagar to Kohalla on the posts of the telegraph line of the Kashmir State, for the purpose of connecting India with the new line from Srinagar to Gilgit referred to under 'a' above.
- (c) Recognising the Imperial interests involved in the matter, the Government of India were willing to contribute

1. Durand, *the Making of a Frontier*, p. 17.

2. The Resident to the Maharaja, letter No. 1108 dated 30th March 1892.

Rs 1,50,000 towards the cost of the above works, which were estimated at approximately Rs 2,65,000, the balance of the expenditure to be borne by the State Government, the pay of the permanent establishment employed on the work and which was not included in the sum of Rs 265,000 to further contribution by the Government of India.

- (d) The signalling establishment required for working the proposed system between Gilgit and Kohalla to be supplied, paid and controlled by the Imperial Telegraph Department and the maintenance of the line to be also carried out by the officers of the Department under the orders of the Director General of Telegraphs, the cost of working and maintenance which was estimated at about Rs 53,000 a year, to be borne by the State Government, who would receive the earnings of the line.

The Resident further stated that the general state of telegraphic arrangements in Kashmir was not satisfactory and the Government of India were desirous of taking over the management and working of the entire system of the State Telegraphs as in other native States of India. It was added that they would therefore be glad to know on what terms the Maharaja would propose to make the transfer. The State Council considered the letter of the Resident in their meeting of 9th April 1892 and resolved to agree to the proposal.

The first agreement that appears to have been entered into between the State Government and the British Government, regarding the construction of a telegraph line from Jammu to Srinagar and from Srinagar to Gilgit, is given in the Aitchisons Treaties. The State Government agreed to transfer the working of the telegraph line of the State to the Imperial Government, on the condition that the net earnings of the Telegraph Department, after defraying pay and contingencies of establishment and maintenance of the line should be credited to the State.¹ The Government of India suggested that the discussion of the

1. State Council Resolution No. VIII dated 5th Dec. 1892.

question of net loss and net profit, should be allowed to remain in abeyance till later on, say 18 months hence, when the State telegraph system would have been made efficient and a better idea would be obtainable of the revenue, likely to be derived therefrom.

It is thus clear that the control of the telegraph line excepting the line from Jammu to Srinagar and from Srinagar to Kargil and Ladakh passed on to the Imperial Telegraph Department. Accordingly, there could not be any State Telegraph office on the line from Srinagar to Gilgit or onwards therefrom. In regard to the interchange of messages, the Srinagar Gilgit line was governed by the same memorandum, which governed the rest of the Imperial lines in the State. The first agreement entered in respect of the interchange of telegrams pertains to 1897, which conceded to certain officers of the State, the privilege of sending free telegrams on the Imperial lines within the State. The *Mazir-i-Mazarat*, Gilgit, enjoyed this privilege.

Gilgit to Chitral

In 1903, the Government of India decided to establish a telegraph line between Gilgit and Chitral and the cost of construction of the line was to be borne by the Imperial Government. The *Wazir-i-Wazarat*, Gilgit intimated that for the construction of the telegraph line between Gilgit and Chitral, the Government of India had deputed the Superintendent of Telegraph Department and that he with his party had gone to Chitral to commence the work. Another similar party, in charge of Gilgit Shandur section for construction of the line, was deputed *via* Srinagar, which commenced laying out of the line from Gilgit towards Chitral. The *Mazir* added that under orders from the Political Agent, Gilgit, arrangements for supply of 371 poles for the portion of the line within the Gilgit Tehsil had been made and orders for supply of fodder to 100 transport animals of the party had been issued. Further, a 3rd class Telegraph office was opened at Mastuj, 67 miles from Chitral on the 10th October 1903. The line from Gilgit was completed on the 22nd November 1903.

In 1904, the Government of India decided to construct

telegraph office buildings at Tera and Gupis in the Gilgit Agency.

In 1911, the extension of the telegraph line from Astor to Rattoo was carried out, for, in the words of the Political Agent :

“the advantages of a telegraph office at Rattoo during the summer months, would be great as it was not only the permanent summer camp for the Battery and the Infantry Regiment as well as for the General and his staff, but being also on the high road between Astor and Kashmir, *via* the Kamri route, it was regularly visited by, practically all inspecting officers on tour in the Agency, while it was also not infrequently the summer camp of the Political Agent and the Agency Surgeon as well.”

Postal Communication in Gilgit

For the carriage of official communications, there was in vogue, a special *Harkara* system, which obtained through the State, through which the State Officers at Gilgit sent and received communications to and from the *Maharaja*. But, when the control of the post offices in the State passed into the hands of the Government of India in the year 1894, the management of posts to Gilgit was also taken over by the Imperial Post and Telegraphs Department.

It appears that the State Government charged postage on all communications before the Imperial management. As far as Gilgit was concerned, it may be safely concluded that the same treatment was meted out to correspondence pertaining to this region. The State Government is seen to have remitted postage on the correspondence of the Gilgit Agency.

The post offices in the Gilgit Agency, nay the whole of the Gilgit region, were governed alongwith the other post offices in the State, by the Agreement in force between the State and the Government of India. The Agreement, which was made in the first instance for 25 years, was due to be renewed in 1919 A.D.

Grant of Title

In the birthday Honours list of 1921, the title E.C.I.E. was

bestowed on the *Mir* of Hunza by the Imperial Government, and the Residency suggested that if His Highness' Government intended sending congratulations to the *Mir*, they should be conveyed through the agency of the Residency and not through the *Wazir-i-Wazarat*. "The practice of sending a deputation through the *Wazir-i-Wazarat* into a politically administered area" the letter added, was discourteous to the Political Agent and is politically undesirable." The matter was submitted to the *Maharaja*, who observed that a telegram was sent by him direct to the *Mir* of Hunza through the *Wazir*, congratulating him for the honour of E.C.I.E. and that his acknowledgement had also been received.

In regard to the suggestion of conveying congratulations through the agency of the Residency, he remarked that in several cases of recent date, such messages were sent by the Chief Minister direct under his orders and not through the *Wazir-i-Wazarat* and that acknowledgements were received from them in due course.

Maharaja Hari Singh

Pratap Singh came to power in 1885 and remained on the scene upto 1925. During these 40 years, the Anglo-Russian rivalry changed many facets. Advance of Russia towards the south-east, resulted in the deposition of Pratap Singh in 1888.¹ Later, the international boundary between Russia and India was fixed by the Pamir Commission, consisting of the British and the Russian representative, which brought peace on the borders. The result was that in 1905 Lord Curzon brought about the restoration of the *Maharaja*, though with limited powers.² In view of the German threat, both the British and the Russians decided to behave as friends. As the situation had eased, Pratap Singh was favoured with more powers. The Russian Revolution of 1917 brought about changes in the Anglo-Russian relations. Henceforth, their interests clashed with each other and found expression throughout the world.³

1. Joseph Korebel, *Danger in Kashmir*, p. 279.

2. File No. 6 of 1905 (H.H.P.R.) K.G.R.

3. Chattar Singh Samra, *India and Anglo Soviet Relations (1917-1943)*, p. 20.

In Kashmir, it resulted in taking over of Gilgit by the British, so that it may serve as one of their watch stations on the north of India.¹ For nearly 20 years the British Resident was the supreme authority in Kashmir. Hari Singh became the *Maharaja* of the Jammu and Kashmir State in February 1926. From the outset, he pursued the difficult task to regain, for his State, many of its lost powers and help forward a campaign of progress. He introduced many reforms and pioneered modern system of administration. In June 1929, a memorial of grievances was presented to the *Maharaja*, by the Muslims of the State. He promised to do justice in their case and directed his Cabinet to look into the matter. In 1930, the *Maharaja* left for London to attend the Round Table Conference. Speaking on behalf of the princes, Hari Singh pleaded for position of equality, honour and freedom for the Indians, which shocked the British. Here was an Indian prince, who had refused to toe their line and his haughty statements showed his independent bent of mind. The British, then decided to keep the *Maharaja* under their thumb, more so, when their empire faced dangers from the Soviet Union. Gilgit had always been a tender spot for the British and in order to teach a lesson to Hari Singh, they conspired to obtain it from him on one pretext or the other.

Construction of Landing Grounds

The Government of India proposed in 1927 constructing an aircraft landing ground at Chilas in accordance with their plans for frontier defence, aeroplanes whereto would fly via Abbottabad and the Kagan valley. It was asked of the State Government, whether they had any objection to the proposal. Since the Army Department had no objection to the proposal, the *Maharaja* agreed to the proposed construction of the landing ground.

In a subsequent letter, the Residency intimated that for reasons explained in their letter of 8th January, 1927, the Government of India had also decided to construct an aircraft landing ground at Gilgit the cost of which would be met by the Government of India. The site selected was $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from

1. William Digby, *Condemned Unheard*, p. 105.

the bridge over the Gilgit river, and lay in the angle formed by the river and the Hunza river on the right bank of the latter. To this proposal, the *Maharaja* also had no objection and the Residency were informed accordingly.

Resident's Tour

The British Resident in Kashmir made a tour to the Gilgit Agency in August-October, 1927. The *Wazir* of Gilgit, forwarded a copy of the provisional programme issued by the Political Agent, Gilgit, in connection with the visit of the Resident. In 1925, when John Wood, the then Resident had visited Gilgit, all directions in connection with transport, supplies and reception arrangements were issued by the Political Agent, Gilgit. Under instructions of the *Maharaja*, the *Wazir* received the Resident at Kalapani, a distance of 130 miles from the Headquarters, being the first stage on entry into the Gilgit *Wazarat* on the Kamri road. The *Wazir* further stated this time that the Resident was arriving *via* the Burzil road and although detailed instructions had not been received by him from the Political Agent till then, it was evident that he would be asked to receive the Resident at Chillum Chowki, the first stage on entry into Gilgit *Wazarat* on the Burzil road. The *Wazir* solicited necessary instructions in this behalf as also for the presentation of *Dali* and other connected arrangements. The *Maharaja* ordered that no action should be taken on the letter from the *Wazir* of Gilgit, until a copy of the programme was received from the Residency. He further directed that the *Wazir* of Gilgit should be warned not to receive instructions direct from the Resident or the Political Agent in Gilgit. Meanwhile, the *Wazir-i-Wazarat* Gilgit brought to notice the notification issued by the Political Agent, Gilgit in regard to the visit. This notification required the *Wazir-i-Wazarat* to meet the Resident at the top of the Burzil Pass in company with the Political Agent, the *Naib Tehsildar* of Astor and the *Raja* of Astor. Further, the notification stated that at all halting places on the road, the usual triumphal arches would be erected and the bands would play; that subordinate levies and school children would be drawn up at each station on the arrival of the Resident; that the *Wazir-i-Wazarat* Gilgit and Civil Officers and the local Commandant, Gilgit, were

requested to make the necessary arrangements for meeting the Resident at Jutial and so on. The *Wazir* wanted that these instructions be confirmed by the *Maharaja*, who ordered as under :

1. the *Wazir-i-Wazarat*, Gilgit, should receive the Resident at the top of the Burzil Pass and accompany the Resident to Gilgit.
2. the usual salute should be fired and a Guard of Honour mounted at Burzil.
3. the usual salute should be fired and a Guard of Honour mounted at Gilgit on the Resident's arrival and departure.
4. the *Wazir-i-Wazarat*, Gilgit, should make proper Police arrangements (within his jurisdiction) throughout the Resident's tour.
5. the *Wazir-i-Wazarat*, Gilgit, should make proper arrangements for any visit that the Resident may wish to pay to the local institutions at Gilgit.
6. Local Officers, who wish to call on the Resident must arrange their interviews through the *Wazir*.

Instructions were also issued to the *Wazir-i-Wazarat*, Gilgit that there was no necessity to present *Dalis* and spend any money for decoration but that local people might put up decorations and festoons.

As the instructions regarding presentation of *Dalis* and putting up of decorations and festoons were issued to the *Wazir* of Gilgit by post, it seems that he did not receive them in time and the result was that he had issued general instructions, which referred to arrangements for arches and decoration in Gilgit and Astor.

While recording the details of the visit of the Resident in Kashmir to Gilgit in 1927, we have shown how the *Wazir* of Gilgit, brought to notice the instructions received by him from the Political Agent, Gilgit and how the *Maharaja* ordered that the *Wazir* should not receive instructions direct from the Residency or the Political Agent. Another instance of issue of

such direct instructions to the *Wazir* by the Political Agent, is that of the Notice issued by Major Loch, the outgoing Agent, in connection with the arrival of the new Agent, his successor, Todd. This practice of direct references by the Political Agent, Gilgit to the State representative, the *Wazir-i-Wazarat*, Gilgit necessitated the matter being brought to the Resident's notice, as will be noticed hereafter, for, from an administrative and political point of view, it seemed to confirm the impression that it sets the Political Agent off against the representative of the State, in the domain of powers exercised by either.

It had been in the past, the business of the Political Agent to notify direct to the *Wazir* any matter for compliance, with the result that the *Wazir* did comply even without the knowledge of the State Government or entered into negotiations, without their sanction. Loch before leaving his office in favour of Todd, had as usual a notification issued by his Military Assistant to the effect that Todd was arriving in Gilgit on the 28th October 1927 and that it was requested that the usual arrangements be made for his reception. A copy of this notification was sent to the *Wazir-i-Wazarat*, Gilgit, and also to the Divisional Engineer, Local Commandant, Gilgit. The fact was brought to the notice of the State Government by the *Wazir* of Gilgit. He was asked to wire previous practice and in reply, he intimated that the previous practice was that the Military Assistant to the Political Agent issued the notice for reception of the new Political Agent at Jutial, and the *Wazir* complied with the request, excepting when he was away on tour.

The matter was brought to the notice of the *Maharaja*, who ordered that owing to shortness of time, the *Wazir* and other State Officers might be instructed to meet Todd at Jutial. He also desired his Foreign Minister to write to the Resident officially and say that such instructions were issued as he was away and the State Government were anxious not to exhibit any ill-will personally towards Todd. But, it was to be understood that such action should not be taken as an acceptance on the part of *Maharaja* of the correctness of the practice in regard to the *Wazir* and other State officers meeting the Political Agent at Jutial. It was added that the Resident's attention might be invited to the fact that instructions were again issued

by the Political Agent, direct to the *Wazir* in spite of the assurance given by the Resident in connection with the recent occurrence of a similar nature.

The Residency felt that the behaviour of the *Maharaja* exhibited signs of an independent attitude. They took no care of his letters and gave him a long rope. They waited for the opportunity to show him down.

Freedom Struggle

As explained earlier, the fear of Russia prompted the British to attach much importance to Kashmir and its frontiers. This phobia did not die with the rise of the socialistic regime in Russia after 1917. In fact, their worries increased because the new Socialistic Russia aspired for a world revolution. Lenin spoke of the British as "rapacious extortioners and plunderers" and incited the Indians to rebellion. He also made a special appeal to the Muslims of India, calling on them to overthrow the British. At the same time, Afghanistan asserted its independence from the British supremacy and its *Amir* wrote to Lenin expressing his pleasure at the success of the Revolution. The British had to be vigilant because the Russians had fortified their position on the north-western frontiers of India.¹ They felt that vigilance in Gilgit could not be relaxed, more so, when the Kashmiri Muslims had started demanding their rights. Hence, the British were against their agitation from the start. The Kashmiri Muslims asked for educational facilities but the *Maharaja* felt reluctant to agree to any such demand, which could lead to the raising of their educational standard. The agriculturists of Kashmir demanded proprietary rights in all lands from the *Maharaja* who contended that he was the owner of all lands in Kashmir because Gulab Singh had purchased the valley from the British.² He declared "the proprietary rights in all the lands of Kashmir belong to the Ruling Chief exclusively for the simple reason that the territories of Kashmir were purchased by my late lamented grandfather, *Maharaja* Gulab Singh." The majority of the tillers of land, being Muslims,

1. File No. 115/E-56 of 1918 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.

2. Pratap Singh to his Chief Minister in a letter dated Dec. 14, 1918 (File No. 191/H/75 K.G.R.)

the *Maharaja* could not permit any breeding of political ideas in Kashmir. In the situation, the British also came to his help, obviously for their own imperial interests.

The Residency took measures to stop entry of the "Bolshevik literature and ideas into Kashmir" and a strict watch was ordered to be kept on the communists.¹ Despite all these precautions, political ideas continued to infiltrate the valley. The *Maharaja* imposed a complete ban on formation of associations and societies and even religious bodies were not allowed to function.² The Resident gave all directions to seal the State against getting into contact with political ideas. A close watch was kept on all visitors and Amar Singh directed that the "germs of mischievous political ideas should be immediately nipped in the bud."³

But the urge for freedom manifested itself in one way or the other. The press in India wrote adversely about Kashmir and its administration. It was complained that "there is want of grip in the administration, absence of touch with the people and the negation of love and attachment on their part to the Government." The plight of the people having gone from bad to worse, prayers were made that "His Majesty, by his royal grace, may be pleased to extend to the people of Kashmir, the new light of equality and self determination."⁴ The Muslims of Kashmir submitted their memorial of grievances before Reading, the Viceroy of India, in 1924 and also rose against the *Maharaja* Hari Singh in 1931. Naturally the British, alarmed by possible repercussions in the British India, could neither tolerate nor sympathise with the uprising of the Kashmiri Muslims.

Lease of Gilgit

We have seen that the fear of the Russian invasion always haunted the British in India and they shaped their policies accordingly. But after the establishment of the socialistic regime, a fear psychosis engulfed the Russians and they feared that

1. File No. 77/P-21 of 1917 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
2. File No. 23/31-C of 1919 (O.E.R.) K.G.R.
3. File No. 66/102-C of 1921 (P.D.R.) K.G.R.
4. *Kashmiri Magazine*, Lahore, dated Feb. 27, 1920.

"with the slightest change in the situation the imperialist pirates will again move against us." The net result was that both the British and the Russians, feared each other and shaped their policies accordingly. Such a situation had its repercussions in Kashmir also. The British acquired Gilgit from the Maharaja and established their political and military base there.¹ A copy of the agreement dated 26th March 1935 is reproduced below:

It is hereby agreed as follows :

Article 1

The Viceroy and Governor General of India may at any time after the ratification of this agreement assume the Civil and Military administration of so much of the *Wazarat* of Gilgit province (hereinafter referred to as the "said territory") of the State of Jammu and Kashmir and lies beyond the right bank of the river Indus, but notwithstanding anything in this agreement the said territory shall continue to be included within the dominions of His Highness the *Maharaja* of Jammu and Kashmir.

Article 2

In recognition of the fact that the said territory continues to be included within the dominions of His Highness the *Maharaja* of Jammu and Kashmir, salutes and customary honours shall be paid in the said territory by the administration on the occasion of the birthday of His Highness, in Baisakhi, Dassehra, Basant Panchmi and on such other occasions as may be agreed upon by His Highness and the Viceroy and the Governor-General of India. The flag of His Highness will be flown at the official headquarters of the Agency throughout the year.

Article 3

In normal circumstances no British or British Indian troops shall be despatched through that portion of the *Wazarat* of Gilgit province which lies beyond the left bank of the river Indus.

1. Agreement dated 26th March 1935, Appendix VI.

Article 4

All rights appertaining to mining are reserved to His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. The grant of prospecting licences and mining leases will not be made during the period of the agreement mentioned below.

Article 5

This agreement shall remain in force for sixty years from the date of its ratification, and the lease will terminate at the end of that period.

According to the Agreement, the Viceroy was authorised to assume the civil as well as the military administration of the entire Gilgit region, which lies beyond the right bank of the river Indus. The correct alignment of the area to be taken under the control of the British was left vague for obvious reasons.

Accession of New Mehtar

It was learnt from a press report that Mohammad Nasir-ul-Mulk was installed as the *Mehtar* of Chitral in succession to his father in 1936 who had passed away after illness.¹ No official intimation was given to the *Maharaja* by the British Government in India either of the death of the late *Mehtar*, or of the succession of his son. In order to ascertain the circumstances under which, no communication either about the death of the late *Mehtar* or about the installation of his successor was made to the State, the following letter was sent to the British Resident in Kashmir :

"I enclose a photograph of His Highness Captain Mohammad Nasir-ul-Mulk which as appeared in *The Statesman* of 2nd October 1936, and which says that he had succeeded his father the late *Mehtar* of Chitral. His Highness's Government have received no official intimation from you either of the death of the late *Mehtar* or of the succession of his son to the Chiefship of Chitral. As the suzerainty of His Highness extends over Chitral and succession takes place in his name, vide p.59 of the Aitchison's Treaties—1909, His

1. *The Statesman*, 2nd October 1936.

Highness's Government presume that the announcement in the press is not based on fact and that formal installation ceremony has not yet taken place. Will you kindly confirm the presumption or else ascertain the circumstances under which no formal intimation of either the death of the late *Mehtar* or of the succession of his son has yet been sent to the State."

It appears that the *Maharaja* had not understood the point that after the lease of Gilgit to the British, he had already ceased to exist in the region and the British had taken over all responsibilities, whether military or political and he was nobody to poke his nose now. Anyhow, when no reply came to him from the Residency, he was not ready to sleep over the matter but pursued it in one way or the other. He asked his Prime Minister to take up the matter with Bartrand Glancy, the Political Secretary to the Government of India. During the course of discussions held on 7th December 1937, the Political Secretary promised to have the matter investigated when an official communication was received by him through the Residency. Accordingly, the Resident was addressed officially on the subject with the request that he may ask the Government of India to remind the *Mehtar* of his obligations under the Treaty and make payments of the tributes due from him, since a decade.

The Government of India expressed its regret that no formal intimation was conveyed to the Kashmir Government regarding the death of His Highness Shuja-ul-Mulk and the succession of the next *Mehtar* of Chitral.¹ But nothing was mentioned about the tribute and the treaty obligations. As such, the State Government took up the matter again, with the Residency.

The *Maharaja* was informed by the Resident that the present *Mehtar* of Chitral has been given clearly to understand that he is still bound by clause 1 of the Agreement of 2nd April 1914 and that if His Highness is asked to sign a fresh agreement to take the place of the agreement executed by the late *Mehtar*, a similar clause will be included, as well, also the provision for the payment of the Kashmir subsidy of Rs 8,000

1. Letter dated 21st April 1937 from Resident to the *Maharaja*.

per annum.¹ This clearly revealed that the British Government wanted to revise the previous agreement made with the *Mehtar* who had now assumed the position that it was advantageous for him to have more intimate relations with the British than with the *Maharaja*. He had succeeded in having a private understanding with the British. The *Maharaja* on the other hand, harped on payment of the tribute to be formally presented annually at Srinagar.

While the *Maharaja* expected the tribute from the *Mehtar* of Chitral, the Government of India informed him that the accession in 1936 of His Highness Mohammad Nasir-ul-Mulk as *Mehtar* of Chitral had made it necessary for existing agreements with that State to be reconsidered. As the result of further examination, it had been decided to negotiate with His Highness, the *Mehtar* of Chitral, a fresh agreement embodying what is now required of the Agreement of 1914, known as the Mastuj Agreement together with such new conditions as appear desirable.

Accordingly, a new agreement was entered into with the *Mehtar* of Chitral embodying the provisions that the British Government in India will pay him an annual subsidy of Rs 28,000 and the Jammu and Kashmir State an annual subsidy of Rs 8,000. The British Government of India, thus made the *Mehtar* an important person among the ruling chiefs of India. He was also encouraged to pay royal visits to the Nizam of Hyderabad and other native States in India and many receptions were held in his honour. This treatment, naturally went into his head and he began to think of having new treaty relations with the *Maharaja* of Jammu and Kashmir and that too on equal grounds. The *Mehtar* of Chitral visited Jammu in 1939 and when the Prime Minister of the State met him, the *Mehtar* raised the question of entering into a new agreement with the *Maharaja*. He said that since 1892 the tribute to Kashmir had not been sent and that though his predecessor had also signed the Agreement in 1914, the tribute had not been paid in pursuance of it. He went on to argue that there was no point in signing a mere paper, but what he was anxious about, was that old intimate relations between his family, which

1. Letter dated 8th February 1938 from the Resident to the *Maharaja*.

represented practically the only ruling house descended from Timur and the Dogra ruling house should be re-established. He referred to the fact that *Maharaja* Ranbir Singh had made over the districts of Yasin, Ishkoman and Ghizar to one of his predecessors as a gift, in consideration of the help, the late *Mehtar* and his troops had rendered in suppressing disorders in the Gilgit area. Of the districts made over to him, only part had been restored to him and the other were retained in the Gilgit Agency. He went on to suggest that for his undertaking to help, in suppression of disorders and disturbances in the Gilgit area, the *Maharaja* should pay him annually the subsidy, which they originally used to pay. He further pointed out that he would have to maintain troops for the purpose of discharging his obligations and as such, it would be necessary to enhance the amount of the subsidy. From the above, it is clear, that the *Mehtar* demanded remuneration for extending help to the *Maharaja* in the maintenance of law and order there. The *Mehtar* pointed out that in view of his enhanced status, as he had a salute of 11 guns and possessed that hereditary title of His Highness, the *Maharaja* of Jammu and Kashmir should treat him as his equal and future agreements should be made from that position. He threw out a hint that things appeared to be very different now in Chitral.

The then Prime Minister of the State pointed out to him that Gilgit intervened between the portion of the State, directly administered by the *Maharaja* and Chitral and that it was now leased to the British, who were themselves directly administering it. The *Mehtar* remarked that the sovereignty over Gilgit was still with the *Maharaja* and that it would be advantageous for the *Maharaja* to have in the neighbourhood of Gilgit, a ruler, who would watch developments in Gilgit and take action for maintaining *Maharaja's* sovereignty, whenever it might be necessary.

It appeared to the *Maharaja* that all this talking had at the back of it, the object merely of getting a substantially increased subsidy from Kashmir and the Government of India. It appeared that the Foreign Department would be only too pleased to

hear that Chitral and Kashmir had now come to an agreed understanding, independently of themselves. But, it was not true as one would expect from all the practice that had been in vogue for years, that the British would hardly agree to keep themselves out of the negotiations for arriving at such an understanding. Also, the area in respect of which the *Mehtar* said that he will undertake obligations for suppressing disorder was leased out to and administered by the British. It was also doubtful whether the State could agree to pay a subsidy for possible help in emergencies in the maintenance of law and order in the area, for which the British Indian Government was responsible during the period of the lease. It was also doubtful whether the British Indian Government would look with favour upon any such arrangement.

The *Mehtar* had a discussion with the *Maharaja* also on the 9th April 1939. The *Mehtar* of Chitral said that he had taken exception to the Agreement of 1914, which contained a lot of matter inconsistent with previous history. He mentioned that the Agreement was in English and that his predecessor in office, at the time signed it without fully realising its contents. He also raised the question with the Foreign Department of the validity of the 1914 Agreement and of going back to the state of things, which were in existence previous thereto. He said that he had done so more than two years ago, when soon after his accession, the question of his executing a fresh agreement was taken up by the Government of India. A prolonged correspondence ensued in which the draft of the new agreement was discussed. Since, the *Gilgit Wazarat* had already been leased out to the Government of India in 1935, the then *Maharaja* of Kashmir could not entertain such a proposal and ultimately the idea of a fresh agreement was given up. Further negotiations in this respect were kept in abeyance due to the outbreak of the war in September 1939 and consequently at the time of the partition in 1947, the Treaty of 1878 and the Agreement of 1914 stood unmodified.

End of the British Rule

According to the Agreement dated 26th March 1935, the civil and military administration of Gilgit was leased to the

British Government by the State on a 60 years lease.

In accordance with the Cabinet Mission's Memorandum of 12th May 1946, all rights surrendered by the State to the Paramount Power were returned to the State on the lapse of paramountcy and in view of the declaration of His Majesty's Government dated 20th February 1947, this lease was to be automatically terminated not later than June 1947. The terms of the lease made it clear that the sovereign rights of the State in this area had never been ceded as the Agreement guaranteed the continuance of sovereign rights of the *Maharaja* over the ceded territory, including ceremonial honours and salutes. Accordingly, the State Government informed the Resident in Kashmir that it appeared preferable and of advantage to all concerned that this area should be retroceded in advance of the date of reversion, so that in the intervening period, the good offices of the Crown Representative and his political officers would be available to ensure the smooth and orderly transfer of jurisdiction. As such, the *Maharaja* requested that the lease be terminated immediately and the area retroceded to the State forthwith. He on his part, showed his willingness to offer the following understandings :¹

"His Highness's Government are prepared to take over the entire Scouts, with their equipment free of charge and will send in separate proposals for replacing the present British Officers.

"His Highness's Government will maintain the existing hospitals and dispensaries and take over stock and equipment free of charge.

"His Highness's Government will assume responsibility for and continue in their existing status and conditions, so far as may be necessary, the boys and girls schools in Gilgit. Their equipment will be taken over free of charge.

"All buildings will automatically pass under the control of His Highness's Government together with furniture and P.W. stores.

1. *Jalali Collection*, documents and papers relating to Gilgit.

"His Highness's Government would undertake the maintenance of graves, etc., in Gilgit in the same way as such graves are maintained elsewhere in the State.

"His Highness's Government undertake by legislation to assume jurisdiction in all pending judicial and revenue cases at the stage, which they have reached at the time of retrocession.

"All documents, associations, corporations, companies and societies already registered in the area will be recognised.

"His Highness's Government will absorb, as far as possible, all Gilgit Agency employees, who may elect to come over under the State rules. The liability for pension etc. in their case will be on proportionate basis. Lent officials and regular I.M.S. and I.M.D. officers will however, revert to their own services under the Government of India.

"His Highness's Government will consider the question of payment of the subsidies, etc., which are now paid by the Crown Representative.

"Airfields at Gilgit and Chilas will be maintained in a serviceable condition.

"His Highness's Government are prepared to set up machinery for carrying on the functions of a forwarding agency for the Kashgar Consulate, supplies and mails to Kashgar, provided the Government of India pay the cost.

"His Highness's Government have always considered the Political districts comprising of Gilgit Agency as an integral part of the State. They recognise that the change contemplated would create a vacuum which His Highness's Government consider it very desirable to avoid. They are most anxious to initiate action in consultation with the Political Agent, Gilgit, to re-establish their old relationships with the *Mirs* and the Chiefs of Hunza, Nagar, Puniyal, Kuh, Ghizar, Yasin, Ishkoman, Chilas, Darel and Tangir.

Retrocession of Gilgit

Intimation was received from the Political Department,

Government of India, that jurisdiction over the Gilgit region will revert to the State on or about 15th August 1947. The *Maharaja* was asked therefore to make all necessary retrocession arrangements at once so as to be able to take over the administration of this territory.

Before the lease of 1935, the Gilgit frontier, for administrative purposes was divided into two parts namely (a) the Gilgit Agency, and (b) the Gilgit *Wazarat*. With the termination of the 1935 lease and lapse of paramountcy, the entire territory whether forming part of the Gilgit *Wazarat* or of the Gilgit Agency was to come under the control of the *Maharaja*, the *Wazarat* portion completely as before and the Agency portion through the direct establishment of relationship with the *Mirs* and Chiefs concerned. Accordingly, the State Government started hastily, discussions on the issues involved in the transfer. It was argued that previous to the lease, the Gilgit *Wazarat* was practically of the same status as other *Wazarats* in the State, and it consisted of the Gilgit *Tehsil* and the Astor *Niabat*. After the return of the trans-Indus territory of the State and the consequential effects of the lapse of paramountcy, this frontier could not be treated on its former footing. In view of its great importance and of the direct responsibility that the State Government will have in future, for its administration and for maintaining relationships with the *Mirs* and Chiefs, this part of the State territory required to be treated as a Governor's province and called the frontier province. Also, it seemed desirable that the change-over from the British to the State, should be without any violent changes. It was felt that the State Government may adjust the present administration machinery set up by the British Government and make only such changes as may be necessary. It was argued that the State Government had already offered to assume responsibility for the maintenance of existing hospitals and dispensaries and for their continuance, as far as may be necessary. It was also agreed to take over the entire Scouts Force and to absorb all the employees serving in Gilgit, who may elect to come over under the State regulations. It was also felt that such other officers, who had been loaned to the Gilgit Agency would however revert to the Government of India and the British officers would quit after 15 August 1947.

Barring these few officers, practically all the rest would come over to the State. In order to be able to replace these officers, it was necessary to ask the Resident to give a list of the posts, which would fall vacant, due to reversion to the Government of India.

Proposals

The immediate step that appeared to be called for, was the selection and nomination of two officers (1) the Governor of the Frontier Province, and (2) the Commandant of the Scouts Force. It was felt that these officers should be in Gilgit at the proper time to take over, on behalf of the *Maharaja's* Government. It was decided that they should proceed to and be stationed at Bunji. This would facilitate, it was considered, the working out of details in close contact with the Political Agent, Gilgit, and enable them to get completely *au fait* with the affairs there and would be ready to take over charge on the appointed date. Also, the proposed Governor should, in consultation with the Political Agent, initiate action to re-establish direct relationships with the frontier Chiefs. He should submit necessary proposals in this behalf for orders of His Highness's Government before the change over, so that the policy decided upon is given effect to, as soon as, the transfer takes place. The two officers, it was envisaged would be under the administrative control of the Prime Minister, the former, through the Political Department and the latter, through the Chief of the Staff.¹

All these things having been decided, the State Government kept itself ready for the take over. But the events in the country were taking some fateful shape.

Military Arrangements

On 12th July 1947, the Chief of the Military staff asked for orders, regarding re-occupation of Gilgit by the State forces and submitted a memorandum to the Prime Minister. He stated that if Gilgit was to be re-occupied during the year, the time available for both decisions and action was very short. The winter was near and the closing of all physical communications with Gilgit were imminent. He further pointed out that the

1. *Jalali Collection*, Papers and documents relating to Gilgit.

first question concerns the Gilgit Scouts, about and in regard to whom, he was very ignorant. To reach Gilgit by road took a long time and involved a longer absence from headquarters than could safely be contemplated. He also asked if the British Government could be induced to lend an aircraft for visits.¹ He informed that :

"The Gilgit Scouts had an establishment of about 500 C.O.'s and other ranks. The most senior officer, capable of talking to Gilgit men and at all likely to understand their mentality and needs, was Major Ishan Ali Khan, a good officer in many ways, but not capable to handle the unexpected or delicate issues with any particular skill. An alternative was the engagement of a suitable British Officer to command the Scouts. As such, he recommended that Brown be offered the appointment of Commandant. He also suggested that if the officers are to be State Officers, Hindu Officers would be preferable. As such, he recommended that Major Piar Singh, with the rank of acting Lt. Colonel, since he must be able to maintain a position with Captain Krishan Kumar and Banares Dev, M.C. If the officers are to be Muslims, he recommended Captain Mohammed Hussain, with the acting rank of Lt. Colonel and Captain Mohammed Afzal Khan and Lt. Mohammad Khan. He further cautioned that the people of Gilgit object to being called Indians. As such, he suggested changing the title of Indian Officer in the State Forces to that of the title of Scout Officer or Gilgit Officer. He also stated that it would be necessary for His Highness Government to guarantee their present appointments, ranks and terms of service including pensions. He also stated that early decision be taken on the issue as to whether or not the Scouts are to become a unit of the State Force."

On the lapse of Paramountcy in 1947, the British Indian Government handed over the administrative control of all the areas included in the Gilgit Agency to the State Government. Accordingly, on 1 August 1947, Brigadier Gansara Singh was

1. *Jalali Collection*, Papers and documents relating to Gilgit.

deputed as the Governor of these areas. But due to the raids from Pakistan and the consequent results therefrom he had to return. But the Brigadier has another story to tell.¹

The Story

"On or about 19th July 1947 I was appointed as Governor of Gilgit by His Highness, the *Maharaja Bahadur*, which I heard was against the wishes of the then Prime Minister. On that day, the Prime Minister called me in his office and told me about my appointment and also asked me to be ready to fly to Gilgit on 21st July 1947 to take over on 1st August 1947 from Lt. Colonel Beacon, the Political Agent. Next day, I noted down a few points connected with the administration of Gilgit to be discussed with the Prime Minister before my departure for Gilgit. As I had once before been to that part of the country, I knew most of the problems. The Prime Minister avoided me by saying that everything was alright in Gilgit and I need not worry. However, it was decided that General Scott would go with me to see to my requirements on spot and report to the Government.

"On 21st July, 1947, we could not get a plane. On 24th July, 1947 at 2 p.m. I got a message from Chaudri Niaz Ahmad, the then Foreign Secretary that the Prime Minister wanted me to leave for Gilgit this evening and to reach there in two days time. I was surprised to know that it was humanly impossible to cover 200 miles on pony without previous arrangements. The Prime Minister told me that when Raja Ram Singh could reach Gilgit in two days, why I could not do that. I told him that I could not do that, because I knew the country. He was persistent and I came back and met General Scott and told him all about the talk I had with the Prime Minister. Fortunately, the next day there was a meeting at the palace, in which the Prime Minister and General Scott, took part. His Highness told the Prime Minister to arrange for a plane and thus saved me from unnecessary worry.

"Before my departure, I knew that all the officers of the British Government had opted to serve Pakistan. As such, I

1. *Jalali Collection, Statements of Brigadier Gansara Singh.*

will not find any officer at Gilgit. Further, that the State officials, who had to replace them had to be posted yet. Thus, I knew that I was being sent to take over the whole of the Gilgit administration, single-handed.

"On my own initiative, I sent a telegram to Raja Noor Ali Khan, the then Revenue Assistant at Astor and a telegram to Captain Durga Singh, Company Commander, 5th Kashmir Light Infantry to meet me at Gilgit on or before the 1st of August, 1947. I reached Gilgit on 30th July, 1947 to take over as the Governor of Gilgit and its Agency. General Scott, the then Chief of the Staff was sent alongwith me.

"The same evening, General Scott called on Major Brown the Commandant of the Gilgit Scouts. They met in the evening and I was also present. During the course of the talk sub-Major Babar Khan of Scouts and all the JCO's clearly stated that they would serve the State, if their demands are accepted.

"Similarly, the whole civil establishment in the Gilgit refused to serve until they were given guarantee for their high rates of pay.

"No other establishment was with me, except a few officers. Raja Noor Ali Khan, the Revenue Assistant and Dr. Hans Raj Gupta sided with me. I had to lock up the Agency office and put a military guard over it in the absence of office establishment.

"Thus the whole charge of the Gilgit and the Gilgit Agency was taken over. The whole office work came to standstill for want of establishment. After a few days, some of the non-local clerks showed inclination for service and gradually, it was ascertained, that the Scouts as well as the civil employees had taken the attitude of non-cooperation at the instigation of some of the British Officers. To augment my difficulties they had completely spent or distributed all the controlled articles. There was not a yard of cloth and not an ounce of sugar left for the whole area.

"General Scott left for Srinagar on 2nd August, 1947. He had seen the whole situation and I gave him the following points for immediate consideration of the Government :

- a) Demands put forth by the Gilgit Scouts.
- b) Demands put by the Civil establishment regarding

grades, pay, etc.

- c) Sanction to operate the then Budget or alternatively State budget.
- d) Acquisition and control of one wireless set installed in Gilgit by the British Government.
- e) Need of more doctors.
- f) Chilas outpost lying vacant.

"The General was given all these points by me and he promised to get through immediately, on return to Srinagar."

Turmoil in Yasin

On 3rd or 4th August 1947 a turmoil started in Yasin. The Political Agent, Lt. Colonel Beacon had imprisoned some of the leading men of Yasin, who had revolted against the *Raja*. About 300 locals came to Gilgit demanding the release of their men. They complained against the atrocities of the *Raja*. The new Governor heard them and promised to take action on their request. The people of Gilgit were watching this agitation with great caution because it was a test case for the Governor. The *Mehtar* of Chitral supported the cause of the locals against the *Raja*. He was interested in the installation of one of his relatives as the *Raja* in place of the present one who came from Nagar. The Governor felt helpless and could do nothing. As such after a few days, the agitation grew stronger. The *Mehtar* started sending telegrams to the *Maharaja* against him. The *Maharaja* knew that this was a legacy left by the British for him and he felt that the change of the *Raja* on the instigation of the *Mehtar* of Chitral was not proper. As such, he decided to support the old *Raja* and did not yield to the threats of the *Mehtar*. In this position, the *Raja* of Puniyal supported him in quelling this agitation, most peacefully without resorting to any force. But the whole region was in a state of political turmoil.

The Governor knew the attitude of the Scouts, the Kashmir army, the local employees and the attitude of certain *Mirs*. He wrote letters informing the State Government of his difficulties. It was of no avail, because he got no replies to his letters

from any of these quarters and his difficulties remained just the same.

For a pretty long time, he was sitting like a dummy at Gilgit. He had no powers to operate the budget, no powers of the District Magistrate and no powers to try criminal offences in the Agency. He had no cloth and controlled articles such as, sugar and kerosene oil for the public. Telegrams were sent by him to the Foreign Secretary and the Prime Minister but seldom replies came to his queries. After about one and a half month, he received a letter from General Scott saying that he was hooted by certain officers, when he went to the Prime Minister to talk about the Gilgit affairs. He stated that no one was keen to settle matters.

On receipt of this information, the Governor felt gloomy and lost all hope.

Military Situation

The services of some of the British Officers had been retained by the State. Consequently, the Gilgit Scouts were commanded by Major Brown, assisted by Captain Matheson, Captain Mohammad Sayeed and Lt. Haider of the Kashmir army and Babar Khan, the uncle of the *Mir* of Nagar was sub-major of the Scouts. The headquarters of the Scouts was at Gilgit.

The 6th Kashmir Infantry, about two companies composed of the Sikhs and the Muslims was commanded by Lt. Colonel Abdul Majeed Khan and was stationed at Bunji, a place 34 miles short of Gilgit. Captain Ihsan Ali, Captain Hussain Khan, Captain Mohammad Khan, Captain Baldev Singh, Lt. Raghunath Singh and Lt. Sukh Dev were the State officers in the battalion.

After taking over, the Governor noticed that there was no officer at the Chilas post. As such, he sent Captain Sayeed with the Scouts to Chilas. He reported that Captain Hamilton on his return from Peshawar had openly declared at Chilas that the people need not worry as they will bring Pakistan for them within six months.

During this period, the 6th Kashmir Infantry started from Srinagar to relieve one Company of 5th Infantry at Bunji. The leading company was commanded by Captain Hussain Khan.

It was reported that slogans for Pakistan had been raised by these forces on their way to Bunji.

In the meanwhile, Lt. Colonel Abdul Majeed Khan reached Bunji and informed the Governor on phone that on enquiry, he had found that there was no truth in allegations and that only religious slogans were shouted by the company. He sent his enquiry papers to the Governor and the same were forwarded to the Chief of the Staff.

During the period, the Muslim Officers of the State army had contacted the Scout Officers and decided to establish Pakistan in Gilgit.

Pakistan Invasion

On 20 October 1947, Pakistan invaded Kashmir with the help of the tribals as well as its soldiers.¹ Having defeated the State forces at Kohalla, the invaders entered Muzaffarabad. After having burnt down Baramulla, the raiders reached the outskirts of Srinagar. In the meanwhile, the *Maharaja*, as advised, ran away from Srinagar to Jammu, leaving the people to the mercy of the raiders. He had no option but to accede to the Indian Union after so much waste of time. Conflicting news about the fall of Srinagar created a turmoil in Gilgit. There was sensation among the Scouts. Major Brown, Lt. Ghulam Haider and Subedar Major Babar Khan of the Scouts were holding secret meetings and were in touch with Bunji. The Hindu shopkeepers came to the Governor and requested to send for the State army detachments from Bunji.

The Governor was in a fix. He had to weigh the two alternatives, i.e. the Gilgit Scouts and the 6th Kashmir Infantry. He knew that the attitude of the Muslims of the 6th Infantry would be more destructive than that of the Gilgit Scouts. The Muslims of the 6th Infantry knew as to what had happened in the Punjab and they knew what was happening at Poonch near their homes. After appreciating these pros and cons, he decided that he should depend on the Gilgit Scouts as they had not seen communal disturbances. His emotions prevailed on him and he thought that it would be better to die at the hands of

1. *Keys to Kashmir*, p. 185.

his own brethren! He thought that "it will be rather a credit for him if he were to be killed by the Gilgit people, whom the Dogras had once conquered." As such, he did not wish to have the Muslims of the 6th Infantry to be in Gilgit and informed his subordinates to shoot their women folk in case of emergency, before they fall into their hands and for males to face, what was in store for them.

He pointed out to General Janak Singh, the then Prime Minister, about his claim for promotion but he got a dilatory reply. He never knew that "the Kangra intrigue was going on underneath against him." After a few days, he was informed by his friends that General Janak Singh, with the help of his Kangra party, had succeeded in getting his son, Kashmir Singh from the Indian Army as the Military Adviser in place of General Scott. The Governor felt aggrieved because after serving the State most faithfully and loyally for more than 27 years, no worse treatment could be meted out to any in service. General Janak Singh's selfishness against one who had served under him faithfully for a pretty long time, in various capacities, will go down in the history of the State.¹

With full knowledge of the events and total lack of cooperation on the part of the State authorities, he surrendered himself to the irony of fate. He decided to stay at Gilgit and die on the spot alongwith his colleagues.

Revolution

On 30th October 1947 in the afternoon he had a talk on phone with Lt. Colonel Abdul Majeed Khan at Bunji and ordered him to reach Gilgit immediately with as much force as he could muster. On the night between 31st October and 1st November 1947 at 12 midnight about 100 Gilgit Scouts led by officers surrounded his house. Hearing the noise of steps on his verandah, he got up and saw about eight men on that side. He never thought of the Scouts but suspected them as Yagistanis. He got his revolver and slipped to the other room. His orderly was there and he was told to take the rifle. His driver, with his son, also reached there. He had a revolver, his orderly a

1. *Jalali Collection*, Statements of Brigadier Gansara Singh.

rifle, and his driver, was with a D.B. Bung. He then went to his office room and saw a lot of men outside.

When he came back to his orderly's room, he saw men pushing his bathroom door and trying to break it open. He thought they would enter the house. As such, one round was fired in the air to frighten them away but they started fire in reply. After about one hour, machine gun bursts started on his bungalow. Skylights were smashed and there was a lot of noise.

It was Lt. Haider of the Scouts, who had started the machine gunning and this firing continued till 4 a.m.

In the morning, Mani Ram, *Naib Tehsildar* and the Police Inspector were sent to him. The Scouts were still surrounding his bungalow. Both these officers came to him with the warning from the Scout officers, that he should surrender within 15 minutes, and in case of surrender, all the non-Muslims and the civil officials would be safely sent to Bunji, as they wanted to establish Pakistan in the Gilgit Agency only. In case these terms are not accepted, all the non-Muslim inhabitants would be shot dead. On receipt of this ultimatum, the Governor sent for *Raja Noor Ali Khan* and *Sehdev Singh Tehsildar*. They suggested acceptance of the terms and departure to Bunji. In view of the grave situation, the Governor had no option but to agree. He was imprisoned by the Scouts. Major Brown, Captain Ihsan Ali, Capt. Hassan, Capt. Sayeed, Lt. Haider, Sub. Major Babar Khan and *Wazir Wilayat Ali* formed a provisional Government, headed by one local Rais Khan.

The news of the arrest of the Governor was a signal for the State Forces to kill each other. The Sikh soldiers were either killed or ran away to the hills to save themselves. During this period of turmoil, Major Brown and other military officers were the leading figures of the administration in Gilgit. Neither any of the *Mirs* nor any of the *Rajas* were at Gilgit at that time. It was purely a military junta and the people had no choice but to submit. From Gilgit, Major Brown sent frantic wireless messages to Peshawar authorities that Pakistan had been established at Gilgit and they must take it over. On the 3rd or the 4th November, flag hoisting ceremony was performed at Gilgit in the Scout lines, where all civil officers of the State

except the Governor were also called and made to salute the Pakistan flag.¹

After this revolution the invasion of Skardu started. The attack on Skardu was originally conducted by Captain Ihsan Ali, with the personnel of the 6th J & K Infantry, the Scouts and the Chitralis. For this campaign, Chitral sent about 1200 combatants under Matab-ul-Malik, a relative of the *Mehtar* of Chitral.

Civil and Military Prisoners

During the whole period of imprisonment, the civil employees had to buy their own food stuffs. They exhausted their own private money. At this critical juncture, Hans Raj of Amritsar, a shopkeeper at Gilgit came to their rescue and gave liberal monetary help to all who needed money. Two Muslim officers, *Raja* Noor Ali Khan, Revenue Assistant and Sultan Alam, *Niab Tehsildar* remained most loyal to the Governor. They were offered high posts and salaries but they refused to serve the new military junta. As such, they were also not paid any salary but managed to live on loans like their non-Muslim colleagues.

The condition of the military prisoners was worse and deplorable. After a few months' captivity, they changed to be mere skeletons. They had hardly any footwear or clothing. On account of bad food and shortage of clothing, diseases and dysentery broke in their camps. Luckily, they were brought to Balakot and then to Attock under the management of the Pakistani regular army, where they received full scale rations and clothing. The treatment here, according to the Governor, was on the whole satisfactory. Brigadier Gansara Singh, the last Dogra Governor of Gilgit was released along with other prisoners on the 15th of January 1949 at Sohetgarh, Jammu². At present, he is the member of the State Legislative Council.

1. *Jalali Collection*, Papers and documents relating to Gilgit.
2. Statement of Brigadier Gansara Singh, dated Feb. 1949.

APPENDIX I

First Treaty with Lahore of 1846

Treaty between the British Government and the State of Lahore, concluded at Lahore, on March 9th, 1846.

Whereas the treaty of amity and concord, which was concluded between the British Government and the late *Maharaja* Ranjit Singh, the ruler of Lahore, in 1809, was broken by the unprovoked aggression on the British provinces of the Sikh Army, in December last: As Whereas, on that occasion, by the proclamation dated the 13th of December, the territories then in the occupation of the *Maharaja* of Lahore, on the left or British bank of the river Sutlej, were confiscated and annexed to the British provinces; and, since that time, hostile operations have been prosecuted by the two Governments, the one against the other, which have resulted in the occupation of Lahore by the British troops: And whereas it has been determined that, upon certain conditions, peace shall be re-established between the Honourable English East India Company, and *Maharaja* Dalip Singh Bahadur, and his children, heirs, and successors, has been concluded, on the part of the Honourable Company, by Frederick Currie, Esq., and Brevet—Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, by virtue of full powers to that effect vested in them by the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., one of Her Britannic Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, Governor-General, appointed by the Honourable Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies; and, on the part of his Highness the *Maharaja* Dalip Singh, by Bhai Ram Singh, *Raja* Lal Singh, Sardar Tej Singh, Sardar Chattar Singh Atariwala, Sardar Ranjor Singh, Manjithia, Diwan Dina Nath, and Fakir-ud-Din, vested with full powers and authority on the part of his Highness.

Article 1

There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the British Government, on the one part, and Maharaja Dalip Singh, his heirs and successors, on the other.

Article 2

The Maharaja of Lahore renounces for himself, his heirs and successors, all claim to, or connexion with, the territories lying to the south of the river Sutlej, and engages never to have any concern with those territories, or the inhabitants thereof.

Article 3

The Maharaja cedes to the Honourable Company, in perpetual sovereignty, all his forts, territories situated between the rivers Beas and Sutlej.

Article 4

The British Government having demanded from the Lahore State, as indemnification for the expenses of the war, in addition to the cession of territory described in Articles 3, payment of one and a half crores of rupees; and the Lahore Government being unable to pay the whole of this sum at this time, or to give security satisfactory to the British Government for its eventual payment; the Maharaja cedes to the Honourable Company, in perpetual sovereignty, as equivalent for one crore of rupees, all his forts, territories, rights, and interests, in the hill countries which are situated between the rivers Beas and Indus, including the provinces Kashmir and Hazara.

Article 5

The Maharaja will pay to the British Government the sum of fifty lacs of rupees, on or before the ratification of this treaty.

Article 6

The Maharaja engages to disband the mutinous troops of the Lahore army, taking from them their arms; and his Highness agrees to reorganize the regular, or Ain regiments of infantry

upon the system, and according to the regulations as to pay and allowances, observed in time of late Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The Maharaja further engages to pay up all arrears to the soldiers that are discharged under the provisions of this article.

Article 7

The regular army of the Lahore State shall henceforth be limited to 25 battalions of infantry, consisting of 800 bayonets each, with 12,000 cavalry: this number at no time to be exceeded without the concurrence of the British Government. Should it be necessary at any time, for any special cause, that this force should be increased, the cause shall be fully explained to the British Government; and, when the special necessity, shall have passed, the regular troops shall be again reduced to the standard specified in the former clause of this article.

Article 8

The Maharaja will surrender to the British Government all the guns, thirty six in number, which have been pointed against the British troops, and which, having been placed on the right bank of the river Sutlej, were not captured at the battle of Sobraon.

Article 9

The control of the rivers Beas and Sutlej, with the continuations of the latter river, commonly called the Ghara and Panjnad, to the confluence of the Indus at Mithankot, and the control of the Indus from Mithankot to the borders of Baluchistan, shall, in respect to tolls and ferries, rest with the British Government. The provisions of this article shall not interfere with the passage of boats belonging to the Lahore Government on the said rivers, for the purposes of traffic, or the conveyance of passengers up and down their course. Regarding the ferries between the two countries respectively, at the several ghats of the said rivers, it is agreed that the British Government, after defraying all the expenses of management and establishments, shall account to the Lahore Government for one-half of the net profits of the ferry collections. The provisions of this

article have no reference to the ferries on that part of the river Sutlej which forms the boundary of Bahawalpur and Lahore respectively.

Article 10

If the British Government should, at any time, desire to pass troops through the territories of his Highness the Maharaja for the protection of the British Territories, or those of their allies, the British troops shall on such special occasions, due notice being given, be allowed to pass through the Lahore territories. In such case, the officers of the Lahore State will afford facilities in providing supplies and boats for the passage of rivers; and the British Government will pay the full price of all such provisions and boats, and will make fair compensation for all private property that may be endamaged. The British Government will moreover observe all due consideration to the religious feelings of the inhabitants of those tracts through which the army may pass.

Article 11

The Maharaja engages never to take or retain, in his service, any British subject, nor the subject of any European or American State, without the consent of the British Government.

Article 12

In consideration of the services rendered by Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu to the Lahore State, towards procuring the restoration of the relations of amity between the Lahore and British Governments, the Maharaja hereby agrees to recognize the independent sovereignty of Raja Gulab Singh, in such territories and districts in the hills as may be made over to the said Raja Gulab Singh by separate agreement between himself and the British Government, with the dependencies thereof, which may have been in the Raja's possession since the time of the late Maharaja Kharak Singh and the British Government, in consideration of the good conduct of Raja Gulab Singh, also agrees to recognize his independence in such territories, and to admit him to the privileges of a separate treaty with the British Government.

Article 13

In the event of any dispute or difference arising between the Lahore State and Raja Gulab Singh the same shall be referred to arbitration of the British Government and by its decision the Maharaja engages to abide.

Article 14

The limits of the Lahore territories shall not be at any time, changed, without the concurrence of the British Government.

Article 15

The British Government will not exercise any interference in the internal administration of the Lahore State; but in all cases or questions which may be referred to the British Government, the Governor-General will give the aid of his advice and good offices for the furtherance of the interests of the Lahore Government.

Article 16

The subjects of either State shall, on visiting the territories of the other, be on the footing of the subjects of the most favoured nation.

This treaty consisting of sixteen articles, has been this day settled by Frederick Currie, Esq., and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the directions of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General, on the part of the British Government; and by Bhai Ram Singh, Sardar Tej Singh, Sardar Chattar Singh Atariwala, Sardar Ranjor Singh Majithia, Diwan Dina Nath and Fakir-ud-Din, on the part of the Maharaja Dalip Singh; and the said treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General, and by that of his Highness Maharaja Dalip Singh.

Done at Lahore, this 19th day of March, in the year of our Lord 1846, corresponding with the 10th day of Rabi-ul-awal 1262, Hijri and ratified on the same day.

APPENDIX II

The Treaty of Amritsar

TREATY BETWEEN THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT on the one part and MAHARAJA GULAB SINGH OF JAMMU on the other, concluded on the part of the BRITISH GOVERNMENT BY FREDERICK CURRIE, Esquire and BREVET-MAJOR HENRY MONTGOMERY LAWRENCE, acting under the orders of the RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR HENRY HARDINGE, G.C.B., one of HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL, GOVERNOR-GENERAL, appointed by the HONOURABLE COMPANY to direct and control all their affairs in the EAST INDIES, and by MAHARAJA GULAB SINGH in person, —1846.

Article 1

The British Government transfer and make over for ever, in independent possession to Maharaja Gulab Singh and the heirs male of his body, all the hilly or mountainous country, with its dependencies, situated to the eastward of the river Indus and westward of the river Ravi, including Chamba, and excluding Lahul, being part of the territories ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State, according to the provisions of Article IV, of the Treaty of Lahore dated 9th March 1846.

Article 2

The Eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the foregoing Article to Maharaja Gulab Singh shall be laid down by the Commissioners appointed by the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh respectively for that purpose, and shall be

defined in a separate Engagement after survey.

Article 3

In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs by the provisions of the foregoing Articles, Maharaja Gulab Singh will pay to the British Government the sum of seventy-five lakhs of Rupees (*Nanukshahee*), fifty lakhs to be paid on ratification of this Treaty, and twenty-five lakhs on or before the first October of the current year, A.D. 1846.

Article 4

The limits of the territories of Maharaja Gulab Singh shall not be at any time changed without the concurrence of the British Government.

Article 5

Maharaja Gulab Singh will refer to the arbitration of the British Government any disputes or questions that may arise between himself and the Government of Lahore or any other neighbouring State, and will abide by the decision of the British Government.

Article 6

Maharaja Gulab Singh engages for himself and heirs to join, with the whole of his Military force, the British troops, when employed within the hills, or in the territories adjoining his possessions.

Article 7

Maharaja Gulab Singh engages never to take or retain in his service, any British subject, nor the subject of any European or American State, without the consent of the British Government.

Article 8

Maharaja Gulab Singh engages to respect, in regard to the territory transferred to him, the provisions of Articles V, VI, and VII of the separate Engagement between the British Government and the Lahore Darbar, dated March 11th, 1846.

Article 9

The British Government will give its aid to Maharaja Gulab Singh in protecting his territories from external enemies.

Article 10

Maharaja Gulab Singh acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government, and will in token of such supremacy present annually to the British Government one horse, twelve shawl goats of approved breed, (six male and six female), and three pairs of Cashmere shawls.

This Treaty, consisting of ten articles, has been this day settled by Frederick Currie, Esquire, and Brevet—Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the directions of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General, on the part of the British Government, and by Maharaja Gulab Singh in person; and the said Treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B.

Done at Amritsar, the sixteenth day of March, in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and forty-six corresponding with the seventeenth day of Rabi-ul-awal 1262 Hijri.

Sd/- H. Hardinge (Seal)

Sd/- F. Currie.

Sd/- H.M. Lawrence.

By order of the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India.

Sd/- F. Currie,
Secretary to the Government of India,
with the Governor-General.

APPENDIX III

Rough draft of the receipt regarding the payments received by the East India Company.

The Hon'ble the East India Company having received from H.H. Maharaja Gulab Singh the sum of Rs 75,00,000, (seventy five lakhs), in payment of the amount guaranteed by the III article of the Treaty between the Hon'ble Company and His Highness dated Amritsar the 16th March 1846, this single acknowledgement of the receipt of the above whole amount is granted by the Board of Administration for the affairs of the Punjab, at the request of Dewan Jowala Shai, in addition to the receipts already given to His Highness' agent, by the receiving officers, for the instalments received..... by them, from time to time, between the date of the Treaty and the 14th March 1850, the day on which the last instalment was paid into the Lahore Treasury.

Lahore.

30th March 1850

Signed. H.L.

APPENDIX IV

THE COMMERCIAL TREATY (1870)

TREATY between the BRITISH GOVERNMENT and HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA RUNBEER SINGH, his heirs and successor, executed on the one part by THOMAS DOUGLAS FORSYTH, E.B., in virtue of the full powers vested in him by HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE RICHARD SOUTHWELL BOURKEY, BARON, NAAS OF NASS, K.P., G.M.S.I., P.C. etc., etc., VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA, and on the other part by HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA RUNBEER SINGH aforesaid, in person,—1870.

Whereas, in the interest of the high contracting parties and their respective subjects, it is deemed desirable to afford greater facilities than at present exist for the development and security of trade with Eastern Turkistan, the following Articles have, with this object, been agreed upon :

Article 1

With the consent of the Maharaja, Officers of the British Government will be appointed to survey the trade routes through the Maharaja's territories from the British frontier of Lahoul to the territories of the Ruler of Yarkand, including the route *via* the Chang Chemo Valley. The Maharaja will depute an officer of his Government to accompany the Surveyors, and will render them all the assistance in his power. A map of the routes surveyed will be made, an attested copy of which will be given to Maharaja.

Article 2

Whichever route towards the Chang Chemo Valley shall after examination and survey as above, be declared by the

British Government to be the best suited for the development of trade with Eastern Turkistan, shall be declared by the Maharaja to be a free highway in perpetuity and at all times for all travellers and traders.

Article 3

For the supervision and maintenance of the road in its entire length through the Maharaja's territories the regulation of traffic on the free highway described in Article 2, the enforcement of regulations that may be hereafter agreed upon, and the settlement of disputes between carriers, traders, travellers, or others using that road, in which either of the parties or both of them are subjects of the British Government or of any foreign State, two Commissioners shall be annually appointed, one by the British Government, and the other by the Maharaja. In the discharge of their duties and as regards the period of their residence the Commissioners shall be guided by such rules as are now separately framed and may, from time to time, hereafter be laid down by the joint authority of the British Government and the Maharaja.

Article 4

The jurisdiction of the Commissioners shall be defined by a line on each side of the road at a maximum width of two Statute koss, except where it may be deemed by the Commissioners necessary to include a wider extent for grazing grounds. Within this maximum width the Surveyors appointed under Article 1 shall demarcate map the limits of jurisdiction which may be decided on by the Commissioners as most suitable, including grazing grounds; and the jurisdiction of the Commissioners shall not extend beyond the limits so demarcated. The land included within these limits shall remain in the Maharaja's independent possession; and, subject to the stipulations contained in this Treaty, the Maharaja shall continue to possess the same right of full sovereignty therein as in any other part of his territories, which right shall not be interfered with in any way by the Joint Commissioners.

Article 5

The Maharaja agrees to give all possible assistance in enforcing the decisions of the Commissioners and preventing the breach or evasion of the regulations established under Article 3.

Article 6

The Maharaja agree that any person, whether a subject of the British Government, or of the Maharaja, or of the Ruler of Yarkand, or of any foreign State, may settle at and place within the jurisdiction of the two Commissioners, and may provide, keep, maintain, and let for hire at different stages the means of carriage and transport for the purpose of trade.

Article 7

The two Commissioners shall be empowered to establish supply depots and to authorise other persons to establish supply depots at such places on the road as may appear to them suitable to fix the rates at which provisions shall be sold to traders, carriers, settlers and others; to fix the rent to be charged for the use of any rest-houses or *serais* that may be established on the road. The officers of the British Government in Kullu, etc., and the officers of the Maharaja in Ladakh, shall be instructed to use their best endeavours to supply provisions on the indent of the Commissioners at market rates.

Article 8

The Maharaja agrees to levy no transit duty whatever on the aforesaid free highway; and the Maharaja further agrees to abolish all transit duties levied within his territories on goods transmitted in bond through His Highness, territories from Eastern Turkistan to India, and *vice versa*, on which bulk may not be broken within the territories of His Highness. On goods imported into, or exported from, His Highness' territory, whether by the aforesaid free highway or any other route, the Maharaja may levy such import or export duties as he may think fit.

Article 9

The British Government agree to levy no duty on goods transmitted in bond through British India to Eastern Turkistan, or to the territories of His Highness the Maharaja. The British Government further agree to abolish the export duties now levied on shawl and other textile fabrics manufactured in the territories of the Maharaja, and exported to countries beyond the limits of British India.

Article 10

This treaty, consisting of 10 Articles, has this day been concluded by Thomas Douglas Forsyth, C.B., in virtue of the full powers vested in him by His Excellency the Right Honourable Richard Southwell Bourke, Earl of Mayo, Viscount Mayo of Monycrower, Baron of Nass, K. P., G.M.S.I. P.C., etc., etc., Viceroy and Governor-General of India on the part of the British Government, and by Maharaja Ranbeer Singh aforesaid, and it is agreed that a copy of this Treaty, duly ratified by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, shall be delivered to the Maharaja on or before the 7th September 1870.

Signed, sealed, and exchanged at Sialkote on the Second day of April in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and seventy, corresponding with the 22nd day of Bysak, Sumbut 1927.

SIGNATURE OF MAHARAJA OF CASHMERE.

Sd/- T.D. FORSYTH.

Sd/- MAYO.

This treaty was ratified by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India at Sialkote on the 2nd day of May 1870.

Sd/- C.U. AITCHISON,
 Officiating Secretary to the Government
 of India, Foreign Department.

APPENDIX V

Rules for the Guidance of Officers and other Travellers visiting the Dominions of His Highness Runbeer Singh, the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir.

1. There are four authorised routes of European visitors to Kashmir (all of which are noticed in this work). The special permission of the Punjab Government must be obtained by travellers proposing to proceed from Simla to Kashmir across the Hills. All other roads are positively forbidden; and in respect to the direct road from Jummoo (the Bunnihal route), the prohibition has been ordered by the Supreme Government at the special request of His Highness the Maharaja. The road branching from Rajoori by Akhnoor, which is used by the Maharaja's family and troops, is also expressly prohibited.

2. Every officer or traveller about to visit Kashmir should engage before proceeding a sufficient number of ponies or mules for the conveyance of his baggage.

3. Carriage and Collies. Coolies employed in carrying baggage, or for other purposes, are to be settled with daily, as in our own provinces, and their loads should not exceed twenty-five seers. *Tatoos*, or mules, should not carry more than two *maunds* in the hills.

4. It is necessary to bear in mind that coolies and carriages are not available on the spot, but they have usually to be collected from distant villages. Travellers on reaching a stage should therefore send forward to the next a notice of their requisitions, and must not expect to be supplied at moment's warning. This intimation is especially necessary in the case of officers hurrying back to save their leave, sometimes making double stages. In this case double hire must invariably be paid.

5. In returning from Kashmir, coolies or carriages should not be taken on beyond the Maharaja's frontier, as it causes much inconvenience to other travellers.

6. Encamping : Places and Supplies—Officers should encamp at the fixed stages and encamping grounds, otherwise supplies may not be forthcoming. They should avoid entering or pitching inside villages, where quarrels may occur between their servants and the public of the country.

7. All arrangements for supplies, coolies, or *baggage* animals, and all references to the local authorities, should be made through the proper attendants; but payment for supplies, coolies, and carriages should be made by travellers themselves in their presence.

8. No interference is to be offered to *Kardas* (revenue officers), *Thanadars*, or *Kotwals* (Police Officers), or other servants or subjects of His Highness the Maharaja; and no calls are to be made on them except in real emergencies. All payments are to be made at the rates demanded, which, if exorbitant, can be afterwards reported to the officer on duty at Srinagar.

9. A book will be presented at each stage in which every traveller is required to write legibly his name, rank, station, and the date of his arrival.

10. Shooting Excursions : When going out on shooting excursions visitors are to take carriage and supplies with them, and not to persist in demanding them at places where they are not procurable. They are not to press into their service the people of the country as beaters for game.

11. Reference in Cases of Difficulties or Disputes : In any case of dispute officers should avoid putting themselves in direct collision with the authorities, soldiers, servants, or subjects of the Maharaja. They are also warned not to place entire confidence in the statements of their servants, who have often their own objects to serve.

12. Should they have reason to consider that they or their followers have been ill-treated or affronted, they are strictly prohibited from taking the law into their own hands, or punishing the offending parties; but they are to make known their complaint to the authorities on the spot, and immediately to

report the matter to the officer on deputation at Srinagar.

13. All such cases which may occur at the capital are to be preferred at once to the officer on deputation, who is there for the purpose of maintaining order. Officers are not themselves to repair to the *darbar* of the Maharaja, or the courts of his delegates, or to communicate directly with them.

14. Observance of Local Laws and Customs : Officers are enjoined to remember that they are visitors in the remote dominions of an independent sovereign, where they, one and all, represent the character of their country. If on any occasion they or their servants be brought in contact with the Maharaja, his sons, relatives, or any of his agents, they must treat them with respect and courtesy, and be guided by and conform to the local laws and usages.

15. Officers are not allowed to take away with them, either in their service or with their camps, any subjects of the Maharaja without obtaining permission and a passport from the authorities.

16. They are strictly required to settle all accounts before they quit Kashmir, and to be responsible that the debts of their servants are similarly discharged.

17. All presents to be Refused : Presents of every description must be rigidly refused. To take any '*russud*' of supplies without payment is positively prohibited, except on the first or last days of a visitor's stay at Kashmir, when it may happen that '*russud*' is sent expressly by the Maharaja.

18. Instances having been brought to notice of European visitors to Kashmir having permitted the goods of native merchants to be mixed up with their own, with the object of evading the customs' duties leviable thereupon by the Kashmir Government, it is hereby pointed out that such conduct will involve legal penalties; and in the case of persons in the civil or military service of the Queen will be reported to the Supreme Government.

19. The Maharaja occasionally invites European visitors to entertainments, at which, if the invitation be accepted, they should appear in undress uniform or evening costume.

20. It will be the duty of the Officer on special duty to report to the Punjab Government any officer or traveller]

infringe any of these rules.

21. Should any officer be guilty of any aggravated breach of decorum or propriety, or of violating the local laws and usages of the country, or of violating the local laws and usages of the country, or of other grave misconduct, the Civil Officer on special duty at Srinagar is empowered to call upon such officer to quit forthwith the territories of the Maharaja. Such requisition on the part of the Civil Officer must be promptly complied with. An appeal from the order of expulsion will lie, in the case of a first offence, to a court of three experienced officers, who the civil officer is empowered to summon for hearing such appeals, and the decision of these officers will be final. In the case of a second offence, there will be no appeal against the order of the Civil Officer.

T. H. Thornton,
Secretary to Government, Punjab.

APPENDIX VI

Agreement entered into between the British Government and the Cashmere State in regard to the Construction of Telegraph Lines from Jummoo to Srinuggur and from Srinuggur to Gilgit, 1878.

Whereas His Highness the Maharaja of Cashmere is desirous of obtaining the assistance of the British Government towards the construction of lines of telegraph from Jummoo to Srinuggur and from Srinuggur to Gilgit, the following terms are agreed upon by Major Philip Durham Henderson, C.S.I., Officer on Special Duty in Cashmere, on the part of the British Government, duly empowered by the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council on that behalf, and by Baboo Nilumber Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., Judge of the *Sadr Adalut* of Cashmere, duly empowered by His Highness the Maharaja on that behalf.

1. The British Government agrees to construct for the Cashmere State two lines of telegraph, each consisting of one wire, to be carried on such suitable supports as are procurable in the vicinity the one to be erected between Jummoo and Srinuggur at a cost of Rs 21,600 more or less, and the other between Srinuggur and Gilgit at a cost of Rs 31,900 more or less provided in each case the following conditions are observed:

- (a) That the transport of all telegraph materials from Sealkote to the Cashmere frontier and within the limits of the Cashmere State shall be directly arranged and paid for by some duly authorised officer of the Cashmere State.
- (b) That all laborers, whom the officer in charge of the construction of the line shall require to employ, shall be engaged and paid by a duly authorized officer of the Cashmere State.

- (c) That on due notice being given by the officer in charge of the construction of the line, the Cashmere Government shall, to the utmost of its power, comply with requisitions for transport or labor.
- (d) That sound seasoned *deodar* posts, wherever these are procurable, suitable for telegraph supports, shall be provided by the Cashmere State and distributed along the route to be taken by the telegraph lines, in such manner as the officer in charge of the work may direct.
- (e) That no brackets or insulators be used in the construction of the lines, as their cost has not been provided in the estimated amount stated above.

2. The British Government guarantees that all telegraph materials, including the wire supplied by it, shall be of the best quality used for its own lines, and that the lines shall be handed over to the Cashmere Government in full working order.

3. His Highness the Maharaja agree to pay to the British Government, as the money may be required, the actual cost incurred by it in the construction and establishment of the lines, such cost being inclusive of :

- (a) The salaries and allowances of all members of the Indian Telegraph establishment for the whole period they may be detained on duty in Cashmere; and
- (b) The cost of insulating the line, or of any other changes in the original Scheme that may be made hereafter with the concurrence, or at the request of the Cashmere State.

4. The salaries and allowances of all members of the Indian Telegraph establishment will be paid to them by the Government of India through the Officers on special duty, and the amounts of such payments will be recovered subsequently from the Cashmere State.

5. On the application in writing of the Cashmere State, the Telegraph Department will supply at cost price all telegraph instruments and material required from time to time for the maintenance and working of the telegraph lines and offices about to be established.

6. On the application in writing of the Cashmere State, the Telegraph Department will afford such advice and instruction as may be required and desired by the Cashmere State for the maintenance and working of such telegraph lines and offices.

7. On the application in writing of the Cashmere State, the Telegraph Department will lend the services of any Native Signallers who may volunteer for the duty, and whose services can be spared, for such specified period as may be sufficient to enable the Cashmere State to train its own signallers.

8. The foregoing provisions are accepted by the British Government as a mark of friendship and goodwill towards His Highness the Maharaja; but it is to be understood that after the lines are delivered over to the Cashmere Government, no responsibility whatever attaches to the British Government, in respect of their subsequent maintenances and working.

P.D. HENDERSON, Major,
Officer on Special Duty in Cashmere,

NILUMBER MOOKERJEE,

The 9th March 1878. Judge of the *Sadr Adalut* of Cashmere,

APPENDIX VII

Memorandum of Agreement entered into between the British Government and His Highness Major-General Sir Pratap Singh, G.C.S.I., Maharaja of the Jammu and Kashmir State, for the Introduction of More Definite Arrangements for the Effective Control and Discipline of the Kashmir Imperial Service Troops when Serving beyond the Frontier of the Jammu and Kashmir State, 1899.

Whereas His Highness Major-General Sir Pratap Singh, G.C.S.I., Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir State, maintains a force of Imperial Service Troops for the purpose of Co-operating, if need be, in the defence of the British Empire, and

Whereas it is necessary that the Imperial Service Troops of the Jammu and Kashmir State, when associated with troops of the British Army, should be under the orders of the Officers Commanding the combined forces, and subject to the like discipline and control as the officers and soldiers of Her Majesty's Indian Army, and

Whereas it is not the wish or intention of the Government of India that a British officer should be appointed to command any corp of Imperial Service Troops though British officers are employed in order to instruct and inspect the said troops.

It is hereby agreed between the Governor General of India of the one part and His Highness Major General Sir Pratap Singh, G.C.S.I., Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir State, of the other as follows, namely,

1. Whenever the said troops or any portion thereof are moved beyond the frontier of the said State, they shall be attached to the command and under the orders of the Officers Commanding the District Contingent or Force in which they are employed, and such officer shall by virtue of this agreement,

be authorised to administer in respect of the said troops, so serving, the military laws and regulations to which they are subject under the laws of the said State, and for that purpose and for the due preservation of discipline among the same, to convene all such Courts, and to issue all such orders, and to pass all such judgements and sentences, and generally to exercise all such authority as may be lawfully convened, issued, passed and exercised by the authorities of the Jammu and Kashmir State, when the said troops are serving within the territorial limits of the said State, provided always that the execution of every sentence so passed in British territory shall be carried out under the orders of His Highness the Maharaja or of some person to whom the requisite authority has been delegated by him.

2. In order further to ensure the efficiency of the said Imperial Service Troops and the maintenance of discipline among them when serving along with Her Majesty's forces, the said Major General Sir Pratap Singh, G.C.S.I., the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir State, has embodied in the disciplinary laws of his State, applicable to the said Imperial Service Troops when employed on active service either within or without British India, the provisions, *mutatis mutandis*, of the Indian Articles of war for the time being in force. The due application and enforcement of the said provisions in respect of the Imperial Service Troops aforesaid shall be carried out under the authority of the Officer Commanding the District, Contingent or force aforesaid.

PRATAP SINGH

Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir

Dated : The 12th September 1899.

A.C. TALBOT,

Resident in Kashmir

Approved and confirmed by the Government of India.

By order,

H.S. BARNES,

Secretary to the Government of India,
Foreign Department.

SIMLA :
The 7th May 1901.

APPENDIX VIII

Revised Memorandum of Agreement for the Interchange of Messages between the Imperial Telegraph System of the Government of India and the Telegraph System of the Kashmir State,—1920.

1. Except as may be specially provided in the articles of this agreement, telegrams tendered by the public at the telegraph offices of the Kashmir State system will be accepted and despatched under the rules for charges and acceptance of telegrams in force at the time on the Indian telegraph system, as laid down in the Indian Telegraph Guide, whether they are for delivery by offices of the Indian system of the Kashmir State system. Similarly, telegrams received by wire by telegraph offices of the Kashmir State system will be delivered by those offices under the rules for delivery of telegrams laid down in the Indian Telegraph Guide irrespective of whether the telegrams originated at a telegraph office of the Indian system or of the Kashmir State system.

2. Telegrams classed as "Ordinary" will not be dealt with by the Kashmir State Telegraph offices on the birthday of His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir.

3. All telegrams tendered for despatch in places where there are both Indian and Kashmir State Telegraph offices and addressed to places at which there is no Kashmir State Telegraph shall be booked by the sender at the Indian telegraph office and shall not be accepted if tendered at the Kashmir State Telegraph office. Similarly, all telegrams tendered at such places addressed to places where there is a Kashmir State telegraph office but no Indian telegraph office shall be booked by the sender at the Kashmir State Telegraph office, and shall not be accepted if tendered at the Imperial telegraph office.

4. Messages will be sent as far as practicable towards their destination over the wires of the system by which they were booked.

5. All foreign telegrams, i.e., those addressed to places outside the limits of India and Burma, booked at offices of the Kashmir State system must be made over with the full charge in payment at the time of their transfer to the Indian system for onward transmission.

6. His Highness the Maharaja Sahib of Kashmir (and his nephew Honorary Captain Raja Sir Hari Singh, K.C.I.E., and they alone)* shall have the right of sending messages, State or private, free of charge over the Indian telegraph system from any telegraph office to any other, both in and out of Jammu and Kashmir State territories. This power cannot be delegated.

7. Certain officials of the Kashmir State have the privilege of telegraphing free of charge on the service of the Kashmir State from Kohala or from any Indian telegraph office within the limits of the Kashmir State and Jammu State to any Indian telegraph office within the same limits and *vice versa*; or from Kohala or any Indian telegraph office within the said limits to any Kashmir State Telegraph office and *vice versa*; provided that, if a telegram is to be sent to a Kashmir State Telegraph office from a place where both an Indian and a State telegraph office exist, the message should not be booked at the Indian telegraph office unless communication by the wire of the Kashmir State Telegraph system is interrupted.

8. Messages relating to telegraph traffic issued by telegram from offices of the Indian Post and Telegraphs Department and the licensed systems will be transmitted without charge to or from all Kashmir State Telegraph offices. Similarly, such messages relating to telegraph traffic issued by telegram from offices of the Kashmir State Telegraphs will be transmitted free to and from any telegraph office of the Indian Telegraph Department or the licensed systems.

9. In case of necessity when communication by the wires of one system is interrupted, messages may be diverted without any charge to the wires of the other system until communication is restored.

10. Subject to the foregoing special rules, each

administration will retain the fees it collects for messages, including deposits for reply and acknowledgement of receipt, and will forward messages by the other administration to destination free of all charges.

11. Fees required for special delivery arrangement cannot be prepaid by senders of telegrams. Instructions for such special delivery should be given by the sender in his telegram and the recovery of the charges will be made from the addressee.

12. Prepaid reply telegram forms issued by any Government or licensed telegraph office of the Indian system shall be accepted by a Kashmir State Telegraph office when presented in payment of any telegram tendered at such an office, and conversely, such forms issued by a Kashmir State Telegraph office shall be accepted at any Government or licensed telegraph office of the Indian system and no claim shall be made by either administration in respect of fees collected on such forms by the other administration.

13. The transfer of messages to and from the Kashmir State Telegraph system can be effected, subject to rule 4, at any place where there is an Indian as well as a Kashmir State Telegraph office, and for this purpose the Indian Post and Telegraph Department may, at its own expense connect any of its offices by wire with any Kashmir State office, and every necessary facility shall be given by the Kashmir State for establishing and maintaining the connection and for the interchange of messages thereby.

14. In order to secure secrecy, messages transferred by hand should be despatched from Indian offices to Kashmir State offices and *vice versa* in closed covers. They should be accompanied by a separate receipt for each message, duly completed, to be signed by the officer in charge of the receiving telegraph office, and returned to the transferring office.

15. In the case of deposits for replies or acknowledgement of delivery the sum prepaid must be shown on the message form in the place provided for official instructions.

16. All complaints regarding telegrams received by one administration from the other for investigation shall be duly enquired into and steps taken to prevent a repetition of the

cause. An official of the Kashmir State shall be appointed to correspond with the Director General of Posts and Telegraphs, Complaint and Fault Section, Calcutta, regarding complaints and all matters requiring settlement.

17. The agreement will be subject, if necessary, to revision after five years from the date of its coming into force.

18. Any of the articles of this agreement may be added to or modified or cancelled by mutual consent at any time without affecting the validity of the remaining articles or the period of termination of the agreement.

APPENDIX IX

Agreement between the British Government and His Highness Maharaja Hari Singh, Inder Mahinder Bhadur, G.C.S.I., C.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., A.D.C. Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, His heirs and successors, executed on the one part by Lieutenant, Colonel Lionel Edward Lang, C.I. E.M.C. in virtue of the full powers vested in by his Excellency the right Honourable Freeman-Thomad, Earl of Willington, P.C., G.M.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.M.I.E., G.B.E. Viceroy and Governor-General of India and on the other part by Colonel His Highness Maharaja Hari Singh aforesaid.

It is hereby agreed as follows :

Article 1

The Viceroy and Governor General of India may at any time after the ratification of this agreement assume the Civil and Military administration of so much of the *Wazarat* of Gilgit Province (hereinafter referred to as the said territory) of the State of Jammu and Kashmir and lies beyond the right bank of the river Indus, but notwithstanding anything in this agreement the said territory shall continue to be included within the dominions of His Highness of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir.

Article 2

In recognition of the fact that the said territory continues to be included within the dominions of His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, salutes, and customary honours shall be paid in the said territory by the administration on the occasion of the birth day of His Highness, in *Baisakhi*, *Dassehra*, *Basant Panchami* and on such other occasions as may be agreed upon by His Highness and the Viceroy and Governor

General of India. The flags of His Highness will be flown at the official headquarters of the Agency throughout the year.

Article 3

In normal circumstances no British or British India troops shall be despatched through that portion of the *Wazarat* of Gilgit province which lies beyond the left bank of the river Indus.

Article 4

All rights appertaining to mining are reserved to His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. The grant of prospecting licenses and mining leases will not be made during the period of the agreement mentioned below.

Article 5

The agreement shall remain in force for sixty years from the date of its ratification, and the lease will terminate at the end of that period.

Signed and exchanged at Jammu this 26th day of the month of March 1935.

Sd/-

(HARI SINGH)

MAHARAJA OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR

Sd/-

L.E. Lang, Lieut. Colonel
Resident in Kashmir.

This agreement was ratified by his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India at Delhi this third day of the month of April 1935.

Sd/-

(Willington)

Sd/-

(Haa. F. Metcalfe,
Foreign Secretary to
Government of India.

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Translation of Oriental Words

Tehsil.	Administrative division of a district.
Niabat.	Part of a Tehsil.
Bazar.	Market.
Wazarat.	District.
Wazir-i-Wazarat.	Governor of a district.
Pirzadas.	Priestly class.
Choga.	Gown.
Pattu.	Wollens.
Girm.	Local variety of barley.
Motamid.	Agent.
Motabar.	Agent or representative.
Khillat.	Presents or subsidy.
Mir.	Prince.
Mehtar.	King of Chitral.
Rukhstana.	Presents made at the time of departure.
Jagir.	Fief.
Kharita.	Royal letter.
Vakil.	Representative.
Sanad.	Royal letter of authority.
Mawajib.	Subsidy.
Jirga.	Tribal assembly.
Jalsa.	Meeting.
Darbar.	Royal court.
Baisakhi.	Hindu new year day.
Dassehra.	Hindu festival.
Basant Panchami.	Hindu festival of spring.
Kangra party.	Dogras of Kangra, a hill state.

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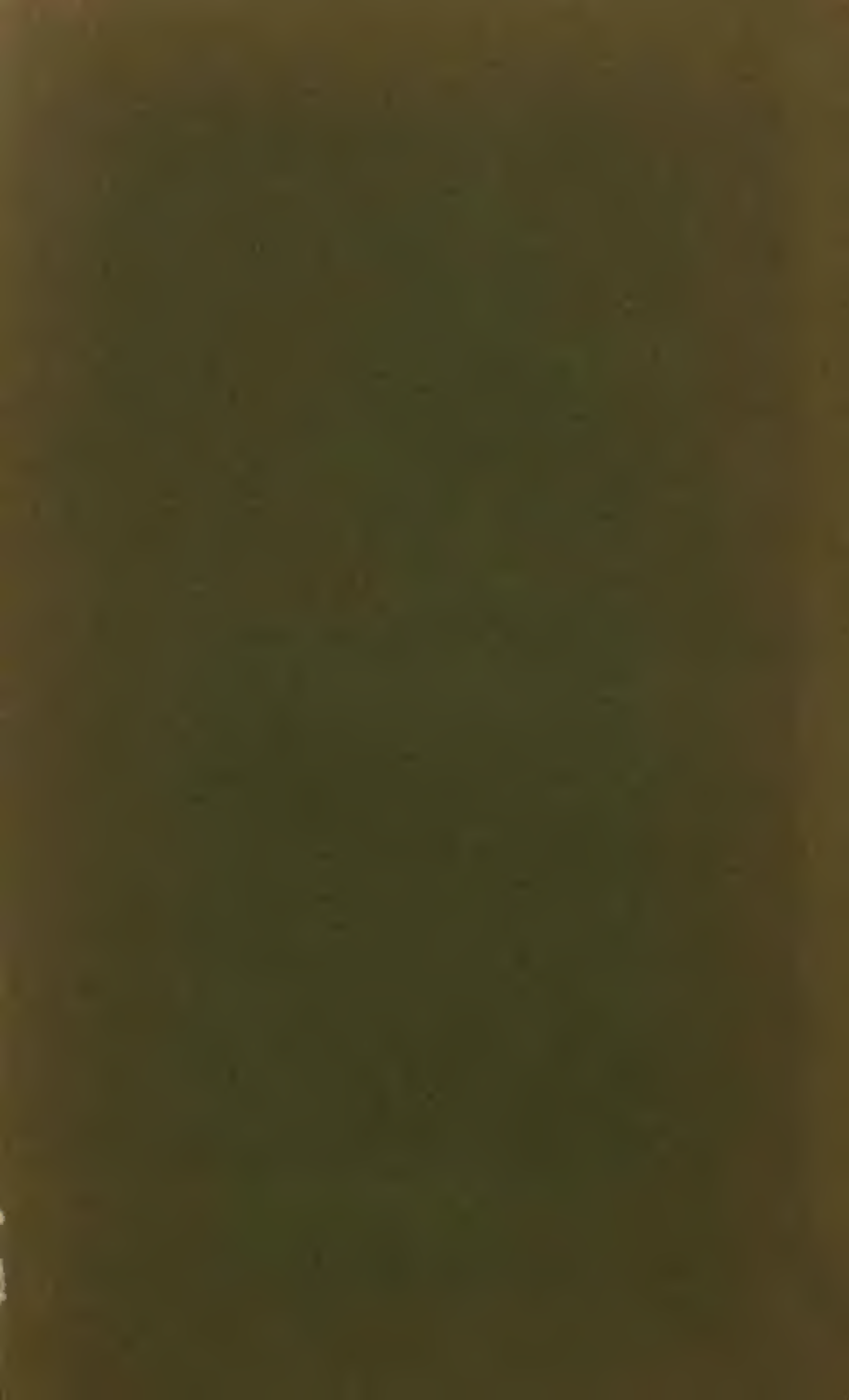
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