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The Sandemanization as a Tool of British Policy towards Baluchistan and its Impacts on Religious Education of Muslims during 1866-1877

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Abstract

British invasion started with victory of Bengal at Plassy in 1757 and they moved to Delhi in 1803. Initially East India Company started the British rule and their major goal was revenue. After 1839 British forces crossed the Indus and with occupation and annexation of Sindh and Punjab respectively. They followed the Close Border Policy till 1866. But with the fear of Russian invasion, British forces intervened in the tribal area especially Dera Ghazi Khan. Sir Robert Sandeman, of Scandinavian descent, popularly known as the Summons among the Baloch, was awarded the title of Conqueror of Balochistan in government circles. As the Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ghazi Khan, he rendered excellent services to the imperialist government. He paved the way for a peaceful advancement towards Balochistan by encouraging the local leadership to pursue financial and administrative interests. The main motive was to occupy the sources and collect revenue from this region. In 1866, when he was appointed as Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ghazi Khan he proved his ability of dealing with local leadership of Baloch tribes. It was the first important break-through against the close-border system policy of Mr. Lord Lawrence. Sandeman tried the extending British influence not only in occupied areas but extended it to the entire independent tribes and also beyond the border. At last this policy was appreciated and admirably, owing to his tact in managing the tribesmen. In 1876, he negotiated and successfully signed a peaceful treaty with the ruler Khan of Kalat, which subsequently governed the relations between Kalat and the Indian government. Although this policy was against the Russian invasion and they formed Dera Ghazi Khan as buffer state. While Government considered the religion as social institution and they did not involve on large scale against the Muslim's religious customs and rites except educational system. Muslims rejected British educational system against their religion and this element proved economically and socially harmful for the Muslim of this region. This paper highlights the Sandemanization and its impact on Dera Ghazi Khan to Baluchistan and Kalat.

Keywords: Sandeman, British, Dera Ghazi Khan, Forward Policy, Religion, Muslims etc.

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Introduction

After the start of great game with the threat of Russian aggression invasion British forces crossed the Indus and reached in the West of Indus according to their Forward policy in 1839. They occupied Sindh in 1843 from Amiran-e-Sindh and Punjab in 1849 after the end of the 2nd Sikh War and they were the ruler of this north-western India. With the annexation of Punjab, the abolished Derajat and formed new political system of Divisional and District Headquarters. Dera Ghazi Khan was the base of their forward policy for Balochistan and British forces faced strong resistance from the Baloch Tribes of Dera Ghazi Khan therefore they introduced a new political strategy and control the people with local elites and Baloch tribal Heads through Tumandari system. All credit of this success goes to Sir Robert Sandeman who was a Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ghazi Khan and a great supporter of forward policy. He served as Governor of Balochistan and engaged the tribes in Dera Ghazi Khan and Balochistan diplomatically than force. Sandemanization proved very important for British Forward Policy and in this paper it is tried to explore the how he became successful through this new political setup. Due to colonial administration Muslims had neglected education and it was a great loss. Therefore, to fulfill this loss Muslims of Dera Ghazi Khan also established Educational Anjman and it formed schools under religious education for the Muslims. As we seemed the Makttab School at Jampur, Taunsa and Dera Ghazi Khan and the Teachers were provided by a religious and spiritual leader Khawaja Muhammad Nizam-ul-Din Taunsvi.

Research Methodology

This study is based on historical method. Descriptive method of research has been used in this research. Qualitative methods as used to make this research authentic. For this purpose, both Primary and Secondary sources have been used. Primary sources consist of the reports, interviews election results and journals. Secondary sources include English books, Urdu books, English and Urdu newspapers and magazine.

Review of Literature

Many historians wrote about the British administration in Dera Ghazi Khan and everyone has his own mode of thinking especially at about *Tumandari* System formed by Sandeman, in D.G Khan. Many historians discuss in their own ways. Among these books "*Tawarikh-e-Zilla Dera Ghazi Khan*" "*Tawarikh-e- Dera Ghazi Khan*", "*Murraqa Dera Ghazi Khan*" "*Tarikh-e- Balochian*" , "*Gul Bahar*" , "*Tazkara-e- Raosa-e- Punjab*" and "*Baloch Qabail*" *Dera Ghazi Khan kay Tehzebi Khadokhal* are remarkable.

Discussion

During the great game British forces crossed the Indus and occupied Sindh. After the victory of Sindh in 1843 and the annexation of Punjab after the second Sikh War in 1849, almost area of the North West frontier of British

India expanded beyond its company borders. India was advanced across the river Indus to the foot of the rocky mountain ranges which separates the plains of the Indus valley from the higher plateaus of Afghanistan and Kalat. These mountain ranges-together with an offshoot of the western Himalaya on the east side of the Indus (known as the Black mountain)-formed a vast irregular belt on independent or semi-independent territory extending and then in a long stretch southward down the Indus valley to the Sindh seaboard near Karachi, measuring including the deflections of about 1200 miles.¹ However the mighty barrier thus formed is pierced by several natural highways formed by streams. In the North, Khyber Pass connects the Peshawar valley with Kabul; in the centre the Tochi and Gomal passes connects the plains of the Indus with Ghazni and South Afghanistan; whereas the Mulla, the Bolan and the Khojak passes connects the plains of Sindh and Dera Ghazi Khan District with the plateaus of Kalat and Kandahar. Through these and other similar routes the trade between India, Afghanistan and central Asia has passed from the time immemorial.² The belt of territory above described was inhabited by the fierce marauding tribes, amounting in all too nearly 200,000 fighting men armed with buckler, sword and matchlock, often at war with each other, hounding the plains of the Punjab and Sindh. They create the constant terror of the trade caravans and for the plains of settled districts of British India.³ Of the tribes, those around and north of the Koh-i-Suleman are Pathans in race-some of them independent some recognizing the Ameer of Kabul as their ruler. Those South of the Koh-i-Suleman are Baloch. This part of the Suleman Range is inhabited by a number of Baloch tribes. From North to South these tribes are the Qaisrani, Buzdar, Khosa, Leghari and Gorchani all of which are not to be found in Balochistan proper. While the Baloch of the Koh-e-Suleman share many common features with their cousins in the rest of the Balochistan, they also have certain distinctive customs and rituals and speak their own particular dialect of Balochi. Linguistically, all the tribes of the Suleman Range including the Dareshak and Mazari's of Rajanpur tehsil, can be lumped together in the eastern Balochi category and their language is called Sulemani Balochi.⁴ there is no substantial difference between the Sulemani dialect of Balochi and the Mekrani and Rekhshani dialects except that the former has been influenced through the centuries by the Sindhi's and Seraiki's, whereas, the latter dialects show considerable Persian influence. Most of these tribes were also autonomous and independent and take pride in their lineage.⁵ About the general character of these tribes were best described by Sir Richard,

“Now these tribes are savages, noble savages perhaps, and not without some tincture of virtue and generosity, but still absolutely barbarians nevertheless. They have nothing approaching to government or civil institutions; they have for the most part no education; they have nominally

a region, but Mahamedanism, as understood by them, is no better or perhaps no better or actually worse the creeds of the wildest races on earth. In their eyes, the one great commandment is blood for blood. They are never without weapons, well grazing their cattle, when driving beasts of burden, when tilling the soil, they are still armed. They are perpetually at war with each their. There is hardly a man whose hands are unstained. Each person counts up his murders. Each tribe has a debtor and creditor account with its neighbor's life for life. They consider retaliation and revenge to be the strongest of all of the obligations. They possess gallantry and courage themselves, and admire such qualities in others. Men of the same party will stand by one another in danger. To their minds hospitality is the first of virtues. Any person who can make his way in to their dwellings will not only be safe but will be kindly received they are charitable to indigent of their own tribe; they possess the pride of birth and regard as ancestral associations. ⁶

Governor General Lord Dalhousie (1848-56) and his resident at Lahore, John Lawrence, Assistant to Governor General, introduced a new model of administration establishing what was known as a "Punjab school".⁷ It was noted for a strong personal leadership, on-spot decisions, strong-arm methods, impartiality between the communities and a material development including canal irrigation, a road or building a bridge. When John Lawrence became Governor General (1864-69) he continues the administration of British India in the same pattern. The trans-Indus plains between the Indus and the hills had been divided, for administrative purposes, into five districts, stretching from north to south; the district of Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan and Dera Ghazi Khan. Another was the Hazara district and these all became the frontier districts of the Punjab. At first these district were directly under control of the Board of Administration of the Punjab Government, but later on they were organized into two divisions, the Peshawar Division in 1850 and the Derajat Division in 1861, each under a commissioner.⁸

In subsequent years two strategic schools of thought competed to define British India's imperial policy in its North Western frontier. The Lawrence system named after the Governor General John Lawrence (1864-69) or 'the close border policy' argued against British expansion to the North West beyond River Indus. It maintained that the British could best defend their Indian empire by cultivating local Sardars to support British rule in India. By improving infrastructure and trade in the country they held, the local population would defend the empire against the foreign invader. The British influence in the region could be achieved by working towards improving trade between India and central Asia. Trade would lead to security and prosperity and thereby pave the way for British predominance. Whereas, the forward policy school in term urged active engagements in establishing

a network of friendly Sardars and rulers in the North West of the sub-continent, largely dependant on British protection.⁹

Eventually, both policies were deployed alternatively during the 19th century. The Sindh government was the first to deal the border tribes in the field under the closed border policy. After two years of successful campaigning against the hill tribes, General Charles Napier, organized a plan of frontier defense essentially military in character. It was carried out and developed with great ability by his distinguished successor General John Jacob. The boundaries of British territory was carefully marked out, and for portion requiring military protection a special force was raised, known as the Sindh Frontier Force. The portion of the border referred to is a semi-desert track, extending from Kashmor on the Indus to the northern side of the Hala Mountains, a distance of about 150 miles. In the centre of this tract, on the borders of the desert intervening between the British boundary and the hills a cantonment was located and the surrounding districts placed under military controlled. The frontier was constantly patrolled, and the raiding tribes were promptly checked. In order to prevent complications no tribe was allowed to have possession on both sides of the border. The piece of the border was effectively secured. Owing to the construction of canals and roads, the abolition of the transit duties, and a just and wise administration by John Jacob, the prosperity of the Sindh frontier district advanced rapidly.¹⁰

The British Engagements with the Baloch Tribes of D.G. Khan District:

In the Punjab the situation was different, in the first place the length of the frontier requiring protection was 800 miles instead of 150 miles, in the second place, the border was anything but “scientific “. It is rarely marked out with pillars, sometimes it runs at the foot, sometimes along the crest of the first range: nor does it always follow the boundaries of tribal possession. In the South especially there are several tribes with lands and interests on both sides of the border. Thirdly, the tribes especially those in the North, were most numerous and less obedient, then those with whom the Sindh authorities had to deal. Fourthly, the territory to be protected was too vast and too developed and its administration was much complex than to be placed under pure military regime, lastly, on the Punjab border there was no desert, as in the Sindh, between the hills and the cultivated portion of British territory.¹¹ British villages dotted the slopes of the Black Mountain (Koh-i-Suleman). Close to the boundary line between the tribal and the settled areas of D.G. Khan, rich harvest waved in dangerous proximity to the mountains and lured the hill-men. Thus the problem before the Punjab Government was consequently far more complex than that which has to be dealt within Sindh. Thus the British adopted a very careful strategy in dealing with the Baloch tribes of D.G. Khan inhabiting the Suleiman Ranges. Their policy

evolved with time in different stages. Broadly it can be discussed into two periods.

The British Policy under closed border system (1849-1866):

Early British images of the Balochs did not associate them with irrigation and agriculture. As Frederick Fryer observed in 1870's that the Balochis are robust and manly, they look upon war as their trade and despise agriculture and the arts of peace.¹² However, the earliest record and travelers accounts indicate that the political structure among the tribes along the frontier had long been closely connected to forms of adaptation to the environment based on both pastoralism and agriculture. The political economy of the Balochs is rooted in the combination of pastoral herding, agriculture, trade and raiding as foundations of their livelihood.¹³ As Pehrson notes, 'pastoralism was central to the Baloch own sense of identity and provided the framework in which many features of Baloch culture found their clearest expression.'¹⁴ However the story of Baloch interaction with the plains begins with the history of Baloch migration that brought modern Baloch identity into existence as Longworth Dames has argued, that the great Baloch migration out of Mekran and into both the Suleman Ranges and Indus plains in the 15th and 16th centuries was preserved in Baloch ballads as something of a national migration.¹⁵

The adaptation of the tribes of the Derajat to their environment was on the less fixed forms of agriculture because of the uncertain patterns of rainfall in the region. There were basically, three sources of water for agriculture purposes in the plateaus of the Suleman ranges or in the plains adjoining these ranges. The irrigation waters derived from the numerous perennially flowing streams found in the mountains and the valleys of Suleman Ranges. Though the flow of most these streams was limited, the agriculture from these mountains was critical to the tribes living in those areas, since the relative stability of this irrigated water which is called '*Kala Pani*' encouraged the emergence of agriculture communities though limited and the establishment of small towns. The other source of irrigation besides *Kala Pani* in some parts of Baloch Hills is by *Karez*, which were underground water courses carrying water through channels dug into the slopes of hill. These *Karez* were sometimes constructed by powerful individuals or the chiefs of tribes and sometimes developed by communities of co-sharers of these waters. Then the other source of irrigated water is managed by constructing small dams which are called *Bands*. It was common throughout the hills. Cultivation was most fully developed on the hill torrents that dominated the skirts (*Daman*) of the mountains all along the Derajat frontier. However these sources of irrigated waters were uncertain dependent upon the rainfall. Thus stability and protection of Baloch life dependant on structure of political solidarity. Baloch political organization was structured by an ideology of segmentary descent. The

authority of the Baloch chiefs or ‘Tumundars’, was dependant upon the three basic means of livelihood of the Balochs, i.e. to provide new grazing grounds for the herds of their tribe, to control the three basic sources of irrigated water discussed above, and to lead raids in plains in times of famine.

The British realized the importance of irrigated water as a source of political control upon the border tribes. They adopted a strategy to settle these wild hill-men in the Indus basin plains. The vision of a clear divide between settled irrigated agriculture and frontier hill life first captured the British imagination as they established their authority on the upper Sindh frontier. Many British observers tended to view the emerging colonial frontier as a moral divide separating the advance of civilization from the turbulent and marauding Balochs. John Jacob was the first which demarcated a clear moral frontier between the civilization and roving cattle keepers of the hills. Jacob was strongly in view with mid 19th century ideals of political economy, and saw ‘the British infinite capacity for improvement in the lives of uncivilized border tribes’.¹⁶

However, the situation in the middle Indus basin of Dera Ghazi Khan was relatively different. The Mirani rulers (A.D. 1540-1700) of Dera Ghazi Khan have already constructed canals and many Baloch tribes have settled in the area since then. Consequently, the British policy in Dera Ghazi Khan eventually came to depend on irrigation not just to define a line separating the plains from the hills, but as an element drawing Baloch leaders into direct investment on the plains and thus more directly into the ambit of British authority. The potentially close inter-relationship between British control over the frontier and the roles of Baloch chiefs and their tribes men in agriculture, was recognized clearly by major C.C Minchin, who took control of Dera Ghazi Khan as deputy commissioner in 1860, Minchin comments on early British military campaigns against the Buzdar predominantly pastoral tribe occupying the north of Dera Ghazi Khan frontier suggested a growing British awareness of the importance of agriculture and irrigation in defining relation with frontier Baloch chiefs. The British initially viewed the Buzdar as a tribe confined largely to the hills as ‘inveterate blunderers and cattle thieves’.¹⁷ But after an expedition against them in the late 1850’s revealed that they also controlled considerable *Kala Pani* in the hills. Minchin saw the British as possessing levers of control over them. “we have the whole game in our hands now that we have visited and surveyed their country; we have not only learnt the road into their country but also the fact that it contains valuable crops, the destruction of which causes more loss than the blunder of several seasons could compensate for.” Minchin thus, recommended that Buzdar be given additional lands in the plains to strengthen further the British hand.¹⁸

Minchin thus launched a policy in the early 1860's encouraging direct, voluntarily canal investment on the plains of Baloch chiefs themselves. Minchin initially turned Mussoo Khan Nutkani, a wealthy Baloch chief of the north of Dera Ghazi Khan, who had already allied with the Sikhs before annexation to invest in canal building. Though Mussoo Khans canal building efforts were partially successful, his example soon attracted attention of others. Several chiefs were promised to excavate new canals or extend old ones, the cost to be defrauded by the applicants, in the shape of rent free lease for a term of years of the waste land to be brought under cultivation by these canals.¹⁹

Baloch chiefs showed their interest in canal investment projects for their own reasons. Firstly, investment in the plains related directly to the increase in chiefly powers. Secondly, many Baloch chiefs are aspirants to chiefly powers, saw control over stable agriculture income as a key element in the exercise of the largess necessary to command tribal authority and to maintain the access to credit necessary for such largess. Following Mussoo Khans example were leaders in the Loond and Khosa tribes, both of whom faced critical internal challenges to their leadership in these years faced with the uncertainties of dependence on torrent cultivation, both responded to Minchins initiate by mobilizing their tribes in reopening old canal routes on the plains to secure agriculture income that could stabilize their position in competition with rivals.²⁰ but the most dramatic example of investment in canal building in the wake of Minchins efforts came from Jamal Khan Leghari, Tumundar of the Leghari tribe. During the period before the British the Leghari tribe emerged as one of the most powerful among the Derajat tribes as a result of a series of alliances with the state, on the plains, and armed conflicts with other tribes, notably the Khosa's and the Gorchani's.²¹ At the time of annexation the Leghari Tumundar could command about five thousand fighting men from five segments of his tribe living in the hills. Jamal Khan Leghari claimed access to a range of diverse sources of income. With their seat established at Choti Zareen below the hills. The Leghari chief had access both to hill torrents and canal lands in the plains, as well as grazing lands in the hills. They controlled, in addition, Kala Pani Lands in the Barkhan valley, in the hills, which had provided a retreat for the Tumandars family in the early 19th century, when the Leghari's position in the plains has been challenged during the period of disruption and conflicts receding the extension of Sikh rule. This position had been cemented by the establishment of marriage ties with the Khitrans, who from Barkhan played an important role in the trade of the region. Further, during the Sikh rule the Legharis had gained recognition through state payments as protectors of the Sakhi Sarwar Pass, collecting a tax on shops and on live stocks sales at the Sakhi Sarwar fair, in return for maintaining order and acting as military guardian of the Sakhi Sarwar Shrine.²²

Jamal Khans most important canal investment was a scheme for the extension of the Maneka canal, launched in the early 1860's. The Maneka canal was one of the largest and the most important canals of Dera Ghazi Khan District. The British and the Leghari chief alike had a potentially strong political interest in the agricultural transformation of these lands. For Minchin the transformation of jungle into agricultural lands, was critical to the consolidation of British power, as the raiding Baloch tribes from the hills, used these jungles as a sanctuary for stolen cattle's. for Jamal Khan Leghari on the other hand, the agricultural transformation of the area held the key to a successful strategy for the consolidation of the chiefly authority in the Leghari tribe. With much of the land on the Maneka trail already claimed under prescriptive rights by the Leghari chief, Jamal Khan proposed widening and extending the Maneka to Dajal if the Government would agree to pay half the cost and to grant him other unclaimed waste to be watered by the extension. The Government agreed and paid, Jamal Khan rupees 2900 as half the proposed cost. The Maneka extension route critical to the consolidation to Jamal Khans power. Jamal Khans interests in canal building strengthened and consolidated not only his leadership of the Leghari tribe but also in gaining power and precedence among the Baloch chiefs more genuinely. The other chiefs followed the route and competed for the re-excavation of another project called Dhundhi canal in the southern part of Dera Ghazi Khan, the great canal constructed in the mid eighteen century but had long since silted and fallen into disuse. Jamal Khan Leghari, Mussoo Khan Nutkani and Noor Muhammad Khan Buzdar offered their services to pay half the cost of the re-excavation of the Dhundhi in return for revenue free lease on the waste lands to be opened at the tail. The other tribal chiefs such as Mir Shah Nawaz Khan Serai, Imam Bakhsh Khan Mazari and The Derishak tribe also offered their services on the same terms and conditions. The British found it an opportunity to extend their influence to their southern most borders and managed to combine all the competing parties called *Dhundhi Patti's* to re-excavate the Dhundhi canal which would term the seventy thousand acres into agricultural lands. Further from the Mazari land the canal also promised additional agricultural opportunities for the predominantly parastoral Mazaris. As Minchin noted, the reverain lands in Rajanpur were only cultivatable during the Rabi after the Indus flood subsided, and the tenets of these lands were thus left without employment during the Kharif season and free to plot mischief. The important benefit in British eyes was the re-excavation of the dhundi was thus the promise was increased power within the Mazari tribe--the potential for great British control over the Mazari tribe.

Consequences of Canal Investments:

The political and economic interests of the Baloch chiefs drew Baloch capital and labor in the early 1860's. The tapping of Baloch into frontier

irrigation development within their own ecological and descent-based systems opened new vistas of agricultural expansion on the colonial frontier. Whatever, the difficulties the initiative from Baloch chiefs produced sufficient irrigation expansion that by the mid 1860's it was hailed by British official as evidence of the spectacular colonial success. It is roughly estimated, the commissioner of Derajat wrote in 1865, that the cultivated area irrigated from the Indus inundation canals is three times as it was at annexation.²³ The deputy commissioner of the district extorted in the mid 1860's the political and social value of canals which now ran along the whole border of the district. The advantage of canal extension, he argued, has the enormous, "affording a nomad population the means of settling to fit pursuits reclaiming wastes and last but not least, making an artificial barrier against in roads from hill robbers, who are afraid to across running waters."²⁴

The British Policy

However the implications of the policies pursued by the British in the first phase, were successful in Sind, and had partial success in Punjab. But the political implication of this process was nevertheless suggested ambiguity and had some inherent contradiction in it. However, strong the connection between investments in settled agricultural and investment in the British regime, experience in Dera Ghazi Khan had also shown that the chiefs, invested in canals for reasons had nothing to do with the intentions and the principles that many British officials had conceived. Unfortunately in the Trans frontier tribes the working of the deputy commissioner was seriously hampered by the restriction not to cross the frontier borders. District commissioners were never allowed to risk their lives beyond the border, or to dream of its extension beyond present limits. In other words, the British officers were to say to the tribesmen, "we shall be happy to see you if you like to visit us in a friendly way, but we cannot return your call, we cannot interpose to maintain peace outside our border, however much you may desire it; and if your hands are cut in two by an arbitrary boundary line, we cannot help you to obtain a readjustment, however, advantageous it maybe to both of us."²⁵ The restriction suitable enough at the time they were imposed became not only uncalled for but also detrimental to the British interest. It tied the hands of the district officers to effectively check the growth of political influence of the Sardars, through whom the British officials had to conduct the business of state in tribal areas. As Bruce pointed out, there little to suggest that the Baloch were less likely to keep arms when farming than when moving with their animals; the strength of even the most liberal minded Baloch chief lay in his ability to turn out his clan of good gorilla warriors.²⁶

Sir Robert Sandeman as Deputy Commissioner Dera Ghazi Khan:

Such was the state of the Punjab affairs, when Lt. Sandeman entered on his duties. Though he was not learned in the law but had plenty of good sense, patience and a special aptitude for frontier work he was careful and through in his judicial investigations and particularly successful in dealing with Jirga's or community of village or tribal elders—an institution, he afterwards developed. He has served in Peshawar in 1862 before coming to D.G. Khan. The District of Dera Ghazi Khan is strip of country about 25 miles broad extending for nearly 200 miles between the Suleman Range and River Indus. Being a Deputy Commissioner of frontier district, he held a remarkable authority. Subject to general instructions, the control of district superior and a great freedom of appeal, the deputy commissioner were supreme in all his departments, judicial or administrative. Judge of appeal in criminal or civil cases, district magistrate, chief of the police, jail, head of the revenue department and ex-officio chairman of every administrative committee for local purposes. The opinion of the deputy commissioner of frontier district was required on the provision of almost every bill before the legislative council. Many state papers were sent to him for criticism. In addition to all these responsibilities and many more the frontier district officer had the anxious and important duty of dealing with the border tribes. With the ordinary duties of district officer Sandeman was already well acquainted, but on one point Dera Ghazi Khan afforded him a new experience.²⁷ He had to deal with the Balochs which were widely different from Pathans, he had earlier encountered in Peshawar. Though both are war like, revengeful, predatory. The Pathan is a republican having little reverence for the person as his chief; the Baloch respects and obeys the head of his clan. The Baloch is thus easier to deal than the Pathan and consequently better suited for initial experience in a peace and good will policy. Despite his multifarious duties as district officer Lt. Sandeman initiated a work of conciliation. He found the tribal organization of the Baloch in his district in a state a rapid decay. The authority and influence of the chief (Tumundars) and Headmen (Muqadam) was waning. Different sections and sub-sections of the Balochs were at logger heads with each other and some of the tribes were at bitter enmity with tribes beyond the borders. Still further west civil war was raging between the Khan of Kalat and his confederating chiefs in the state of Kalat. Lt. Sandeman soon grasped the situation. He saw in the hereditary influence of tribal chiefs and element of strength if maintained could become a potential instrument of Imperial control. Accordingly, he directed his energies to the settlement of the existing quarrels and the re-establishment of the position and dignity of the Tumundars. He first took in hand the Baloch tribes on the British side of the border. Sandemans attention was drawn to the unsatisfactory character of the existing boundary which in many cases split the tribes into two divisions, one living under British jurisdiction, the other outside and

beyond it, which according to him was a cruel injustice. So he lost no time in pressing the Government to effect a revision of the boundary but in those days, the parameters of close border system were so overwhelmed in the minds of the British administrators, the government rejected his demand. As a second option with the help of his assistance commissioner Rajanpur Mr. R. Bruce, he managed to organize these tribes under competent chiefs and headmen, composed their differences, enriched them by giving them work in canal excavations. Though Sandeman shared many of Minchins and Jacobs's assumptions about the transformative nature of the British presence in the Indus Basin, yet he had realized that the irrigation investments of Baloch chiefs like Jamal Khan Leghari contradicted the basic logic of longstanding British thinking about the frontier; Jamal Khan had acquired considerable political influence as an intermediary between the British and the hill Baloch as a direct result of his increasing investments in irrigation on the Indus plains. He soon realized the great potential in the personality of Imam Baksh Khan Mazari, Tumundar of Mazari tribe due to two reasons. Firstly, he could act as an intermediary between the British and the Marri Bugti tribes with whom the Mazari's have close relations, the Mazari's often grazed their cattle's in the Bugtians, while the Bugti's in the dry season brought their cattle down to the river into Mazari lands. He could become an excellent intermediary between the British government or its representatives and the Baloch tribes beyond the border. He also selected Mazari chief as his crony, in order to check the growing influence of Jamal Khan Leghari, who has managed to exert his influence not only on his own tribes but also among the other tribes. Sandeman used to say that when 'he (Jamal Khan Leghari) came for interviews, he used to sit with his tongue in his cheek looking superbly insolent...He was a fine handsome looking man with a commendable presence.'²⁸

Early in 1867, a noted Bugti named Ghulam Hussain Massori Bugti with a mixed gathering of Marri's, Bugti's and Khetran's. He was notorious for a whole sale system of plunder all along the border. He has made numerous raids and murders on the upper Sindh and Kachi Frontiers as well as in the Dera Ghazi Khan District. It was found that Sardar Jamal Khan Leghari was giving a regular asylum to Ghulam Hussain Massori and his followers. Another most significant factor was that the British believe that Jamal Khan had brought under his influence executive engineer irrigation and canals, which vastly enhanced his power. Sandeman, in one of his letter to R.I. Bruce Assistant Commissioner Rajanpur has wrote 'pat, my boy until we can smash up Jamal Khan and his little game, we shall never do any good either in the district or in the border tribes'.²⁹ On receiving information that large sums of money paid by the Government for the maintenance of the irrigation canals were being misappropriated by the executive engineer in league with Sardar Jamal Khan, and that Jamal Khan paid large bribe to

the said engineer. Sandeman passed this information before the Punjab Government; the said executive engineer was arrested and committed for trial to the Chief Court at Lahore on charges of receiving bribes. On the case coming up for trial at the Chief Court, the Chief witnesses who were Sardar Jamal Khan's servants turned around causing the case to break down. However, the misuse of Government's fund proved and the Government of India dismissed the said executive engineer and deprived Jamal Khan of his powers, as magistrate and his seat in Darbar was taken away from him. In this way, Bruce successfully tamed Jamal Khan Leghari. Similarly, Ghulam Hussain Bugti had to face the same fate when he made a raid on Harrand fort in the Dera Ghazi Khan. He attacked the fort, burned several villages, killed seven British subjects and carried off some hundreds of cattle's. The tribes of the British side reorganized with the inspiration of their new deputy commissioner were promptly called to arms along with 30 troops from the military outpost pursued and attacked the raiders in the Chachar Pass. Ghulam Hussain with 120 of his followers was killed and about 200 prisoners were taken. The laws of the British side being seven killed and 60 wounded. The two hundred prisoners were detained by Sandeman and were the unconscious cause of a new policy called 'forward policy' which was named later on as Sandeman System also.

The Making of the Forward Policy and its Impacts

Sandeman addressed a letter to Sir Henry Green, then political superintendent of the Sindh frontier asking him to obtain from the Khan of Kalat, compensation for the injury done by his marauding subjects. Sir Henry Green declined on the ground that the Marri's were the nominally the Khans subjects.

In these circumstances, Sandeman felt justified in taking matters in to his own hands. He informed the chiefs of the offending tribes that the prisoners would not be released until the chief appeared in person and submitted. The chiefs, on the promise that they would be honorably treated, obeyed the summon and a meeting took place at Rajanpur. Here it was agreed that the offending tribes should rigidly abstain from committing outrageous plundering in Dera Ghazi Khan; protect and keep open the routes leading from British to their respective hills. Sandeman on behalf of the British Government engaged to give service to a small number of tribal horsemen to be employed chiefly in keeping up communication between the chiefs and the British authorities.³⁰

This was the small commencement of the great system of tribal service which forms an important feature in a so called 'Sandeman' method of frontier management. The arrangement was sharply censured at the time by outside critics as being of the nature of blackmail but it was an arrangement for which an *ample quid pro quo* was given and has been fully justified by its results. Peace was obtained upon the frontier and free intercourse

commenced between the population on either side. Now closed border were not closed anymore and it had been opened to everyone. However, freedom of intercourse led inevitably to petty disputes. For the decisions of these Sandeman organized tribunals on the Pathan model, composed of chiefs and tribal headmen. This arrangement worked well, this system known as the Jirga system was afterwards extended and elaborated and was regarded as Sandeman as one of the key stones of his policy. In 1875 he organized a yearly gathering of chiefs at his summer headquarters Fort Munro in the Suleman Ranges. Another factor to devise this policy was the British interest in Balochistan due to its strategic location. To utilize it the pacification of the land and the freedom of movement for the British were the most important pre-requisites. Sandeman realized that to achieve this position of the traditional tribal leaders needed to be supported and preserved. Once brought under British influence and control they constituted the best guarantor for peace and order in the tribes. Therefore, preserving the traditional and hierarchally structured tribal system was essential.³¹ Sandeman used intra tribal tensions to build up other influential personalities in the tribe, who if necessary could be used as instruments to exert influence. Before Sandeman this practice was also exercised by the British in order to tame the tribal chiefs or Tumundars. For example, in 1863, soon after the annexation of the Punjab the elected chief of Qasranis, Kora khan was replaced after his open revolt against the British. Similarly, suspecting rebelliousness the chieftains among the Buzdars was also shifted by the British to the Jahanani sub-tribe from the Chakrani sub-clan. Sardar Ghulam Haider Khan a popular figure among his Khosa tribe and higher apparent, was denied the chieftainship because the British considered him to be intractable. In his place his more amendable son was made Tumundar. Sardar Ghulam Haider was also detained by the British in 1857 on the charges of inciting people against the Government.³² In general, British despite all their pacifist measures and their equal political and economical subsidies to the tribes designed to maintain the balance of power. They made it sure in keeping old inter and intra tribal feuds alike and using them to achieve certain goals without engaging themselves militarily.³³

The Making of the Political Administration of the British:

In a nutshell, Sandemans forward policy maybe described as follows;³⁴

To pacify the land

To safeguard freedom of movement

To secure the roads and passes

To consolidate indirect British influence without a sizeable and permanent military engagement and seize territory in the strategic regions, if a chance arose.

Sandeman achieved these goals with remarkable skill by applying three different administrative measures, observed Martin Axmann.³⁵ According

to his observation; Firstly; Sandeman used the Sardars by supporting them financially, entrusting them with administrative functions, decorating them with fine sounding titles, partly, enticing them with privileges, and guaranteeing their position even in a line of succession. Secondly, Sandeman introduced intra tribunal counsels of elders called Jirga among the Baloch as a means to peacefully settle dispute and problems between the tribes. These Jirga's were consulted by the British administration on many occasions and gained rapid acceptance among Sardars. From 1875 onwards, Sandeman made Jirga's to sit once in a year by law. Thirdly, Sandeman introduced a police and administrative machinery (Levy System), consisting of warriors from the tribes. The tribal levies system was meant to develop a feeling of judicial responsibility among the common tribesmen. They were designed to bring about an identification of the people with the defense of their own country; they were to act not so much as an outer line of defense but as 'the eyes and the ears of the civil authority'.³⁶ Levy guards served in their native areas and were recruited and paid by the Sardars, who were given a special Levies' allowance for that purpose. However, the Levies had dual allegiances. They were responsible to the British other than to the Sardars. When the co-operation of Levies' with administration was in doubt, the Sardar would be asked to change personnel. If the Sardar himself was hostile or unable to check dissidents within his tribe his Levy fund would be suspended. The Sandeman System proved to be extremely successful in the frontier districts of Dera Ghazi Khan and was even extended to Baluchistan in subsequent years. It was widely acclaimed by British authorities: "the system adopted by Sir Robert Sandeman consisted in reconciling conflicting local interests under the common aegis of Great Britain; in employing the tribes as custodians of the highways and guardians of peace in their own territories; in paying them for they did well (and, conversely, in fining them for transgressions), in encouraging commerce and traffic by the lightening or abolition of tolls, and the security of means of communication; in the protection, rather than diminution, of tribal and clan independence, subject only to the over large ship of the 'British Raj'; in a word, in a policy, not of spasmodic and retributive interference but of steady and unflinching interference but of steady and unflinching conciliation".³⁷

Sandeman's policy dependent not just on an expansion of British knowledge and presence but also on a new frontier myth. This new myth was perhaps most dramatically launched by a celebrated unarmed tour across the border undertaken by Sandeman himself in 1867. Formally, British officers were prohibited from venturing across the frontier except on armed punitive expeditions. But after laying the foundations through consultation on the plains with Baloch chiefs and headmen, Sandeman embarked in 1867 on a tour of the headquarter of the leading Baloch tribes

and classes in the hills a campaign by leading Demanders, without military protection of any kind.

The ideas of Sandeman were soon developed into an elaborate system of administration which the British exercised in tribal areas of district Dera Ghazi Khan. At last after the bloody episodes of battles the British Government decided to change their policy of direct conflict and adopted the policy of divide and rule. Rivalries and conflicts among the tribes were fanned and they were encouraged to fight against one another. This policy proved successful enough. Even then Buzdar, Khitran and Marri tribes did not stop their resistance against the British and caused them enormous tension. With a view to control this situation, Roberts Sandeman, Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ghazi Khan met all the tribal chiefs, and obliged them by his generous favors on their chiefs. Ghulam Haider Gurchani was made the chief of his tribe. Sardar Imam Bakhsh Mazari was given the title of Sir by the British Government. Near about all the tribal Sardars of this region were favored somehow. As a return for their cooperation, they were gifted huge estates. Sandeman was not highly educated but he proved himself an able administrator. He introduced the Jirga system in Dera Ghazi Khan in which Baloch tribes settled their disputes among themselves. This system is still in practice in some areas. The highest mountain peak of Dera Ghazi Khan Fort Munro is also situated in this area. This name was given by Sandeman at the name of General Munro a commissioner of Multan.

Conclusion

In this paper it is tried to explore the early British Administration and the impact of the forward policy on the socio-political and economic condition in Dera Ghazi Khan and their steps towards forward policy in Balochistan. It was an attempt to capture the economic sources of the region and collect revenue. With collectors they also produced to oppress the people and used local facilitators. The key role was played by Robert Sandeman Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ghazi Khan in 1866 who engaged the tribes and peacefully abolished the resistance as divide and rule policy. Tumandari System divided the tribe's unity and they limited to their assigned areas. With this government used the Tumandars as revenue collectors and granted them magisterial powers. After this British government successfully invaded in Balochistan and then State of Kalat and occupied it with negotiation of these tumandars. All this support were for their benefits which received in the term of wealth, lands and other modes. The British invasion was also a bridge against the Russian Army and there was better perception towards British than Russian because the Muslims dislike the Russians due their Atheist status. Further they affected for educational system but they started alternative system of education as Maktab and Madarsa. We summed up this discussion with this, Muslims of this region faced political and economic issues rather than religious matters. While

bribe and hypocrisy won with the creation of class stratification in the society.

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