

HISTORICAL IMAGES OF PAKISTAN



F. S. AIJAZUDDIN

HISTORICAL
IMAGES
OF
PAKISTAN

OTHER BOOKS BY F. S. AIJAZUDDIN

Pahari Paintings and Sikh Portraits in the Lahore Museum

Sikh Portraits by European Artists

Aitchison College, Lahore (1886 - 1986)
-The First Hundred Years

Lahore - Illustrated Views of the 19th Century

HISTORICAL IMAGES OF PAKISTAN

F. S. AIJAZUDDIN



FEROZSONS (Pvt.) LTD.

LAHORE – KARACHI – RAWALPINDI

ISBN 969 0 10025 4

First published in Pakistan 1992
Ferozsons (Pvt.) Ltd.,
60, Shahrah-e-Quaid-e-Azam, Lahore, Pakistan
277, Peshawar Road, Rawalpindi
Mehran Heights, Main Clifton Road, Karachi

Copyright © 1992 F. S. Aijazuddin & Ferozsons (Pvt.) Ltd.

Aijazuddin, F. S.

Historical Images of Pakistan

All rights reserved.

Without limiting the rights under copyright reserved above, no part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means (electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise), without the prior written permission of the publisher of this book.

Typeset in 11 on 15 point Palatino.
Printed and bound in Pakistan by
Ferozsons (Pvt.) Ltd., Lahore.

DEDICATION

FOR

SYED BABAR ALI

a volume of feelings expressed, as you would have wished, on a single page

CONTENTS

Preface	9
Introduction	11
Map	18
HISTORICAL IMAGES :	
I. Karachi - Mangho Pir - Gwadar - Makran - Thatta - Hyderabad - Sehwan - Rohri - Bukkur - Sukkur - Jacobabad	19
II. The Bolan Pass - Dadur - Quetta - Chaman - Ziarat - Kalat	63
III. Multan - Lahore - Sialkot - Gujerat - Rohtas Fort - Rawalpindi - Murree - Abbottabad - Lawrencepur - Hassan Abdal - Attock	85
IV. Peshawar - the Khyber Pass - Fort Jamrud - Fort of Ali Masjid - Kohat - Chitral	139
List of Illustrations and Acknowledgements	161
Bibliography	166
Index	168

Editorial Note

Bibliographical references in the text have been abbreviated to the name of the author and to the year of publication. The publications are listed in the Bibliography.
Illustrations appear on the same page as the relevant text or on the page following, except where specified.

PREFACE

This particular monograph on prints, lithographs and other pictorial material of the northern areas of the subcontinent - Sindh, Baluchistan, Punjab and the North-West Frontier - that now comprise Pakistan should be regarded as the companion volume to a separate study I wrote earlier covering only the city of Lahore and published as *Lahore : Illustrated Views of the 19th Century* (Lahore/ Ahmedabad, 1991). The background to this partition was not simply a matter of preference. Although I am not embarrassed to confess that I am partial towards Lahore, the reason for such a decision was that, gradually as my research into the subject of printed images of this area progressed, I discovered that the material pertaining to Lahore far outnumbered that available for other cities of Pakistan. Lahore having been the darling of historians was as a result the best documented. To have included one hundred or so views of old Lahore in a volume which contained less than two hundred scenes of the rest of Pakistan would have given the book a lopsided list.

Detaching the material on Lahore and presenting it as a self-contained study posed no problem, for Lahore has retained both its identity and its historical continuity over the centuries. Whether dominated by the Mughals, the Sikhs or the British, it has remained a recognisable entity, a city with a traceable lineage. One can walk even today through the streets of the city and be guided by the monuments which served as wondrous signposts for travellers and visitors over a century earlier. It was appropriate therefore to structure that book as a sort of tour of the city, presenting the monuments, most of which still exist, in a natural flow and sequence allowing the reader to view them as they appeared during the nineteenth century.

The pictorial material pertaining to the other cities and towns of Pakistan - of Karachi, Hyderabad, Quetta, Multan, Rawalpindi, Murree and Peshawar - was not as easily malleable. It spread across too many zones and also did not yield the same character-sketch for each city as the other batch of pictures did for Lahore. Assessing the material, though, it became obvious that a logical way of presenting such comparatively unknown and rare images of the major cities of Pakistan was to follow an irregular route, starting from the port of Karachi in the south and travelling northwards to the extremity of Chitral. This tour would take the reader through some of the oldest and most prominent cities of Sindh - Thatta, Hyderabad, Sehwan and Rohri/Sukkur - and westwards through Baluchistan towards Quetta and nearby Ziarat. Returning to the plains, the reader would continue through the Punjab via Multan and Lahore, before deflecting north-westwards again in the direction of Rawalpindi, Peshawar and the mountainous Khyber Pass on to Chitral. The reader would thus be able to step back in time and also to traverse the length and breadth of the modern state of Pakistan.

Pakistan as a nation came into being only in 1947, less than half a century ago. In historical terms it is still a young nation. Its comparative youth, though, should not exempt its nationals from investigating and learning about its previous past nor from knotting wherever possible secure connections with it. The pictures included in this volume can serve exactly such a purpose, for they are not illustrations of a strange or foreign land. The land was ours; it was only the eyes through which it was observed that were foreign. This collage of historical images of Pakistan should be regarded, therefore, more in the nature of an old and forgotten family album, in which each picture revives an incident or event, recalls a bygone person or congregation. Taken at a different level, they represent a vivid and priceless record of our history before Independence.

Most of the items included in this volume are from a collection assembled over the past twenty years by my wife Shahnaz and myself. During this period, her interest and encouragement have sustained me in what might otherwise have been a solitary search.

For advice and generous assistance unfailingly proffered even when served with a demand I am indebted to Dr. Ahmad Nabi Khan, Director-General of the Department of Archaeology, a scholar of unique distinction and a dear friend. The excellent colour transparencies were taken by Mr. Waqar Ali of Packages Limited, who understood the special needs of the project and responded with uncomplaining perseverance. My thanks are due particularly to Mr. Zaheer Salam of Ferozsons Limited, whose resolute persuasion ensured that I finished this book for him, and to his editorial staff S. Mobin Hussaini and Mr. Fazal Muhammad Khan.

To my children Momina, Mubarika and Komail, I am grateful for permitting me to neglect them while I compiled yet another book. I know they will understand why this book is being dedicated to whom it is and not to them.

Lahore, 1 July 1991

F. S. Aijazuddin

INTRODUCTION

During the two centuries between the year 1600, when Queen Elizabeth I granted a charter to a group of commercial interests which developed into the monolith known as the East India Company, and the year 1800, when one of the Company's agents Nathan Crow arrived at the fishing village of Karachi to establish a factory or trading outpost there, the strategic objectives and national ambitions of the British had undergone a fundamental change. Gradually, as the British encroached inexorably across the subcontinent, what had begun as the politics of business inverted into the altogether more serious business of politics.

In those two centuries, through the use of guile and wherever necessary the wilful arm-twisting use of force, the British managed to extend their own interests by ousting their expatriate rivals - the French and the Portuguese - and by subjugating powerful local states and kingdoms such as Bengal and Mysore which could and did oppose their expansive ambitions. Within a decade of Crow's landing at Karachi on 2 March 1800, the British had defeated the Marathas and also extended their influence and authority over the city which alone symbolised imperialism - Delhi. The geographical mass in the north-west of the subcontinent including the areas of Sindh, Baluchistan, Punjab and the North-West Frontier (the four provinces which comprise modern Pakistan) lay almost within their grasp. They made their final lunge across the border in the 1840s, first in Sindh when, following the battle of Miani in February 1843, they formally annexed the territories of the Mirs of Hyderabad, Khairpur and Mirpur in August 1843, and subsequently in the Punjab after the two Sikh Wars of 1845-46 and of 1848-49 which culminated in the demolition of the Sikh kingdom and the resultant annexation of the Punjab in March 1849. Access to Afghanistan through the northern Khyber Pass and the western Bolan Pass was thus assured, and the feasibility of military campaigns in the north such as the Second Afghan War in 1875 and the punitive campaign in Chitral in 1895 became logistically viable.

Had Nathan Crow, sitting in his sand-strewn hut near the sea-shore at Karachi, tried to delineate boundaries indicative of the political blocs which

held sway at the time, he would have drawn first a deep north-south line, symbolising the course of the mighty Indus river. East of it he would have grouped the tracts of southern Baluchistan with Kalat whose ruler controlled Bela and Makran; he would have apportioned the areas in lower and middle Sindh into the three Mir-doms of Hyderabad, Khairpur and Mirpur ruled by the different branches of the Talpur ruling family; tracing his stick northwards, he would have marked Multan as an independent fiefdom governed by the Afghani Sadozais, their territory threatened by the emergent Sikh ruler of Lahore Ranjit Singh; and he would have shown the fertile plains of the Punjab, contained in the north by the hill states and on the east and west by the fluid natural boundaries of the rivers Sutlej and the Indus respectively. Crow's imprecise markings would have been as impermanent as the actual boundaries proved to be, for within fifty years this entire terrain was to change hands and its governance would pass into the hands of the British Government as successor-in-interest to the East India Company.

Crow's arrival in 1800 to establish a factory at Karachi was not the first presence of the Company in Sindh. During the Mughal period, between 1635 - 1662 and again between 1758 - 1775, the East India Company had operated factories at Thatta for the export of cotton and woollen textiles. Their presence though evoked a deep suspicion and a recurring sense of unease in whoever the rulers happened to be extending the accommodation at the time. The Mughals were never entirely comfortable with the Sindh factories, and in Crow's case, within seven months of being granted permission to open at Karachi, he was ordered by the suspicious Mirs to close the new factory (the Company had to bear the resultant loss of Rs. 100,000) and to restrict himself to the one at Thatta.

Even thirty years later, the attitude of the Mirs had not changed. In 1827, Dr. James Burnes, a British doctor sent from the Residency at Bhooj in Cutch to attend the ailing Mir Murad Ali Talpur at Hyderabad, remarked upon the raw reaction of his Sindhi hosts to the vulnerability of their situation. Recalling the occasion in his memoir of the visit, published under the title *A Narrative of a Visit to the Court of Sind*, Burnes remembered:

'One thing alone raised a frown on the counte-

nance of the Ameers. In conversing one day with their minister, on the state of Cabul, I had occasion to refer in his presence to a large map of Hindoostan, and he mentioned the circumstance to their Highnesses, who begged to see so great a curiosity. I accordingly took it to the durbar, and explained its nature to them. Nothing could exceed their wonder when I traced from stage to stage, with my finger, the various routes through Sinde, together with those to Jessulmere and Lahore; and stated that I could travel throughout the whole of their dominions, by the assistance of the map, without asking the way to a single village. It was probably injudicious, but I could not at the time resist the impulse, of covering the whole of their paltry territory with my hand, and pointing out to them the boundaries of our great and glorious Empire in India.'

The reaction of the Mirs was neither surprising nor unique, for many of their princely fraternity across the subcontinent had already been subjected or were soon to succumb to such British bombast.

'They affected perfect indifference at first,' Burnes continued, 'and pretended that they knew as much of our provinces as we did of their's; but they were extremely grave during the remainder of the interview, and I understood afterwards, from some persons who remained behind me at the levee, that they again reverted to the subject of the map, without concealing their chagrin and vexation that the *Feringees* knew every thing.' (Burnes (1839), pp. 93-94.)

At the time, the Mirs and Dr. Burnes both knew that particulars of the location of specific villages in Sindh were not the real issue; what was at stake was information about the navigability of the Indus river and therefore mastery of Sindh.

Writing in the same memoir, Burnes disclosed his arguments for taking speedy and if necessary military action. 'In a preceding paragraph,' Burnes wrote, 'I have alluded to the moderate means possessed by the Ameers for repelling an invasion of their territory; and a single glance at the Indus will show the easy passage into the very heart of their dominions, which that river offers to a maritime power. The state-barge which conveyed me to Sitah, although flat-bottomed, was, in my opinion, capable of transporting half a regiment; and, during the voyage, we met many others equally capacious. I am ignorant of

naval tactics; but I have no doubt that armed steam-boats of small burden might act with peculiar efficacy; and although the shoals and currents in the stream might first appear an impediment, war would scarcely be declared before the decks of our vessels were crowded with volunteers, well acquainted with the navigation, and ready to contribute their utmost efforts for the subversion of the present government.' (Burnes (1839), 164-165.)

Despite Dr. Burnes candid disclaimer that he was not a naval tactician, his personal observations on the possibilities of the Indus as a river-route to and from the north to the Arabian sea served as a pointer, encouraging officials (including the Governor-General Lord Ellenborough) who shared his jingoism to consider a detailed survey of the Indus. Four years after Dr. James Burnes' house-call on the Mirs of Sindh, an opportunity arose for despatching a more properly equipped party up the Indus, qualified to survey the river.

It was decided that, in reciprocation of a gift sent by Maharaja Ranjit Singh to King William IV on the occasion of the latter's coronation, a British mission would take a present of a large dray horse with four mares by river for delivery to the Sikh ruler at Lahore. The mission was entrusted to the younger brother of Dr. James Burnes, the twenty-six year old Lieutenant Alexander Burnes,. After some understandable reluctance on the part of the Mirs to allow this mission to traverse their territory, the Mirs were forced by intimidation to agree, and the Burnes mission transporting its inconsequential cargo by way of the Indus delivered it to its royal consignee in June 1831.

Writing to acknowledge the gift, the Sikh ruler was effusive in his thanks 'for these animals, in beauty, stature, and disposition, surpass the horses of every city and every country in the world. On beholding their shoes, the new moon turned pale with envy, and nearly disappeared from the sky.' The lament of a Sindhi Syed, however, who had watched the Burnes mission pass through his country at the start of its journey, was more pithy and prescient: "Alas! Sinde is now gone, since the English have seen the river, which is the road to its conquest."

The story of the events that led to the brief battle of Miani in February 1843, when the combined

forces of the hapless Mirs were defeated by British troops under the command of Sir Charles Napier, and the subsequent annexation of Sindh in August of the same year became a saga recorded in the words of the exultant victors. In reality, the whole enterprise, as subsequent research has shown, was an unseemly political ploy, tainted with diplomatic half-truths, deliberate deceptions, tortuous intrigues and flawed intentions. It brought Napier a handsome bounty, the Governorship of the new Province and an undeserved place in school history books for a witty command of Latin (his victory despatch of 'Peccavi' (or I have sinned [Sindh] was invented by *Punch*). It also brought the territory of Sindh, as Dr. James Burnes had demonstrated to the Mirs, firmly under the palm of British control.

With the annexation of Sindh, any expectation by the local princes or rulers that their foreign relations with the British could be conducted at sceptre's length and at the level of equal sovereignty were finally disabused. The parity inherent in the arrangements under which the British accepted a refusal by an independent Ranjit Singh to permit the British Army of the Indus to cross his kingdom on its way to Afghanistan in 1838, and the readiness with which the British acquiesced, even though it meant taking the longer more arduous route along the east bank of the river, crossing it at Rohri/Sukkur and then continuing through the dangerous Bolan Pass, was unique to their relationship. It was not something the British cared to see attempted or emulated by any other ruler. Nor did they need to, for their Sikh ally lived long enough to hear of the accomplishment of the objective of the campaign - the enthronement of Shah Shuja as the compliant ruler of Afghanistan in May 1839. Ranjit Singh died soon afterwards, leaving his once strong kingdom of the Punjab weakening and vulnerable, a victim to the ineptness of his heirs and an easy prey to the acquisitive British watching from across the Sutlej.

When the British finally occupied the Punjab, they did so in stages. The first, the campaign during the winter of 1845-46, prompted by a foolhardy challenge by the Sikh khalsa government which sent its troops across the Sutlej near Kasur and paid heavily for the indiscretion, can be regarded as a dress rehearsal for the drama which followed. The Sikhs were defeated at Sobraon on 10 February 1846

and the British entered Lahore. The second segment of the drama was enacted at Multan two years later when, ostensibly to avenge the deaths of Vans Agnew, a bureaucrat, and Lt. Anderson, a junior officer, the British attacked and stormed its fort and captured its governor Mulraj. The third and final act was performed, following the defeat of the Sikh forces at Gujarat on 22 February 1849, in the iridescent hall of the Lahore fort's Sheesh Mahal on 29 March 1849, when the Punjab was formally and irrevocably surrendered by the Sikhs and annexed by the British. The fingers of British control were now to extend and spread rapidly across the Punjab towards the North-West Frontier.

The next major military campaign of significance fought in the region - the Second Afghan War - took place almost thirty years later, when the British, bristling in response against the provocative presence of a Russian mission in Kabul, invaded Afghanistan in 1878, using a three-pronged approach - from Quetta, from Kohat and through the Khyber Pass from Peshawar. It proved to be a costly venture and as ill-fated as its predecessor, the First Afghan War of 1838-39.

The span between these two Afghan wars arched over the first forty years of Queen Victoria's long reign. The first campaign began in 1838, a year after she came to the throne, and the Second Afghan War was fought the year after she had been formally declared Empress of India in 1877. For Britons, this was an era of unprecedented growth at home and abroad, an age of scientific enquiry and experiment, of individual endeavour and national achievement. It was also the period during which an imperial image, primarily of British prowess and involvement in various theatres of war (even if unsuccessful), was to be etched deeply, like the grooves incised by an engraver, into the surface of their recorded history.

The most dramatic historical images available to us of nineteenth century Sindh, Punjab, the Frontier and Baluchistan inevitably reflect this martial involvement. Curiosity in this area of the subcontinent increased as rapidly as British interests abroad themselves dilated, and an infectious demand spread amongst British homes for speedy information about contemporary events and occurrences. Newspapers had existed for over a century, but their dry often stale reportage could not satisfy an inquisitive pub-

lic which, since it could not be present at the scene of action, clamoured to have the action brought closer to itself. They wanted the very dust and acrid smoke of war swirling in their drawing-rooms. Familiar with prints of such large oils as Robert Home's painting depicting the surrender of the sons of Tipu Sultan as hostages to Lord Cornwallis, or Arthur Devis' dusky painting of the discovery of the body of Tipu Sultan after the fall of Seringapatam - paintings which were essentially commemorative of a particular historical episode rather than informative - the public wanted something more, something prompt and immediate.

Two separate kinds of published illustrations responded to this demand. The first consisted of prints and lithographs, prepared by professional artists, engravers or lithographers from sketches sent to them by skilled amateur observers present at the scene of action. The second source came from illustrated news periodicals such as *The Illustrated London News*, which ran its first issue on 14 May 1842, and its imitator *The Graphic*. Journals such as these supplemented their news despatches with wood-cut engravings derived from original, sometimes incomplete sketches sent from the field post haste by fast overland mail across Europe.

Fig. 1 Sir K. A. Jackson sketching the tomb of Mirza Isa Tarkhan at Thatta, c. 1838. (Detail of no. 30.)



The first category - prints and lithographs - were for a discriminating, restricted audience. Large in format, these were issued either in albums, or bound in books or sold as individual folios, and when tinted or coloured by hand they looked like water-colours. Examples of these, depicting different aspects of the travails of the Army of the Indus during its march to Afghanistan in 1838-39, were Sir Keith Jackson's *Views of Affghaunistan* which was published in 1841 and James Atkinson's *Sketches in Affghaunistan*, issued a year later in 1842. Similarly, the locales in Sindh associated with Sir Charles Napier's action against the Bugti and Dombki chiefs following the annexation of Sindh were depicted by his subordinate Lt. William Edwards and appeared under the title of *Sketches in Scinde* in 1846 in two editions - a monochrome one and a deluxe (and now rare) coloured one.

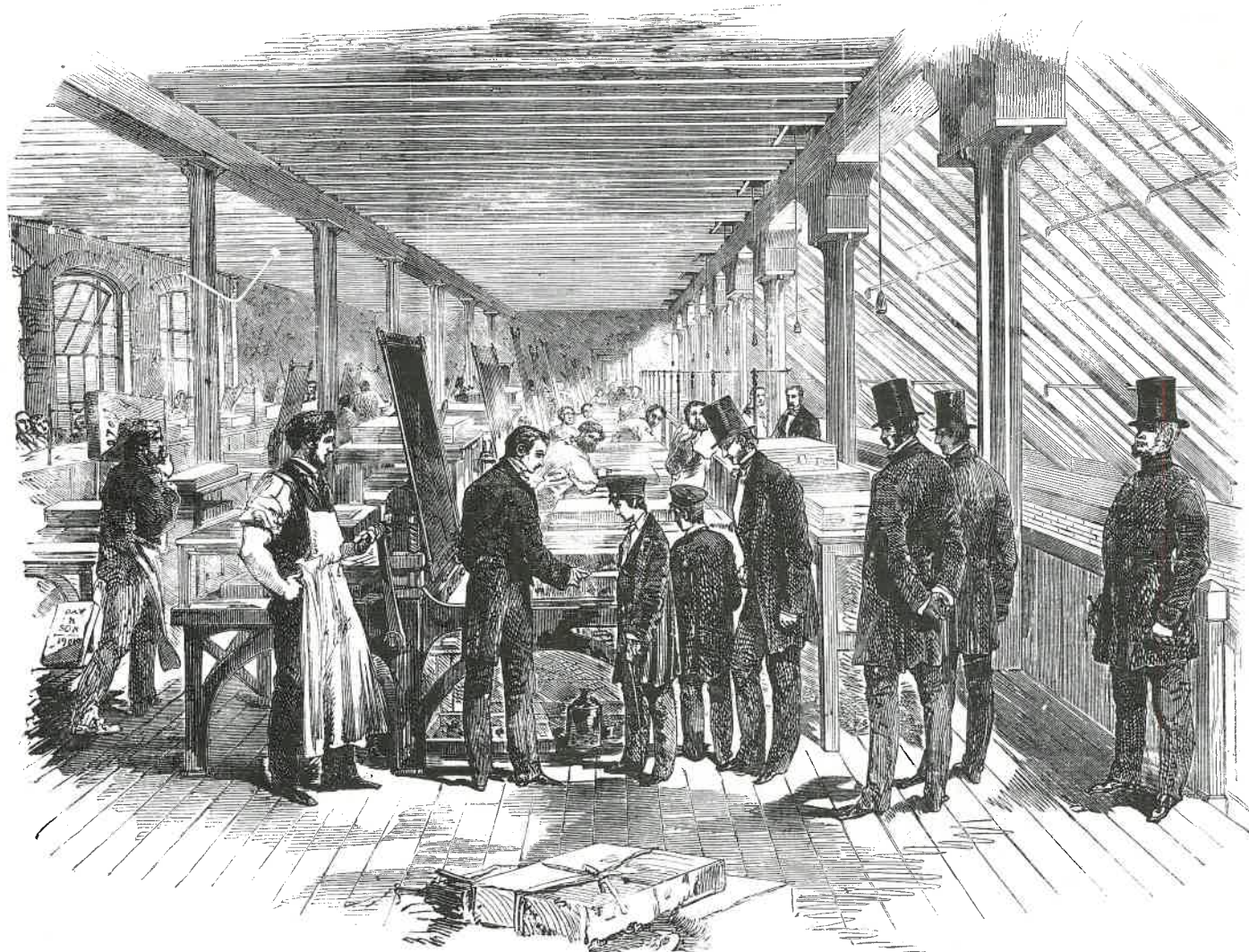
In the same year that Edwards' album of lithographs was being issued, Charles Hardinge (son of the Governor-General Sir Henry Hardinge) was busy in the Punjab, sketching scenes associated with the 1845-46 campaign against the Sikhs. His *Recollections of India* was brought out in album form a year later in 1847. The assault on Multan in 1848-49 became the subject of a set of lithographs derived from on-the-spot sketches done by a medical officer Dr. John Dunlop and published in a bound book entitled *Mooltan, a Series of Sketches during and after the Siege*. Many of Dr. Dunlop's sketches had already appeared in issues of *The Illustrated London News* and the rough original wood-cuts used to support the despatch from the battlefield compare interestingly with their better-composed lithographic counterparts (nos. 124-135). Smaller lithographs were used as illustrations in books. The published accounts of travellers such as Charles Masson, for example, whose three volume *Narrative of various journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan, the Panjab and Kalat* appeared in 1842 and contained views of Kalat, addressed a wider audience. Similarly, Dr. R.H. Kennedy, a serving officer, published in 1840 his personal *Narrative of the campaign of the Army of the Indus, in Sind and Kaubool, in 1838-9*, and included views of Karachi and Rohri/Sukkur, while another, Lieut. William Barr, in his book *March from Delhi to Peshawur and from thence to Cabul* (published in 1844), in which he described the journey he made transporting two

howitzers across the Punjab to Peshawar, provided his readers with simple but useful sketches of four forts - those of Lahore, Rohtas, Attock and of Ali Masjid. In 1850, E.B. Eastwick, an avowed Sindophile, published his *Dry Leaves from Young Egypt*, illustrating it with lithographed views of Sindh and portraits of the victimised Mirs of Hyderabad.

The growth of lithography - a printing process in which impressions were derived from a prepared inked stone - coincided with this particular period of British expansion in the subcontinent. Earlier forms of printing such as copper plate engravings and aquatints were proving expensive and commercially uneconomical. The lithographic process perfected by C. Hullmandel in the 1820s involved drawing in reverse from an original picture directly on a prepared stone, using the spacing of lines to achieve tones and depths, and then taking impressions from the inked stone. By this method, attrac-

tive and affordable prints could be reproduced economically and in numbers. In addition to being a cheaper form of reproduction, another advantage lithography offered to the artist or draughtsman making the conversion was a degree of flexibility to adapt and if necessary to 'improve' upon an original sketch, to add or subtract within a composition as he thought appropriate. Many of the famous lithographers, such as James Duffield Harding, Louis Haghe and his brother Charles, W. L. Walton and Henry Warren, were themselves water-colourists and therefore understood the tenets of composition and form. In their experienced and sensitive hands, a minor but crucial change would transform a dull or incomplete sketch and bring it to life. Occasionally, though, owing to an unfamiliarity with native costumes or local topography, amendments by a careless lithographer could result in misleading inaccuracies (see no. 34).

Fig. 2 Lithographs being prepared at Day and Son, London, 1856. The stone slabs are visible in the foreground and on the presses.



In contrast to the ordered formality of such lithographs, composed after the event and in tranquility, the wood-cut engravings which illuminated news periodicals such as *The Illustrated London News* and *The Graphic* were rough and unrefined, prepared under the pressures of an inexorable deadline. Their utility though lay in the spontaneity of their depiction of a topical incident or occurrence and the speed with which these pictures could be conveyed to the reader. Speed remained a vital consideration, and as communications between the subcontinent and Britain improved, the time lag between the event and its reportage reduced appreciably. For example, sketches done by Dr. Dunlop during the fiery siege of Multan on 28 December 1848 appeared on London doorsteps in *The Illustrated London News* issue of 10 March 1849, just over two months later.

In time, these magazines began to decrease their reliance on material sent to them by talented amateurs. Instead they despatched their own correspondents into the field on special assignments. This emergent breed of war-illustrator was required to be adept at sketching rapidly and accurately, under fire if necessary, and needed to have a civilian's constitution hardy enough to endure the rigours and inescapable discomforts of bivouac army life. To be a good war-illustrator required certain other qualities, not least of which was tact. William Simpson, perhaps the most experienced and widely-travelled of these pioneers, attributed part of his success to a lesson he learned at the Crimea very early in his career. To ensure that his sketches from the battle-field were accurate, he had them vetted by the seniormost officer present at the engagement, but before submitting any sketch, he cannily ensured that the officer concerned appeared, preferably in the foreground, in a position of commanding prominence.

In purveying stirring images of war, illustrated news-periodicals of the time fomented interest in their readership and at the same time created their own place in journalism, profiting as a contemporary essayist commented from the 'calamities of nations and the misfortunes of others'. And when, such as during the fervid build-up preceding the Second Afghan War in 1878 against a noticeably reluctant enemy, hostilities were expected but had not yet broken out, *The Illustrated London News* printed a

large picture spread across two full pages (known as a 'double-pager'), showing two British officers and some Pathan elders gazing expectantly at the Khyber mountains (see no. 223). The picture - captioned 'The Impending Afghan War' - antedated the American publisher William Randolph Hearst's exhortation to his field-photographer: 'You furnish the pictures and I'll furnish the war.'

Gradually, during the second half of the nineteenth century, as the areas in modern Sindh and Punjab stabilised, the focus shifted from flaunting the spoils of war to extolling the more enduring benefits of peace. Civic order, administration, education, the establishment of schools and colleges, communication, the making of roads, the extension of a railway system, and the propagation of Christianity through the establishment of garrison churches became the subjects of illustration. Although the comparatively newer invention of photography had reached the subcontinent at the time of the Second Sikh war in 1849, it was still a cumbersome sedentary process. Some of the earliest photographs of this period were taken in 1849 by Dr. McCosh of monuments at Lahore and in 1862 of Sindh by two Army officers, Capt. W.R. Houghton and Lieut. H.C.B. Tanner. The Sindhi pictures are now in the collection of the Asiatic Society Library, Bombay.

Photography reached quick maturity and soon came into its own. The work of such famous Victorian photographers as Samuel Bourne (no. 186) and Charles Shepherd, as well as the lesser known Fred Bremner (see nos. 80 - 114) who compiled an important visual record of Quetta in 1900 before the devastating earthquake of 1935 was of a very high standard, considering the difficulties under which they worked. News-periodicals began to use photographs as they had done sketches before as the basis for their wood-cut illustrations. A frequent contributor appears to have been a Capt. Robert Hickey of the 101st Regt. who in 1863 supplied the magazine with photographs of the tomb of Rukn-i-Alam at Multan (no. 142) and of Murree (no. 188) and Abbottabad (nos. 191 and 192).

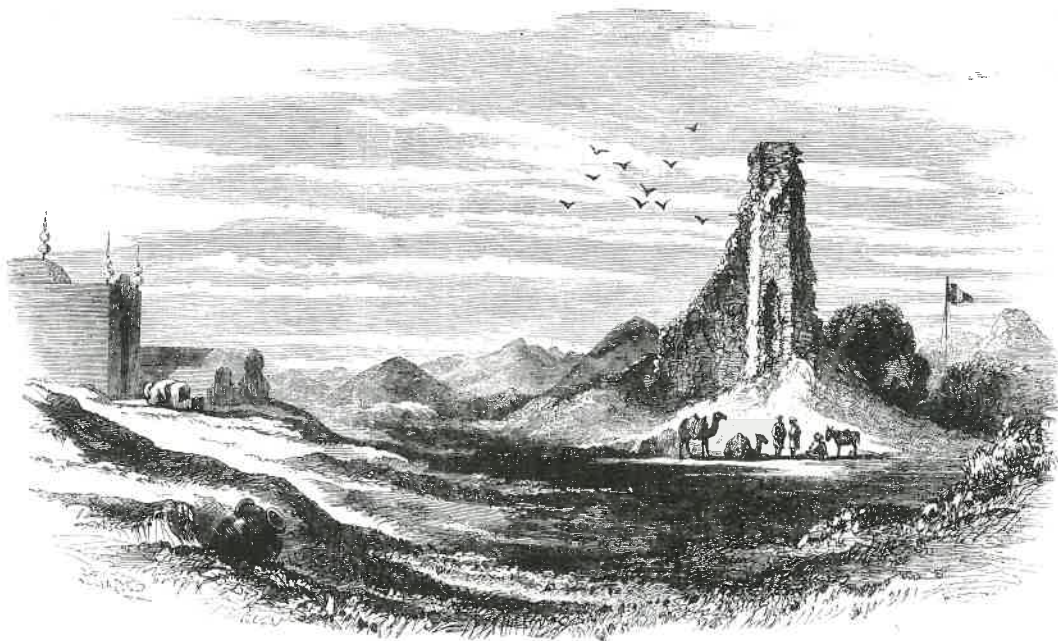
Paralleling the release of published lithographs and books and the growth of news-periodicals flowed an unpublished but nevertheless considerable output of pictorial material - the work of numerous soldiers, administrators, officials, medical officers,

professional and amateur artists and even under-employed memsahib wives, all expatriates who spent a significant part of their lives in the northern areas of the subcontinent. Inevitably, those who were qualified and trained, such as engineers, to survey and record what they saw left precise accounts of their surveillance, whilst others applied their pens or brushes to paper simply to capture a nimble fleeting impression of something interesting that they had encountered. Regardless of whether they were professionals in their field or simply gifted amateurs, they shared certain attributes - a responsive interest in their surroundings, the ability to communicate, and a facility to translate their observations into lively and enduring images.

Whether they happened to be moored in the sweltering humidity at Karachi (nos. 1 - 18) or taunting the crocodiles at the nearby shrine of Mangho Pir (nos. 19 - 24); whether they were exploring the strange extensive necropolis of Thatta (nos. 29 - 30) or looking up at the massive treasury round tower of the fort at Hyderabad (nos. 32 - 40); whether they crossed the Indus from old Rohri to the newer town of Sukkur (nos. 48 - 60) before hazarding a journey through the Bolan Pass (nos. 68 - 74); whether they witnessed the fecund growth of Quetta (nos. 75 - 102); whether they saw the ancient city of Multan before and after its was bombarded (nos. 120 - 142); whether they fell in love with Lahore (nos. 145

- 168) and longed to stay or had to move on towards the newer communities of Rawalpindi (nos. 180 - 184) and its fair-weather friend, the cool hill station of Murree (nos. 185 - 190); whether they detoured from the main Grand Trunk Road to admire Rohtas fort (nos. 176 - 178) and then found cause to compare it with the equally impressive one built by Akbar (nos. 196 - 204) on the banks of the Indus at Attock; whether they were trigger-happy in Peshawar (nos. 205 - 227) or chose to exchange shots at the fort of Ali Masjid in the Khyber Pass (nos. 233 - 235); or whether they played cricket at Kohat (no. 236) - whatever may have been the imperative that brought and kept them there, they left a precious visual record of the scenery, monuments, peoples and topography for modern Pakistanis.

Much of that topography has changed and would no longer be recognisable today. Many of the monuments or buildings have since crumbled or been destroyed. In some rare cases, they have changed very little over the years, managing to retain at least their spirit, if not their form, intact. Whatever their present condition or state, though, the prints and historical images presented here constitute an invaluable panorama of the four provinces of Pakistan - Sindh, Baluchistan, the North-West Frontier and the Punjab - as they appeared during the nineteenth and early twentieth century.



No. 43 Ruins at Brahmanabad, 1857. (See page 49)

MAP OF PAKISTAN



I

Karachi - Mangho Pir - Gwadar - Makran - Thatta - Hyderabad -
Sehwan - Rohri - Bukkur - Sukkur - Jacobabad

KARACHI

The Indus river never flowed by Karachi. The course of history therefore over the centuries, from the time of the Indus Valley civilisation until the end of the eighteenth century, also bypassed it. Karachi had little to offer beyond a rudimentary access to the Arabian Sea, and although of no strategic value, it remained for many years a source of contention between the governors of Kalat and the Mirs of Hyderabad. The latter finally succeeding in gaining control of Karachi in 1795, after which it remained in their possession until the annexation of Sindh in 1843.

It was perhaps symbolic of Karachi's future personality as a city devoted to commerce and industry that its first significant contact with the West resulted from the permission given to the East India Company to establish a factory there in 1800. The permission, granted in haste by the Mirs led by Mir Fateh Ali who feared an invasion by the Afghan king Zaman Shah, was as rapidly withdrawn when the Mirs suspected that the motives of the British were not entirely commercial in nature. Nathan Crow, the agent appointed by the Company to establish the factory, landed at Karachi on 2 March 1800 and by the end of October was ordered to close the factory and to proceed to Thatta.

During the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the interests of the British became more focused on Afghanistan and they looked north-westwards, beyond the Sikh kingdom of Ranjit Singh in the Punjab and the territories controlled by the Mirs in southern Sindh. Anxious to extend their influence, they rummaged for opportunities which would justify their intervention. A single cannonade of welcome fired in 1839 from the largely ceremonial guns at Manora fort upon the appearance of British

naval vessels became the pretext for a bombardment of Karachi and its subsequent surrender, just as the natural reluctance of the Mirs to implement a treaty, which stripped them of all their rights as independent rulers, unleashed a storm which did not abate until the battle of Miani in February 1843 and the formal annexation of Sindh in August of the same year.

As the political power and authority radiating from the courts at Hyderabad and Khairpur waned, the fortunes of Karachi gradually increased. From being a fishing village supporting a population of about 10,000 inhabitants, it grew into a sizable cantonment town and then into a thriving city dedicated to commerce, 'the natural outlet of trade for Sind and the Punjab ... second only to Bombay'.

1. FORT AND HARBOUR OF KARACHI, c. 1840
Lithograph by Dean and Munday based on a sketch by Capt. Haines, c. 1840. Published in Dr. R.H. Kennedy *Narrative of the campaign of the Army of the Indus, in Sind and Kaubool, in 1838 - 9* (London, 1840), opp. page 152.

Dr. Richard Hartley Kennedy had joined the Bombay establishment as a junior medical officer in 1810. He had been in service in India for about twenty-eight years (eighteen of them in Gujarat) when he was deputed to join the Army of the Indus, mobilised in 1838 by the British in an abortive attempt to replace the ruler of Afghanistan, Dost Mohammed, by his relation Shah Shuja.

Dr. Kennedy boarded the flotilla which left Bombay in November 1838 and landed not at the port of Karachi, which Kennedy considered far more suitable as a point of disembarkation, but at Hujamry



1 Fort and Harbour of Karachi, c. 1840.

near the mouth of the Indus. Writing afterwards in a correspondence with his relatives which formed the basis of his published narrative, Kennedy deplored that the value of Karachi as a port had been underestimated by the British, just as it had been ignored by their rivals the Napoleonic French who he felt could have used it as 'a haven ... for wood, water, and provisions' on their way to and from Mauritius.

To Kennedy, the strategic potential of Karachi was obvious: 'Too great a value cannot possibly be placed on the possession of the harbour of Kurachy, whether as a military and naval station, or in a political and commercial view; and everything that our Government can do should be done without delay, to improve and strengthen it. It is the key of Sind and the Indus, and of the approaches, either military or commercial, to Central Asia. A lighthouse on the headland of Manoora, and a pier on piles at the landing place, are the first desiderata. The second and third will be the improvement of the Garra Creek, and a canal to re-unite it to the Indus' (Kennedy (1840), I, 59 - 60).

Returning in January 1840 upon the conclusion of the campaign, Kennedy embarked from Karachi on

29 January for Bombay. He recorded a fuller description of the nascent port whose potential he recognised with a clairvoyant's accuracy :

'The harbour of Kurachy is protected from the sea and prevailing winds by a rocky promontory, rising about one hundred and fifty feet, and projecting about a mile and a half in length, and which may have been an island in the age of Alexander; the opening to the south-east is protected by several insulated rocks, which are the only islands now seen along the whole coast of Sind. It is a safe harbour and easily accessible, and the the only valuable port as a naval station, and in a military or commercial view, north of Bombay. It is very much removed from the influence of the Indian south-west monsoon, being betwixt the climate of India and Persia; and experiences so little rain, that a very few inches in the year may be considered an average fall. The dry sandy soil, the debris of the Sind rock, creates no malaria; and the refreshing sea-breezes mitigate the fierce temperature of a climate so seldom cooled by rain in 25° north, on the verge of the tropic.

The town of Kurachy will soon rise to a place of the greatest consideration. The expenditure of the British cantonment and the establishment of the

communication betwixt Bombay, the Punjaub, and Kaubool, will bring wealth and population, and a few years will suffice to prove the incalculable importance of this position.' (Kennedy (1840), II, 219 - 20.)

By 1876, Dr. Kennedy's ambitions for Karachi and particularly for Manora were partially fulfilled. Manora by then had a permanent lighthouse with a fixed light 150 feet above sea level whose light could be seen weather permitting as far as 17 miles off-shore. The island housed the office of the Harbour Improvement Works, and in addition provided for its population of about 800 souls a library, billiard room and a small church called St. Paul's, which Richard Burton saw on his second visit to Karachi in 1876 and described as 'a stiff little English church, with its red-tiled roof and pierced wall for belfry'.

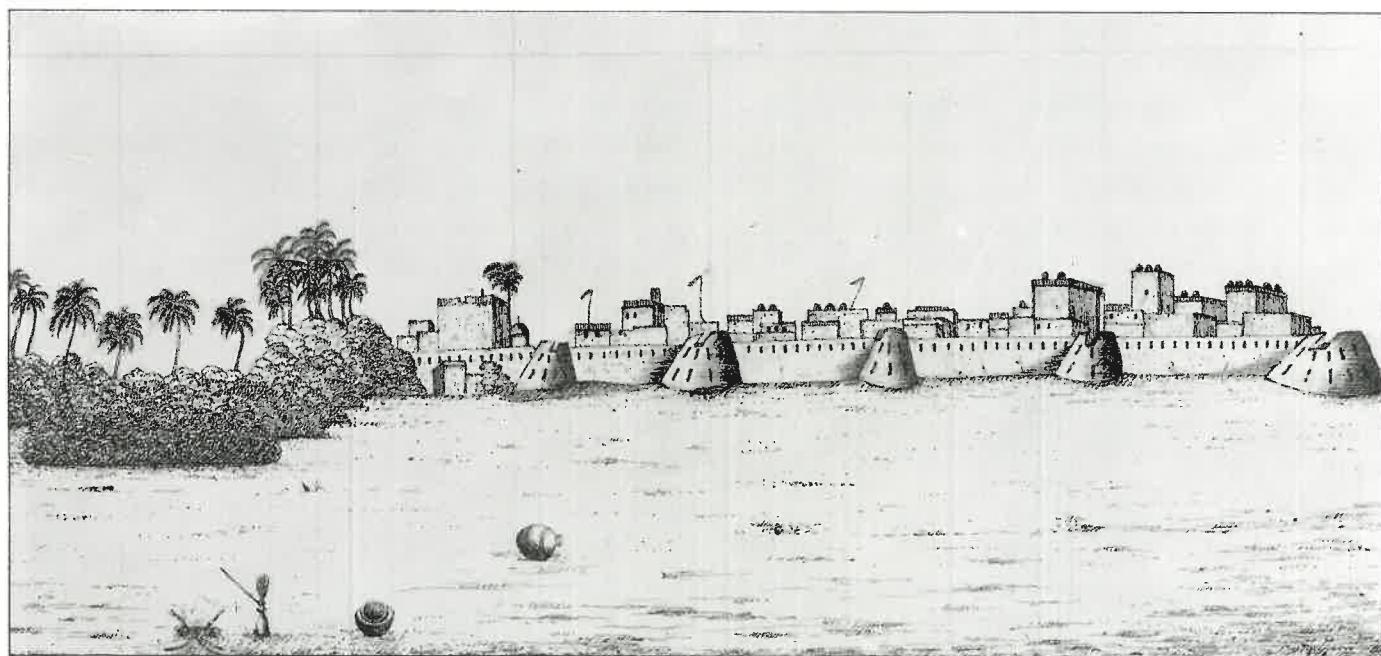
2. A VIEW OF KARACHI, c. 1830

Drawing done c. 1850 by Charles Masson, based upon a sketch made by him while at Karachi c. 1830.

Charles Masson's real name was James Lewis. Born in London in 1800, Lewis when in his twenties enlisted as a private soldier in the Bengal European Artillery and saw action at Bharatpur before deserting. He spent fourteen years - 1827 to 1840 - travelling extensively in Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Sindh and the Punjab. His impressions of Karachi, from where

he embarked in the summer of 1830 en route to Muscat and to Bushire in the Persian Gulf, were contained in the memoirs of his travels he published in 1842 :

'Karachi, although not a large town, has much trade; it is surrounded with dilapidated mud walls, provided with towers, on which a few crazy guns are mounted. The suburbs, extensive, and generally comprising huts, are inhabited by fishermen and mariners. The port has one hundred vessels, of all sizes and descriptions, belonging to it, and its dunghis [high prowed boats] venture to Daman, Bombay, and Calicut, also to Gwadar and Maskat. The harbour is commodious for small craft, and is spacious, extending about two miles inwards, at which distance, from its mouth, the town is seated. On a high hill, or eminence, overlooking the entrance to the harbour on the left hand, as it is approached from the sea, is the fort or castle of Manaroh, garrisoned by a small party of Jukias; it is said, there are many guns in it, but it is unexplained who are to work them. The eminence slopes to the beach, on the town side, where there is a circular tower, on which four guns are said, whether truly or not, to be placed. These constitute the defences of the harbour, whose entrance is well defined, having opposite the hill Manaroh, five detached rocks and a sandbank, exposed at low water. Karachi has a cool climate'. (Masson (1842), I, 470 - 1.)



2 A View of Karachi, c. 1830.

3. THE TOWN OF KARACHI, 1851

Water-colour by H.F. Ainslie, inscribed: *Sindh part of the native town of Kurrachee. April 1851.*

Henry Francis Ainslie served in the 83rd Foot Regiment of the British Army. He spent some years in Sindh when his regiment moved to Karachi in 1850 where it remained until February 1853, when half of the troop was transferred to Hyderabad. In this sketch, Ainslie has depicted the chimney-like wind-towers designed to catch the sea breezes and thus ventilate the interiors of the closely crowded houses built primarily of mud.

Ainslie, a prolific amateur artist, produced many sketches, including views of Sindh, a map of Hyderabad and plans of Sehwan and Nurpur. These are now in the India Office Library and Records, London, (see Archer (1969), I, 91 - 2), and in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (I.S. 17 to 39 - 1963).

The intrepid soldier-traveller Richard Burton who had seen Karachi a decade earlier commented on its architectural monotony and the prevalence of mud as a material : 'Karachi town, when I first became acquainted with it, was much like the Alexandria of a century and a half ago : a few tenements of stone and lime emerging from a mass of low hovels, mat and mud, and of tall mud houses with windowless mud walls, flat mud roofs, and many Bad-girs or mud ventilators, surrounded by a tumble-down curtain-cum-bastions of mud, built upon a humble platform of mud-covered rock. The mud (Kahgil), hereabouts used as adobe or sun-dried brick, and the plaster that binds it, are river-clay (silt or warp) thrown into a pit, puddled with water, trodden till ready for use, and mixed for the outer coating with finely chopped straw' (Burton (1877), I, 45).

4. KARACHI SEEN FROM CLIFTON, 1851

Water-colour by H.F. Ainslie, inscribed: *Sindh, cantonment of Kurrachee from the seaside at Clifton, looking north, April 1851.*

The view of Karachi seen from Clifton depicted by Ainslie indicates an expanse which within twenty years rapidly filled with the encroaching sprawl of urban Karachi. Driving of an evening in 1876 from Karachi town to Clifton beach, Burton made a note

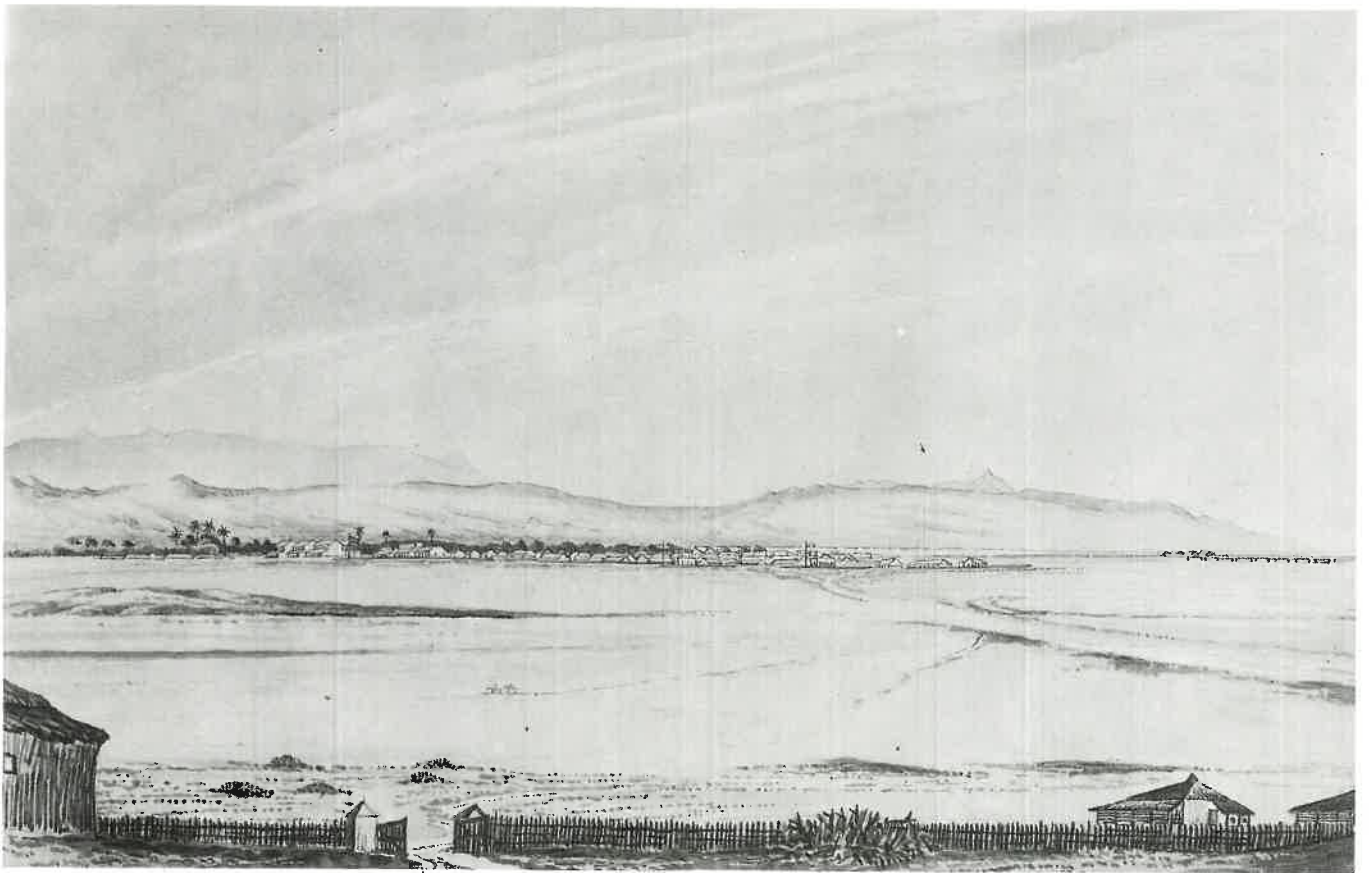
of everything he saw on the way and observed: 'Yon huge pile beyond the new Barracks is the Napier hospital; nearer us is the ground where the Scotchmen play golf over the roughest of Nalas (nullahs); this crowning bit of metal is Frere Station; those vast yellow buildings, with the tall smokestacks, are the railway workshops. As we pass through the iron-road gate we find the usual knot of male nurses and female nurses, of babies and "Europe" dogs: the four seem everywhere to herd together. Further to the east of the embanked road lies the new race-course, marked out by white posts and broken-down sheds called Grand Stand. To the east-north-east is the brilliantly lime-washed truncated cylinder of masonry, the Dakhmeh, or charnel-house, of the Parsis [.] Further on, north of the railway, you see the quarries which built new Karachi. Some way to the right rises the "Observatory," where no observations are made: it is a stout little bit of building without entrance, the door being blocked, and snakes are said to have taken the lease. The lump supporting it is old "Bath Island"; and the salty ground, of dull chocolate with snowy efflorescence, together with the pestilential smell, show the mangrove-haunted mouth of the Chini backwater.'

Leaving the outskirts of Karachi which ended at what is now Bath Island, Burton crossed open land. 'After three miles or so, the road ascends a quoin-shaped buttress of dust and rugged rock, incipient sandstone, capped with a hard conglomerate of water-rolled pebbles, embedded in silicious paste. It tails off inland: seawards the face is more or less abrupt; and here ... are a few masonry benches, and half a dozen Sind "villas," which have not increased in number during the last quarter-century.' Burton concludes: 'Such are the uncomely features of the "Civil Marine Sanatorium," Clifton in the Far East, which took its name from the birthplace of the old Conqueror' (Burton (1877), 82-4).

Burton, at times more romantic than strictly accurate, was probably repeating a common but unfounded association between the peccavian 'old Conqueror' Sir Charles Napier and Clifton. Napier had been born in fact at Whitehall in London. A more plausible if prosaic reason for the southern beach at Karachi being known as Clifton has been provided by the Revd. Charles Allen who visited Karachi in 1841 and wrote: 'About three miles from



3 The Town of Karachi, 1851.



4 Karachi seen from Clifton, 1851.

camp is some table land overlooking the sea, to which some of the ladies have given the name of Clifton' (Allen (1843), 17).

5. MAP OF KARACHI, 1852 - 53

Sketch map by A.F. Bellasis, Karachi, 1852 - 53.

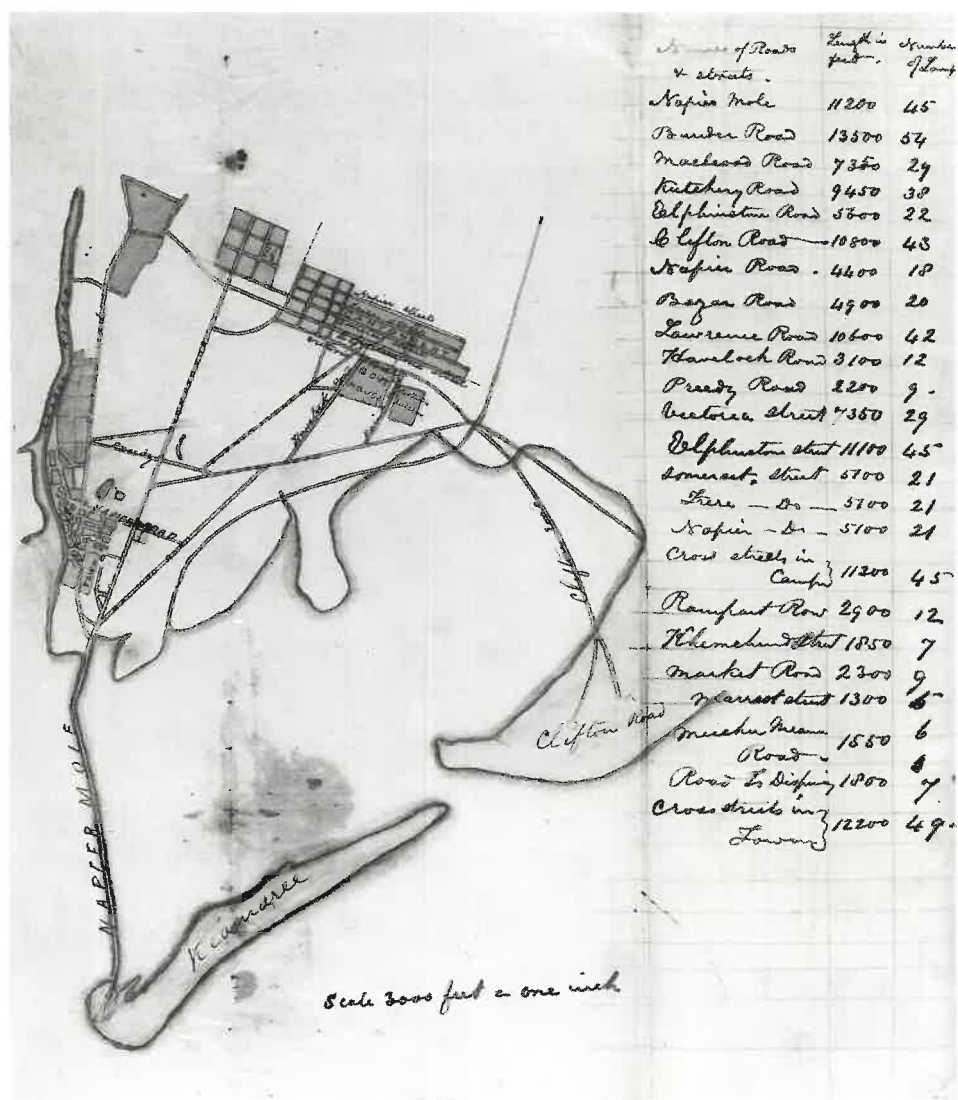
Augustus Fortunatus Bellasis served in the Bombay Civil Service from 1842 until his death in 1872. His association with Sindh was during his tenure in the post of Collector and Magistrate, first in Hyderabad between 1852 - 1856 and subsequently in Karachi between 1858 - 1860.

His sketch map shows the layout of Karachi as it appeared in the 1850s. On the east side, the Learee river flows past the old town, connected by Napier Mole to the Keamaree creek. On the west side of the town lies Government House (flanked by Havelock Road and Point Road), and the Cantonment area

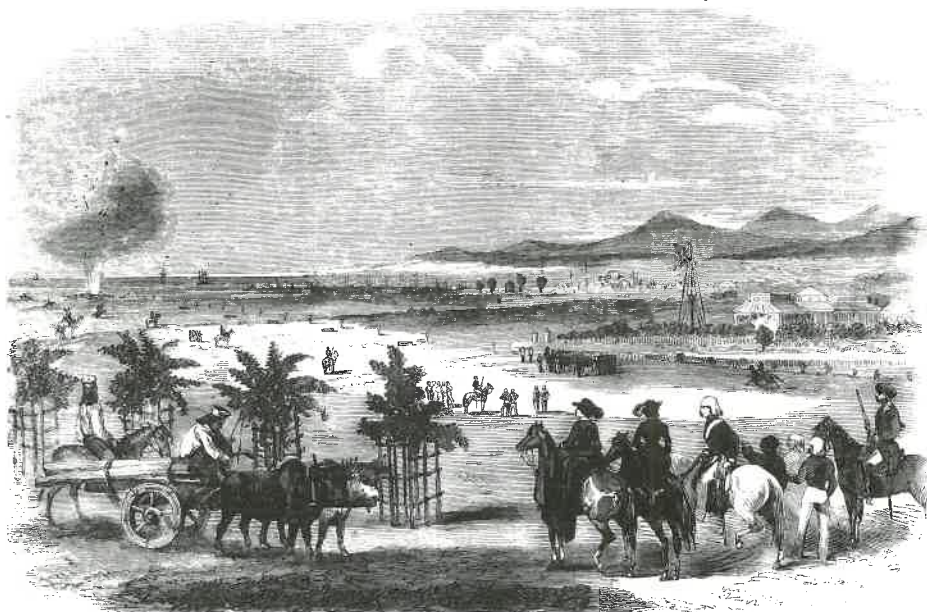
containing in parallel lines Victoria Street (also known as Clifton Road), Elphinstone Street (or Staff Lines), Somerset Street, Frere Street (or Military Lines), and Napier Street.

Bellasis has inscribed the names and length the various roads and streets and also mentioned the number of lamps located in each. Victoria Street and MacLeod Road (named after John MacLeod, deputy collector of Customs, who died on a trip to Hinglaj in December 1853), for example, were each 7350 feet long and were lit by 29 lamps, Elphinstone Street 11,100 feet long by 45 lamps and Elphinstone Road 5600 feet lit by 22 lamps.

There are eleven volumes of written and pictorial material, including records pertaining to his service in Sindh left by Augustus Bellasis. These are currently on loan to the India Office Library and Records, London. They have been catalogued in Archer (1969), 102 - 112.



5 Map of Karachi, 1852-53.



6 Rifle practice at Karachi, c. 1855.

6. RIFLE PRACTICE AT KARACHI. c. 1855

Wood engraving published in *The Illustrated London News*, c. 1855.

Although the specific location at Karachi cannot be identified with the same precision of accuracy being demonstrated by the riflemen in this illustration, it would however appear to be somewhere along the seashore at Clifton or Mauripur.

The occasion, according to the text accompanying this illustration, was an experiment in which a target - in this case a cart containing four boxes of ammunition - was fired upon at a distance of 1200 yards and successfully exploded.

7. HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, KARACHI, c. 1865.

Photograph by J.A. Jung, c. 1865. Printed on reverse: J.A. Jung, Photographic Studio, Elphinstone Street, Kurrachee.

At one time, early in its secular history, Karachi had two racecourses but no churches. This was soon rectified with the establishment of the Holy Trinity Church, located in the centre of the city on about 15 acres of land. The Holy Trinity Church was designed and built by Capt. John Hill of the Bombay Engineers. The church was consecrated in 1855, almost three years after its first stone had been laid in September 1852. According to a contemporary account, it consisted 'of a nave with two side aisles, apsidal chancel, and square tower 150 feet high; this last [being] an excellent landmark for vessels approach-

ing the coast.'

In 1876, Burton could see the spire of the church from Karachi harbour: 'Far over them [the oyster rocks] to starboard appears the Cantonment, with its three landmarks - the cocky little Scotch kirk pertly fronting its big brother, and the battlemented tower of Trinity, which looks like a line of houses set on end; while further south rises a pretentious bit of



7 Holy Trinity Church, Karachi, c. 1865.

misplaced Gothic, yclept "Frere Hall" '.

The elongated five-storeyed tower seemed to be out of reasonable proportion to the length of the building which was a good thirty-five feet shorter than the height of the tower. Alexander Baillie, writing in 1890, felt 'inclined to think that accidentally Trinity has taken the form of a giraffe ... distinguished for its exceedingly long neck, and the shortness of its back'. The tower was reduced to a more acceptable height in 1903 when its two top storeys were dismantled and removed.

This photograph would probably have been taken in 1865 as the boundary wall around the church was not built until 1868.

Three large interesting sketches of Holy Trinity Church, done in 1856 by John Le Mesurier (Bombay Engineers 1850-1887), show the plan, a perspective view and the interior of the church. These sketches are in the India Office Library and Records, London, and have been catalogued in Archer (1969), II, 472.

8. ANOTHER VIEW OF HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, KARACHI, c. 1900

Postcard published in Karachi, 1900.

9. FRERE HALL, KARACHI, c. 1865

Photograph by J.A. Jung, c. 1865. Printed on reverse: J.A. Jung, Photographic Studio, Elphinstone Street, Kurrachee.

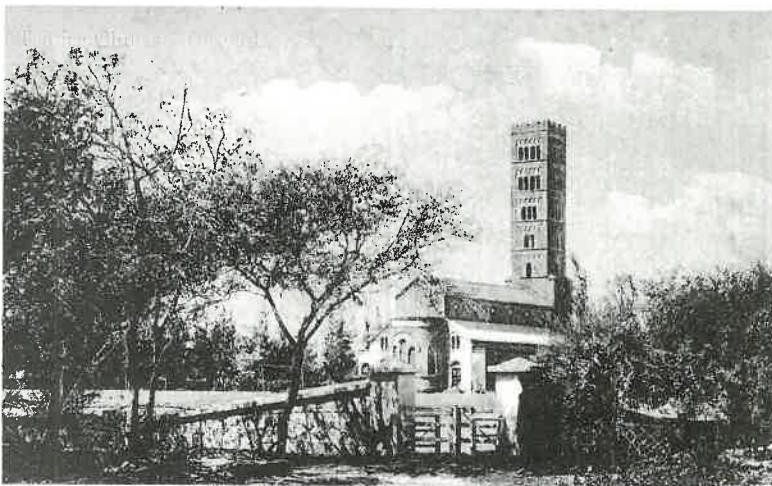
Constructed to commemorate Sir H. Bartle E. Frere, Chief Commissioner, Sindh (1851-1859), this building was begun in August 1863, four years after

Frere's departure from the province.

One of the reasons for the delay was the tardy response of the population of Karachi who, according to one contemporary writer, 'do not easily combine to carry out any specified undertaking'. Their 'slow and faltering action' in collecting subscriptions to meet the cost of the building - about Rs. 180,000 - yielded only Rs. 22,500, of which the bulk came from Bombay. To this the Government added Rs. 10,000 and the Municipality contributed the balance of Rs. 147,500.

The building was designed by Lt.-Col. H. St. Clair Wilkins of the Royal Bombay Engineers and built primarily from limestone quarried from sources close to Karachi, some of the white limestone for the upper verandah columns coming from Bholari and the dark sandstone from Jungshahi. The spire extended 144 feet. By 1890, two of the ground floor rooms were occupied by the Karachi General Library and the Museum, which had previously occupied premises in Staff Lines from the establishment of the Museum in 1851 until 1870.

Burton cared neither for the Hall nor its namesake: 'The main use of Frere Hall is to serve the shipping as a landmark: from the offing, the tower and spirelet of this portentous and pretentious erection in crumbling sandstone suggest an honest Moslem Idgah. Mr. Commissioner [Sir Bartle Frere], indeed seems to have proposed for himself three main objects in life: (1) building Frere towns; (2) building Frere halls; (3) building Frere roads, which have a truly Imperial look - on paper'. (Burton (1877), I, 73.)



8 A view of Holy Trinity Church, Karachi, c. 1900.



9 Frere Hall, Karachi, c. 1865.

10. SIND CLUB, KARACHI, c. 1900
Postcard published in Karachi, c. 1900.

In 1876, on his return visit to Karachi, Richard Burton complained that in Karachi 'hospitality has been relegated from the centres to the extremities [...] ... men can no longer afford to keep open-house.' He found a 'a neat little club, but it lacks chambers.' His lamentation continued: 'Karachi cannot yet boast of an hotel; nor will she before she belongs to the Panjab. In fact ...you would have to be lodged at the travellers' bungalow - a refuge for the wholly destitute of friends.' (Burton (1877), 78.) Seeing Frere Hall, whose design he abhorred, Burton expressed the impotent hope that 'that the new club will *not* adopt "Veneto-Gothic", a style he regarded 'so fit for Venice, so unfit for Karachi'.

The Club was founded in 1871. The first meeting was held on 25 May 1871, with Sir William Mereweather, then Commissioner Sindh, in the chair as the first President of the incipient Club. Setting a standard to the code of conduct expected by future members of the Club, the sponsors attending the meeting, the hot weather notwithstanding, were dressed in lounge suits. Sixty-eight members were enrolled. The entrance fee was Rs. 100 and the monthly subscription Rs. 7. The Club formally opened on 1 August 1871.

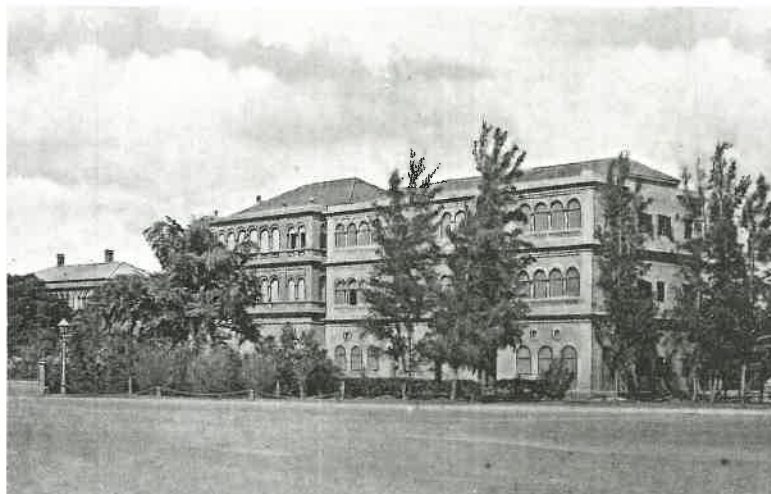
Membership of the Sind Club remained exclusive. By 1946, for example, 75 years after its founding, the Club still had only 1932 members. Apart from the recurring problem of permanent accommodation, the Club faced minor trials such as the increasing habit of smoking by members and their tendency to borrow money from Club servants.

In 1880 land between Scandal Point Road (now the south side of Hotel Metropole) and Frere Hall was obtained and the Club House, designed by the 'peppery' Col. John Le Mesurier, who had been responsible for the design of the nearby Holy Trinity Church almost twenty-five years earlier, was constructed in 1883. Ten years later, another three-storied block was added to the main one to house the new library and other amenities.

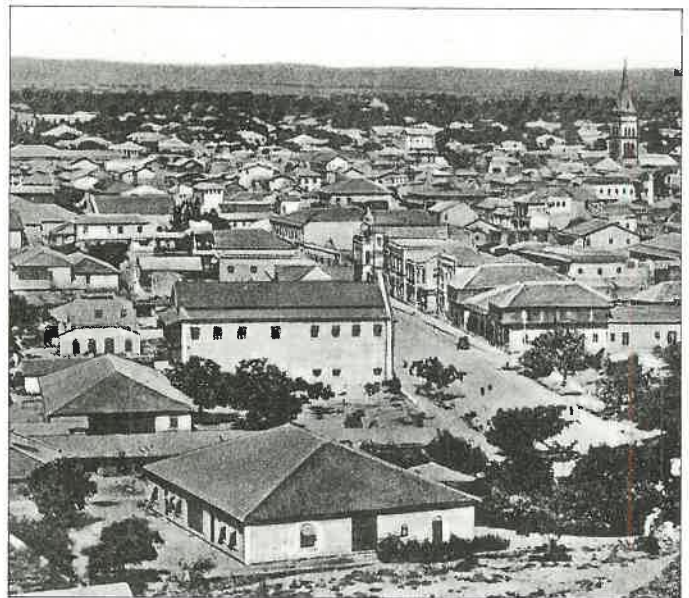
In 1902, while the rest of Karachi's citizenry was still using oil-lamps, the Sind Club members were provided with electricity, supplied from their own accumulators, but this facility was restricted to the public rooms only for it was felt that, as members had for so long been able to sleep without the aid of electric fans, it was quite unnecessary to spoil them now.

Membership was less exclusive than in later years: 'The members are exceedingly hospitable, and any traveller properly introduced is at once admitted an honorary member, and permitted to pay a subscription for the period he remains, which allows him greater freedom than if he was simply a free guest.' (Baillie (1890), 148.) Gradual liberalisation brought about subtle changes, such as when ladies were granted membership. Baillie expressed the hope that 'their more refined taste will have had its effect on the description and quality of the beverages consumed.'

During the 1930s the Club suffered a radical decline in both its membership and standards. In April 1936, therefore, in an effort to boost usage of the Club, it was approved by the General Meeting that 'Oriental Visitors should be admitted as guests into the Sind Club'.



10 Sind Club, Karachi, c. 1900.



11 & 12 Bird's eye view of Karachi, c. 1900.

11. BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF KARACHI, c. 1900

Postcard published in Karachi, c. 1900.

In this perspective view taken most probably from the top of the tower of Holy Trinity Church, one is looking in a north-westerly direction across the city towards the Kohistan hills in the distance. The broad avenue curving towards the right would have been Victoria Road (Abdullah Haroon Road).

12. BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF KARACHI, c. 1900

Postcard published in Karachi, c. 1900.

In a similar view from the same vantage point, this time looking in a north-easterly direction, in the foreground are visible the width of Elphinstone Street (now Zaibunissa Street), and over the rooftops of the houses and shops in Saddar bazaar, the Gothic spire of the Empress Market.

13. SADDAR BAZAAR, KARACHI, c. 1900

Postcard published in Karachi, 1900.

'Time, which found Karachi camp built of unbaked brick, has now turned it into stone,' Burton wrote, after seeing a Karachi transformed since his previous visit. 'The huge dirty Sadr, or high, bazar ... has now been broadened, cleansed, and converted into a general market. Some of the houses, for instance that of Adam Ali, are remarkably good and, where the high-road runs, all the hovels have made way for

a dickey of "*pakka-built*" stores in the newest Sindi style. We find the *modiste*, Madame Schlepper, who occasionally suffers from a creditor slipping away; Mr. Davidson, an old soldier, keeping a general store; the photographic rooms of Mr. Michie; and finally, Mr. Speechly, the apothecary, who, here as elsewhere, soon becomes rich by selling pennyworths for sixpences. The "large, roomy bungalows, oblong, single-storied buildings dressed with mathematical precision to the front," are become five huge blocks, costing as many lakhs and more, extending over an immense space east of the Staff Lines, with arched verandahs in the second floor to catch the sea-breeze' (Burton (1877), 68-69).

The building at the end of the street is the Public Dispensary built by the Eduljee Dinshaw Charitable Trust in 1882.



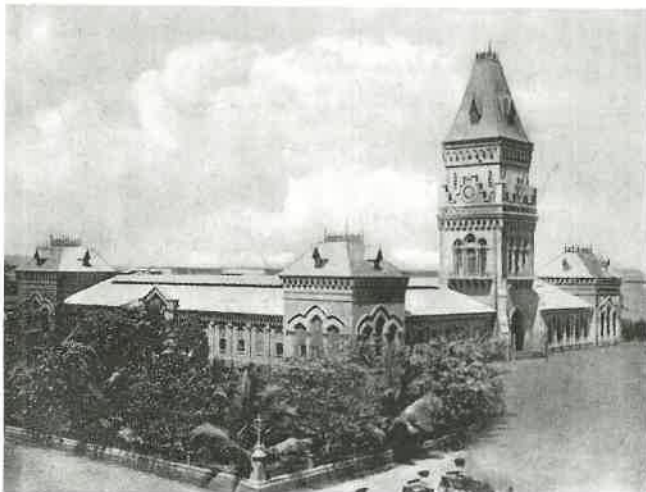
13 Saddar Bazaar, Karachi, c. 1900.



14 Somerset Street, Karachi, c. 1900.

14. SOMERSET STREET, KARACHI, c. 1900
Postcard published in Karachi, c. 1900.

Looking northwards up an uncrowded Somerset Street, this view confirms a description of the Saddar Bazaar in the 1870s as being 'regularly laid out, having fine broad streets, and stone-flagged pavements ; with good houses and shops on either side' (Hughes (1876), 357).



15 Empress Market, c. 1900.

15. EMPRESS MARKET, c. 1900
Postcard published in Karachi, c. 1900.

Described as 'a very handsome building, designed in what is known as the "domestic Gothic style" by the indefatigable municipal engineer Mr. James Strachan', Empress Market appeared then as it does even today too grand and important a building to be condemned to the drudgery of being used as a fruit, meat and vegetable market. Nevertheless it was designed specifically for that purpose and to that extent, like some well-born governess who has

through quirk of unfortunate circumstance been forced to take up employment, it has tended to the needs of its charges - generations of Karachi's population - with lofty dignity.

The foundation stone of the market was laid in November 1884 by Sir James Ferguson, Governor of Bombay, and the building was completed 'very slowly'. The final cost of the building - the reason perhaps for its slow implementation - was about Rs.120,000. The original scheme consisted of four galleries 46 feet wide and an open quadrangle of 13000 square feet. In all 280 shops could be accommodated in its complex.



16 Sind Art's College and Victoria Museum, Karachi, c. 1900.

16. SIND ART'S COLLEGE AND VICTORIA MUSEUM, KARACHI, c. 1900
Postcard published in Karachi, c. 1900.

The Sind Art's College was founded in 1882, after an appeal by local citizens to the Educational Commission requesting the establishment of an Arts College in Sind province. Over Rs. 100,000 was soon collected and five years later, in January 1887, the new College was opened by Lord Reay, the Governor of Bombay. The curriculum of the College in its initial years was quite extensive, covering Mathematics, Logic, Science, Moral Philosophy, Political Economy and History, English, Persian and Sanskrit.

The Victoria Museum received the natural history collection formerly housed in Frere Hall. After independence in 1947, the new National Museum of Pakistan was opened in Frere Hall and shifted subsequently to its present site in Burns Gardens opposite this building, now the D.J. Medical College.



17 Oyster rocks and Harbour entrance, Karachi, c. 1900.

17. OYSTER ROCKS AND HARBOUR ENTRANCE, KARACHI, c. 1900

Postcard published in Karachi, c. 1900

This view of the docks and warehouses overflowing with bagged commodities indicates the state of development of Karachi as a modern port. The reference to the oyster rocks recalls a potentially profitable line of business that was at one time given some official encouragement. In a memoranda on the Pearl Banks and Fishery in Sindh compiled by John MacLeod, Collector of Customs, Karachi, and submitted by him to the Government on 31 December 1847, it was recorded: 'In the salt-water inlets along the entire sea coast of Sind, a thin shelled variety of oyster exists, producing a seed pearl. It is most frequently found on mudbanks left dry at low tides. The pearl is of very little value compared with that produced by the Ceylon and Persian Gulf Fisheries, the price of the latter ranging from Rs. 1000 to Rs.1500, whilst the former seldom realizes more than Rs. 15 a tola. From the supposition that it possesses invigorating powers, it is used here chiefly as a medicine. The larger grains are occasionally made use of as personal ornaments; the smaller ones to intermix with the valuable Bahrein pearls, in which manner they are kept in bags by the Bombay merchants, as a means of preserving their lustre.'

MacLeod was placed in charge of this source of revenue in May 1845. Costs though exceeded revenues, he reported. 'The Harbour of Kurachee has been twice since that period let out for Rs. 800 and



18 View of Manora, Karachi, c. 1900.

Rs. 1,300; the contractors, however, in each case, after several examinations, found it advisable to suspend operations, under the conviction that the oysters were too few and too scattered to pay for the expense of collecting them.'

Burton, as always, is the perfect source for that minute pearl of additional information, in this case also about the Oyster Rocks: 'The eastern jamb originally consisted of six or seven craggy piles of banded sandstone, the Oyster Rocks or Baur Islands, where the mollusk still survives. The group lies nearly on a meridian; "Little Andai," pierced with a cave, is the northernmost, and "Great Andia" raises its pyramidal head at the opposite end.'

18. VIEW OF MANORA, KARACHI, c.1900

Postcard published in Karachi, c. 1900

Compared to Dr. Kennedy's earlier sketch (see no.1), the lighthouse at Manora now oversees a much larger establishment. The warehouses were serviced by short piers which improved landing and handling facilities.

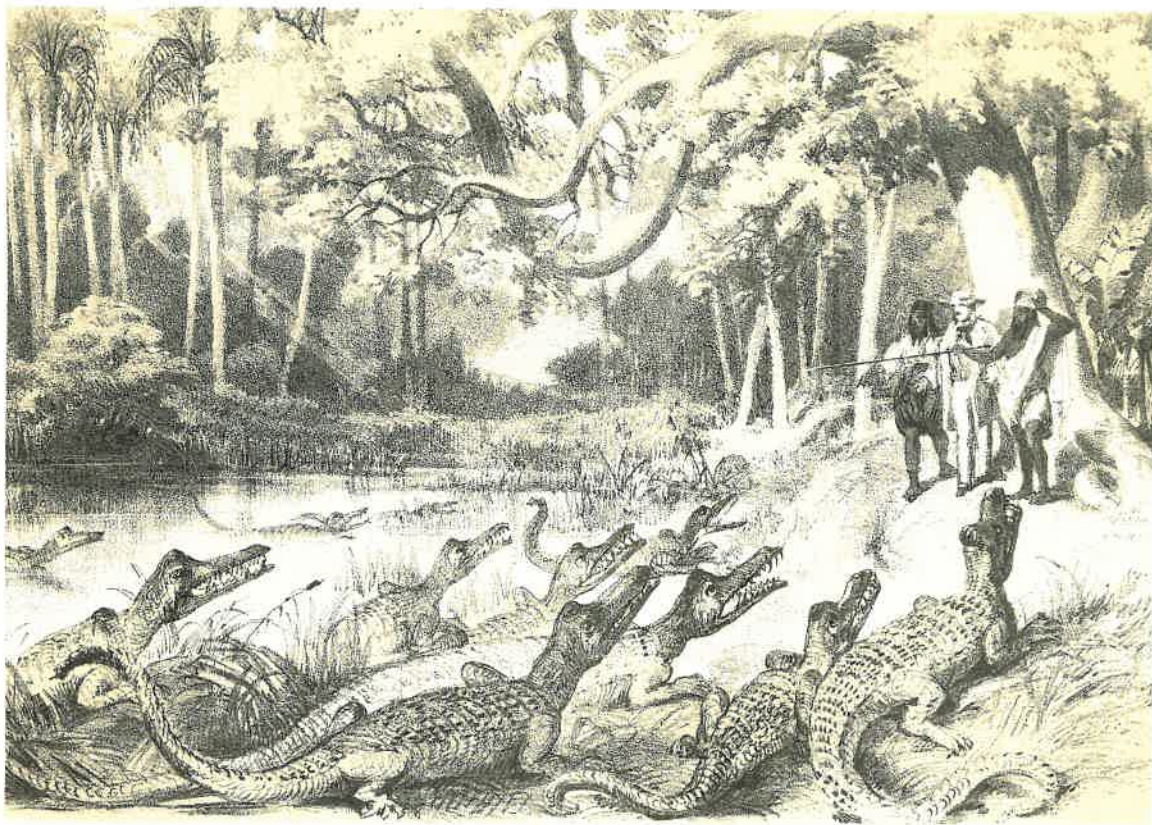
Burton mentioned the hazards of building the stone pier at Keamari: 'It was then resolved that Karachi should have all the advantages required by her strong young constitution. Accordingly a stone pier was designed to run from the native town halfway down the creek. The work had its difficulties; at first it sank nearly as fast as it could be built. ... It is now "the Napier Mole Road," or "Causeway," connecting Kyamari Island' (Burton (1877), I, 34).

MANGHO PIR

Located over 7 miles north of Karachi, the sacred tomb of Pir Haji Mangho (a saint whose original name was Kamaldin) with its resident population of crocodiles and the adjacent sulphur springs offered opportunities to pilgrims for cleansing both the spirit and the flesh. No evidence has been forthcoming as to how these crocodiles of a species not normally found in or around the Indus river were marooned in such a hilly oasis. Their very presence, an enigma in itself, has helped popularise their attraction to visitors and residents of Karachi for over 150 years.

An early surveyor of Karachi, Lt. T.G. Carless recorded in his report of 1838: 'The valley of Pir Mangho is surrounded by hills 700 or 800 feet high, between which glimpses are occasionally obtained of the level plains beyond, but at the upper extremity it stretches away in high undulating ground far to the northward. An extensive grove of date and other trees occupies the centre of the plain, and on the western side there is another, above which is seen the cupola of a small white mosque, erected on a rocky eminence.'

Carless continued: 'The spring gushes out in a small stream from among the roots of a picturesque clump of date trees, covering the extremity of a rocky knoll of limestone about 30 feet high, and falls into a small natural basin, from whence it escapes in numerous rills to the adjacent gardens. The name of this spring is Kisti, but it was formerly called Kirkund, or the milk-tank, from the water being milk-white, which was no doubt owing to its flowing at that time over a bed of chalk. It is now colourless and perfectly pure to the taste, having no perceptible flavour of any kind, but, from the stones in some of the rivulets being encrusted with a soft substance of a dark reddish-brown colour, probably contains a small portion of iron. The water is so warm that at first you can scarcely bear your hand in it, and its temperature was afterwards found to be 133°. The natives say it cures every disease, and they not only bathe in it whenever they have an opportunity, but drink it in large quantities. They believe that all the springs in the valley owe their existence to Lal Shahbaz, the celebrated saint of Sehwan, who, in order to make the spot holy, commanded them to burst forth from the rocks.' (Carless, quoted in Hughes (1876), 340-341.)



19 The crocodile tank, near Karachi, c. 1841.

19. THE CROCODILE TANK, NEAR KARACHI,
c.1841

Lithograph by Maclure, Macdonald & Maclure published in E.B. Eastwick *Dry Leaves from Young Egypt* (London, 1851; second edition), facing page 219.

'A moderate ride through a sandy and sterile track, varied with a few patches of jungle, brings one to a grove of tamarind trees, hid in the bosom of which lie the grisly brood of monsters. Little would one ignorant of the *locale* suspect that under that green wood in that tiny pool, which an active leaper could half-spring across, such hideous denizens are concealed. "Here is the pool," I said to my guide rather contemptuously, "but where are the alligators?" At the same time I was stalking on very boldly with head erect, and rather inclined to flout the whole affair, *naso adunco*. A sudden horse roar or bark, however, under my very feet, made me execute a pirouette in the air with extraordinary adroitness, and perhaps with more animation than grace. I had almost stepped on a young crocidilian imp about three feet long, whose bite, small as he was, would have been the reverse of pleasant. Presently the genius of the place made his appearance in the shape of a wizard-looking old Fakir, who on my presenting him with a couple of rupees, produced his wand - in other words, a long pole, and then proceeded to "call up his spirits." On his shouting "Ao! Ao!" "Come! Come!" two or three times, the water suddenly became alive with monsters. At least three score huge alligators, some of them fifteen feet in length, made their appearance, and came thronging to the shore. The whole scene reminded me of fairy tales. The solitary wood, the pool with its strange inmates, the Fakir's lonely hut on the hill side, the Fakir himself, tall, swart, and gaunt, the robber-looking Biluchi by my side, made up a fantastic picture. Strange, too, the controul our showman displayed over his "lions". On his motioning with the pole they stopped (indeed, they had already arrived at a disagreeable propinquity), and on his calling out "Baitho," "Sit down," they lay flat on their stomachs, grinning horrible obedience with their open and expectant jaws.'

After describing how the alligators are fed, Eastwick is introduced to the 'monarch of the place, an enormous alligator, to which the Fakir had given

the name of "Mor Sahib," "My Lord Mor," ... [as] he lay, with his head above water, immoveable as a log, and for which I would have mistaken him but for his small savage eyes, which glittered so that they seemed to emit sparks.' (Eastwick (1851), 218 - 220.)

20. THE TOMB OF HAJI MANGHO PIR, NEAR
KARACHI, 1850

Sepia sketch by an unknown artist, inscribed on the reverse: *Mugger Pir - 9th April 1850 - sketched with the Camera Lucida*.

A favourite day's excursion from Karachi, a trip to Mangho Pir provided enterprising artists, particularly amateur ones, with an opportunity to sketch. The *camera lucida* mentioned in the inscription refers to a small device used by inexperienced artists and quite popular in the early nineteenth century. The device, consisting of a prism and some lenses, could be affixed to a drawing board and would reflect the image of a view onto a the desired surface, enabling the artist to make an adequate copy of the scene before him. The significant features having been obtained, the details would be sketched in afterwards.

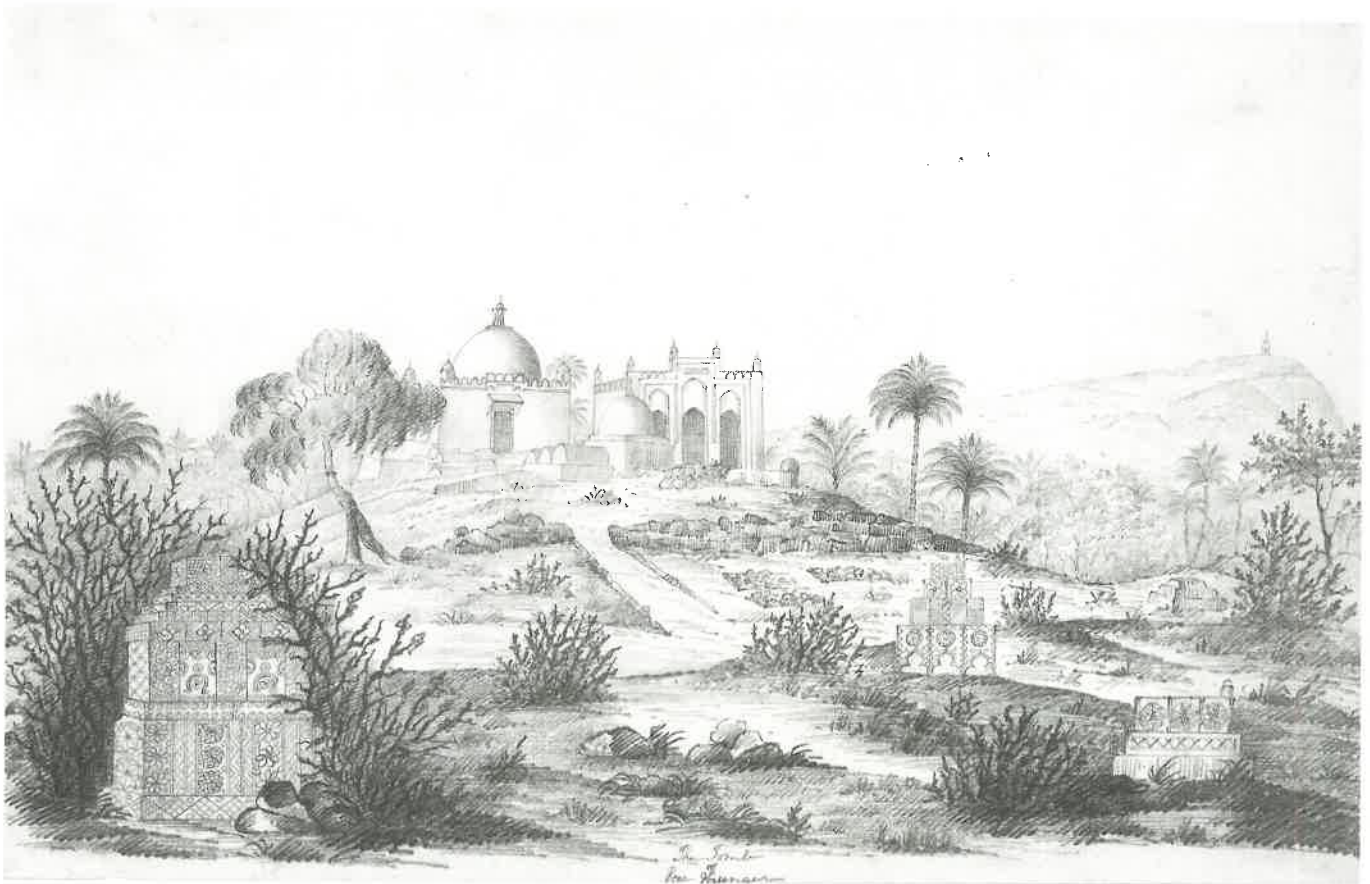
21. THE TOMB OF HAJI MANGHO PIR, NEAR
KARACHI, c. 1870

Pencil drawing by an unknown artist, inscribed: *The Tomb of Peer Mugger*.

'The mosque is a neat white building, of a square form, surrounded by a broad terrace, with a cupola and slender minarets at the corners, erected on the summit of a rocky crag of limestone, and said to be 2000 years old. It is dedicated to Pir Haji Mangho, who is esteemed a saint by both Hindus and Muhammadans, and is held in such veneration throughout Sind, that numbers of bodies are yearly brought from a great distance to be interred near his shrine. The valley is, in consequence, covered with burying-grounds, which are full of tombs, elaborately carved and ornamented. The interior of the mosque contains a tomb surmounted by a canopy of carved woodwork supported on slender pillars, the whole prettily and neatly ornamented, and kept in excellent order, as are the building and terrace, which are built of stone.' (Carless, in Hughes (1876), 343.)



20 The Tomb of Haji Mangho Pir, near Karachi, 1850.



21 The Tomb of Haji Mangho Pir, near Karachi, 1870.

22. THE CROCODILES AT MANGHO PIR, NEAR KARACHI, c. 1880

Pencil drawing by an unknown artist, inscribed with the initials *FWS*, c. 1880.

'Before us lay a small swamp inclosed in a belt of lofty trees, which had evidently been formed by the superfluous waters of the spring close by flowing into a low hollow in the ground. It was not a single sheet of water, but was full of small islets, so much

so that it appeared as if an immense number of narrow channels had been cut, so as to cross each other in every direction. These channels were literally swarming with large alligators, and the islets and banks were thickly covered with them also. The swamp is not more than 150 yards long, by about 80 yards broad, and in this confined space I counted above 200 large ones, from 8 to 15 feet long, while those of a smaller size were innumerable; our horses were standing within 4 or 5 yards of several



22 The crocodiles at Mangho Pir, near Karachi, c. 1880.

reclining on the bank, but they took no notice of them, and would not move until roused by a stick. In a small pool, apart from the swamp, there was a very large one, which the people designate the "chief," because he lives by himself in a kind of alligatoric state, and will not allow any of the common herd to intrude upon his favourite haunt', (Carless quoted in Hughes (1876), 341 - 342).

23. THE RAJAH CROCODILE AT MANGHO PIR, NEAR KARACHI, 1878

Woodcut engraving published in *The Graphic*, 28 September, 1878. Its caption reads: *Feeding the Rajah*.

Evidently, the largest reptile at Mangho Pir was always singled out for the admiration of visitors. In the 1830s Lt. Carless was introduced to 'a large alligator...which the inhabitants have named the "Peacock" (or Mor), and they consider him to be the progenitor of the whole race.'

Half a century later, nothing seems to have changed (except perhaps for the alligator itself) for Alexander Baillie in his chronicle of *Kurrachee* recounts that the 'guardians still point out the "chief" who lives by himself, and the Mor, or Peacock ... and unblushingly assure the visitor that they are the same animals that were pointed out to Carless fifty years ago.'

Today, none of the undersized crocodiles could qualify for the fanciful title of Peacock (or Mor).

24. FEEDING THE CROCODILES AT MANGHO PIR, NEAR KARACHI, 1878

Woodcut engraving published in *The Graphic*, 28 September, 1878. Its caption reads: *A Public Breakfast Party*.

Watching the crocodiles at Mangho Pir being fed goats or sheep had become part of the excursion to the shrine. Visitors could watch from the safety of the wall built around the pool a macabre spectacle as the beasts 'struggled, writhed, and fought, and tore the flesh into shreds and gobbets.'

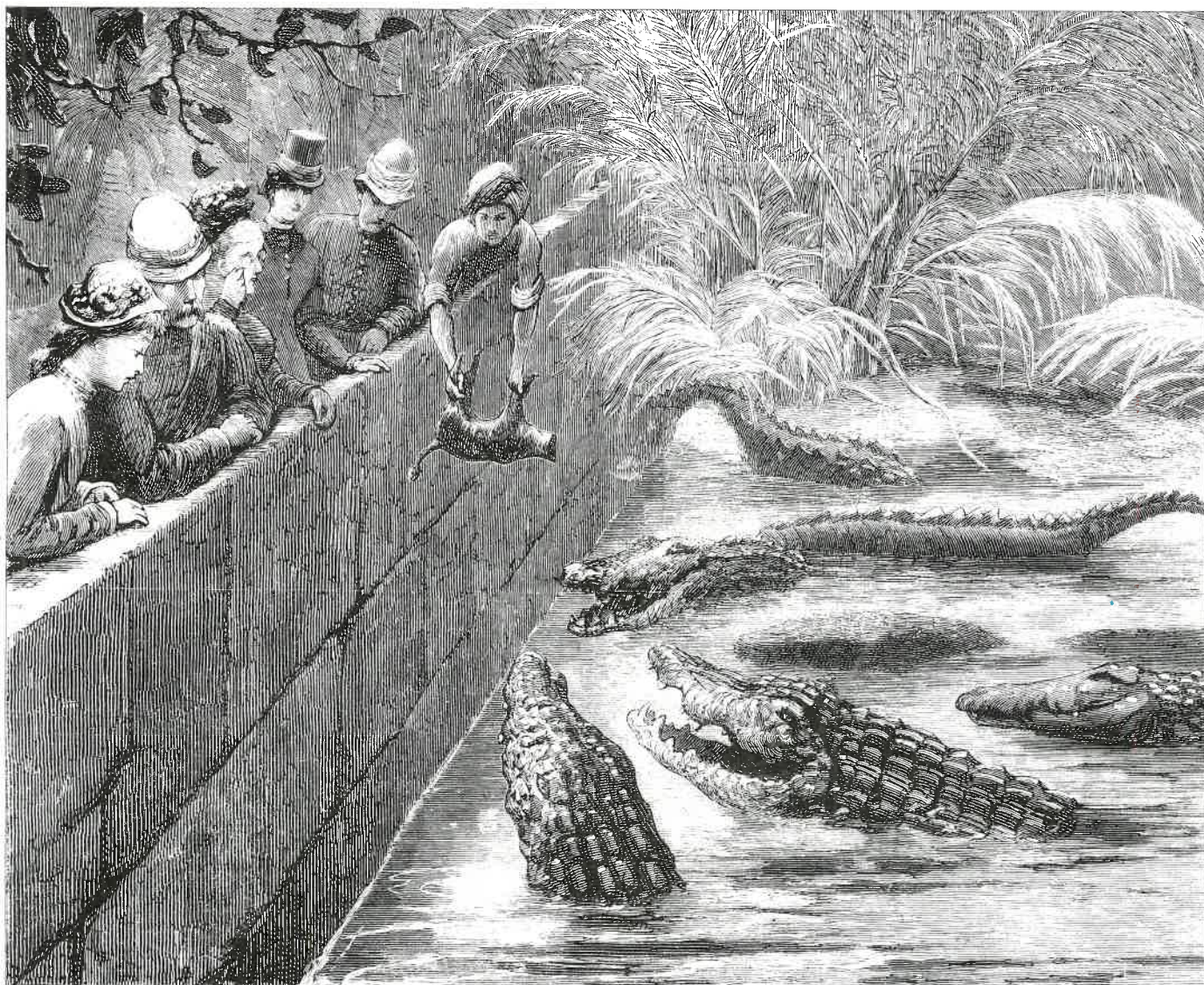
Occasionally, some of the visitors went a little too far. Ross, in his guide book to *The Land of the Five Rivers and Sindh*, recounted an incident of how 'three very young griffs fresh from home' spent their time with the crocodiles: 'One performed the feat of stepping on the crocodiles' backs from one side of the tank to the other, and fortunately arrived at his destination safely. The second offered a soda-water bottle filled with explosives to the largest and most hungry *magar* present, which was greedily devoured with the consequences that might be expected. The third, owing to delay in supplying goats' flesh, laid hold of a wretched pariah dog and threw it into the sacred tank of *Mor Sahib*.'

The attention visitors over the years have paid to the crocodiles, by feeding them everything from left overs to plastic bags explains the drastic diminution in their numbers.



23 The Rajah crocodile at Mangho Pir, near Karachi, 1878.

24 Feeding the crocodiles at Mangho Pir, near Karachi, 1878.



GWADAR

25. GWADAR, 1863

Engraving from a drawing by C.H.Crowe and published in *The Illustrated London News*, 19 September 1863.

The idea for the establishment of a telegraph line overland from Basra via Bandar Abbas and Makran to Karachi had been initiated by a Reverend Badger in 1860. As the territory over which the proposed line would be laid belonged to the Shah of Persia, the Sultan of Muscat and the Khan of Kalat, the Government of Bombay assigned Major Goldsmid, the Assistant Commissioner in Sindh, to conduct a survey. Goldsmid left Karachi for Gwadar in December 1861 and returned three months later in February 1862, during which time he concluded arrangements with the Jam of Lasbela and the representative of the Khan of Kalat for protection to be made available to the line and for the maintenance of line-guards. The survey also revealed the incursions of the Shah of

Persia into Baluchistan and it was decided therefore to limit the line in the first stage from Karachi to Gwadar.

The construction of the line began in June 1862 and reached Gwadar by April 1863, covering the distance of 373 miles in less than a year. The line was continued westwards six years later in March 1869 and extended to Chahbar and Jask. A portion of the line was destroyed in 1898. In 1907, fifty-one linemen and line-guards were deployed to monitor and maintain over 400 miles of line.

The large hut on the beach in this illustration was the office of the Makran telegraphic department and the tents the accommodation for the officials. The population of Gwadar at this time numbered about 3000, their livelihood depending upon a trade in salted fish, dates and wool. Gwadar fort, being made of mud, was marginally more durable than the houses which were put together from date-tree mats. Guarding it stood 'a few old honeycombed cannons, more dangerous to the inhabitants than to an enemy'.



25 Gwadar, 1863.

MAKRAN

26. WORKING PARTY, AGRORE, MAKRAN, 1863
Engraving from a drawing by C.H.Crowe and published in *The Illustrated London News*, 19 September 1863.

Agrore was a flat plain, three miles from the river Huddee and overshadowed by the 1000-feet high Hinglaj peak of the Hala mountains, about 150 miles from Karachi.

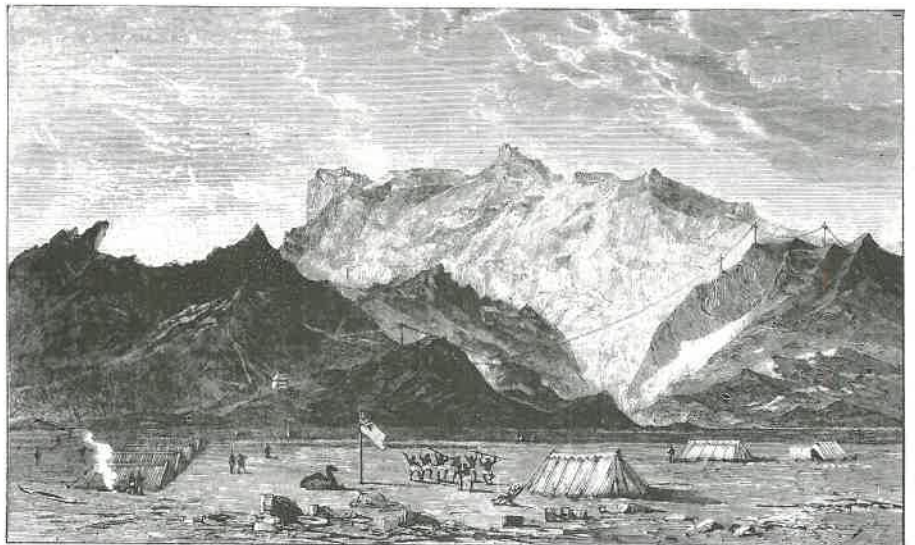
This engraving, *The Illustrated London News* wrote informing its readers depicts 'the flying or advanced camp of the No. 1 working party of the Makran telegraph department at Agrore, on the line to England, via the Persian Gulf and Bagdad in Asia Minor. In the foreground the Pathan or Afghan coolies are engaged in their war dance.'

27. THE GREAT MALAN, OFF MAKRAN, 1863
Engraving from a drawing by C.H.Crowe, published in *The Illustrated London News*, 19 September 1863.

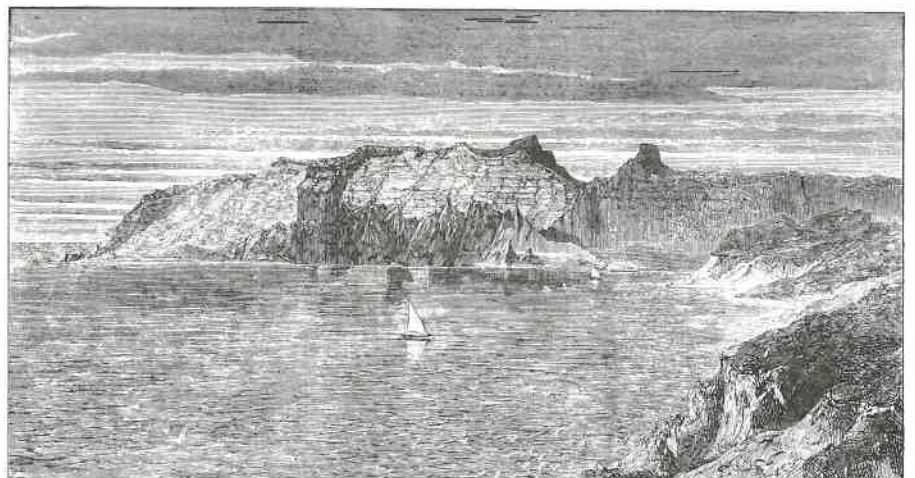
The Great Malan mountain - over 3200 feet high overlooking the southern Makran coast and about 100 miles east of Karachi - proved to be a formidable obstacle to the working party throwing the telegraph wires.

The antiquity of the area, and because of its ready access to the Arabian sea, caused a natural association to be made with other classical sea-faring nations, such as the Greeks. 'Many places of the Lus and Mekran coast are the same as those given by the Greeks, and mentioned by Arrian. Maluna, Araba, Kalama .. are now called Mallan, Araba, Kalamat', (Ross (1883) 62).

26 Working party at Agrore, Makran, 1863.



27 The Great Malan, off Makran, 1863.



28. TOMBS AT TRAK, 1844

Lithograph by Charles Haghe based upon a sketch by William Edwards, 1844. Published in W. Edwards *Sketches in Scinde* (London, 1846), Plate 2.

A thirty-five year old lieutenant serving under the command of Sir Charles Napier in the 1844-45 campaign against the Baluchi sardars following the annexation of Sindh, William Edwards sketched many of the locations connected with the campaign. These were later published as a portfolio of lithographs drawn by Charles Haghe and derived from Edward's sketches.

Edwards' own published notes on the subject of this particular lithograph read: 'These tombs lie among the Lakee Hills which extend from Kurrachee to Schewan, being distant from the former place N.E. about sixty-five miles. Little or nothing is known about them but that they are very ancient and held in great sanctity. The external ornamental painting is in fresco on a very hard marble-like and

durable composition, made chiefly from finely powdered shells and is called "Chunam"... The route from Kurrachee to Schewan is by the Gorban Pass. Dummuj, Marraie and Choula was first traversed by British troops in 1839, but these tombs lie quite out of the usual route to upper Scinde among the Lakee Hills, a solitude rarely visited by travellers.'

The tombs sketched by Edwards were at Trak, a small village in the Kohistan range, east of the Malir river and due north of Jungshahi (see Eastwick (1883), map opposite 299). They are very similar to the ones found at numerous sites in Sindh and Baluchistan. The most accessible are those at Chaukandi, about 27 kilometres east from Karachi, and sixty kilometres further on the Makli Hills outside Thatta. The stacked stone tombs are richly carved with distinguishing motifs - weapons and horses for the men, and flowers and feminine jewellery for the women - and although their exact origins have not been verified, they are regarded as datable to the 16th or 17th century.

28 Tombs at Trak, 1844.



THATTA

Thatta as a town is the impoverished aristocrat overtaken by the nouveau riche upstart Karachi. Unlike Karachi, Thatta could at a stretch claim connections with the Greek king Alexander who said farewell to his general Nearchus there, with the medieval Samma rulers, their successors the Tarkhans, and with the Mughal emperors beginning with Akbar. Akbar's devastation of Thatta was partially but not entirely restored by the ministrations of his son Jahangir, who contributed to the recovery of Thatta as a centre of commerce in part by allowing the East India Company to establish a trading factory there in 1631, and by Shah Jahan who in 1647 began and built a superb mosque in gratitude for timely sanctuary provided to him during a period of crisis.

From a city said to contain in 1742, when it was invaded by the Persian Nadir Shah, over 40,000 weavers and twice that number of artisans and other traders, Thatta declined until it became famous less for its woven fabrics and wares than as an overpopulated necropolis. Many of the more famous tombs at Thatta belong to the period of Mughal governorship in the seventeenth century.

29. THE TOMB OF MIRZA ISA TARKHAN, THATTA, c. 1839

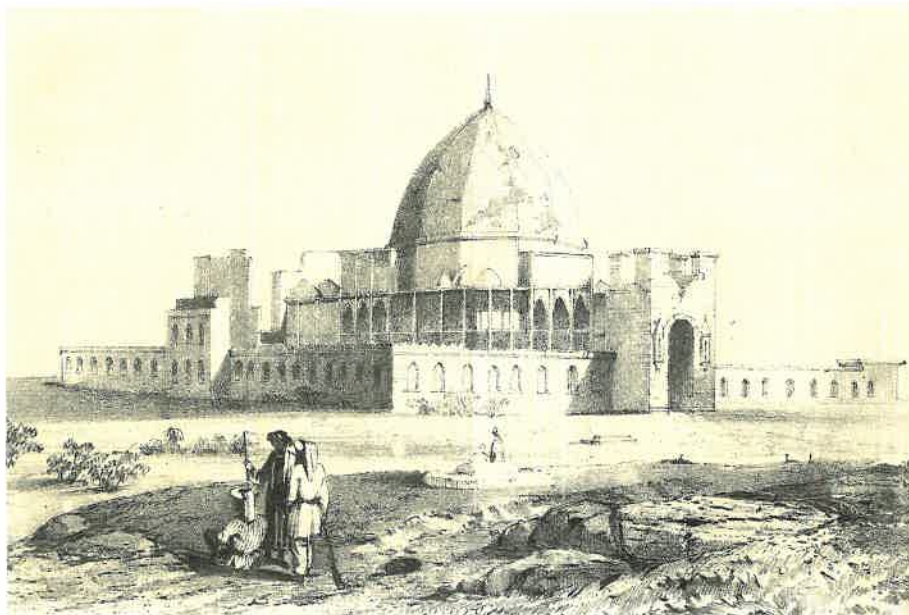
Lithograph by Maclure, Macdonald & Maclure, London, published in E.B. Eastwick *Dry Leaves from Young Egypt* (London, 1851), facing page 20.

E.B. Eastwick visited Thatta in July 1839 and recalled these impressions of Thatta: 'Nothing is seen of Thatta from the banks of the river, whence it is three miles distant. At one time the Indus washed this ancient city, and brought wealth and traffic to its gates; but ... it has long since abandoned the town, a prey to squalid poverty, disease and filth. Such, and no better I found it, in spite of the long rows of glittering domes and cupolas, and the rising lines of our regiments, which, from a distance gave it an appearance of population and comfort. I soon found that all these buildings were but tombs; the one kind ancient and already tenanted, - the other modern and just being prepared for immediate use.' (Eastwick (1851), 20 -21.)

One of the most prominent tombs in this necropolis, in which, according to Eastwick, the living were 'infinitely worse lodged than the dead', was that of Mirza Isa Tarkhan, Governor of Thatta between 1627 and 1644. The tomb was commenced by Mirza Isa during his lifetime and presumably ready for him when he died in 1644 at the ripe age of ninety-two years.

Constructed from sandstone brought from Kathiawar, the walls of the tomb are covered with surface tracery. The mausoleum and the surrounding courtyard cover about 4900 square feet.

Another early illustration by an anonymous artist of this tomb, datable before 1820, is in the India Office Library and Records, London (WD 774, Mackenzie collection). It has been reproduced in Archer (1969), I, plate 30.



29 The Tomb of Mirza Isa Tarkhan, Thatta, c. 1839.

30. THE TOMB OF MIRZA ISA TARKHAN, c. 1838
Lithograph published in Sir K.A. Jackson *Views of Affghaunistan* (London, 1841), plate 14.

Sir Keith Alexander Jackson, an ADC to Monstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, was a member of the Bombay Army component which joined forces with the Bengal Army and amassed as the Army of the Indus on the west bank of the Indus in 1839. Jackson's sketches of the sights he visited en route were published as lithographs in 1841, two years before his accidental death at the comparatively early age of forty-five at Kabul.



30 The Tomb of Mirza Isa Tarkhan, Thatta, c. 1838.

In this scene, he includes himself dressed in uniform and seated on a folding stool, sketching the tomb of Mirza Isa Khan Tarkhan at Thatta. Two armed guards stand beside him while a third person carries a round *punkah* or fan shielding Jackson from the sun. Jackson's published notes and comments on Thatta read: 'Tatta was formerly the capital of Scinde, and is supposed to be the Pattala of the Greeks; it is six miles in circumference, and lies in a low flat plain, about four miles distant from the River Scinde or Indus, above which it is slightly elevated, being built on a mound formed probably of the debris of the ancient city. It was once splendid, rich and populous, but is now a mere ruin, with its trade destroyed by the policy of its governors. Few vestiges of its former grandeur remain; but the most prominent is a mosque, erected by Shah Jehan, built of brick, but now in a very ruinous condition, and a cemetery of six square miles in extent. The present town contains about two thousand inhabitants; its

streets are winding, intricate and narrow; its houses built of wood with brick basements, and are all lofty and flat roofed, with terraces upon which the inhabitants enjoy themselves and pass most of their leisure hours. Amongst the most thriving of the products of the vicinity of Tatta, are the grape, the pomegranate, the fig-tree, the apple, &c. &c., its hares and partridges are numberless.

About a mile westward of the house is a low range of stony hills which are covered with tombs and Mohammedan remains. Some of the tombs are in tolerable preservation, the domes being covered with glazed tiles and bricks, the colours of which are dazzling to the eye from their variety and brightness.

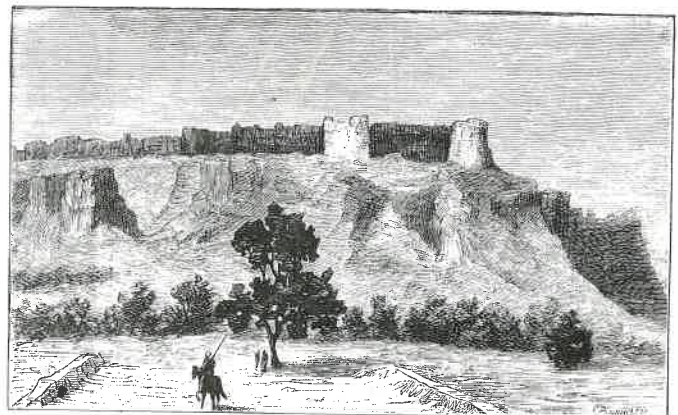
The tomb here delineated, is one near the city, and the largest and most conspicuous for its architecture. Upon its dome, which is ornamented with enamelled tiles of beautiful green, purple and blue colours, are inscribed numerous passages from the Koran and various epitaphs, in Persian, are scattered over various parts.' (Jackson (1841), text notes to plate 14.)

31. KALANKOT FORT, NEAR THATTA, 1878
Engraving published in *The Graphic*, 14 December 1878, and captioned: Fort of Kullan Goti, near Tatta.

Kalankot fort stands on a ridge of the Makli hills, some five kilometres south-west of Thatta. It is said to have been built during the 15th century.

Like most of the forts in Sindh, Kalankot fort was built of mud and therefore in reality was more intimidating than defensible.

31 Kalankot fort, near Thatta, 1878.



HYDERABAD

Hyderabad and its commanding fort were founded in 1768 by Mir Ghulam Shah, the Kalhora chief, as his capital. Subsequently, in 1789, Mir Fateh Ali Khan, his Talpuri successor, shifted to it from Khudabad near Hala and continuing its status as a capital greatly expanded the fort by building residential chambers within for his extensive family.

32. THE FORT AT HYDERABAD, 1843

Woodcut engraving published in *The Illustrated London News*, April 1843.

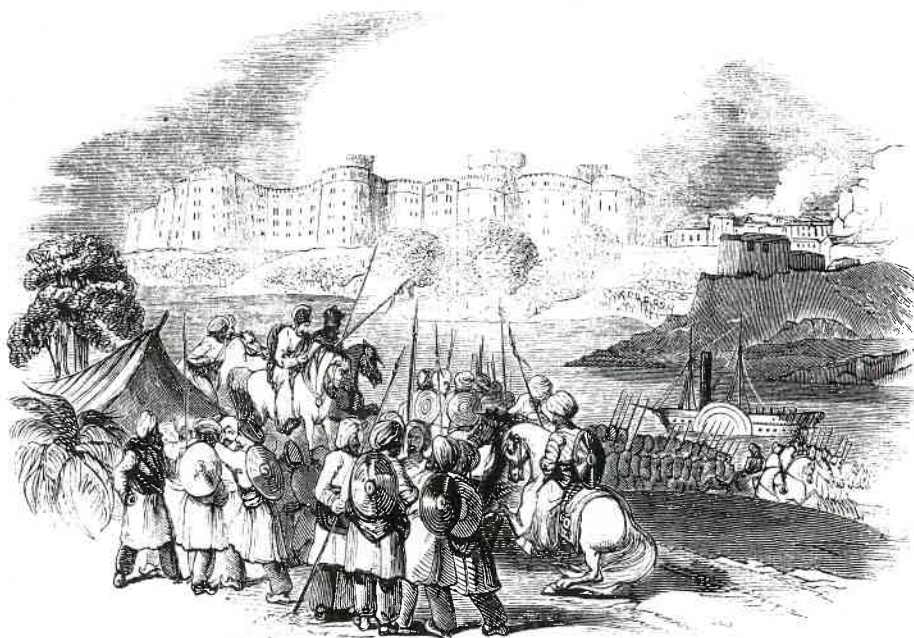
This early and rather freely interpreted view of Hyderabad fort was used to illustrate a news despatch on the decisive battle of Miani fought on 17 February 1843 between the combined forces of the Mirs of Hyderabad, Khairpur and Mirpur, and the British troops under the command of Sir Charles Napier.

Imagining the Fulaili rivulet which flowed near the Hyderabad fort to be deeper than it actually was, the engraver has shown in the middle distance a paddle steamer, similar to the ones which later plied on the Indus river.

A more accurate description of the impressive bastion has been provided by J.F.Heddle, Assistant Surgeon, Bombay Medical Establishment, who visited the fort in May 1836, and reported: 'The ditch, which separates the citadel from the town, also

insulates southern extremity of the hill on which the citadel stands, and the communication is maintained by means of a bridge, which is situated in front of the principal entrance to the fort, and opposite the main street, or bazar, which stretches from this point to the northern extremity of the town, in a straight line. The entrance is defended by a semicircular curtain, and in order to reach it, on whatever side the approach be made, you must traverse one-half of the breadth of the town, through streets of about ten yards wide.'

Commenting on the crowded often airless interior of the fort complex, Heddle wrote: 'The buildings in the interior of the citadel present great confusion - much more so than is observed in the town itself. The structures are of all kinds, placed without any apparent arrangement, and only admit of communication between one part of the fort and another by narrow crooked lanes. The bungalows in which the princes reside, the chambers set apart for public business, and in which they hold their Durbar, the dwellings of their domestics, their mosques, stables, and Harems, are all situated within this fort; in which there are no gardens, no Maidan, or open square, for the purpose of exercise, or for ventilating the intricate mass of dwellings which are heaped together in close disorder, and are all surrounded by a high wall, which is overtopped only by a large round tower, the most conspicuous building in the citadel, and by two or three bungalows, in which the Ameers reside. Within this stronghold the princes



32 The Fort at Hyderabad, 1843.

of Sind live immured, and seldom go out except for hunting, in which amusement, however, they seldom indulge more than once or twice a year.' (Report of J.F.Heddle, Assistant Surgeon, Bombay Medical Establishment, May 1836, *Selections*. 449 - 450).

33. THE FORT AT HYDERABAD, c. 1845

Steel engraving by Dureau and printed by Gilquin and Dupain. Published by Dufour Mulat and Boulanger, Paris, c. 1845.

A print of French origin, used perhaps to illustrate a translation of the narrative of a British traveller or officer, this picture seems to have borrowed heavily from the preceding composition which had already appeared in *The Illustrated London News*. Although certain cosmetic changes were made - the prominent palm-tree and the domed skyline of city of Hyderabad - the essential features of the earlier view including its obvious topographical inaccuracies have been carried into this later picture.

34. NORTH-WEST FRONT OF HYDERABAD FORT, 1844

Lithograph by Charles Haghe based upon a sketch by William Edwards, 1843. Published in W. Edwards *Sketches in Scinde* (London, 1846), Plate 1.

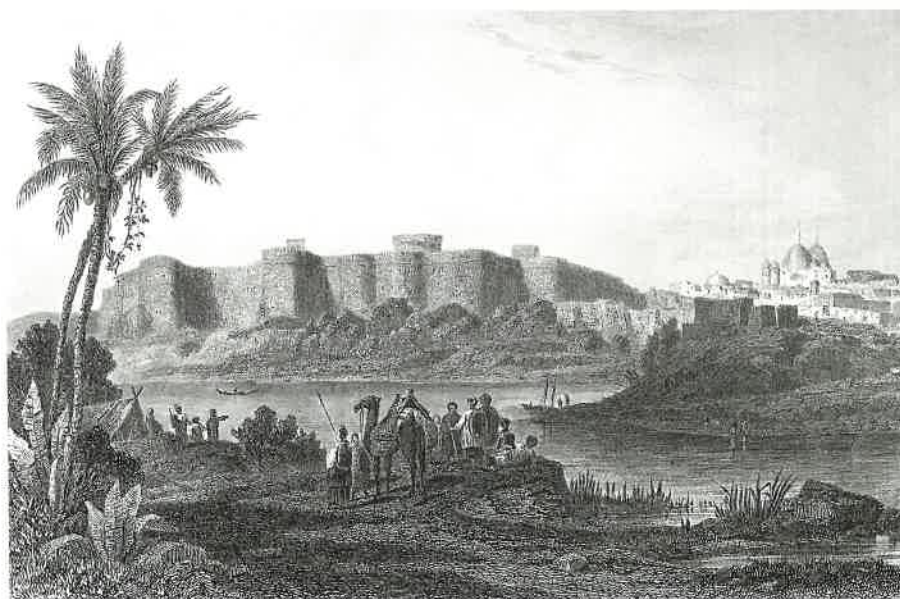
The original notes to this plate read: 'The fort and city of Hyderabad was one of the strongest places in Scinde and is yet of great importance. The city occupies the site of the ancient Hindoo city of

Neirumkote, and the foundations of both were laid in 1758 [sic] by Khan Ghullam Shah Kallora.

Here was the residence of the ex-Ameers of Scinde. The inner walls of the apartments are from four to five feet thick, and like the ceilings they are beautifully and elaborately painted in fresco and enriched with gilt cornices. All round the apartments particularly of the Zenana were massive glass mirrors some being of great size, these were removed by the prize agents but the frames richly gilt and fixed in the wall still remain. The town is at the extremity of a long range of buildings the entrance from which into the fort is seen in No. 5 [no. 38].

Hyderabad was the chosen residence of the ex-Ameers of Scinde and their families, but their stronghold is now held by the European officers of the garrison. The fort crowns the summit of the scarped termination to a range of hills; and though on a near approach its defences are seen to be in a dilapidated state has from its great elevation and a large and lofty interior citadel, a very picturesque appearance, gardens with thick clusters of trees and the branch of the river flowing near the walls diversify the scene.'

The text concludes with an observation on the figures in the picture: 'In the foreground appears a group of native Belochees, and two women carrying water under their arms. They are peculiar to Hyderabad and this method of carrying the water, under the arm and not upon the head as is generally the custom, denotes superiority of cast[e].' It is quite unlikely that Edwards would have made such a



33 The Fort at Hyderabad, c. 1845.



34 North-West Front of Hyderabad fort, 1844.

mistake; a more probable explanation is that his lithographer in London, more practised with South Indian scenes, enhanced the composition by adding two local female figures, but depicted them dressed in incongruous bordered saris.

35. THE ROUNDTOWER OF HYDERABAD FORT, 1844

Lithograph by Charles Haghe based upon a sketch by William Edwards, 1844. Published in W. Edwards *Sketches in Scinde* (London, 1846), Plate 3.

'In the centre of the fort there is a massive tower unconnected with the works, standing alone and overlooking the surrounding country on all sides. The round tower was the depository of a great portion of the wealth of the Ameers of Scinde, while Omernott in the Desert the birthplace of Akbar Khan held the treasure of the Khypoor branch of the family which was the accumulation of ages' (Edwards, text to plate 3).

An earlier visitor to Hyderabad, Dr. James Burnes, who had visited the city in 1827 when he had gone there to attend to the senior Mir Murad Ali Khan, had seen the jewels of the Mirs. Dazzled by the spectacle, he wrote: 'But of all the things which are calculated to engage the attention of a stranger on visiting the court of Scinde, none will excite his surprise more, or is really more worthy of observation, than the brilliant collection of jewels and armour in possession of the Ameers. A great part of their immense treasure consists in rubies, diamonds, pearls, and emeralds, with which their daggers, swords, and matchlocks are adorned, and many of which they wear as rings and clasps' (Burnes (1831), 93).

The value of the total treasure can be gauged from the portion of 70,000 Pounds sterling which was only Napier's share. Even then, Edwards who had joined Napier after the booty had been distributed but unlike Burnes had not actually seen the treasure while it was in the Round Tower, thought that some



35 The Round Tower of Hyderabad fort, 1844.

of it had been secreted out surreptitiously: 'The riches of the round tower were estimated at not less than twenty million sterling, of which thirteen were calculated to be in money and the remainder in jewels, but a great portion of this vast wealth escaped the search of the conquerors, having been most probably carried away by the ladies of the Zenana and their families, who were suffered to depart, much to the honour of the General who achieved the conquest, without being stripped of their ornaments' (Edwards, text to plate 3).

36. THE ROUND TOWER OF HYDERABAD FORT, 1844

Tinted lithograph by Charles Haghe based upon a sketch by William Edwards, 1844. Published in W. Edwards *Sketches in Scinde* (London, 1846), Plate 3.

A coloured version of the same view of the Round Tower, such lithographs were hand-tinted and lightly varnished to give the effect of being a water-colour.

37. VIEW FROM THE ROUND TOWER OF HYDERABAD FORT, 1844

Lithograph by Charles Haghe based upon a sketch by William Edwards, 1844. Published in W. Edwards *Sketches in Scinde* (London, 1846), Plate 4.

Edwards' notes described the view to be had from top of the tower: 'The Falailee river insulates the site of the Fort and the City of Hyderabad; it is a considerable stream during the rise of the Indus, but in the dry season it is scarcely knee deep. In extent and rich effect this view cannot be surpassed: as the scenery near Hyderabad is varied and extremely beautiful. The banks of the river are covered with lofty trees, and to the north west the distance is closed by a background of high land which relieves the monotony of the dingy sky and arid plains of the Delta. On the left appears the north west face of the Fort which forms the subject of Plate No.1 [see no. 34]; and on the right is a portion of the Pettah or Suburb of the city. At the distance of about four



36 The Round Tower of Hyderabad fort, 1844. (Above)

37 View from the Round Tower of Hyderabad fort, 1844. (Below)



miles and a half flows the Indus, and in the middle distance is seen a pile called the Fakir's Fort.'

Describing for his readers the life style of the deposed Mirs, Edwards continued: 'Hyderabad recommended itself to the Ameers as a place of residence from its central situation, their hunting preserves being accessible by means of the river. They were also charmed with the climate for though very sultry during certain seasons of the year, it has a drier atmosphere than the Delta, and less exposed in its neighbouring country to inundation to most portions lower down, whilst it enjoys in common with lower Scinde the monsoon winds and a shorter duration of excessive heat than below Schewan.'

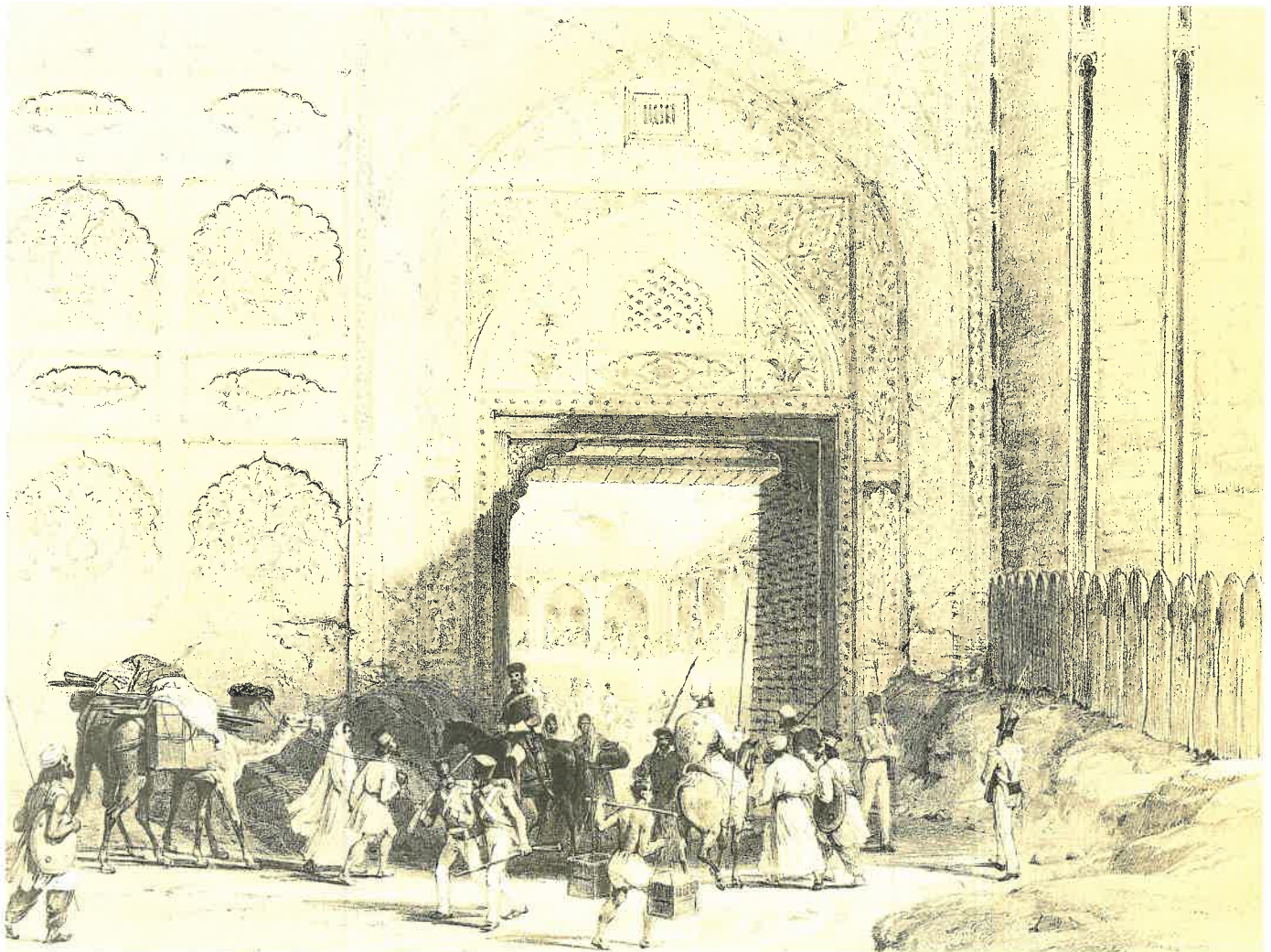
In the foreground can be seen a distinctive architectural feature of the fort - its 'ornamental *kanguras*, or merlons,' which, according to a later archaeologist of Sindh Henry Cousens, 'at a distance, owing to their attenuated necks, look like rows of heads stuck upon stakes'.

38 Main Gateway of Hyderabad fort, 1844.

38. MAIN GATEWAY, HYDERABAD FORT, 1844
Lithograph by Charles Haghe based upon a sketch by William Edwards, 1844. Published in W. Edwards *Sketches in Scinde* (London, 1846), Plate 5.

'The city of Hyderabad' Edwards noted, 'is a poor place as the capital of the country, carrying on but little trade, and that only for its own consumption. The presence of the chiefs always induced an air of bustle and importance from the great throng of retainer who frequented the bazaar. Besides the leading personages that composed the Hyderabad durbar, a host of functionaries filled up the scene, each Chief, independently of his necessary quota of kardars, munshis, and other officers of state'.

'This gateway is a crowded thoroughfare, and a double sentry is posted there to prevent obstruction. It appears in the plate thronged with passengers, Europeans and natives on foot and horseback, sufficiently distinct in characteristic costume to mark their various avocations' (Edwards, text to plate 6).





39 Main guard and Government House, Hyderabad fort, 1844.

39. MAIN GUARD AND GOVERNMENT HOUSE, HYDERABAD FORT, 1844

Lithograph by Charles Haghe based upon a sketch by William Edwards, 1844. Published in W. Edwards *Sketches in Scinde* m (London, 1846), Plate 6.

An extract from Edwards' notes read: 'This is a place of great thoroughfare. The building on the left is the main guard, the officer's guardroom being above and that for the men below. These were built by and were the residence of the ex-Ameer, Meer Nusser Khan.'

Mir Nasser Khan had obviously impressed Lt. Edwards for he quoted an earlier description of him as 'by far the most engaging and popular of the reigning family' of Mirs. Mir Nasser died suddenly in April 1845 aged about forty-three years.

40. A VIEW OF HYDERABAD, c. 1845

Lithograph by Capt. Fitzgerald, c.1845. Inscribed : *A View of Hyderabad in Scinde - Sir Charles Napier in the foreground followed by his escort of Scinde Horse.*

Few details are available about the artist Capt. Fitzgerald. He had served with Sir Charles Napier in 1842 and had been despatched by him from Imamgarh 'with a few troops of the Scinde Horse, to investigate the route to Balmir in Rajputana, and return by way of Umarkot and Hyderabad' (Lambrick (1952), 113). Subsequently he and the Camel Corps he organised accompanied Napier in the 1845 punitive campaign against Bejar Khan and the Dombkis.

Fitzgerald possessed some inventive skills in addition to his soldierly capabilities : 'We know that



40 A view of Hyderabad, c. 1843.

there was a swimming bath at Larkana, constructed it seems by the ingenious Fitzgerald, who also built his own private steamer, which plied on the Ghar canal' (quoted in Lambrick (1952), 342).

A sketch of Sehwan by Fitzgerald is in the Postans collection (see Archer (1969), I, 280).

41. THE TOMB OF MIR KARAM ALI KHAN TALPUR, HYDERABAD, c. 1890

Photograph, published as a postcard, c. 1890.

Mir Karam Ali Khan Talpur, one of the four 'char yar' or quartet of friends, shared responsibility and authority for the affairs of Hyderabad with his brothers - Mirs Fateh Ali Khan, Ghulam Ali Khan and Murad Ali Khan Talpur.

After meeting him in 1827, Dr. James Burnes sketched this pen-portrait of the likable Mir Karam: 'He is a man of approved personal bravery, and, as far as the etiquette of the court permits, is cheerful, condescending, and even affable. ... In person he is below the middle size, with a pleasing countenance and engaging manners. Although but five years

older than Mourad Ali, he bears in his appearance the furrows of age, with traces of early intemperance; and in all probability, he will ere long leave his more robust and energetic brother the unrivalled actor in the scene' (Burnes (1831; 1974 edition), 67).

Before Burnes's account could be published, he was informed of the death of Mir Karam Ali from fever in December 1828. 'The deceased chief is much lamented by his dependants, to whom he had endeared himself by kindness and liberality;' Burnes added in a postscript, 'and his death will no doubt cause a considerable revolution in the appearance of the court, the style and dignity of which were supported principally at his cost'.

42. SHAIKH MAKAI FORT, HYDERABAD. c. 1890

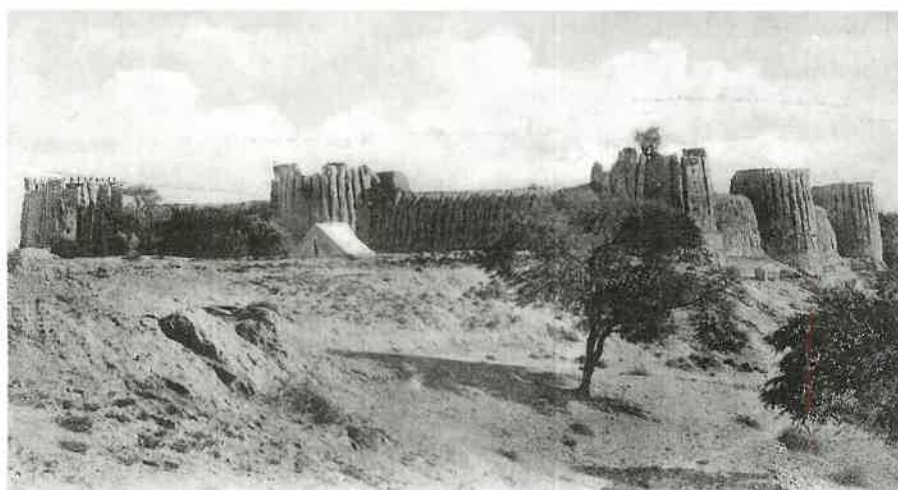
Photograph, published as a postcard, c. 1890.

The Shaikh Makai fort lay a mile south-west of the Hyderabad fort. Built by Ghulam Shah Kalhora in 1772, the fort protected the shrine of Shaikh Makai, a muslim divine who had settled in the vicinity during the thirteenth century.

41 The Tomb of Mir Karam Ali Khan Talpur, Hyderabad, c. 1890.



42 Shaikh Makai fort, Hyderabad, c. 1890.



43. RUINS AT BRAHMANABAD, 1857
Engraving published in *The Illustrated London News*,
28 February 1857. (See page 17 for illustration)

The ruins of an ancient city, located forty-four miles north-east of Hyderabad, in Hala district, were investigated in 1854 by Mr. A.F. Bellasis of the Bombay Civil Service and at the time Collector of Hyderabad. A brief account of his findings illustrated by this engraving were published in *The Illustrated London News* in February 1857. An extract reads: 'The most prominent object is the remains of a high tower of brickwork standing isolated on a heap of ruins. This may have been a citadel, or one of those circular towers such as are seen in Sind to this day in the forts of Hyderabad and Omercote. The present appearance of the city is a vast mass of ruins, forming irregular mounds or hillocks, as shown in our drawing, with here and there open

spaces or squares, evidently the bazaars and market-places.'

From the evidence found by Bellasis, the city, about four miles in circumference, had been quite densely populated until it was destroyed, most probably, judging from the posture of the skeletons and the pattern of crushing injuries visible on them, precipitately by a convulsive earthquake. To nineteenth century enthusiasts of archaeology, Brahmanabad became known as Sind's Pompeii. The cataclysm seemed also to have changed the course of the nearby river, of which only the dry bed remained, forcing the inhabitants of this once flourishing city to abandon their homes.

The text to the engraving refers to the mosque depicted on the left as 'a modern edifice erected by a faqueer or devotee, who has selected one of the mounds, and thereon fixed his abode and raised his flagstaff amid this scene of solitude and desolation.'

SEHWAN

A town of unimpeachable antiquity, Sehwan, some eighty miles north-west of Hyderabad, lay on the opposite bank of the Indus. Most historians have accepted the link between Sehwan and the Greek settlement of Siwistan. It was significant enough during the 8th century to be conquered by Muhammad bin Qasim in 711 A.D., and two centuries later by Mahmud of Ghazni. An abortive attempt was made by the Mughal emperor Humayun to capture it on his way to Umarkot but it finally fell to his son Akbar. Apart from the remnants of the ruins scattered about its environs, the most famous monument in Sehwan remains the shrine of Hazrat Lal Shahbaz Qalandar.

44. RUINS AT SEHWAN, c. 1838

Lithograph published in Sir K.A. Jackson *Views of Affghaunistan* (London, 1841), plate 12.

The accompanying notes provided by Jackson read: 'On the north side of the town is the ruined castle or fortress of Sehwaun, by which it is completely commanded; this is perhaps the most extraordinary building on the Indus, and no doubt

constructed before the invasion by Alexander the Macedonian. It consists of a natural mound sixty feet high, encased in many parts with burnt brick. In fact, the fortress and mound are so amalgamated, that it is difficult now to distinguish what portions of it are the work of art. The gate is opposite to the side of the town, and has evidently been an arched one. The Emperor Humaioo in A.D. 1541, attempted to take it, and was unsuccessful, it was invested by his son Acbar for seven months, who at length succeeded in its capture.

Captain Del Hoste of the Bombay Army, writing in 1839, provided this additional description: 'It is an artificial mound 80 or 90 paces high; on the top is a space of 1500 by 800 feet, surrounded by a broken wall. We examined the remains of several old towers of brick, and I took a hasty sketch of the gateway, which is remarkably lofty. The mound is evidently artificial, and the remains of several towers are visible. The brickwork seems to extend to the bottom of the mound, or, at any rate, to a considerable depth, as we could see down the the parts washed away by the rains. A well, filled up, was observed. We were told that coins and medals were frequently found in and near the place' (quoted in Hughes (1876), 724).

44 Ruins at Sehwan, c. 1838.



45. ENTRANCE TO SEHWAN, 1844

Lithograph by Charles Haghe based upon a sketch by William Edwards, 1844. Published in *Sketches in Scinde* (London, 1846), Plate 7.

Edwards described the entrance and situation of Sehwan in the following words: 'The approach to Schewan is through a grove of beautiful tamarind and palm trees. The city is built on a rising ground on the banks of the river Arul, and is distant about two or three miles from the mighty and classic Indus. In the environs are many fine mosques and tombs, and within the city is a remarkably splendid musjid, built in honour of the celebrated Muslim saint, Lal Shah Baz. An object of great interest is the old castle of Schewan, which, although now in ruins, is yet sufficiently perfect to attest its former strength.'

About its most famous patron Edwards wrote: 'Lal Shah Baz was a saint of Khorassan, said to have been buried here about 600 years since. His sanctity and miracles are in such repute that pilgrims flock from Affghanistan and India, and even the Princes of the country did him homage.'

Hazrat Lal Shahbaz Qalandar, a Persian by origin, died in 1272. His real name was Shaikh Usman Marwandi. An initial tomb for the saint built by Malik Iktiyaruddin in about 1356 was expanded by two rulers of the Tarkhan dynasty, Mirza Jani and his son Mirza Ghazi, and later in 1639 improved and embellished by Nawab Dindar Khan. The gateway and the balustrade of hammered silver around the tomb had been reputedly provided by Mir Karam Ali Talpur. The *Urs* of Hazrat Lal Shahbaz Qalandar is normally held on the 18th of Shaban each year.

45 Entrance to Sehwan, 1844.



46. FORTRESS AT DERA BUGTI, 1845

Lithograph by Charles Haghe based upon a sketch by William Edwards, March 1845. Published in W. Edwards *Sketches in Scinde* (London, 1846), Plate 9.

Following the annexation of the territories of the Mirs of Sindh, the Baluchi chiefs began a series of attacks on the prosperous villages near Shikarpur in upper Sindh. In the winter of 1844-45 Napier mobilised a force and cornered the chief amongst them Bejar Khan near Dera Bugti. Edwards, one of the officers in the 8000 men strong expeditionary force, recorded his observations of the fort at Dera Bugti: 'Deyrah was an oblong mud fort with four bastions and a tower over the gateway. In the campaign of the early part of 1845, against Bejar Khan and the Hill tribes, it was first occupied by General Simpson and the Bandelcund Legion. The Deyrah valley is fertile and supplied abundant subsistence for the cattle of this force. On the proper left appears the encampment of the British troops. When General Simpson moved from this position the ground was occupied by the headquarter division under Major General Sir Charles Napier, who ordered the fort to be dismantled, which was done by blowing up the bastions and gateway' (Edwards, text to plate 9).



46 Fortress at Dera Bugti, 1845.

47. SOUTHERN ENTRANCE TO TRAKI, 1845

Lithograph by Charles Haghe based upon a sketch by William Edwards, March 1845. Published in W. Edwards *Sketches in Scinde* (London, 1846), Plate 10.

Bejar Khan finally took refuge in a narrow defile at Traki, entering it from the northern end which was then blocked off. A small picket (seen in this illustration) was placed at the southern end. For some days both Bejar Khan and Napier planned their moves, and eventually on 9 March 1845, four days after some of the other sardars had surrendered, Bejar Khan himself was captured.

Edwards' own published notes read: 'Truckee was the stronghold or mountain fastness of Bejar Khan, in the campaign against the chieftain in the early part of 1845. The view shows the southern entrance to it, which is through a slit or crack in the stupendous wall of rock, bounding the Dyrah Valley on the North. It is an extraordinary perpendicular ridge 1200 feet high at its extreme point of elevation. Along the ridge covering their position on the other side of it, Bejar and his followers were posted in considerable force, crowning each side of the crack or fissure, and thus defending the only access to Truckee in front. At the top it is extremely narrow and at the bottom is about 130 yards long, and only broad enough (in some places scarcely that) to admit of the passage of two camels abreast. All approach to the ridge is impracticable. Had Bejar held out, this passage was to have been forced by the headquarter division. The view is taken from the camp of the force under Major-General Sir Charles Napier, two days before the unconditional surrender of Bejar Khan and his followers.'



47 Southern Entrance to Traki, 1845.

ROHRI, BUKKUR AND SUKKUR

48. FORT OF BUKKUR SEEN FROM ROHRI, 1838
Lithograph published in Sir K.A. Jackson *Views of Affghaunistan* (London, 1841), plate 6.

Jackson's descriptive notes on the historic fort of Bukkur, located midstream in the Indus as it flows between the Rohri and the more recent town of Sukkur, read: 'The fort of Bukkur is built upon a rocky (limestone) island, in the Indus; it is about eight hundred yards long, and three hundred broad, and is situate between Roree and Sukkur. The walls of the fortress enclose the island, and slope to the water's edge, excepting on the northern side, where there is a small space nearly covered with date trees. There is a gateway on each side, opposite to Roree and Sukkur, and in the interior, numerous houses and mosques. The fort was given up to the British by the Ameer of Khyrpoor, Meer Roostum, after a lengthened and difficult negotiation, conducted by

Sir Alexander Burnes, who had been munificently entertained by him in 1831, on his way to Lahore, with presents for Runjeet Singh, from the King of England. By the arrangement entered into with that officer, it was agreed that the fort should remain in the occupation of the British, so long as the character of our external relations to the westward rendered it necessary for the general security. It was made the general depot of the army of the Indus, in consequence of its important situation.'

The island of Bukkur achieved prominence early in its history. In 1327, the Delhi king Muhammad Tughlaq sent only trustworthy governors to command Bukkur. The fortifications were rebuilt by Shah Beg Argun using material taken from the ancient Alor fort five miles away. During the reign of Akbar, the fort was handed over to his representative Keshu Khan. In the struggle between Dara Shikoh and Aurangzeb, the sons of Shah Jahan, for the Mughal throne, the two grandsons of Dara Shikoh were murdered in the fort of Bukkur.

48 Fort of Bukkur seen from Rohri, 1838.





49 Fort of Bukkur and Rohri seen from Sukkur, 1838.

49. FORT OF BUKKUR AND ROHRI SEEN FROM SUKKUR, 1838

Lithograph published in Sir K.A. Jackson *Views of Affghaunistan* (London, 1841), plate 8.

'The fort presents a fine appearance from the river,' a chronicler observed, 'and has a show of great strength, which in reality it does not possess.' It was used as a jail to lodge Baluchi prisoners from 1865 until 1876.

50. A GATEWAY OF BUKKUR FORT, 1838

Lithograph published in Sir K.A. Jackson *Views of Affghaunistan* (London, 1841), plate 9.

51. ROHRI ON THE INDUS, 1844

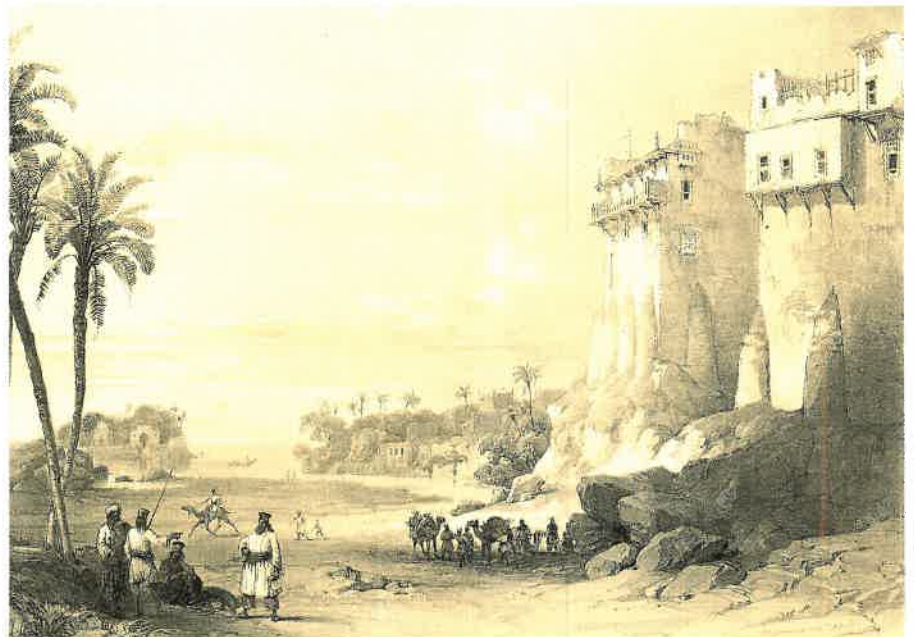
Lithograph by Charles Haghe based upon a sketch by William Edwards, 1844. Published in W. Edwards, *Sketches in Scinde* (London, 1846), Plate 8.

Edwards described the location of Rohri: 'The town of Rorree is situated on an eminence on the left bank of the the Indus, opposite to Bukur. Bukur is a fort on a rocky island exactly between the two former places, wherein we have a large arsenal. Rorree is larger than either of these, and contains a population of 8000 inhabitants. Like most of the towns in Scinde it is composed of unseemly mud houses, square, and flat roofed, interspersed with banyan and date trees.



50 A Gateway of Bukkur fort, 1838.

51 Rohri on the Indus, 1844.



The site of Rorree is flinty rock, of an elevation of nearly forty feet, and some of the houses near the river are very lofty.'

Had Edwards investigated a few miles east of Rohri, close to the ancient ruins of Alor, he might have encountered an extensive paleolithic site, scattered with cores and sherds percussed from the same kind of flint rock.

52. THE TOWN OF ROHRI AND THE FORT OF BUKKUR, c. 1838

Lithograph by Louis and Charles Haghe from a drawing by James Atkinson, published in J. Atkinson,

Sketches in Afghaunistan (London, 1842), plate 2.

'The jutting out of Roree into the stream, and the centre space being so extensively occupied by the fort of Bhukkur and the other islands, esteemed of peculiar sanctity, it has but two comparatively narrow channels, and over which the bridge of boats was thrown to enable the British troops to pass. One of the islands is consecrated to the renowned saint, Khaja Khizzer' (Atkinson, notes to Plate 2).

The original drawing for this lithograph is in the India Office Library and Records, London, and catalogued in Archer (1969), 97, WD 2392.



52 The town of Rohri and the fort of Bukkur, c. 1838.



53 The Shrine of Khwaja Khizr, near Bukkur fort, 1838.

53. THE SHRINE OF KHWAJA KHIZR, NEAR BUKKUR FORT, 1838

Lithograph published in Sir K.A.Jackson *Views of Affghaunistan* (London, 1841), plate 7.

Identified by Jackson as a view of 'Hajee Ka Tau, an island just above the fort of Bukkur on the Indus', the sketch would appear to be of the tomb of the river saint Khwaja Khizr, regarded as having been built in 925 A.D. (A.H. 341). According to the legend recorded in the *Chachnama*, the tomb was built in

gratitude by a Delhi merchant Shah Husain who, travelling down the Indus with his pretty daughter on their way to Mecca, was called upon by Dalurai (the Hindu ruler of Alor) to surrender the daughter. In her anxiety to avoid such an impious alliance, the girl prayed to Khwaja Khizr for deliverance and as she and her father sought to escape in a boat, the saint diverted the course of the Indus towards Rohri bringing the harassed father and daughter to safety.

Khwaja Khizr, known also as the Jinda or living Pir, is said to be particularly protective of travellers.



54 Island on the Indus below Bukkur, 1838.

54. ISLAND ON THE INDUS BELOW BUKKUR, 1838

Lithograph published in Sir K.A. Jackson *Views of Affghaunistan* (London, 1841), plate 11.

'There is another island south of Bukkur, called Sadh Bela, which also possesses a shrine considered sacred to everything Sindhian. The fish of the river, particularly the *pala*, are said to pay it respect, by never turning their tails when receding from it' (Ross (1883), 67).

55. FORTRESS OF BUKKUR, 1838

Lithograph by Dean and Munday based on a sketch by Lt. H. Creed (Bombay Artillery), c. 1838. Published in Dr. R.H. Kennedy *Narrative of the campaign of the Army of the Indus, in Sind and Kaubool, in 1838 - 1839* (London, 1840), II, opp. page 170.

Dr. Kennedy's description of Bukkur, Sukkur and Rohri reads: 'The view of the river, the island fort, and on the opposite bank surmounted with the fortifications and town of Roree, form the most interesting landscape we saw during the campaign.

The banks of the river on both sides are deep-green with extensive groves of shady date-trees; the largest, loftiest, and most shady of their kind I ever saw, and extending for some miles down each bank.

Roree is still a town of importance, and contains near ten thousand inhabitants. Sukkur is quite in ruins; but those ruins indicate a once flourishing, rich, and populous capital'.

56. SUKKUR ON THE INDUS, c. 1841

Lithograph published in E.B. Eastwick, E.B. *Dry Leaves from Young Egypt* (London, 1851; second edition), facing page 36.

Landing at Sukkur on 11 August 1840, E.B. Eastwick spent the next three 'grilling' months in the town. The heat notwithstanding, Eastwick moved around the environs of Sukkur and observed: 'One sees at a glance how, on this point of the Indus, three towns have grown up. The island of Bakkar, washed on all sides by a deep and rapid stream, was a position which, to Asiatics, appeared almost impregnable. It was fortified - became a place of much importance - and was looked on as the key of Sindh



55 Fortress of Bukkur, 1838.



56 Sukkur on the Indus, c. 1841.



57 Bridge of boats across the Indus at Rohri, c. 1841.

and of the Lower Indus, and on either side of it grew up the towns of Rohri and Sakkar. In my leisure moments I was fond of wandering about the mosques and ruins which surrounded these towns.'

57. BRIDGE OF BOATS ACROSS THE INDUS AT ROHRI, c.1841

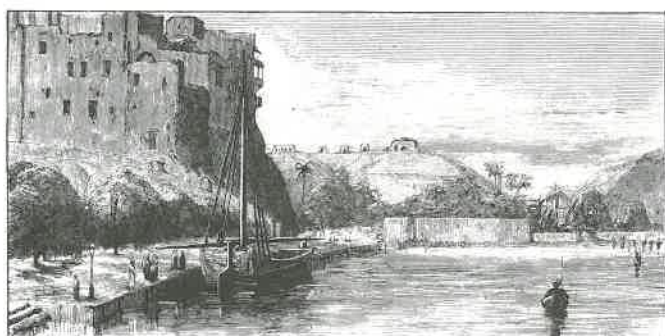
Lithograph published in E.B. Eastwick *Dry Leaves from Young Egypt* (London, 1851; second edition), facing page 73.

Communication between Rohri and Sukkur across the Indus was by means of row-boats and a boat bridge, probably the one thrown by the Engineers of the Bengal Army component of the Army of the Indus in 1839.

By 1883, a railway steam ferry plied (with refreshments aboard) between the two banks. In that year it was reported that a cantilevered bridge of steel with a span of 840 feet would be thrown across the river. The bridge was designed by Alexander M. Rendel, Chief Engineer, and opened in 1889.

58. VIEW OF ROHRI ON THE INDUS, 1878

Engraving published in *The Graphic*, 9 November 1878



58 View of Rohri on the Indus, 1878.

59. SUKKUR ON THE INDUS, 1876

Engraving published in *The Graphic*, 9 November 1878



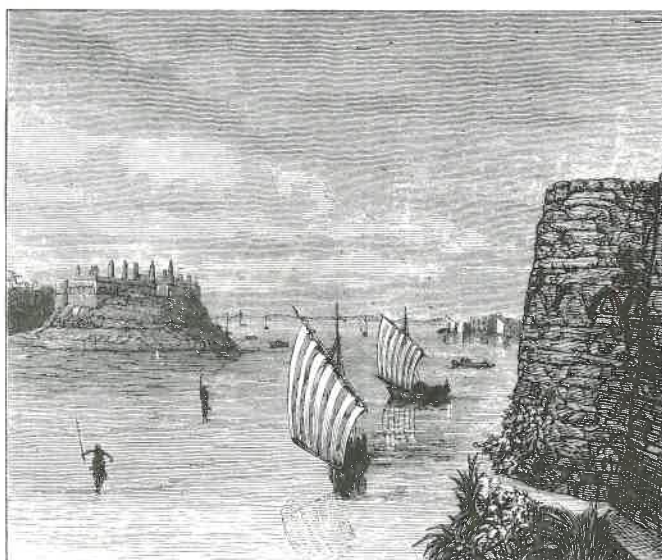
59 Sukkur on the Indus, 1878.

60. TOMB OF SEVEN MAIDENS, SUKKUR, 1876

Engraving published in *The Graphic*, 9 November 1878

Overlooking the Indus at Sukkur lies a group of tombs datable to the first half of the seventeenth century. On the southern side of the escarpment is a suite of rooms which have been associated with seven virgin sisters (*sat bhain*) who vowed never to see the face of any man. The building is more correctly known as the Than Kasim Shah, after Mir Kasim Shah Sabzwari who was regarded as having been buried there in 1608.

'From certain points the hill is very picturesque, and forms a favourite subject for amateur sketchers' Cousens (1929),157.

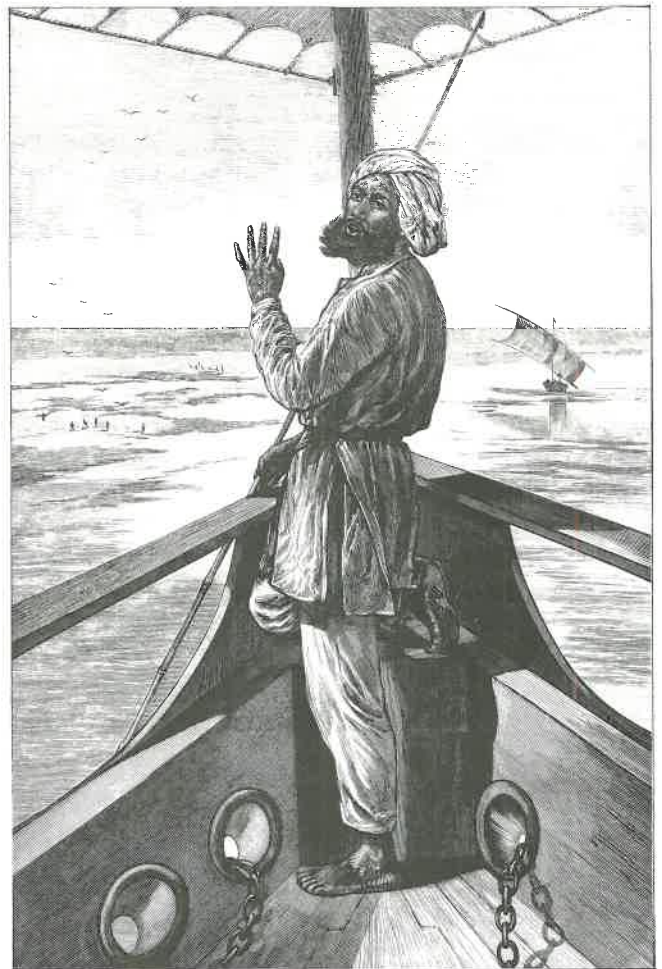


60 Tomb of the seven maidens, Sukkur, 1878.

61. TAKING SOUNDINGS FROM A STEAMER
ON THE INDUS, 1876

Engraving published in *The Illustrated London News*,
1 April 1876.

The Illustrated London News, when publishing this engraving, described this rather primitive method of river navigation as : 'The Indus is navigable, indeed as far up as Attock, nearly a thousand miles from the ocean, though still eight or nine hundred miles from the source of this wonderful stream in the Himalayas of Thibet. But its channel is in most parts greatly obstructed by shifting sands, and it undergoes frequent alterations of the bed and rapid variations of the currents, which make it needful to observe the greatest care with the steamboats of very light draught now employed on its broad waters. A passenger by one of these vessels will often hear the cry "Charr Fo-oo-t!" "Four feet!" This is the monotonous exclamation of the man with the sounding rod, in the bow of a river steamer which has gone aground, and has stuck fast. It is an accident that happens, perhaps, two or three times a day in the dry season, when little water is in the channel, and it occasionally causes a delay of several hours.'



61 Taking soundings from a steamer on the Indus, 1876.

62. WAZIRIS CROSSING THE INDUS, 1864

Engraving published in *The Illustrated London News*,
13 February 1864.



62 Waziris crossing the Indus, 1864.



63 Pala fishermen on the Indus, 1876.

63. PALA FISHERMEN ON THE INDUS, 1876
Engraving published in *The Illustrated London News*,
19 February 1876.

‘The method adopted by the Muhanos, or fishermen of Sind, in catching the “pala” is novel and peculiar. Provided with a large earthen vessel having a wide aperture, known as a *mati*, together with a kind of dagger knife, and a forked pole, 15 feet or so in length, with a net attached to it, and a checkstring from the net to his girdle, the fisherman places his stomach on the aperture of the *mati*, in such a way as to prevent any water getting inside, and paddles out into the stream. Here he thrusts his net into the water, and by means of the checkstring is at once made aware of the capture of a fish, which always swims against the current. The net is then drawn up,

the “pala” killed with the knife and consigned to the *mati*, and so he continues to float down the stream’, (Hughes (1876), 270).

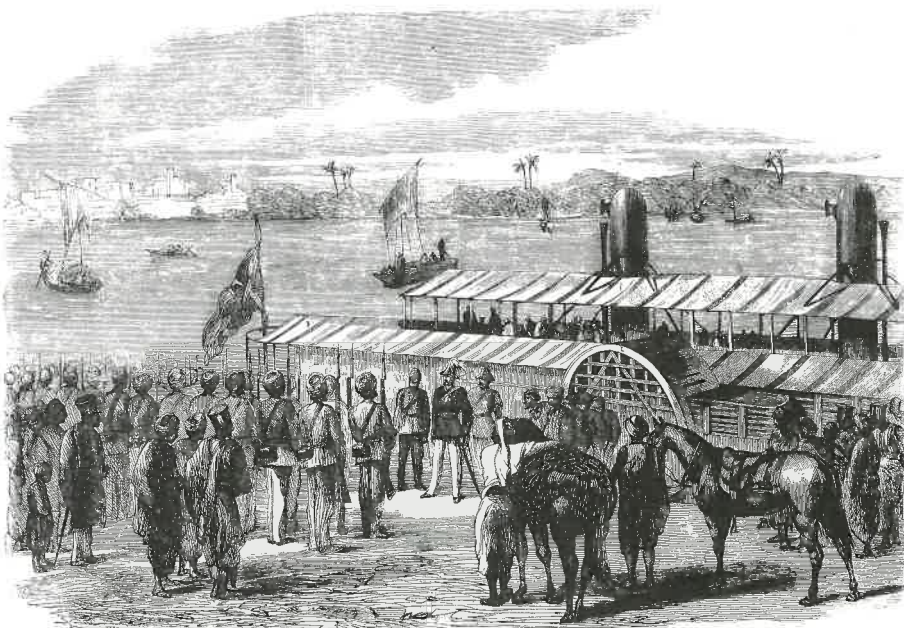
64. THE LANDING OF SIR WILLIAM MANSFIELD
AT SUKKUR, c.1865

Engraving published in *The Illustrated London News*,
c. 1865.

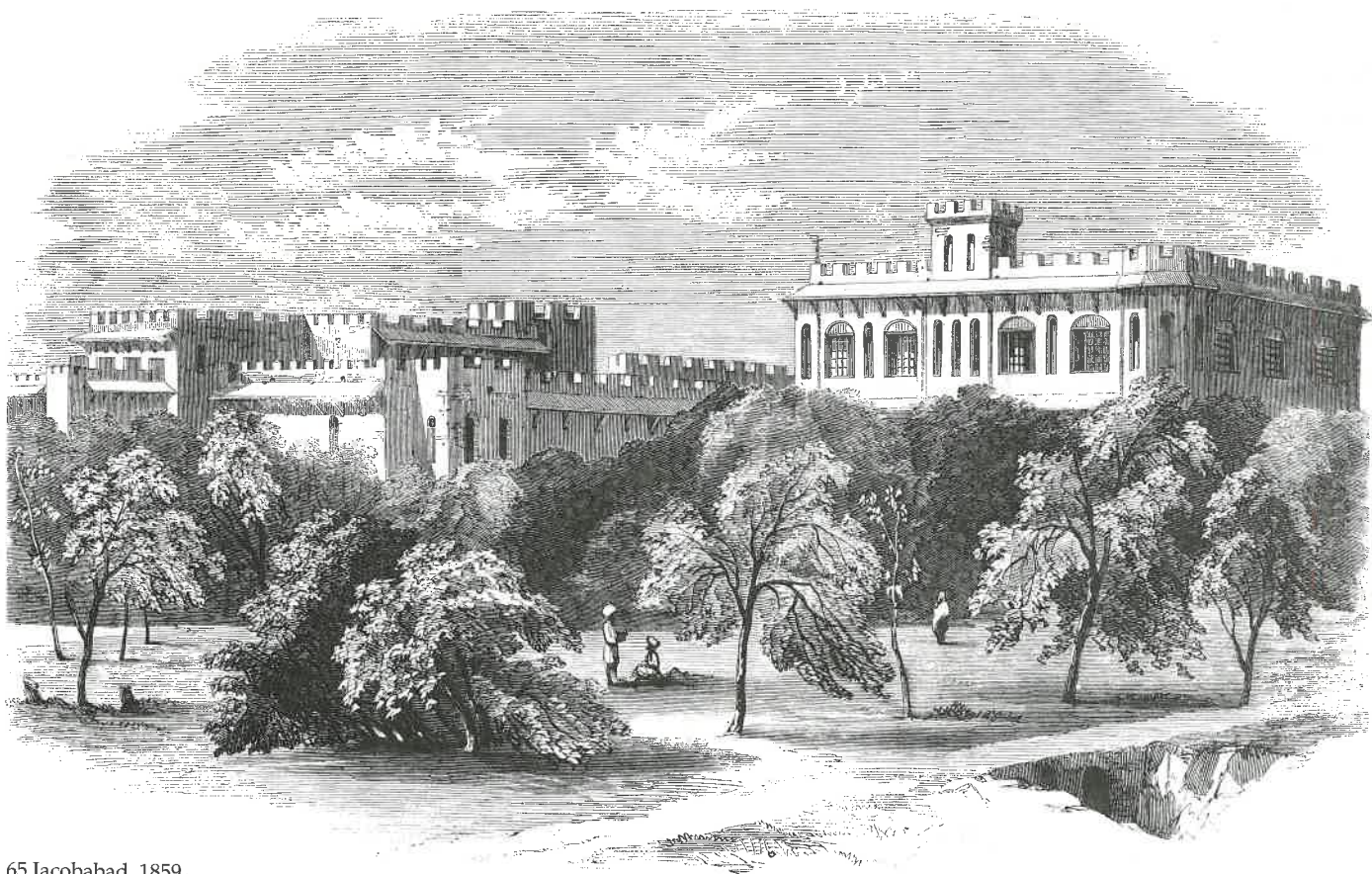
Of particular interest in this engraving is the paddle-steamer from which Sir William Mansfield alighted.

The first steamer was put into commission on the Indus in 1835. By 1847 the flotilla had increased to ten vessels and forty-three barges. With the opening of the Indus Valley Railway, the volume of traffic on the river diminished until it was no longer economically viable for the Indus Flotilla Company to operate. ‘Its headquarters were at Kotri where the company had workshops for repairs. Upto 1862 the government worked the flotilla, but it being no longer necessary to have a naval force, the government of India ordered that it should be broken up, and five of its steamers, with flats and barges, were made over to the Sindh railway.’ (Ross (1883), 41.)

Another abortive attempt was made to launch another steamship company - the Oriental Inland Steam Navigation Company - in 1862 but this too foundered as it was discovered that the strength of the Indus stream was too great.



64 The landing of Sir William Mansfield
at Sukkur, c. 1865.



65 Jacobabad, 1859.

JACOBABAD

65. JACOBABAD, 1859

Engraving published in *The Illustrated London News*, 29 January 1859.

Formerly known as Khangarh, the town was re-named on 10 November 1852 after General John Jacob, the Political Superintendent of Upper Sindh. Khangarh, when he took over its administration in 1847, consisted of simply 'a small mud fort, three Banya's shops and a well', and it was entirely due to Jacob's interest and endeavours that by the time he died in December 1858, the town had been developed, as *The Illustrated London News* reported, from 'a pathless silent desert' to 'the large and flourishing town of Jacobabad ... with bazaars, containing about four hundred well-stocked shops, possessing some ten thousand inhabitants'.

The house depicted in the illustration had been built by General Jacob for himself and his lieutenants. The published notes to this picture record: 'It is

stated that the piece of ground on which the house inhabited by General Jacob is built, and which has been turned into a beautiful garden was, perhaps, the worst bit in the country; the soil so impregnated with salt that nothing would grow on it. General Jacob had the soil thoroughly remade, for about three feet in depth, so that not only have trees flourished well, but every cold season there is a fine show of all the English annual plants, and all English vegetables are produced in the greatest perfection. The first tree was planted in 1848, and there are now hundreds of them, many about thirty feet high, and having trunks four feet and more in circumference. The area of the garden is about twenty-five acres.'

By 1876, the building had become known as the Residency. It was described as 'an immense pile' containing a library, workshops, eight suites of apartments in one of which were displayed two clocks made by General Jacob himself. The upper storey of the building was dismantled in 1879.

General Jacob was buried in Jacobabad on 5 December 1858.



66 The entry of Sir William Mansfield into Jacobabad, c. 1865.

66. THE ENTRY OF SIR WILLIAM MANSFIELD INTO JACOBABAD, c. 1865

Engraving published in *The Illustrated London News*, c. 1865.

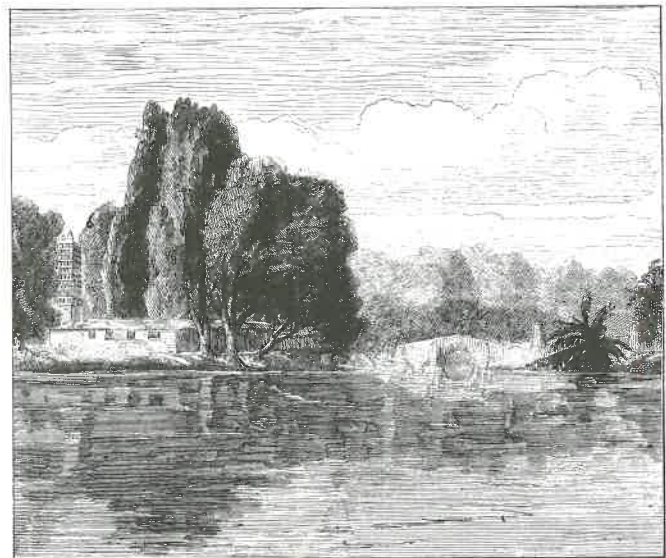
Sir William Rose Mansfield (later Baron Sandhurst) served in the Punjab in 1848 - 49 and subsequently in Peshawar. He became Commander-in-Chief in India, 1865 - 70.

Jacobabad cantonment, once with military lines for cavalry and infantry extending for over two miles, was abandoned in 1914.

67. WATER-TANK AT JACOBABAD, 1878

Engraving published in *The Graphic*, 9 November 1878.

Another of the accomplishments achieved by Jacob was the provision of water - 'where there was only brackish water, ... there are now tanks and wells



67 Water-tank at Jacobabad, 1878.

affording an unlimited supply of excellent fresh water.' General Jacob's endeavours altered the personality of the town noted before only for its heat.

II

The Bolan Pass - Dadur - Quetta - Chaman - Ziarat - Kalat

THE BOLAN PASS

The road from Jacobabad to Sibi and on through the Bolan Pass until it reaches Quetta passes through the inhospitable Kacchi desert and the Brahui mountain range. The Bolan Pass was the original access into India, until superseded by the Khyber Pass, and provided a trade route to Central Asian merchants and Afghani traders.

The British were forced to use the Bolan Pass when the Army of the Indus, prevented by Ranjit Singh from traversing the Punjab, assembled at Rohri/Sukkur and then marched north-westwards through the Pass until it reached Quetta on 20 April 1839.

An exuberant description of Quetta as it appeared to a footsore member of the Army of the Indus Capt. Richard Kennedy gives an idea of early Quetta. He described it as 'a small place of poor appearance, and its population ground to the dust by the exactions of its government, and the free-trading character of its neighbours. Until our tents arrived and were pitching, we rested in a noble orchard. Fine standards of the size of forest-trees, apple, pear, peach, apricot, and plum, were surmounted and overhung with gigantic vines, which wreathing round the trunks, and extending to the remotest branches, festooned from tree to tree in a wild luxuriance of growth such as I have never dreamt of seeing in fruit-trees and the vine : it was the first month in spring, and they were covered with blossoms which perfumed the air, and presented a picture of horticultural beauty surpassing description.'

Nature, bountiful yet capricious, exacted a toll from Quetta for such generosity when, on 31 May 1935, the city suffered and survived a devastating earthquake which killed 23,000 inhabitants and demolished a number of its old buildings.

68. THE BOLAN PASS, 1838

Lithograph published in Sir K.A. Jackson *Views of Affghaunistan* (London, 1841), plate 3.

The text by Jackson accompanying this illustration read: 'The entrance to this important pass, is about half a mile wide, over a perfectly stony road, along the bed of the Kanhee or Bolan River, which winds through the valley, varying materially in width. On each side are mountains, partially formed of pudding-stone, of a dull brown colour, in some places full a thousand feet in height. Some parts are covered with grass alternating with high rushes and reeds, whilst other presented only a surface of absolute sterility. Near the small village of Kirta, the pass widens to an extent of three or four miles, and is in possession of a Beloch chief'.

'The Siri Bolan, or head of the Bolan stream, is near the termination of the pass, beyond which is the mouth of a most picturesque defile, overhung by dark and rugged cliffs. The pass then spreads out into a much wider space, covered with southernwood, when narrowing again, after a further march of about two miles, its gorge opens on to a barren plain in Affghanistan. The army was eight days crossing the pass, its length being eighty-three miles.'

69. MOUNTAINS AT KIRTA NEAR BOLAN PASS, 1838

Lithograph published in Sir K.A. Jackson *Views of Affghaunistan* (London, 1841), plate 4.

70. VILLAGE OF KIRTA, BOLAN PASS, 1857

Engraving from a sketch by Capt. Malcolm Green and published in *The Illustrated London News*, 21 February 1857.



68 The Bolan Pass, 1838.

The Illustrated London News explained the earlier historical significance as a background to the sketch: 'The Bolan is not so much a "pass" over a lofty range as a continuous succession of ravines and gorges, its length being between fifty-four and fifty-five miles; the highest point in the right of the view is the

Camel's Hump Mountain. The pass is very important from a military point of view: it will be recollected that in 1839, the Bengal column of the Army of the Indus spent six days in marching through the pass, entering it on the 16th and leaving it on 21 March.'



69 Mountains at Kirta near Bolan Pass, 1841.



70 Village of Kirta, Bolan Pass, 1857.

71. DADUR, 1838

Lithograph published in Sir K.A. Jackson *Views of Affghaunistan* (London, 1841), plate 5.

Jackson's notes on Dadur read: 'Da[d]ur is a Beloochee town, situate in the valley, near the entrance to the Bolan Pass; it contains about fifteen hundred houses and four thousand inhabitants. The plains

are well cultivated, but foliage is very scanty, the place being proverbial for its excessive heat. The very characteristic tomb of an opulent native, who was murdered in the defiles of the Bolan Pass, is an attractive object on approaching the town. It was this town which was sacked by Nusser Khan, whilst the British forces were in their entrenched camp, at about a mile distance.'

71 Dadur, 1838.





72 Entrance to the Bolan Pass from Dadur, 1839.

72. ENTRANCE TO THE BOLAN PASS FROM DADUR, 1839

Lithograph by Charles and Louis Haghe from a drawing by James Atkinson, published in J. Atkinson *Sketches in Afghaunistan* (London, 1842), plate 5.

Atkinson's published text narrated: 'Leaving the encampment at Dadur for Kondye, a distance of eleven miles and a half, the troops then entered the Bolan pass, which is represented in this drawing, the road being rough and pebbly, between sand-hills, studded with flint and lime-stones of all sizes, the space in breadth between the mountains varying from three to four hundred yards to about thirty. As the torrent in the Pass runs deviously from one side of the gorge to the other, the Army was compelled to cross it six or seven times, thereby adding to the hardships already experienced during the march to this Pass; - and here too, the British troops suffered great losses, by the continual discharge of musketry from the Beloochees, who had secreted themselves on dens hewn out of the stupendous mountains overhanging the Pass'.



73. ENTRANCE TO THE BOLAN PASS FROM DADUR, 1878

Engraving published in *The Illustrated London News*, 12 October 1878, based upon the sketch by James Atkinson.

In preparation for the impending Afghan war in 1878, *The Illustrated London News* reminded its readers of the scenery depicted earlier by Atkinson, with the macabre difference of the vultures feeding in the foreground.

74. THE OPENING INTO THE NARROW PASS ABOVE THE SIRI BOLAN, 1839

Lithograph by Charles and Louis Haghe from a drawing by James Atkinson, published in J. Atkinson, *Sketches in Afghaunistan* (London, 1842), plate 7.

The descriptive text in Atkinson's work read: 'A skirmish with the Beloochees is here represented, a circumstance by no means uncommon near this place...the rocks on each side of this Pass are projecting and stupendous, and in the narrowest passages almost perpendicular. Immense blocks of stone are scattered about all the way and the scenery is of a more magnificently wild character and of a bolder form than any hitherto met with.'

Dr. R.H. Kennedy, a fellow officer and witness of the travails of the 1839 march through the Bolan Pass recalled: 'On the 13th [April 1839] we marched at 5 o'clock through a fearful defile. The hills before we reached the last halting-ground, had been what is termed conglomerate, - masses of a thousand feet high, of pebbles such as are found at the bottom of rivers, apparently rounded and polished by the action of water, and held together by a very coarse open limestone or sandstone: but the next gorge or chasm was though what I had been told to consider coral rock, of a gray-white colour, and a compact homogeneous substance, splintering with a smooth surface of fracture; precisely the stone used in lithography.' (Kennedy (1840), I, 214.)

The original water-colour by Atkinson from which this lithograph was derived is in the India Office Library and Records, London, (see Archer (1969), 97, WD 2395).

73 Entrance to the Bolan Pass from Dadur, 1878.



74 The opening into the narrow pass above the Siri Bolan, 1839.

75 The approach to the fortress of Quetta, 1839.



QUETTA

75. THE APPROACH TO THE FORTRESS OF QUETTA, 1839

Lithograph by Charles and Louis Haghe from a drawing by James Atkinson, published in J. Atkinson, *Sketches in Affghaunistan* (London, 1842), plate 8.

Atkinson's brief published text read: 'Kwettah is in the province of Shaul, situated on a wide plain with interior and outer walls, and appears at a distance like a lofty mound. Lord Keane and Staff are seen occupying the middle ground.'

The original water-colour by Atkinson for this lithograph is in the India Office Library and Records, London (see Archer (1969), 97, WD 2396).

76. QUETTA, 1839

Lithograph published in Sir K.A. Jackson *Views of Affghaunistan* (London, 1841), plate 24.

James Lewis alias Charles Masson visited Quetta in 1828. He recorded these impressions: 'The town of Shall, or as often called Quetta, and Kot, is surrounded by a slight mud crenated wall, and may comprise three hundred houses. These lie at the base of a huge mound, on which stands the ruinous citadel, now the abode of the governor Jellal Khan. The bazar is tolerably well supplied, and is a fair one for a provincial town, being the centre of much traffic with the neighbouring countries. It is situated conveniently on the road between Kandahar and

Shikarpur, as well as with reference to Kalat, and other places. There are many small gardens belonging to the town, which appear as if newly planted, the trees being very young.' (Masson (1842) I, 328-9).



76 Quetta, 1839.

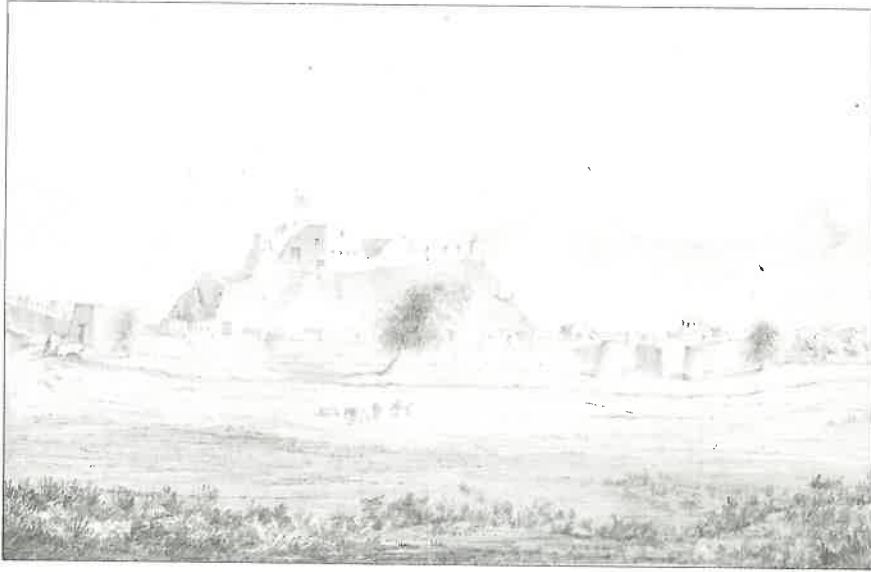
77. KANDAHAR GATE, QUETTA, 1839

Lithograph published in Sir K.A. Jackson *Views of Affghaunistan* (London, 1841), plate 25.

'Kwettah, the capital of the Beloochie province of Shawl, is a small town, surrounded by a wall of mud; the houses are built of the same material, and are but few in number, the population being poor and inconsiderable. In the centre, is the citadel, which is the residence of the Governor; it is built on an elevation, overlooking the town, which may be about four hundred yards across. There are four gates in the wall surrounding it, which open on to a very



77 Kandahar gate, Quetta, 1839.



78 View of Quetta fort, 1843.

luxuriant part of the valley. The situation of Kwettah, from its proximity to the mountains, is grand and striking.' (Jackson, text to plate 25.)

The fort or *miri* was the residence of the officials of the Khan of Kalat.

78. VIEW OF QUETTA FORT, 1843

Pencil drawing by A.J.M. Boileau dated 14 July 1843.

This drawing of Quetta fort would have been done soon after the evacuation of the city by the British following the disastrous aftermath of the First Afghan War.

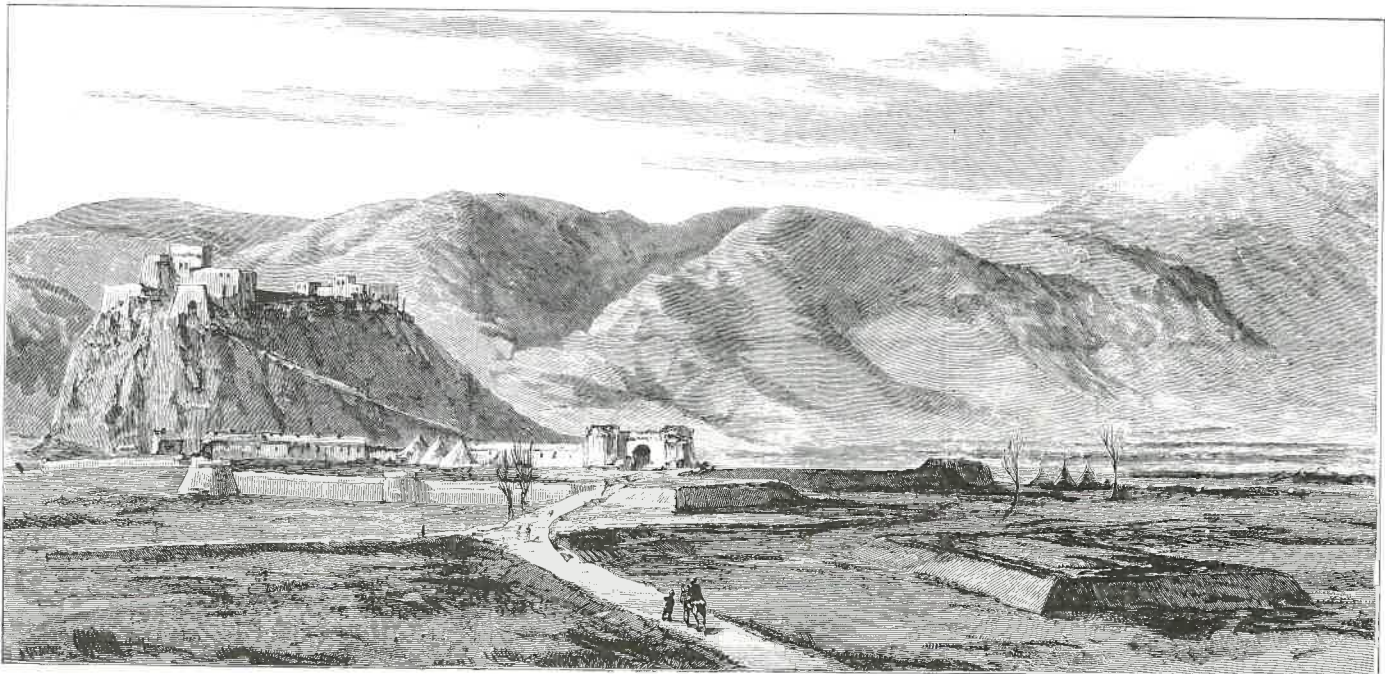
79. QUETTA FORT AND CITY, 1885

Engraving from a sketch by Lieut. C.M. Gonne, Royal Artillery, published in *The Illustrated London News*, 11 April 1885.

80. QUETTA FORT, 1900

Photograph by Fred Bremner, published in F. Bremner *Baluchistan Illustrated* 1900 (Quetta, 1900), plate 7.

In 1877 Quetta fort, no longer necessary has a bastion, had been converted into a military arsenal.



79 Quetta fort and City, 1885.

81. THE RESIDENCY, QUETTA, 1900

Photograph by Fred Bremner, published in F. Bremner *Baluchistan Illustrated 1900* (Quetta, 1900), plate 3.

The land upon which the town of Quetta was subsequently developed was bought by the Government between 1878 and 1893. A total of 3754 acres were purchased, 3496 acres for Rs. 215,201 for the Cantonment area and 258 acres at Rs. 39,647 for the civil station.

The first Residency building was built in 1877. It was described in 1884 as 'but a superior sort of bungalow built of materials which largely suggested mud. The walls of its compound were (as were the walls of the infant station everywhere) uncompromisingly mud.' It was pulled down and replaced in 1891-92 by a grander building costing Rs. 125,480 and standing in 45 landscaped acres.

82. THE SANDEMAN MEMORIAL HALL, QUETTA, 1900

Photograph by Fred Bremner, published in F. Bremner *Baluchistan Illustrated 1900* (Quetta, 1900), plate 4.

The Sandeman Hall, named after Colonel Sir Robert Sandeman, Agent to the Governor-General for Baluchistan 1877 - 1892, had been designed by Col. Swinton Jacob of the Royal Engineers who had been associated with the design of Aitchison College at Lahore. The interior of the Hall was elaborately ornamented and decorated in gypsum by the School of Art at Lahore (the forerunner of the present National College of Arts, Lahore). The Hall was built in 1895 - 99 at a cost of Rs. 116,305, including Rs. 8000 as the cost of the land. The Hall was opened by the Viceroy on 12 April 1900.

83. THE SANDEMAN MEMORIAL HALL, QUETTA, c. 1930

Postcard, c. 1930.

The bronze statue on the left was by W. Onslow Ford and of Sir Hugh Barnes, who served for twenty years as Political Agent Quetta-Pishin and later as Agent to the Governor-General and Chief Commissioner.



80 Quetta fort, 1900. (Upper)

81 The Residency, Quetta, 1900. (Centre)

82 The Sandeman Memorial Hall, Quetta, 1900. (Lower)



83 The Sandeman Memorial Hall, Quetta, c. 1930.

84. DURBAR HALL AND POLITICAL OFFICES, QUETTA, 1900

Photograph by Fred Bremner, published in F. Bremner *Baluchistan Illustrated 1900* (Quetta, 1900), plate 5.

Located near the Sandeman Hall, the Durbar Hall was, according to Bremner, one of the first official buildings in Quetta and was used for receptions and other public functions. It was constructed in 1884 at a cost of Rs. 92,000 and served for a while as the first church in Quetta before St. Mary's Church was built. Later, it was converted into offices for public administration.

85. ADMINISTRATIVE BUILDING, QUETTA, 1900

Photograph by Fred Bremner, published in F. Bremner *Baluchistan Illustrated 1900* (Quetta, 1900), plate 6.

The Administrative Building on Sandeman Road, completed in September 1892 at a cost of Rs. 197,379,

84 Durbar Hall and Political Offices, Quetta, 1900



housed a 'a maze of offices', including that of the Political Agent, the Treasury and the Magistrate's courts. Bremner, proud of his city, regarded the Administrative Building as 'a great advance on the old dome-shaped mud buildings' from which the vast province had been administered. Many of these mud buildings were damaged in the severe winter of 1891, when their mud domes collapsed and had to be replaced by iron roofs.

86. ADMINISTRATIVE BUILDING, QUETTA, c. 1930

Postcard, c. 1930.

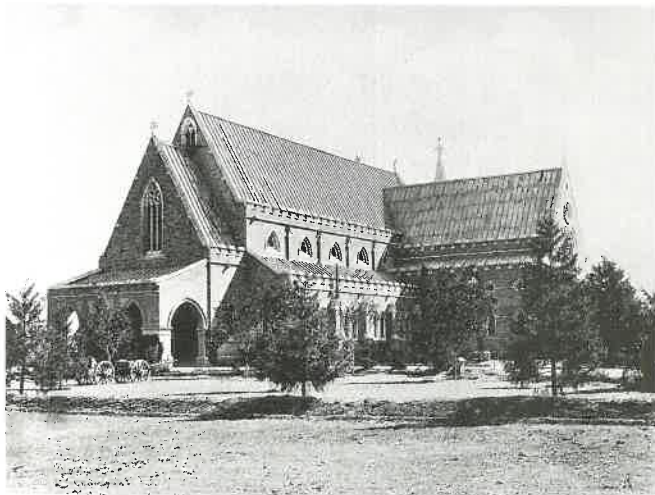
Defying Parkinson's Law on office space, the Administrative Building over the years was forced, as government departments proliferated, to compress its burgeoning occupants into the limited space available.

85 Administrative building, Quetta, 1900.



86 Administrative building, Quetta, c. 1930.





87. ST. MARY'S CHURCH, QUETTA, 1900
 Photograph by Fred Bremner, published in F. Bremner *Baluchistan Illustrated* 1900 (Quetta, 1900), plate 9.

St. Mary's Church took three years to build and was completed in June 1892, at a cost of Rs. 265,000. Its nave was 115 feet long and 33 feet wide, with a seating capacity for 1200 worshippers.

88. ST. MARY'S CHURCH, IN WINTER, c. 1930
 Postcard, c. 1930.

89. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, QUETTA, 1900
 Photograph by Fred Bremner, published in F.



88 St. Mary's Church, Quetta, in winter, c. 1930. (Above)

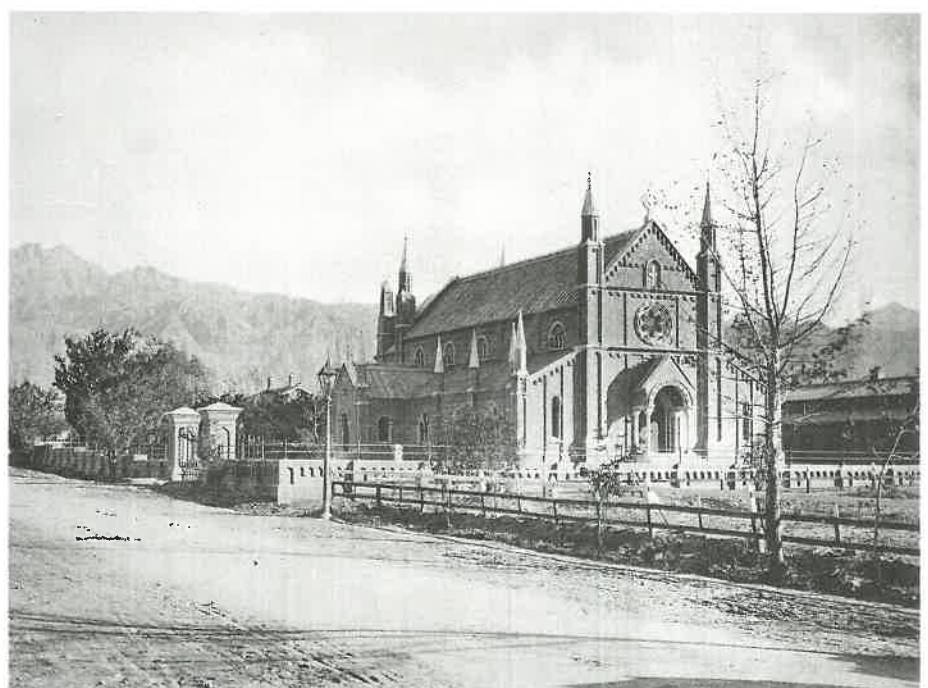
87 St. Mary's Church, Quetta, 1900. (Left)

Bremner *Baluchistan Illustrated* 1900 (Quetta, 1900), plate 15.

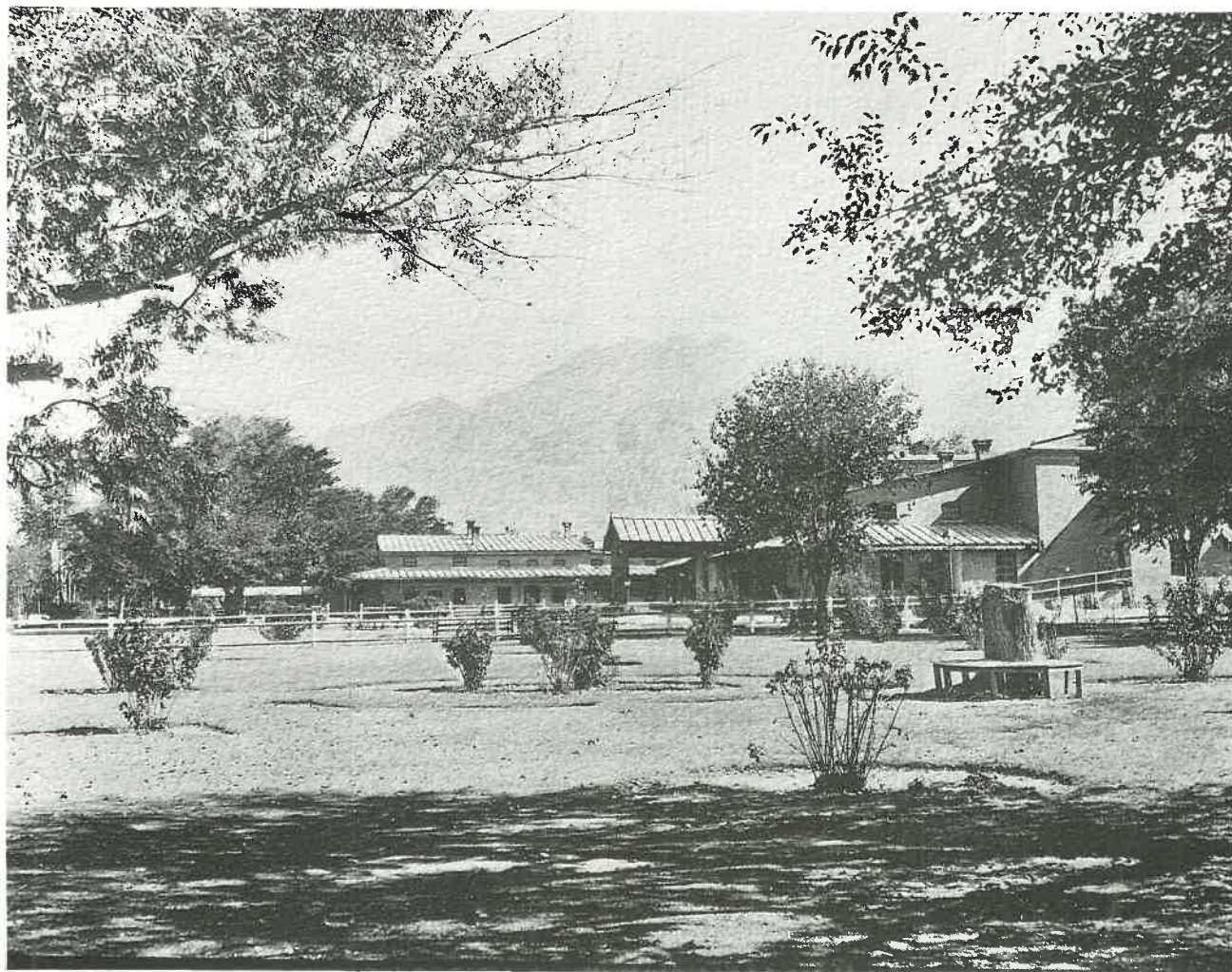
Consecrated on 2 October 1898, the Church of Mary as Queen of the Most Holy Rosary, was built at a cost of Rs. 80,000 provided by the Government. The design of the structure was described as Romanesque and the materials used were brick and Kolapur stone.

90. THE CLUB AND INSTITUTE, QUETTA, 1900
 Photograph by Fred Bremner, published in F. Bremner *Baluchistan Illustrated* 1900 (Quetta, 1900), plate 12.

Servicing the expanding Cantonment, the Club

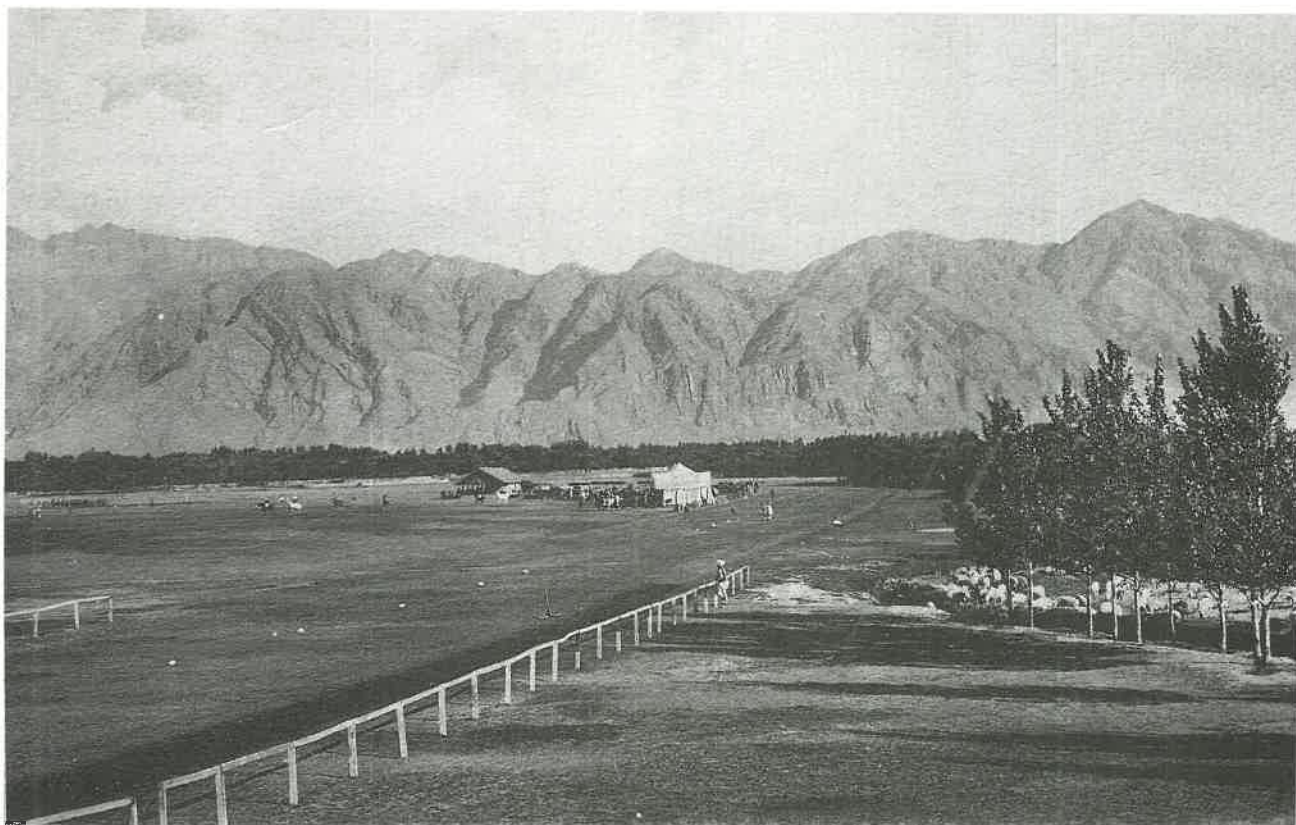


89 The Roman Catholic Church, Quetta, 1900.



90 The Club and institute, Quetta, 1900.

91 The Gymkhana or Race Course, Quetta, 1900.



covered an area of 10 acres and provided a library, Reading Rooms, and in its gardens badminton, tennis and racquet courts. The Institute was used for other entertainments.

According to the *Baluchistan Gazetteer*, prior to 1881, Quetta was practically tree-less. Through the efforts of Sir Hugh Barnes (who was assisted by the Treasury Officer Mr Ingle), over two hundred camel loads of cuttings of various trees were imported from Kandahar and planted at sites and along the roads of Quetta.

91. THE GYMKHANA or RACE COURSE, QUETTA, 1900.

Photograph by Fred Bremner, published in F. Bremner *Baluchistan Illustrated 1900* (Quetta, 1900), plate 13.

The grounds upon which the Gymkhana was located were known as the *chaman* or common and were the grazing ground for the horses of the Khan of Kalat. The land was made over in 1877 by Mir Khudadad to Sir Robert Sandeman and assigned for the Gymkhana. The Quetta Gymkhana, spread over about 83 acres of recreation grounds, offered distractions such as polo, cricket and for those of a more speculative bent of mind horse-racing on a course that ran over one and a quarter miles. Race meetings at Quetta were held every spring and autumn.

92. QUETTA BAZAAR, 190

Photograph by Fred Bremner, published in F. Bremner *Baluchistan Illustrated 1900* (Quetta, 1900), plate 18.

Bremner photographed the main street in Quetta and some of the Pathan traders and dealers who brought goods from Kandahar, Bukhara and Kabul to the city. He identified the horse-carriage in the foreground as a 'tum-tum' or local hackney.

93. BRUCE ROAD, QUETTA, c. 1930

Postcard, c. 1930.



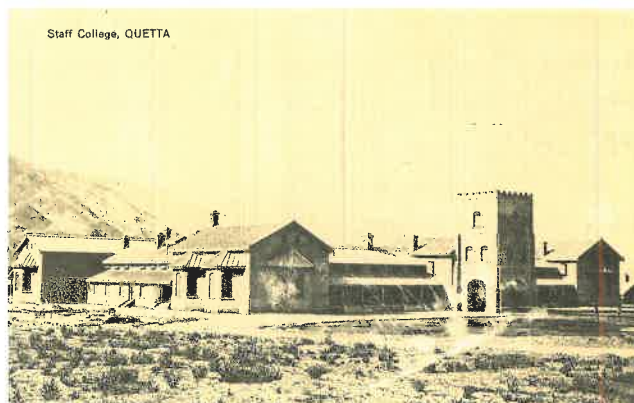
93 Bruce road, Quetta, c. 1930.



92 Quetta Bazaar, 1900.



94. Chor or Thieves Bazaar, Quetta, c. 1930.



96 Staff College, Quetta, c. 1930.



95 Old Cantonment Market, Quetta, c. 1930.

94. CHOR OR THIEVES BAZAAR, QUETTA,
c. 1930
Postcard, c. 1930.

95. OLD CANTONMENT MARKET, QUETTA,
c. 1930
Postcard, c. 1930.

96. STAFF COLLEGE, QUETTA, c. 1930
Postcard, c. 1930.

The *Baluchistan Gazetteer* of 1907 recorded: 'A Staff College is being constructed on the Hanna Road about a mile from the north-east corner of the old cantonments, and about 3 miles from the Quetta club. The College and the quarters attached to it will cover about 70 acres. Quarters have been authorised (1905) for a Commandant, a Personal assistant to the Commandant, 5 Professors, and for 18 married and 30 unmarried officers attending the College. The estimated cost is about 6 lakhs and the work will, it is hoped, be completed by end of 1906.' (*Gazetteer*, p. 341.)

97. STAFF COLLEGE, QUETTA, c.1930
Photograph, c. 1930.



97 Staff College, Quetta, c. 1930.



Quetta. The mill, as the signboard visible in the picture indicates, contained 'flour mills, oil, bhoosa and wool presses; patent fuel and block ice machinery; as well as brass and iron foundries, all of which ... worked by steam power.'

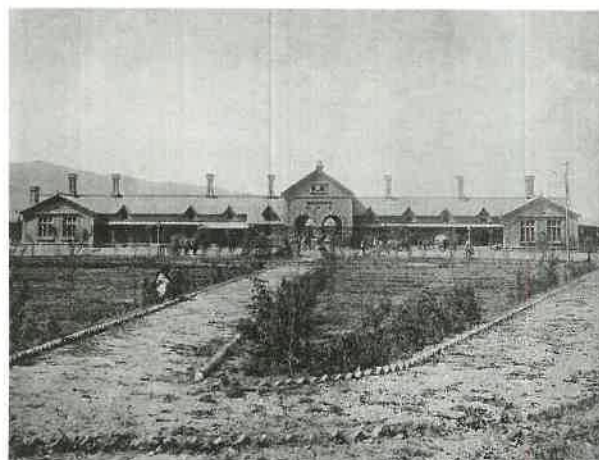
99. THE KERANI BREWERY, QUETTA, 1900
Photograph by Fred Bremner, published in F. Bremner *Baluchistan Illustrated 1900* (Quetta, 1900), plate 21.

The Kerani Brewery, a branch of Murree Brewery Company, was established in 1886. Supervision of the building had been done by a Mr. H.J. Whympers.



100. MURREE BREWERY, QUETTA, c. 1930
Postcard, c. 1930.

101. QUETTA RAILWAY STATION, 1900
Photograph by Fred Bremner, published in F. Bremner *Baluchistan Illustrated 1900* (Quetta, 1900), plate 22.



101 Quetta Railway Station, 1900. (Above)

100 Murree Brewery, Quetta, c. 1930. (Left)



98 St. John Mills, Quetta, 1900. (Upper)

99 The Kerani Brewery, Quetta, 1900. (Centre)

98. ST. JOHN MILLS, QUETTA, 1900
Photograph by Fred Bremner, published in F. Bremner *Baluchistan Illustrated 1900* (Quetta, 1900), plate 20.

The St. John Mill - 'the principal commercial building in the province' - was founded by Khan Bahadur Burtjorjee D. Patel, an early settler in

102. THE RAILWAY INSTITUTE, QUETTA, 1900
Photograph by Fred Bremner, published in F. Bremner *Baluchistan Illustrated 1900* (Quetta, 1900), plate 23.

The Railway Institute was in fact a recreation centre for the employees of the Railways, who could either read in its library, play billiards or go outside during the summer into its spacious lawns for a game of tennis.



102 The Railway Institute, Quetta, 1900.

103. HANNA PASS, NEAR QUETTA, 1900

Photograph by Fred Bremner, published in F. Bremner *Baluchistan Illustrated 1900* (Quetta, 1900), plate 37.

The Hanna Pass lay six miles north-east of the cantonment of Quetta. Beyond the entrance to the pass lay the Tangi *chashma* or spring.

104. BRIDGE ON THE SIND-PISHIN RAILWAY, NEAR QUETTA, 1900

Photograph by Fred Bremner, published in F. Bremner *Baluchistan Illustrated 1900* (Quetta, 1900), plate 25.

Built 234 feet above the ground across the rift in the Chapper mountain, the bridge had a single 150 feet span. The bridge had been designed by Sir James Browne, then Chief Engineer of the Railway, and was formally opened by Louise Duchess of Connaught (daughter-in-law of Queen Victoria) on 27 March 1887.

105. KHOJAK TUNNEL, 1900

Photograph by Fred Bremner, published in F. Bremner *Baluchistan Illustrated 1900* (Quetta, 1900), plate 26.

The Khojak Tunnel, over two and a half miles long, was begun in April 1888 and completed over three years later in September 1891 at a cost of Rs. 6,824,164 or Rs. 530 per linear foot. The highest point in tunnel in its centre was indicated by the ringing of a bell attached to the rails.



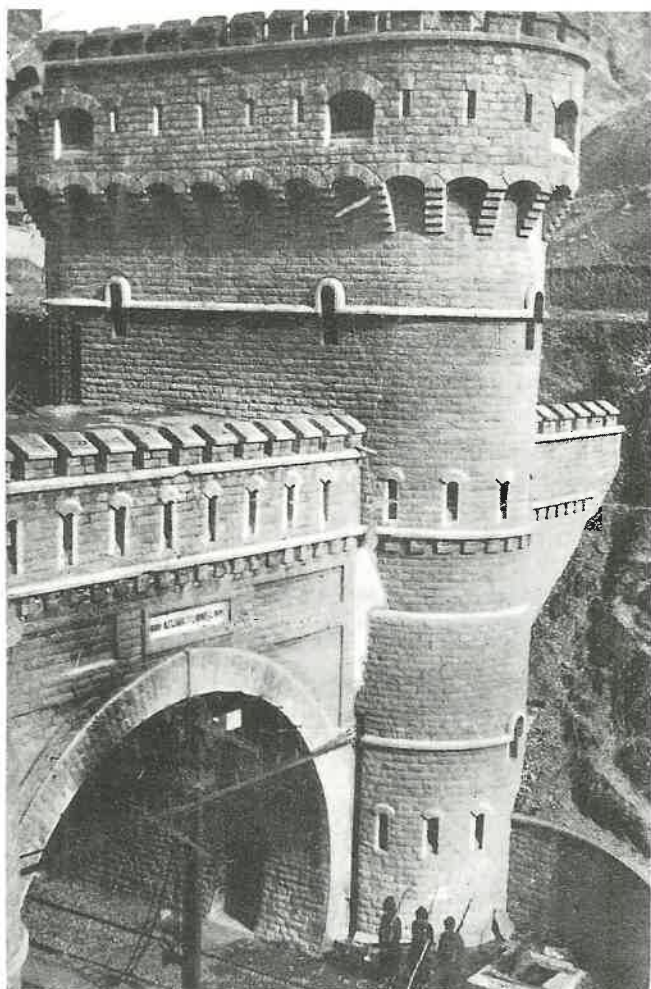
103 Hanna Pass, near Quetta, 1900. (Upper)

104 Bridge on the Sind-Pishin railway, near Quetta, 1900. (Lower)



105 Khojak Tunnel, 1900.

106 Khojak Tunnel, 1900.



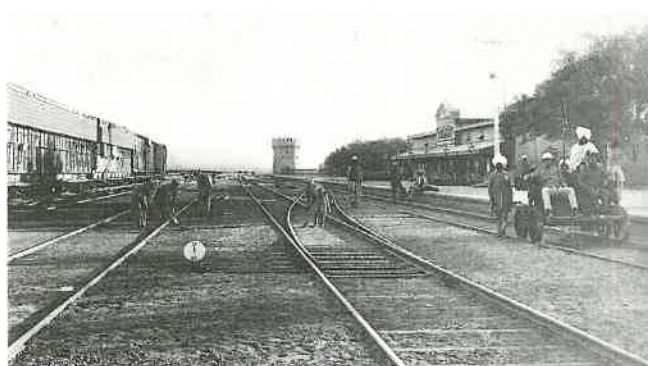
106. KHOJAK TUNNEL, 1900
Postcard, c. 1900.

The fortified appearance of the entrance to the tunnel was no accident. The two ends of the tunnel - the Shelabagh and the northern Spinawana - were also heavily guarded.



108 Octroi Post, Chaman, 1900.

107 Chaman Railway Station, 1900.



107. CHAMAN RAILWAY STATION, 1900
Photograph by Fred Bremner, published in F. Bremner *Baluchistan Illustrated* 1900 (Quetta, 1900), plate 27.

Chaman represented the terminus of the main railway line which started from Karachi 653 miles in the south.

108. OCTROI POST, CHAMAN, 1900
Photograph by Fred Bremner, published in F. Bremner *Baluchistan Illustrated* 1900 (Quetta, 1900), plate 28.

Explaining the scene Bremner noted: 'It is at this corner known as the "Octroi Post" where the usual municipal duty is levied by the British authorities on trade entering Chaman from Afghanistan and elsewhere; and the group of frontier traders, and bags of merchandise displayed in the foreground give some idea of the daily business that goes on at this interesting and important bazaar.'



109 Bugti Chiefs, 1900. (Top left)

110 Armed Tribesmen, 1900. (Centre left)

111 Brahui Tribesmen, 1900. (Bottom left)

112 Frontier Soldiers, 1900. (Bottom right)

109. BUGTI CHIEFS, 1900

Photograph by Fred Bremner, published in F. Bremner *Baluchistan Illustrated 1900* (Quetta, 1900), plate 29.

110. ARMED TRIBESMEN, 1900

Photograph by Fred Bremner, published in F. Bremner *Baluchistan Illustrated 1900* (Quetta, 1900), plate 30.

111. BRAHUI TRIBESMEN, 1900

Photograph by Fred Bremner, published in F. Bremner *Baluchistan Illustrated 1900* (Quetta, 1900), plate 32.

112. FRONTIER SOLDIERS, 1900

Photograph by Fred Bremner, published in F. Bremner *Baluchistan Illustrated 1900* (Quetta, 1900), plate 42.



113 View of Ziarat, near Quetta, 1900.



113. VIEW OF ZIARAT, NEAR QUETTA, 1900
Photograph by Fred Bremner, published in F. Bremner *Baluchistan Illustrated* 1900 (Quetta, 1900), plate 34.

2500 feet higher than Quetta, very early on Ziarat became a popular hill resort, affording, as Bremner put it 'innumerable views to please the taste of artists both of the brush and the camera.' At the time this photograph was taken, the only buildings built in Ziarat were the Residency and some official bungalows.

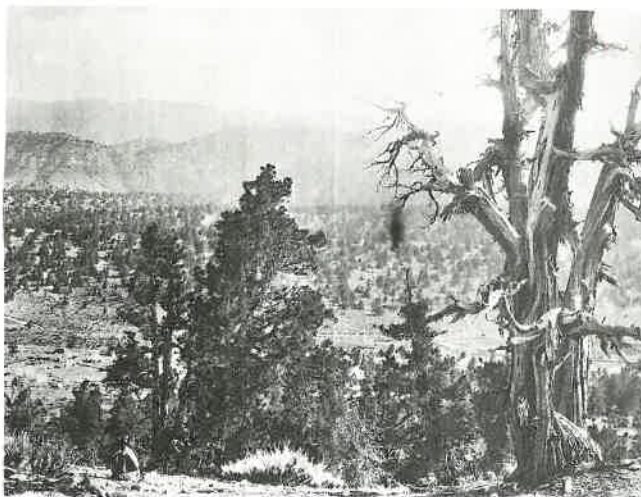
The Residency subsequently acquired a doleful significance as the place where Quaid-e-Azam M.A. Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, spent the final days of his life in the summer of 1948, before returning to Karachi where he died on 11 September 1948.

114. VIEW OF ZIARAT, 1900
Photograph by Fred Bremner, published in F. Bremner *Baluchistan Illustrated* 1900 (Quetta, 1900), plate 35.

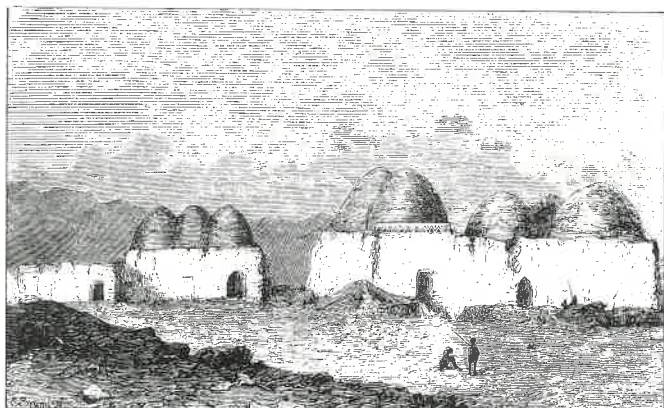
115. AFGHAN HOUSES, GOONDAN, 1878
Engraving published in *The Graphic*, 14 December 1878.

'Such houses as then existed possessed roofs which, like the roofs of most of the large homes in Western Afghan villages, centred in a dome, and the dome was built of sun-dried bricks. This construction saves the use of timber in a country where timber is scarce.' (*Gazetteer*, p. 334.)

114 View of Ziarat, 1900.



115 Afghan Houses, Goondan, 1878.





116 Kalat, 1838.

116. KALAT, 1838

Lithograph published in Sir K.A. Jackson *Views of Affghaunistan* (London, 1841), plate 27.

The text reads: 'Khelat (or "the City," in the Beloochee dialect) is a town, in the Ghiljee territory, surrounded by hills, and was the residence of Mehrab Khan, chief of a clan of Ghiljees. It contains between three and four hundred houses, and is exceedingly well fortified with mud walls. The citadel, though presenting a formidable appearance, from its towering height, offered but a fruitless resistance to the science with which it was assailed. The fortifications of Khelat were erected by Nusseer Khan Beglerbeg in 1750, at his own expense. He formed many gardens in the valley, and stocked them with fruit trees from Caubul; he afterwards made presents of them to the most deserving people, and also gave rewards for the finest fruit, grain, etc. ... The sketch from which the accompanying drawing is made, was taken by an officer of Engineers.'

117 (A & B) TWO VIEWS OF KALAT, c. 1840

Two lithographs by Dean and Munday based on a sketch by Lt. H. Creed, Bombay Artillery, c. 1840. Published in Dr. R.H. Kennedy, *Narrative of the campaign of the Army of the Indus, in Sind and Kaubool,*

in 1838 - 9 (London, 1840).

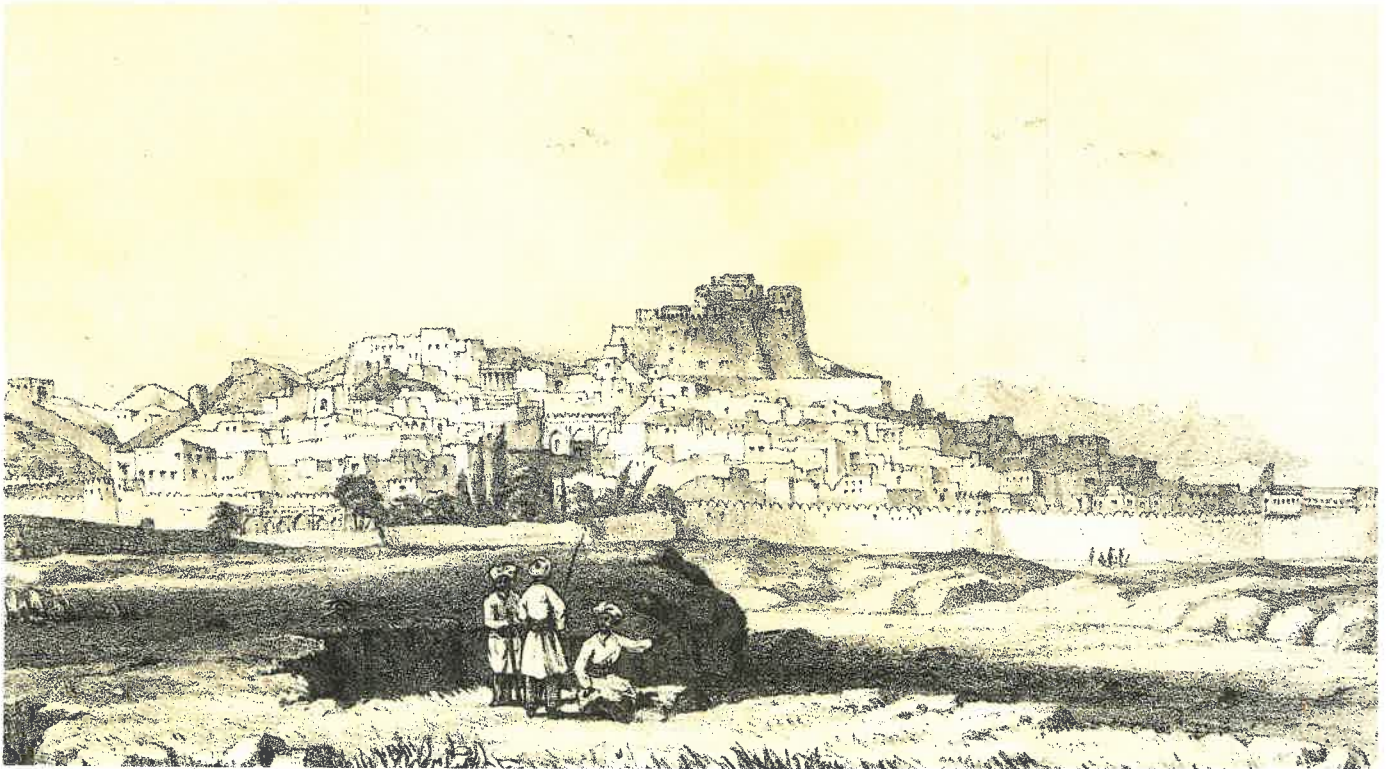
A: TOWN & CITADEL OF KHELAUT, from the East. Published as the frontispiece.

B: KANDAHAR GATE, KHELAUT. Stormed 13 Novr 1839. Opposite page 154.

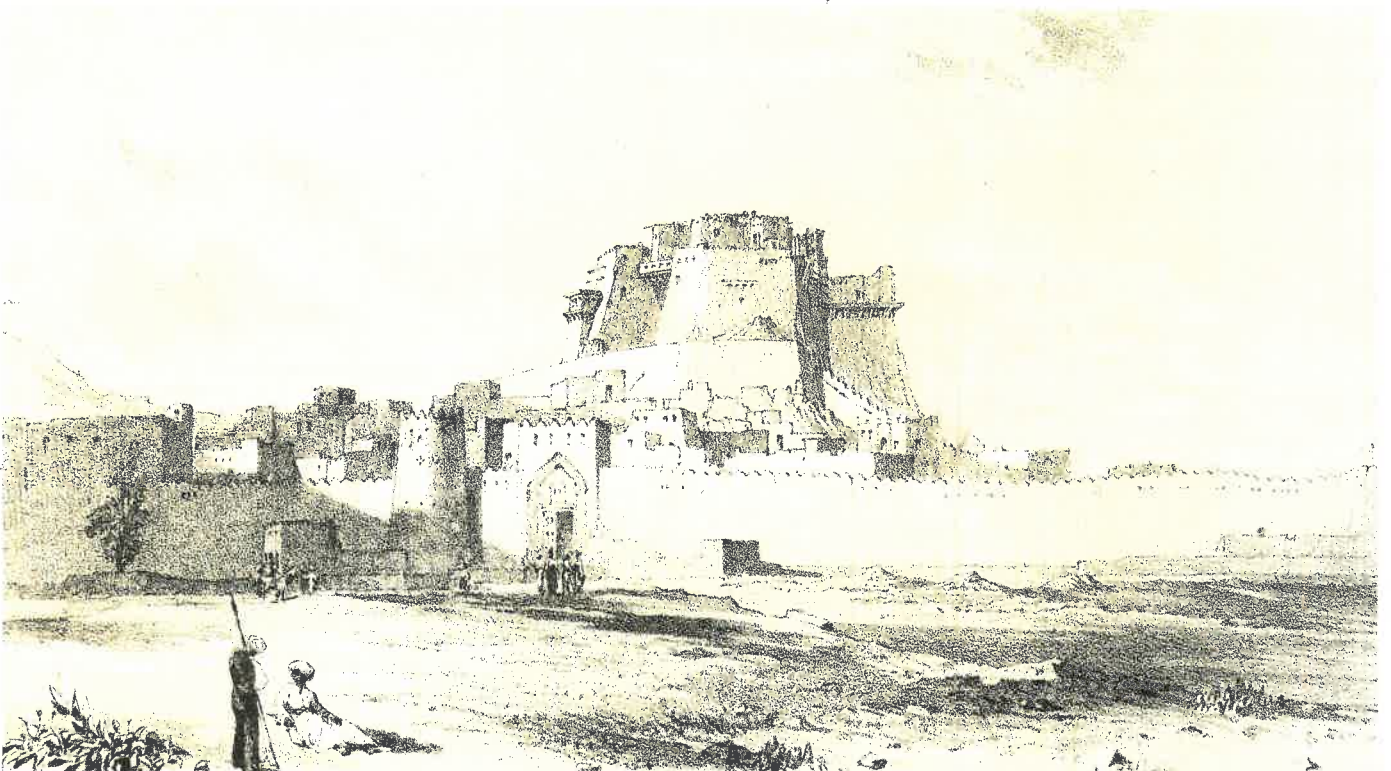
118. KALAT, 1878

Engraving published in *The Graphic*, 24 August 1878.

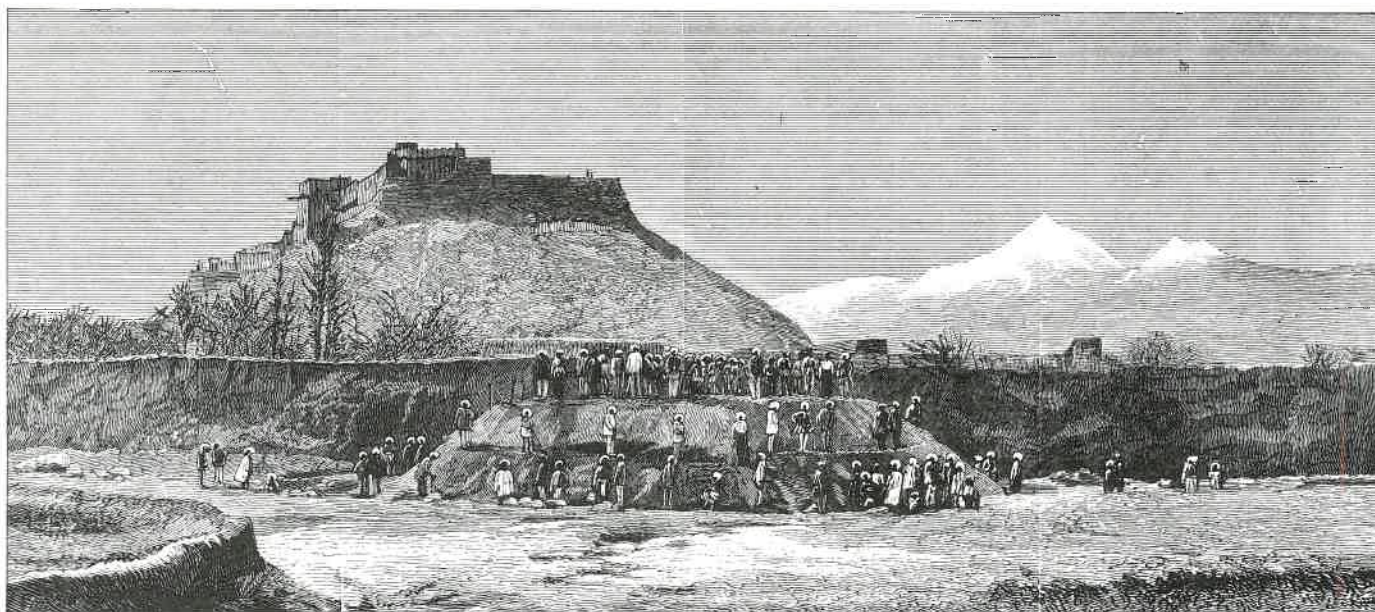
Alerting its readers about the impending military campaign in the North-West Frontier which culminated in the Second Afghan War, *The Graphic* magazine informed them: 'The whole commercial and political importance of Beloochistan is owing to the passes running through it between India and Central Asia. There are eleven altogether, but the Bolan is the chief of all. It is the shortest route from Candahar and Herat to India, and is the natural outlet to the ocean of the great and growing trade of Central Asia. It is perfectly practicable for artillery, and its western entrance is so narrow and precipitous that it could be readily defended against vast odds by a few determined men. The significance, therefore, of the closer relations which have been drawn between the Government of India and the Khan of



117 (A) A view of Kalat, c. 1840.



117 (B) Another view of Kalat, c. 1840.



118 Kalat, 1878.

Khelat will be readily understood. A British force will henceforth occupy Beloochistan; and the engraving we give of the Fort of Khelat will convey to our readers more vividly than any written description an idea of the great strength of one of the positions it will have to hold. Except that Alexander passed through it, and that Nearchus sailed along its coasts, Beloochistan has no connection with the history of the development of the world's civilisation; nor even any annals of its own until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But now that a railway to the foot of the Bolan is on the point of construction, and a line of telegraph has already been constructed to Quettah, Beloochistan is sure at last to be roused out of the deep sleep in which for centuries it has been plunged.'

Kalat was the capital city of the territory in Baluchistan belonging to the Khan of Kalat.

119. RULERS OF KALAT, 1900

Photograph by Fred Bremner, published in F. Bremner *Baluchistan Illustrated* 1900 (Quetta, 1900), plate 44.

Bremner photographed the ex-ruler Mir Khudadad of Kalat (on the right) who had ruled for 36 years, from 1857 to 1893, when he was deposed by the British. His son and successor Mir Mahmud Khan shares the settee. Power, though, eluded both the Khans. In practice it was exercised by the British Political Agent whose influence, as Bremner remarked was 'extensive, though undefined'.



119 Rulers of Kalat, 1900.

III

Multan - Lahore - Sialkot - Gujerat - Rohtas Fort - Rawalpindi -
Murree - Abbottabad - Lawrencepur - Hassan Abdal - Attock

MULTAN

Noticed by the early seventh century Buddhist traveller Hieun Tsang in 641 A.D., Multan for many decades remained a town better known for its ivory dealers and coppersmiths, whose shops flanked a temple containing richly bejewelled idols. Notwithstanding the conquest of Multan by Muhammad bin Qasim and subsequently by Mahmud of Ghazni in 1005 and subsequently by Timur in 1398, Multan did not acquire the overtly Islamic identity it has today until the emperor Aurangzeb ordered the demolition of the idols.

Multan was ruled during the 18th century by the Sadozai Afghans who were supplanted by the Sikhs from northern Punjab under Ranjit Singh. Sawan Mal was appointed Governor on his behalf in 1829. His son Mulraj, embroiled more by circumstance than by conspiracy, was held responsible for the murder of Mr. P. A. Vans Agnew and Lieut. W. A. Anderson in April 1848 and thereby invoked the punitive intervention by the British in January 1849, an event which led ultimately to the finality of the annexation of the Punjab.

120. TROOPS CROSSING THE RAVI, NEAR MULTAN, 1848

Engraving from a sketch by Lieut. Needham, late 1848, published in *The Illustrated London News*, 27 January 1849.

‘The upper view, sketched by Lieut. Needham, represents a portion of her Majesty’s 10th Regiment on their passage across the Ravee, in boats, a few miles above Mooltan.’

121. FORT OF MULTAN FROM WEST, 1848

Lithograph by A. Maclure from a sketch by Dr. John

Dunlop done on 6 September 1848, published in J. Dunlop *Mooltan, a Series of Sketches during and after the Siege* (London, 1849), plate 2.

Dr. John Dunlop, an Assistant Surgeon of H.M.’s 32nd Regiment, was part of the British force sent to Multan in September 1848 to avenge the deaths of two British officials, Vans Agnew and Anderson. Introducing the published lithographs drawn from his sketches of Multan during and after the siege, Dunlop wrote about the city: ‘Mooltan is a place of considerable commerce. The bazaars are extensive and well supplied with commodities. The chief manufactures are silks, cottons, shawls, longees, brocades interwoven with gold and tissues; all of which are largely exported into adjacent countries.

Within the walls, and overlooking the town from the north, rises the Fortress of Mooltan, in which the Dewan Moolraj took refuge after the British had entered the city on the 2nd of January. It stands on the highest part of the mound on which the town is built, and is an *enceinte* formed by a hexagonal wall from forty to seventy feet high, the longest side of which faces the north-west and extends for 600 yards, and which isolates it from the town. A ditch twenty-five feet deep and forty wide is cut on the side of the wall, behind which is a glacis exhibiting a face of some eighteen feet high, and so thick as to present an almost impregnable rocky mound. Within the fort, and on a very considerable elevation, stands the citadel, in itself of very great strength. The walls are flanked by thirty towers, and enclose numerous houses, mosques, a Hindoo temple of great antiquity, and a Khan’s palace, the beauty of which was severely damaged by the battering it got from the guns of Runjeet Singh in 1818.’



120 Troops crossing the Ravi, near Multan, 1848.

122. SOUTH VIEW OF THE EIDGAH, MULTAN, 1848

Lithograph by A. Maclure from a sketch by Dr. John Dunlop, published in J. Dunlop *Mooltan, a Series of Sketches during and after the Siege* (London, 1849), plate 4.

Dewan Mulraj, the Governor of Multan acting on behalf of the Sikh Durbar of Lahore, was required to surrender the arrears of tribute due from him. He

opted to surrender the governorship to his son Khan Singh. Mr. P. A. Vans Agnew, a Government servant in the Bengal Civil Service, and Lieut. W. A. Anderson of the Bombay Fusiliers were sent as Commissioners to supervise the transfer of authority and were housed in the Multan Eidgah. On 19 April 1849, both Vans Agnew and Anderson were attacked by some of Mulraj's troops and seriously injured. They were taken back to the Eidgah where, during the night, they were attacked again and killed.

121 Fort of Multan from west, 1848.





122 South view of the Eidgah, Multan; 1848.

123. EIDGAH, MULTAN, 1849

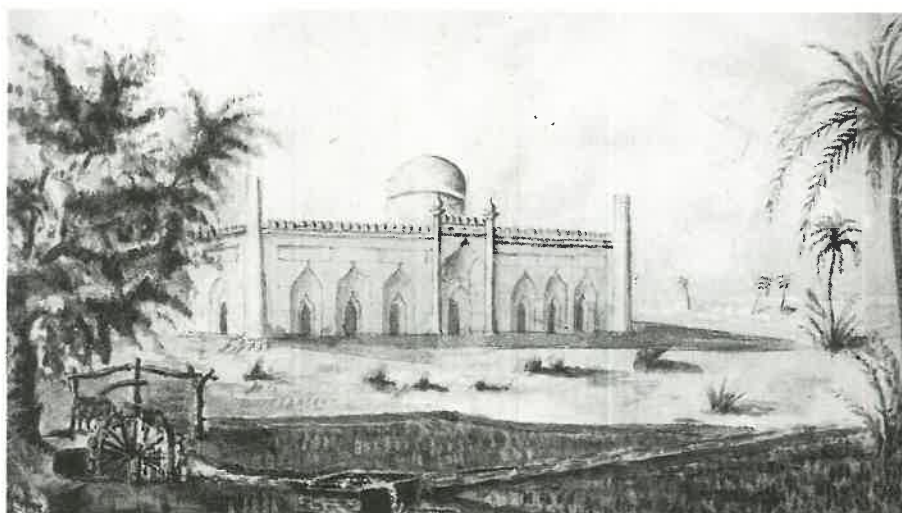
Water-colour by Lt. J.C. Heathorn done in Multan in April 1849.

A view of the same Eidgah, sketched by an army officer some four months after the fall of Multan.

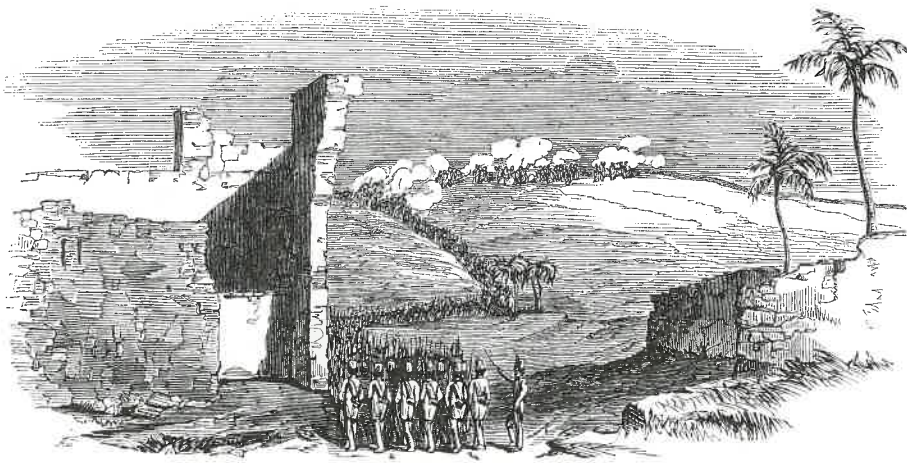
124. STORMING THE MUNDEE AWA, 1848

Engraving from a sketch by Dr. J. Dunlop done on 27 December 1848 and published in *The Illustrated London News*, 10 March 1849.

Dunlop's sketch from the field was accompanied



123 Eidgah, Multan, 1849.



124 Storming the Munde Awa, 1848.

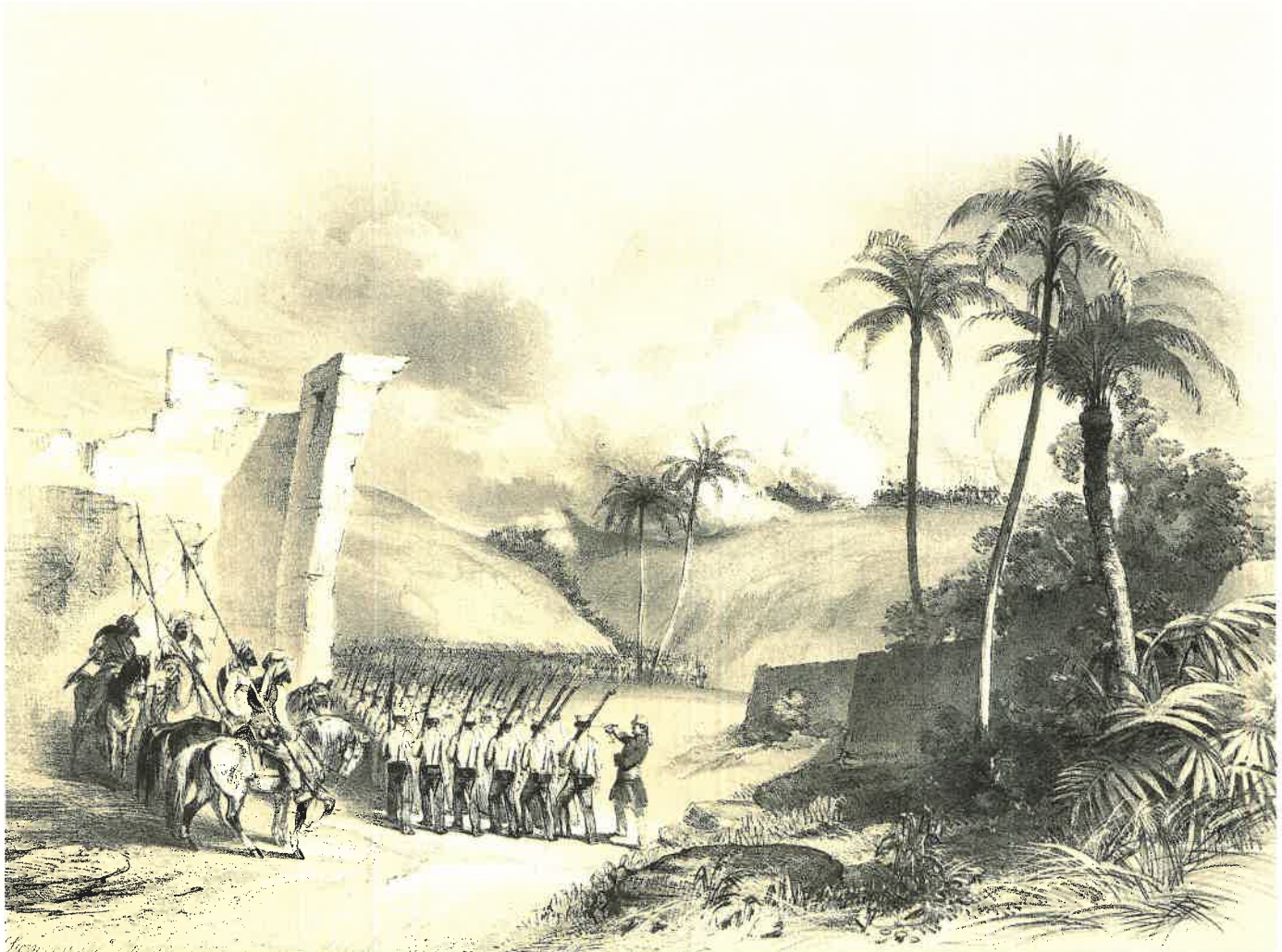
by a newsletter to the periodical. It read: 'On the 27th operations were commenced. Three columns moved to the attack, in order to take possession of the suburbs of the town. I was with the centre column...and in two hours we found ourselves in possession of the whole line of suburbs, including two artificial mounds, on one of which, the "Munde Awa," a strong battery was speedily erected.'

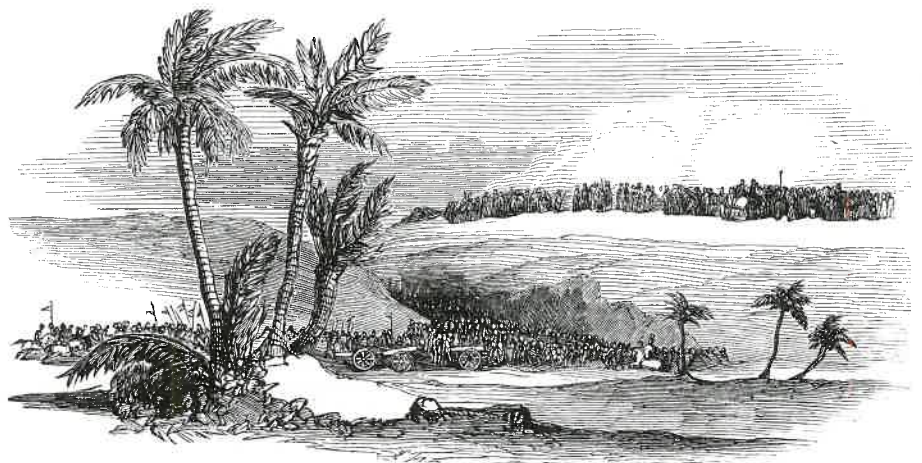
125 Storming the Munde Awa, 1848.

125. STORMING THE MUNDEE AWA, 1848

Lithograph by A. Maclure from a sketch by Dr. John Dunlop done on 27 December 1848, published in J. Dunlop *Mooltan, a Series of Sketches during and after the Siege* (London, 1849), plate 13.

Dunlop's original sketch was developed into this fuller lithograph.





126 Munde Awa, Multan, 1848.

126. MUNDEE AWA, MULTAN, 1848
Engraving from a sketch by Dr. J. Dunlop done on 28 December 1848 and published in *The Illustrated London News*, 10 March 1849.

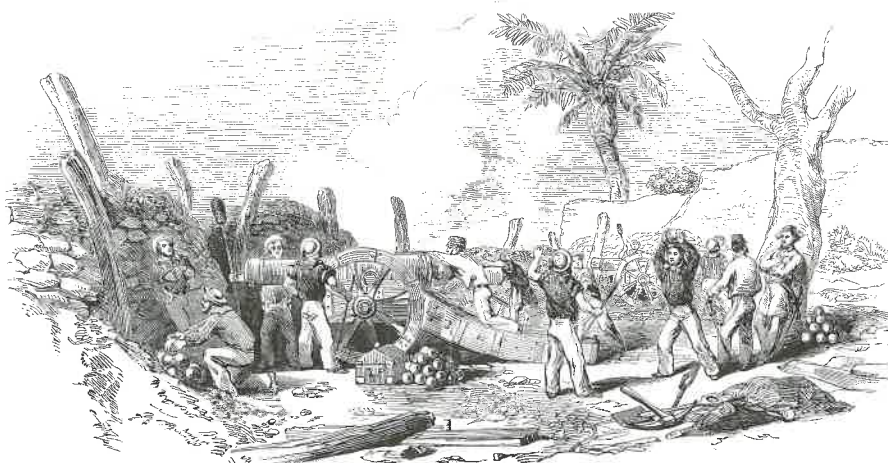
127. MUNDEE AWA, MULTAN, 1848
Lithograph by A. Maclure from a sketch by Dr. John Dunlop done on 28 December 1848, published in J.

Dunlop *Mooltan, a Series of Sketches during and after the Siege* (London, 1849), plate 12.

Amplifying the comparatively sparse composition sent by Dunlop and published in *The Illustrated London News*, the lithographer when working up the sketch for publication as a lithograph added the group of horsemen in the foreground.

127 Munde Awa, Multan, 1848.





128 Battery breaching the Delhi gate, Multan, 1849.

128. BATTERY BREACHING THE DELHI GATE, MULTAN, 1849

Engraving from a sketch by Dr. J. Dunlop done on 28 December 1848 and published in *The Illustrated London News*, 10 March 1849.

'During the night the troops bivouacked at the posts they had taken and at dawn the next day (28th December) the Bombay and Bengal mortar batteries were set to work against the walls of the beleaguered city, with as furious a cannonade as, perhaps, ever resounded along the plains of India. An officer stationed at Bahawulpore, nearly fifty miles distant, heard the firing distinctly, and correctly mentioned the very hour at which the heavy guns began to play. This lasted all day, and during the night shelling was commenced against both the city and the fort, from the Mundee Awa, and extreme right batteries; a shell being discharged from each every ten minutes.' (Dunlop (1849), text to plate 14.)

129. BATTERY BREACHING THE DELHI GATE, MULTAN, 1849

Lithograph by A. Maclure from a sketch by Dr. John Dunlop done on 28 December 1848, published in J. Dunlop *Mooltan, a Series of Sketches during and after the Siege* (London, 1849), plate 14.

Dunlop's account of the action reads: 'The Bombay portion of the besieging force used gun-cotton instead of powder, with much efficiency. When night closed in, the effect produced by the new explosive material was remarkable: a broad flash intimated the discharge of the gun; this was followed by the brilliant track of the fuse, which, on reaching its destination, was succeeded by a more vivid flash, showing that the missile was doing its work of destruction. The practice at all the four points of attack was the theme of universal praise. Not a shell was wasted, as shown by clouds of red dust which rose from the bombproofs of the citadel - against



129 Battery breaching the Delhi gate, Multan, 1849.

which these discharges were chiefly directed - after every salvo of these iron monsters.

'The next day (29th) the 18-pounders, and some of the heavy guns opened on the Delhi gate, and were breaching within eighty yards of walls. These batteries were partially manned by sailors of the Indian Navy, the crews of steamers which were still lying in the river. Their firing was no less correct and vigorous than that of the land artillery; for the first important breach, which was subsequently reported, was made in the object of their attack - the Delhi gate.'

Dunlop continues: 'On the forenoon of the 30th, the battering was suddenly stopped by a catastrophe which, although not unexpected, was of so terrific a character as to silence the entire siege, as if every man in the force had paused to take breath after a tremendous surprise. This was the explosion of the chief powder-magazine in the fort.'

130. EXPLOSION OF THE POWDER MAGAZINE, MULTAN, 1849

Engraving from a drawing by Dr. J. Dunlop, published in *The Illustrated London News*, 3 March 1849.

Quoting from a letter received from Dr. Dunlop despatched with this sketch, *The Illustrated London News* gave the following vivid report of the action at Multan: 'One of the grandest and most awful occurrences of the siege now took place - the blowing up of the principal magazine in the Fort of Moulton. The explosion was so terrific, and the general effect, from the fall of rubbish, boughs of trees, etc., so startling, that at first it was thought the place had been visited by an earthquake. For a short time the huge column of dust, which was thrown some 200 yards in height, rendered the fort and surrounding objects invisible; there was, consequently, a brief pause in the firing; but as soon as the smoke and dust had cleared away, the fire was resumed as hotly as ever.'

131. EXPLOSION OF THE FORT POWDER MAGAZINE, 1848

Lithograph by A. Maclure from a sketch by Dr. John Dunlop on 30 December 1848, published in J. Dunlop *Mooltan, a Series of Sketches during and after the Siege* (London, 1849), plate 15.

130 Explosion of the powder magazine, Multan, 1849.





131 Explosion of the fort powder magazine, 1848.

'On the 28th, and up to the 2nd January, 1849, when the town was stormed, the town and fort were shelled, and the breaching batteries were erected to batter the town wall. On the 30th December, about 9 a.m., the magazine of the fort blew up, being ignited by a shell from our battery. I happened to be on my way to the battery at the time, about a mile from the city, and saw the explosion just at the proper distance; and it was certainly the most awfully- sublime, or, rather, sublimely-awful, sight I ever saw. The whole earth shook for miles around the fort, and the atmosphere darkened for hours afterwards by the dense cloud which hung like a mantle above the city. We have no exact account of the damage done by the accident, but the native report is that 600 lives were lost.' (Extract from Dr. Dunlop's letter dated 14 January 1849 from Camp Moulton, quoted in *The Illustrated London News*.)

Another eye-witness present at the action recalled: 'At first we felt a slight shock like that of an earthquake, and then, a second or two afterwards, such a tremendous and prolonged report, that it was like

an awful clap of thunder. I hardly know what to liken it to, it was so inconceivably grand; then a mass of dust rose to the very clouds, yet so perfectly distinct was its outline, and it was so dense and thick, that nobody at first could tell what it was. It looked like an immense, solid, brown tree suddenly grown up to the skies, and then it gradually expanded and slowly sailed away. The shock at four miles distance knocked bottles off the tables, so terrific was the report.'

The ammunition store had contained 16,000 lbs of gunpowder, accumulated by Dewan Mulraj over five years. On the following day another major conflagration occurred when the grain and stores within the fort were set ablaze, stoked by the oil and ghee; 'they burned all day and night so fiercely that they illumined the surrounding country, and completely obviated the use of nightballs, so that the besiegers carried out their murderous work by the light of the blazing citadel.'

Undaunted by these major set-backs, Dewan Mulraj maintained his posture of defiance and when

approached with a formal summons to surrender, 'his reply was characteristic; he rammed the letter down his longest gun, and fired it back.'

132. BREACHING THE KOONJ BURJ, MULTAN, 1849

Engraving from a sketch by Dr. J. Dunlop done on 2 January 1849 and published in *The Illustrated London News*, 10 March 1849.

The New Year of 1849 was spent in the open, waiting for the action of storming the fort. Dunlop described the discomfort he experienced: 'I spent the last night of the old, and the morning of the new year under the lee of a battery, nearly deafened by the constant roar of artillery, and shivering with cold, being unable to take exercise, as the balls fell thickly around us. As the hands of our watches pointed to the hour of 12, and as the distant gongs of the enemy in the two proclaimed that the new year was born, our eight large guns were fired off at once; then we shook each other by the hand, and, wrapping ourselves ourselves in our cloaks, lay down on the ground and tried to sleep.'

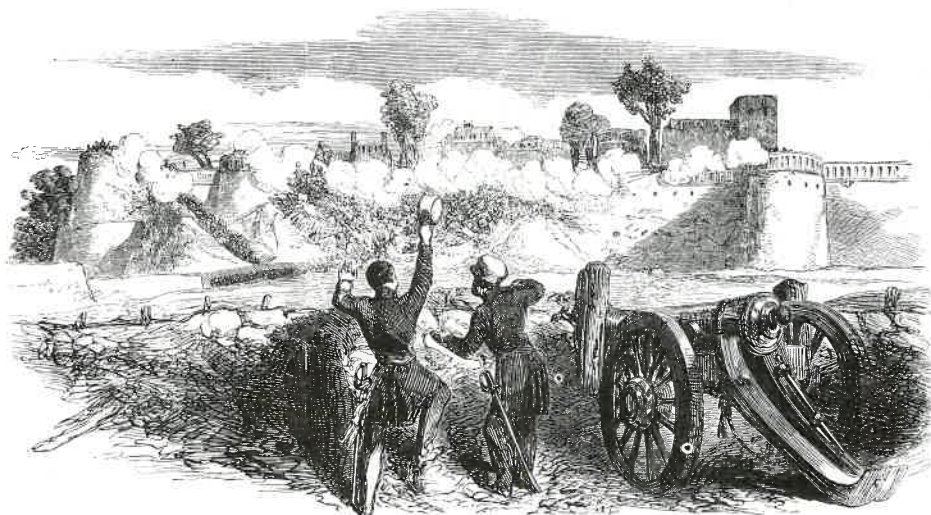
On the following day, the attack commenced in earnest. 'After some delay, on 2nd January, the engineers having reported that the breaches in the city were practicable, a strong force of about 4000 infantry were ordered out to the attack. The whole of the 32nd, the 1st Bombay Fusiliers, and four native regiments, were formed into two columns, and to each was entrusted the storming of a breach. About 3 p.m. the word was given to advance, and silently our column filed through the narrow and deserted streets of the the suburbs; while, as the

head of the column emerged on the open space between the city wall and the suburbs, our Grenadier company gave three cheers, and rushed up to the breach. But, alas! it was found impracticable - high walls not before seen, prevented all ingress, and, amid a heavy fire from the enemy, our people were ordered to retire; but news having just arrived that the Bombay force *had* got in by their breach, our column was led round to the "Koonj Boorj" breach (a picture of which I have sent you), and the whole force swept through the town, which in two hours was ours.'

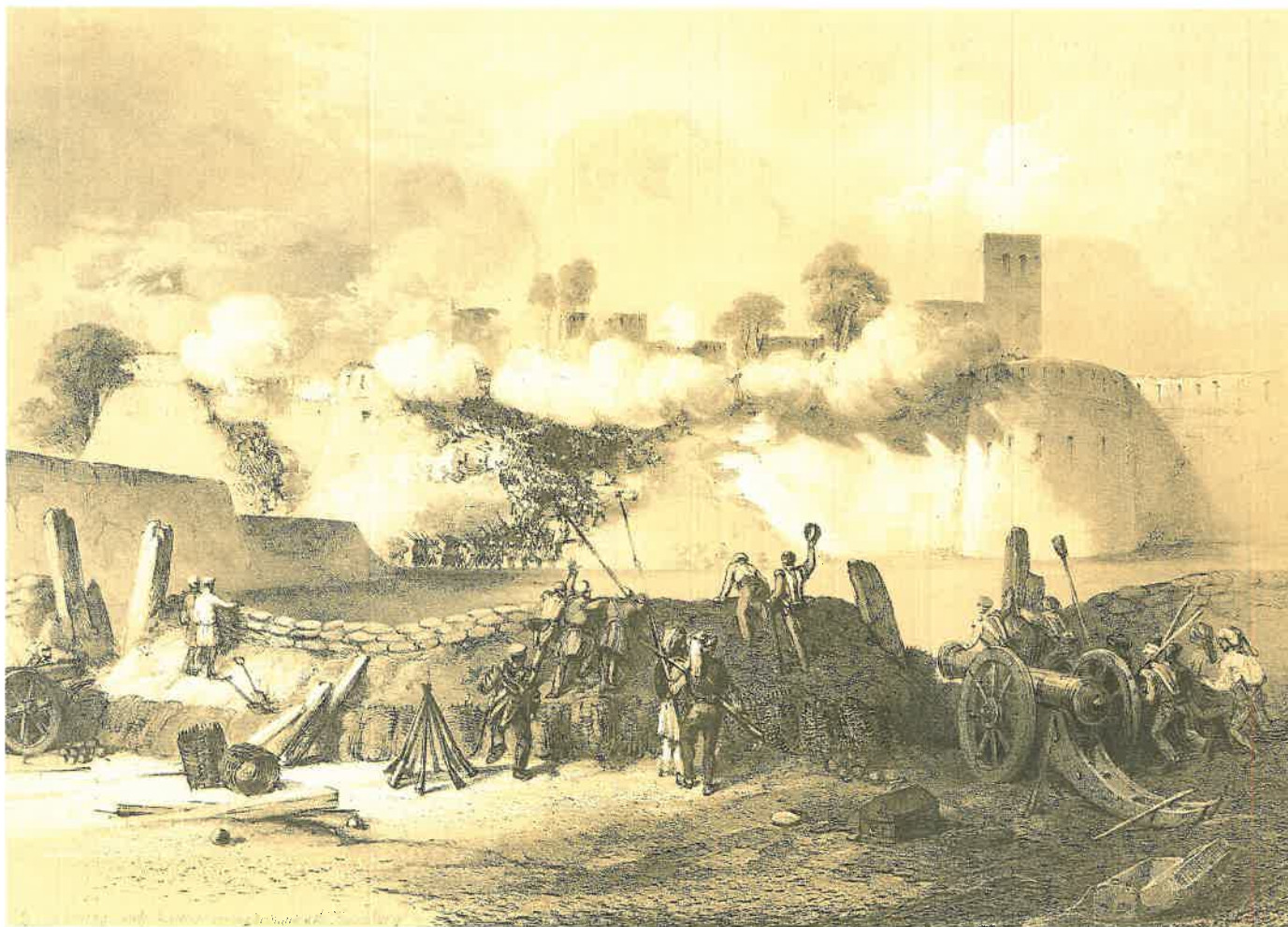
133. STORMING OF THE KOONJ BOORJ, MULTAN, 1849

Lithograph by A. Maclure from a sketch by Dr. John Dunlop done on 2 January 1849, published in J. Dunlop *Mooltan, a Series of Sketches during and after the Siege* (London, 1849), plate 17.

'In the stockade it was hand-to-hand work... but here a new difficulty presented itself. The columns had been desired in the orders of the day to diverge, and make the circuit of the town; but the ramparts were found not to be continuous, hence the whole previous arrangement was thrown into confusion, and the men were obliged to fight pell-mell, as well as they could. Yet on they went, through the narrow streets, and along the irregular walls, shot at from every door-way, house-top, and each available cover, by well-armed Sikhs. The troops were so scattered that there were no distinct columns, and it was impossible to say where the Engineer officers were. "The only real guide," says the official despatch, "was to follow the retreating enemy." '



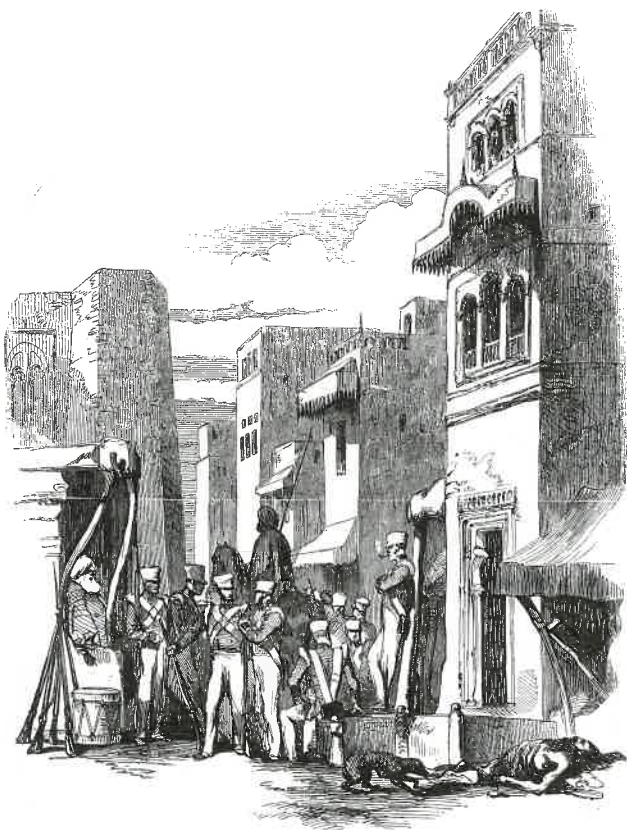
132 Breaching the Koonj Burj, Multan, 1849.



134. AFTER THE FALL OF MULTAN, 1849

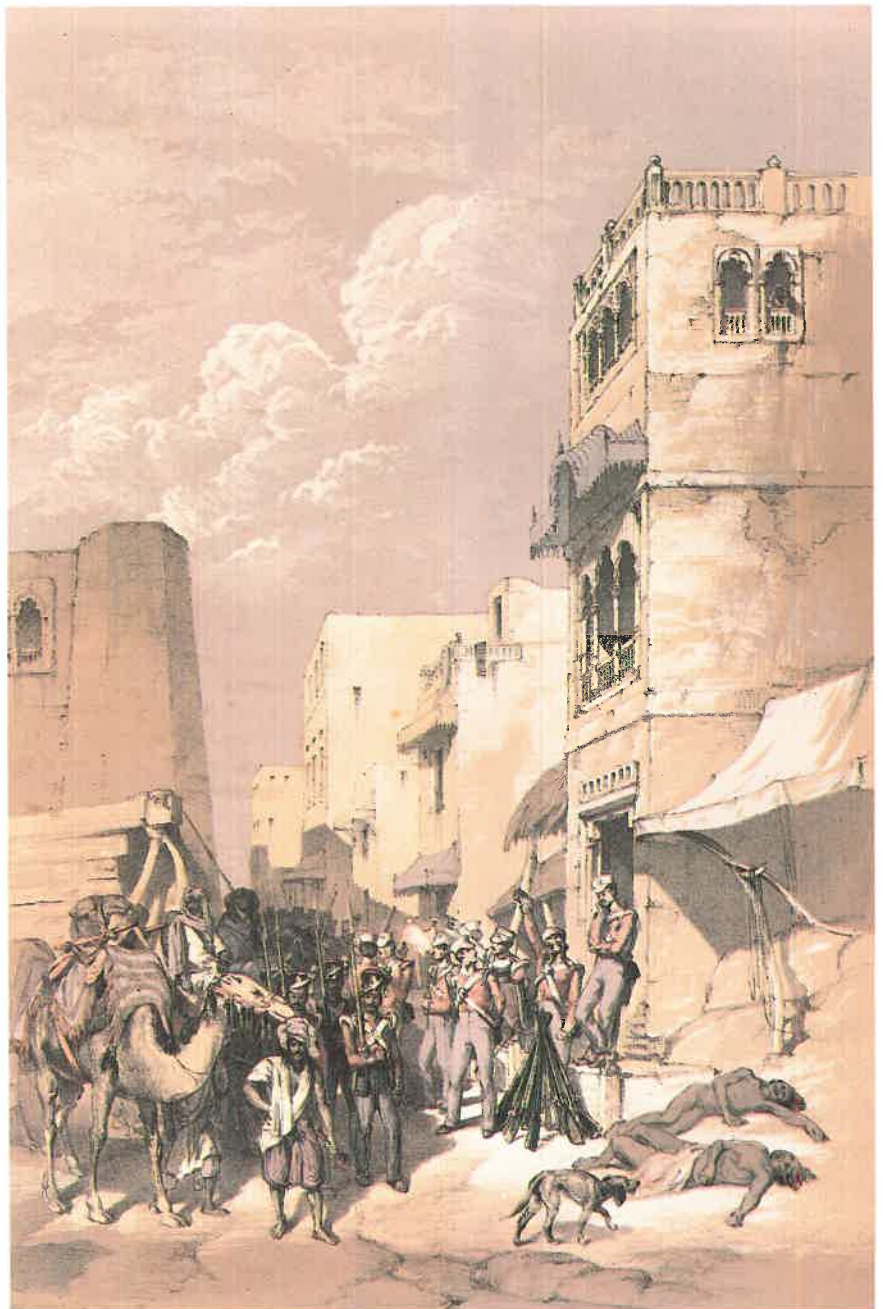
Engraving from a sketch by Dr. J. Dunlop done on 2nd January 1849 and published in *The Illustrated London News*, 10 March 1849.

Despite being a medical officer, Dr. Dunlop found the indiscriminate slaughter (some of it undoubtedly vengeful) and the bloody carnage sickening: 'I wish never again to see a sacked city, with its heaps of slain, and of wounded, and dying all around; and its crowds of poor old men, and women, and children, crowding together in fear in the corner of the streets.'



133 Storming of the Koonj Boorj, Multan, 1849. (Upper)

134 After the fall of Multan, 1849. (Lower)



135 After the fall of the Citadel of Multan, 1849.

135. AFTER THE FALL OF THE CITADEL OF MULTAN, 1849

Lithograph by A. Maclure from a sketch by Dr. John Dunlop done on 2 January 1849, published in J. Dunlop *Mooltan, a Series of Sketches during and after the Siege* (London, 1849), plate 19.

An anonymous correspondent reporting from Multan and like Dunlop similarly affected by the casualties also noted: 'I found the works thickly strewn with the corpses of the enemy - three or four lay heaped together at every few yards distance: they were mostly those of Sikhs, - men of uncommon height, with hair of great length.'

136. NORTH-EAST SIDE OF THE FORT WALL, MULTAN, 1848

Lithograph by A. Maclure from a sketch by Dr. John Dunlop done on 6 January 1849, published in J. Dunlop *Mooltan, a Series of Sketches during and after the Siege* (London, 1849), plate 20.

Dr. John Dunlop's narrative account of the closing stages of the siege at Multan continued: 'The taking of the town of Mooltan by no means finished this protracted and expensive business; for the Fortress had yet to be stormed. The enemy had retreated into the latter, which they obstinately held, and from which they continued their defensive



136 North-East side of the fort wall, Multan, 1848.

operations with vigour and success. The besiegers lost no time in throwing up breaching batteries, at various points considered to be the most vulnerable - that on the North-East side was within one hundred yards of the wall of the Fort' (Dunlop (1849), text to plate 20).

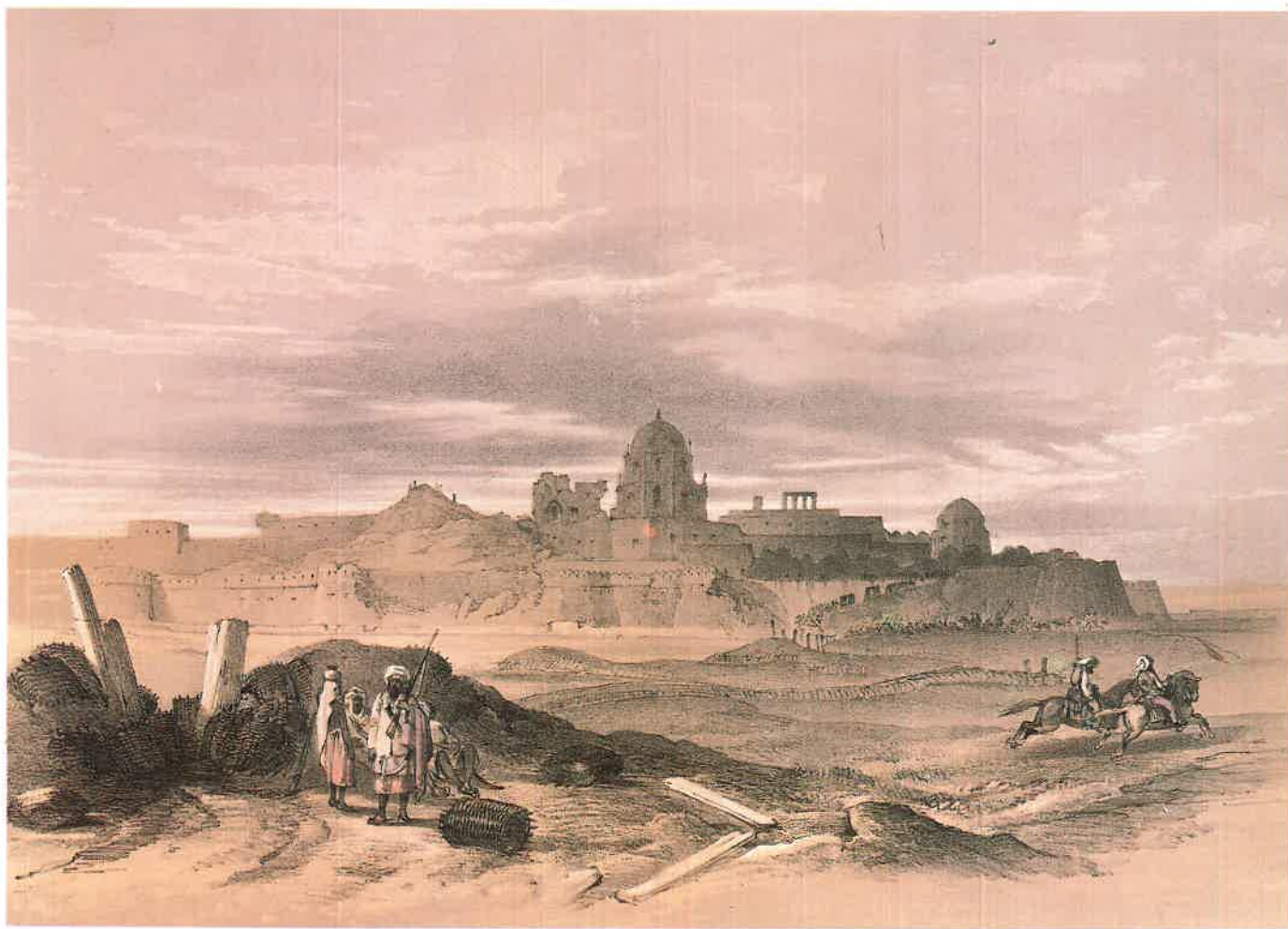
137. NORTH-EAST ASPECT OF FORT, 1849

Water-colour by Lt. J.C. Heathorn done in Multan on 26 April 1849.

Heathorn's sketch portrayed the devastated appearance of the fort and the walls after they had been savagely breached.



137 North-East aspect of fort, Multan, 1849.



138 Funeral of Vans Agnew and Anderson, Multan, 1849.

138. FUNERAL OF VANS AGNEW AND ANDERSON, MULTAN, 1849

Lithograph by A. Maclure from a sketch by Dr. John Dunlop, published in J. Dunlop *Mooltan, a Series of Sketches during and after the Siege* (London, 1849), plate 22.

The remains of both Vans Agnew and Anderson, whose deaths had been the cause of the punitive action at Multan, were exhumed from their grave fifty yards south of the Eidgah on 25 January and re-interred the following day within the fort premises. The inscription on the obelisk which commemorated the deaths of 'these two young public servants at the ages of 25 and 28 years, full of high hopes, rare talents, and promise of future usefulness' ended with the pithy justification for the British expansion into the north-west: 'The annexation of the Punjab to the Empire was the result of the War, of which their assassination was the commencement.'

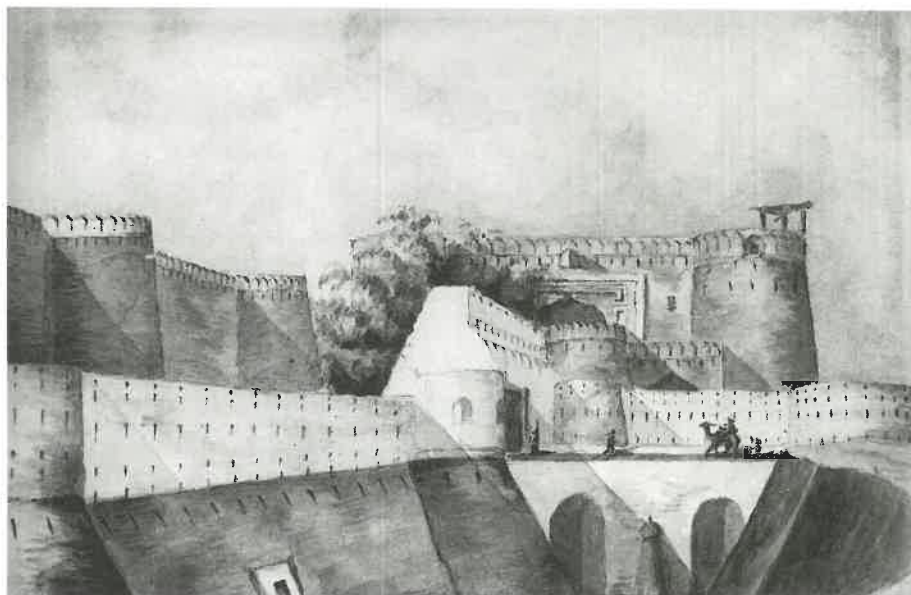
139. NORTH-WEST CORNER OF FORT, 1849

Water-colour by Lt. J. C. Heathorn done in Multan on 23 April 1849.

A month after the siege, in February 1849, Multan had the appearance of 'a battered mass of ruined fortifications, and a deserted city, of which scarcely a house had not been ventilated forever with a shell'. Major Scott of the Bombay Engineers was given the responsibility of 'making the fort defensible again, by clearing out the exploded ditches, packing and stockading the breaches, and mounting the guns.'

This view of the north-west corner of the fort at Multan by Lt. J.C. Heathorn of the 3rd Madras Light Infantry was 'sketched on the road from Lohari Gate', one of the seven gates into the city.

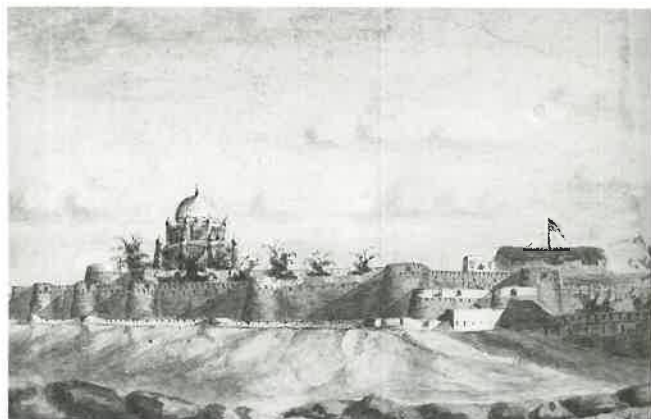
A similar sketch by John B. Bellasis showing Multan after its fortifications had been restored by the British has been reproduced in Archer (1969), I, plate 20.



139 North-west corner of fort, Multan, 1849. (Upper)

140 Siki gate of fort, Multan, 1849. (Centre)

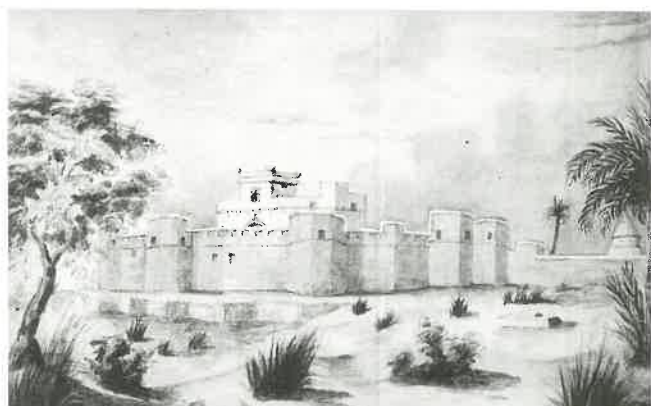
141 Main Headquarters, Multan, 1849. (Lower)



140. SIKI GATE OF FORT, MULTAN, 1849
Water-colour by Lt. J.C. Heathorn done in Multan in April 1849.

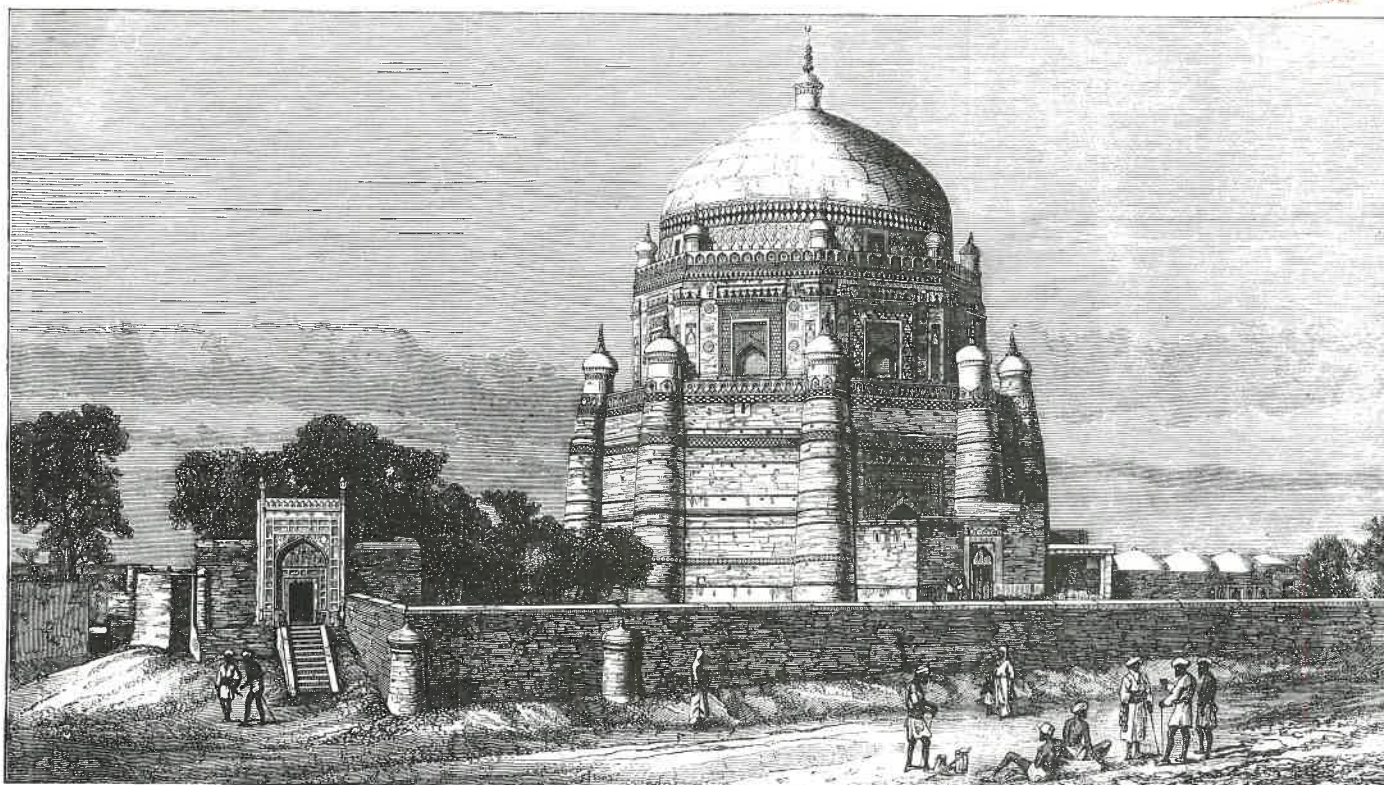
Siki Gate - the only gate of the fort not to be bricked up during the attack - was the gate from which Mulraj, Governor of Multan, emerged 'gorgeously attired and riding on a fine Arab steed' on 22 January 1849 to concede defeat and yield custody of the fort.

141. MAIN HEADQUARTERS, MULTAN, 1849
Water-colour by Lt. J.C. Heathorn done in Multan in April 1849.



The main building on the left rising above the fort walls was commandeered as the headquarters of the Bombay Engineers during the siege.

The conical roofed tomb on the right, according to the inscription by the artist Lt. Heathorn on the painting, was the 'tomb of Jawahir Mull, the father of Moolraj.' If this is correct, it would more probably be the *samadhi* of Mulraj's father, the former Governor Diwan Sawan Mal, who had died in September 1844.



142 Tomb of Rukn-i-Alam, Multan, 1863.

142. TOMB OF RUKN-I-ALAM, MULTAN, 1863
Engraving from a photograph by Capt. Robert Hickey, published in *The Illustrated London News*, 5 December 1863.

Identified as 'the Rookom Alum... a large pagoda, or mosque', the famous tomb of the saint of Multan, Shaikh Rukn al-Din Rukn-i-Alam, was the focus of an early but precise photograph by Captain Robert Hickey of the 101st Regiment.

Shaikh Rukn-i-Alam, born in November 1251, was the grandson of another Multani divine Shaikh Baha al-din Zakariya. A man of erudition and learning, Rukn-i-Alam achieved considerable prominence during his lifetime at the courts of the Khaljis and the Tughlaq rulers of Delhi. He died at an advanced age on 3 January 1335. It has been traditionally supposed that on the magnificent tomb, described as 'one of the most splendid memorials ever erected', was built for himself by Ghias al-din Tughluq and later donated by his successor Firuz Shah Tughluq for the re-interment of Rukn-i-Alam. Recent research by Dr. Ahmad Nabi Khan in his definitive study on *Multan: History and Architecture* (1983) would indicate that 'it may perhaps be assumed that keeping his family tradition in view, Rukn-i-Alam must have caused its erection. How-

ever, it was still incomplete when the saint died and was *temporarily* buried in the tomb of his grandfather.' He believes that the affluent family of the *Suhrawardiya silsila* of which Rukn-i-Alam was the spiritual head in fact built this monument to the most famous of its fraternity.

Standing on a height of 50 feet above the ground, the octagonal tomb is another 100 feet in height. The tomb, built of fine burnt bricks, has three storeys and is most famous for its vivid blue glazed tile-work.

143. PERSIAN WATER-WHEEL AT PAKPATTAN, 1838

Lithograph by Charles and Louis Haghe after James Atkinson, published in J. Atkinson *Sketches in Afghanistan* (London, 1842), plate 1.

Atkinson's published text read: 'This drawing represents a scene on the river Sutledge, not far from the Pauk-Puttun in the Punjaub, a country in the north-west of Hindostan Proper. A number of the Punjaubees occupy the fore-ground, some of them are busily engaged in cooking, others in conversation, while the boatmen, in the boats peculiar to the Punjaub, are seen on the left. On the middle bank is a faithful delineation of "the Persian Wheel," used for irrigating the fields, and which is turned by a



143 Persian water-wheel at Pakpattan, 1838.

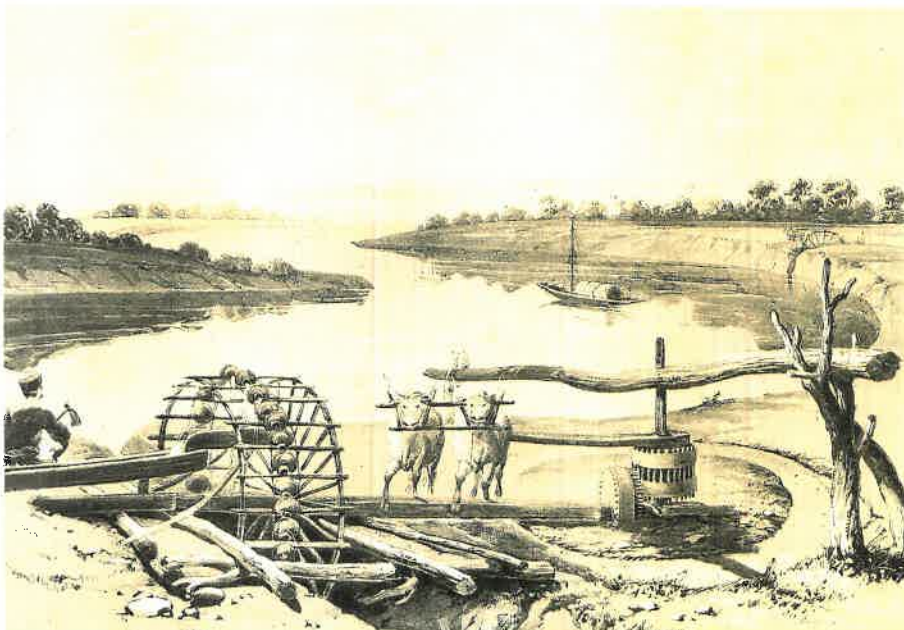
couple of bullocks, and when in motion, its shrill and squeaking noise may be heard miles off, indicating a village at no great distance; the driver is on a seat carried forward at the end of a beam, supported over a horizontal wheel. At a short distance are two females in crimson dresses, the usual colour of this part, carrying water-pots on their heads, this drudgery among the lower orders in the east, being usually performed by the *softer sex*.

By including a variety of groups, the lithographers have enlivened what might otherwise have been a dull composition.

144. PERSIAN WATER-WHEEL ON THE BANKS OF THE INDUS, 1838

Lithograph published in Sir. K.A. Jackson *Views of Affghaunistan* (London, 1841), plate 10.

Subjects as mundane as the traditional method of drawing water using harnessed bullocks nevertheless intrigued the British officers, and not surprisingly, both Atkinson and Jackson felt that the novelty of the scene they witnessed many times as they marched along the banks of the Indus deserved to be included in their respective publications.



144 Persian water-wheel on the banks of the Indus, 1838.

LAHORE

Except for a brief period between 1578 and 1598 when the Mughal emperor Akbar established his imperial centre there, Lahore never achieved a capital status. It has reconciled itself to provincial proportions, whether as a fiefdom of the kings of Kabul or the invaders from Ghazni or of the Durrani dynasty.

Even during the rule of the Sikh Maharaja Ranjit Singh during the first half of the nineteenth century, Lahore as a secular base found itself having to compete with the spiritual centre that Amritsar represented.

To the British, Lahore was a coveted prize, as precious strategically as the Koh-i-Nur was ornamentally. Both fell into the hands of the British Government following the annexation of the Punjab in 1849. The diamond was taken to London and has remained petrified amongst the British Crown Jewels; the fortunes of the city of Lahore were transformed as it expanded beyond the confines of the walled old city and progressed until it became not only the political but the educational and cultural crucible of the province.

145. MAP OF LAHORE, 1837

Map by Captain W. Garden, March 1837.

One of the earliest maps of Lahore city, this map by Capt. W. Garden, Asst. Quarter-Master General of the British Army, was drawn by him when he visited the city as part of the entourage of Sir Henry Fane, then Commander-in-Chief. The occasion of Fane's visit was to attend the the marriage of Kunwar Nau Nehal Singh, the grandson of the Sikh Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

The British Army camp was laid out on the plain north of the old walled city, the fortified gates of which are discernible. Interestingly, it would appear from the map that the houses of the various European mercenaries employed by Ranjit Singh - Ventura, Courtland, Avitabile - lay in the open areas south of the city. The house of General Ventura near the Anarkali cantonment is now the Punjab Civil Secretariat.

146. VIEW OF LAHORE, 1846

Engraving after a sketch, published in *The Illustrated London News*, 28 March 1846.

The death of the Sikh Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1839 and the inept policies of his successors brought about a serious deterioration in the relations between the Sikh Durbar and its former ally the British, erupting in the First Sikh War of 1845-6. Information about Lahore was of immediate interest, and a sketch

145 Map of Lahore, 1837.





146 View of Lahore, 1846.

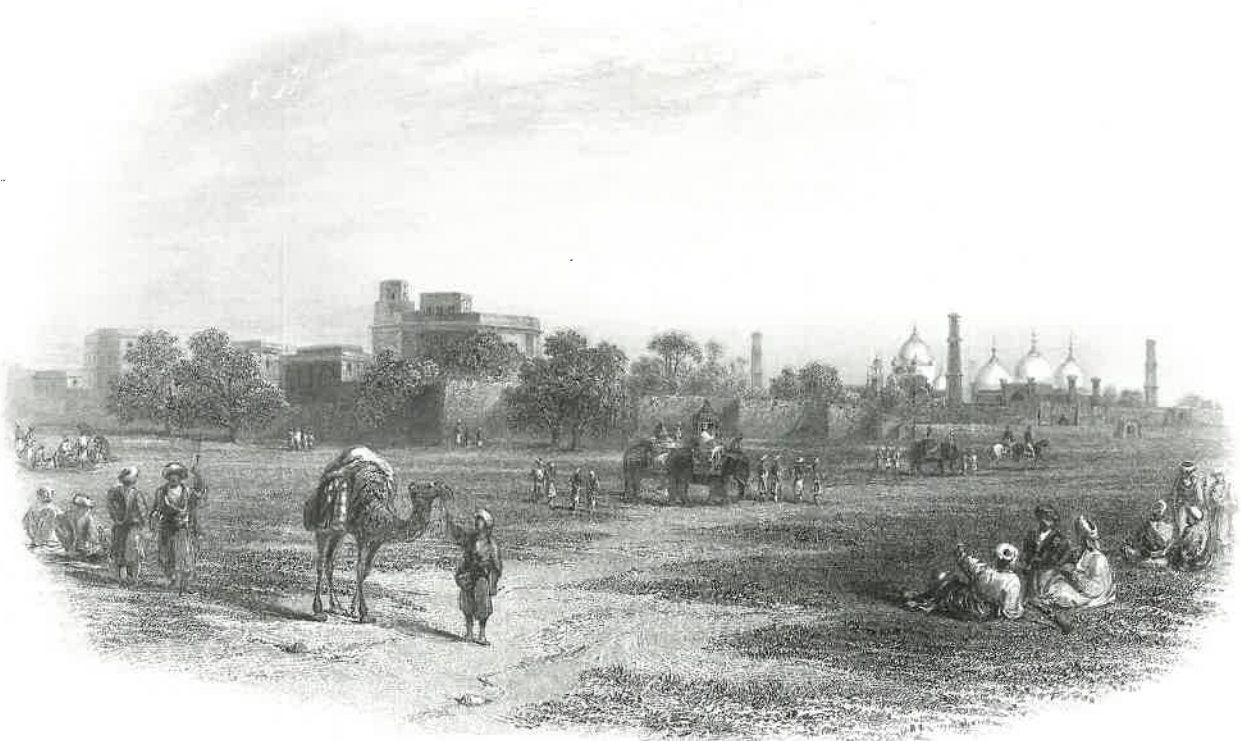
like this provided some information, however superficial and inaccurate in its detail, about the new theatre of war. The text published with this picture is a good example: 'Lahore is the only city town of note on the banks of the Ravee (Hydraotes); but the river has lately forsaken its immediate vicinity, and this ancient capital now stands on a small branch. The position of Lahore is good in a military and commercial point of view. It is equidistant from Mooltan, Peshawur, Kashmir, and Delhi. It stands in a most fertile country, and an army of 80,000 men has been supported on the resources of its neighbourhood. The city is, for its size, densely populous, containing about 100,000 inhabitants, consisting of Mohammedans, Hindoos, and Sikhs, the former most numerous. The houses are in general

brick, and five stories high; but many are in a very crazy condition. It is surrounded by a strong brick wall and ditch, which may be flooded from the river.

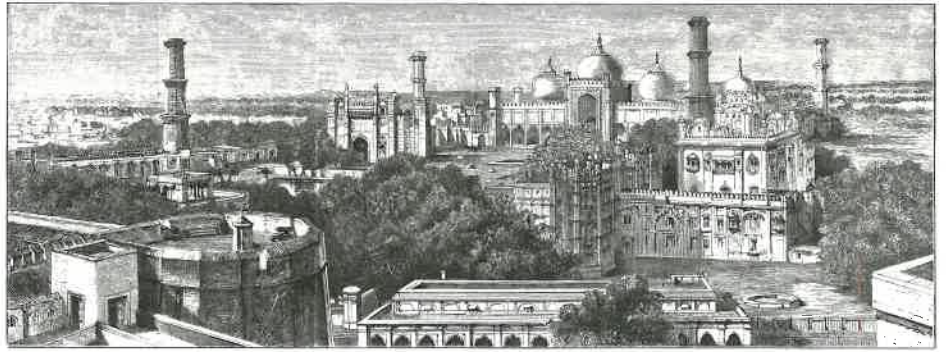
The Bazaar follows the direction of the city wall, and is not far distant from it. The street is narrow; and this inconvenience is aggravated by platforms in front of the shops, in which the goods are displayed, under projecting penthouses of straw, to protect them from the sun and rain. Through the centre of the remaining contracted space runs a deep and dirty rain, the smell from which is very offensive. There is no public building of any size or magnificence, except the Mosque of the Nawab Wazir Khan.

There are twelve gates to the city, and as many semicircular outworks. Lahore could oppose no effectual resistance to European assailants.'

147 Lahore fort and Badshahi Mosque, c. 1870.



148 View from the Sheesh Mahal of Lahore fort, 1878.



147. LAHORE FORT AND BADSHAHI-MOSQUE, c. 1870

Engraving by E.I. Roberts after a sketch by W. Carpenter Jnr. published in Dr. E.H. Nolan *The Illustrated History of India and of the British Empire in the East* (London, 1878).

Known by this time as the Old Race-course, the plain to the north of the old city had been cleared of trees and shrubbery, providing a clear view of the royal palace built by Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan, and the Badshahi Mosque built by Aurangzeb in 1673-4.

148. VIEW FROM THE SHEESH MAHAL OF LAHORE FORT, 1878

Engraving published in *The Graphic*, 16 November 1878.

'The City of Lahore is a quaint old native town,' *The Graphic* news-periodical reported, 'with narrow streets, and with a strange mixture of Mahomedan-

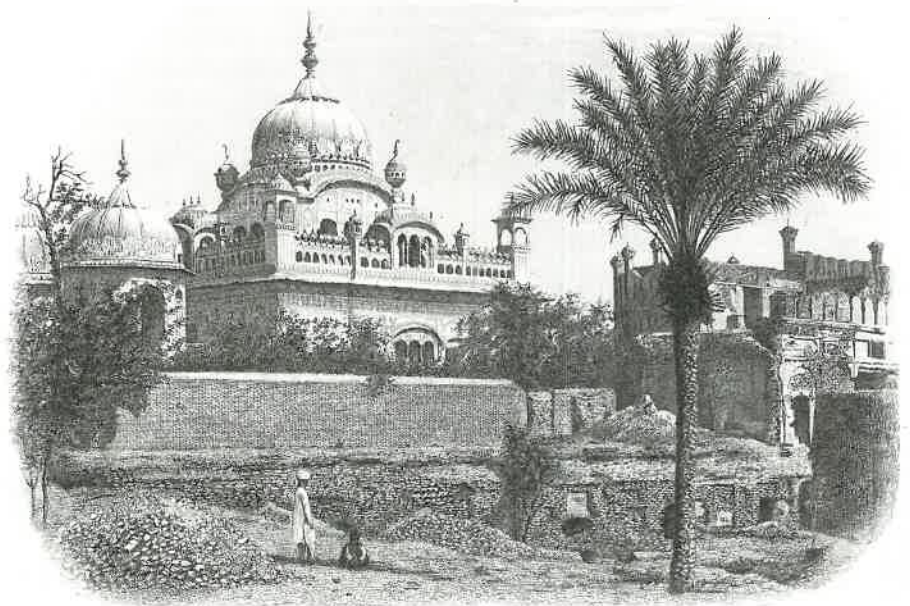
Sikh buildings. Our illustration is from a photograph taken from the top of the fort, and includes in the view a picture of the Jumma Musjid, or Great Mosque, in the centre, and of the tomb of Runjeet Singh, the late ruler of the Punjaub, on the left. The European part of Lahore is outside the city walls, and stretches out for a distance of three miles towards the military cantonment of Meean Meer. It is known as Anarkullee, being named after a celebrated native dancing girl, whose remains lie entombed in the building at present used as a church.'

149. THE SAMADHI OF MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH, LAHORE, c. 1870

Engraving from a photograph, published in Dr. E.H. Nolan *The Illustrated History of India and of the British Empire in the East* (London, 1878).

The *samadhi* of Maharaja Ranjit Singh marked the spot where the Sikh Maharaja was cremated on 28 June 1839. Despite its essential simplicity of its scheme and design, it took almost ten years to complete.

149 The *samadhi* of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Lahore, c. 1870.





150 Interior of the Badshahi Masjid, 1870.

150. INTERIOR OF THE BADSHAHI MASJID, 1870
Photograph, c. 1870.

In this photograph of the Badshahi Masjid, which has over the years begun to symbolise Lahore, trees which provided shade to Muslims at prayer can be seen in the mosque forecourt. In the left corner stands the marble Hazuri Bagh pavilion.

151. THE HAZURI BAGH PAVILION, c. 1870
Photograph, c. 1870.

The Hazuri Bagh pavilion, located in the small quadrangle between the Badshahi Masjid and the massive Alamgiri gate of the Lahore fort was built

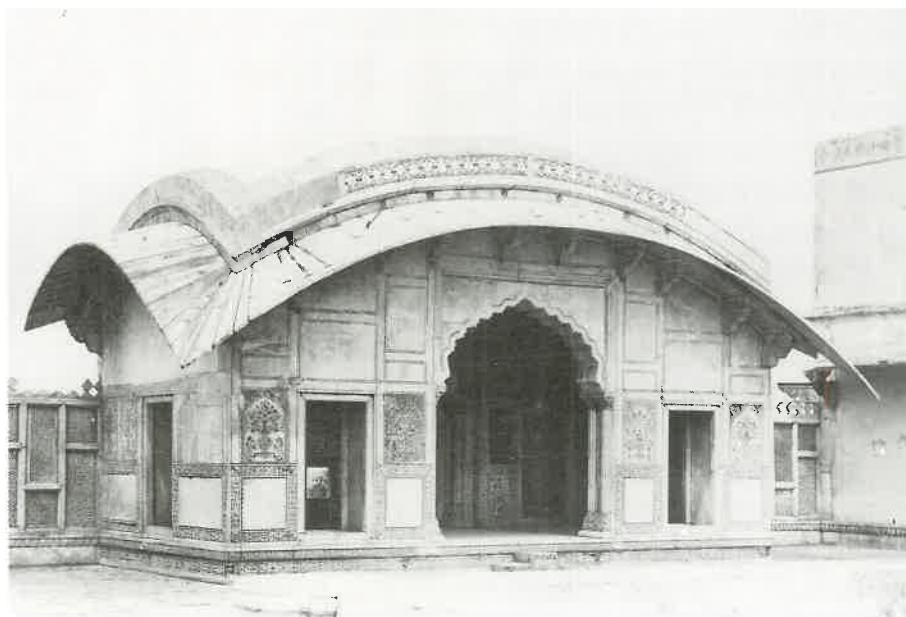
in 1818, using carved marble panels appropriated from Mughal tombs in and around Lahore.

152. THE NAULAKHA PAVILION IN THE LAHORE FORT, 1870
Photograph, c. 1870.

The Naulakha pavilion - 'naulakha' means nine lakhs and has been traditionally regarded as being the cost of the pavilion - stands on the west side of the square in the Sheesh Mahal section of the Lahore fort. Made of ornamented marble, the graceful sloping design of the roof of the pavilion is an echo of the style of roof associated with Bengal. The pavilion is datable to the reign of Shah Jahan.



151 The Hazuri Bagh Pavilion, c. 1870.

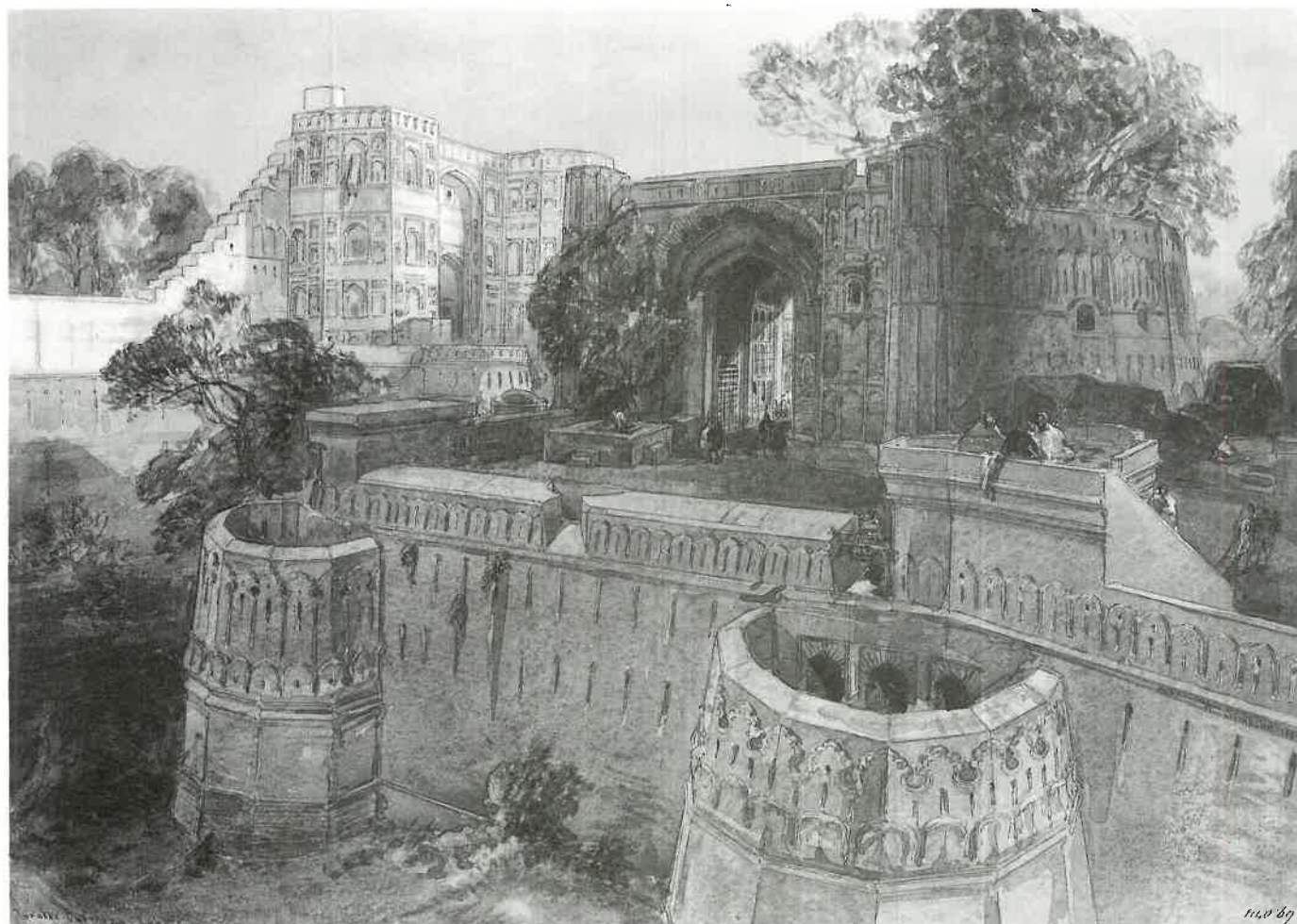


152. The Naulakha pavilion in the Lahore fort, 1870.

153. THE TAXALI GATE, LAHORE, 1865
Water-colour by William Simpson, 1865, after a sketch done by him earlier at Lahore in March 1860.

The Taxali gate which provided ingress into the city from the western side was close to the site of the old royal mint.

153 The Taxali gate, Lahore, 1865.



154. LAHORE GATE, c. 1900

Photograph by F. Bremner, published as a postcard c.1900.

One of the twelve gates of the old walled city, the Lahore or Lohari gate got its name, according to the historian S.M. Latif, from the belief that the first settlement in the city after its reconstruction by Malik Ayaz in the 11th century was in the vicinity of this particular gate.



154 Lahore gate, c. 1900.

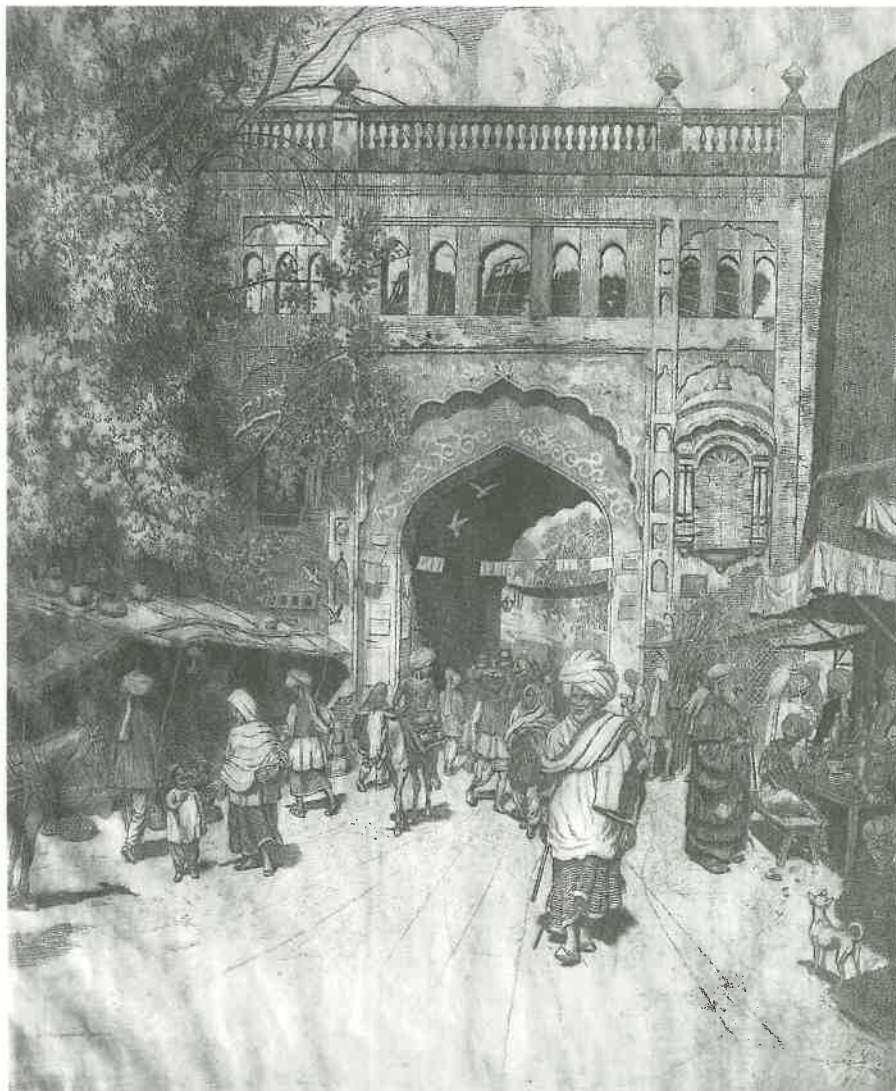
155. LAHORE GATE, 1917

Engraving by F.C. Scallan, dated 1917 and inscribed: *A City Gateway, Lahore.*

In this later view of the same scene, the features of the Lahore gate are more clearly discernible.

Little is known of the work of the artist/engraver Frank Clinger Scallan except that he was active during the first quarter in this century.

Scallan's work was of a sufficiently high order for him to qualify for inclusion in international exhibitions. This particular engraving was exhibited at the Society of Graphic Arts, London, in Paris and also in India.



155 Lahore gate, 1917.

156. DELHI GATE, c. 1920

Water-colour, published as a postcard, c.1920.

Opening on the east side of the city on the road leading from Lahore to Delhi, the Delhi gate was substantially reconstructed during the 19th century. Two early biographers of Lahore - T.H. Thornton and J.L. Kipling - writing in 1876 deplored the result: 'On the left of this gate, which has been restored in a *quasi*-classical and incongruous style, were till recently some old hammams or hot-air baths, parts of which have been removed by the municipality to clear the way for the new honorary magistrate's katchery, which is in the wing of the gate itself. These hammams were of exceedingly massive construction. They were formerly very numerous in Lahore and the suburbs.'

157 & 158. STREET SCENES OF LAHORE, 1855

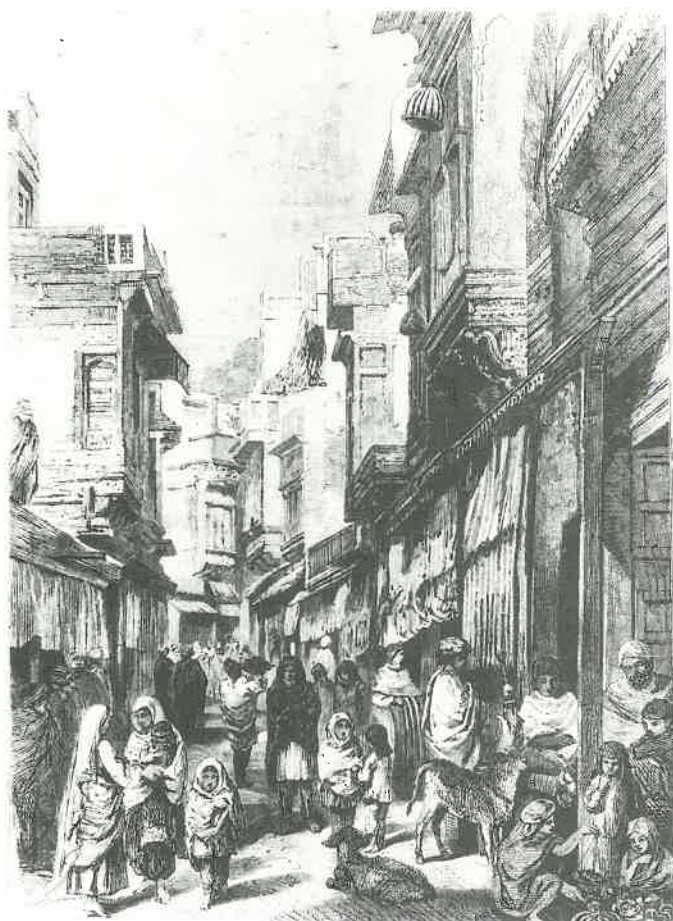
Engravings after water-colours by W. Carpenter, 1855, published in *The Illustrated London News*, 23 October 1858.

William Carpenter visited Lahore between 1854 and 1855 during the seven years he spent in India from 1850 onwards. He exhibited his work at the Royal Academy after his return to England and it is quite likely that these engravings, after the water-colours he had done while at Lahore, were published in *The Illustrated London News* to coincide with an exhibition of his work.

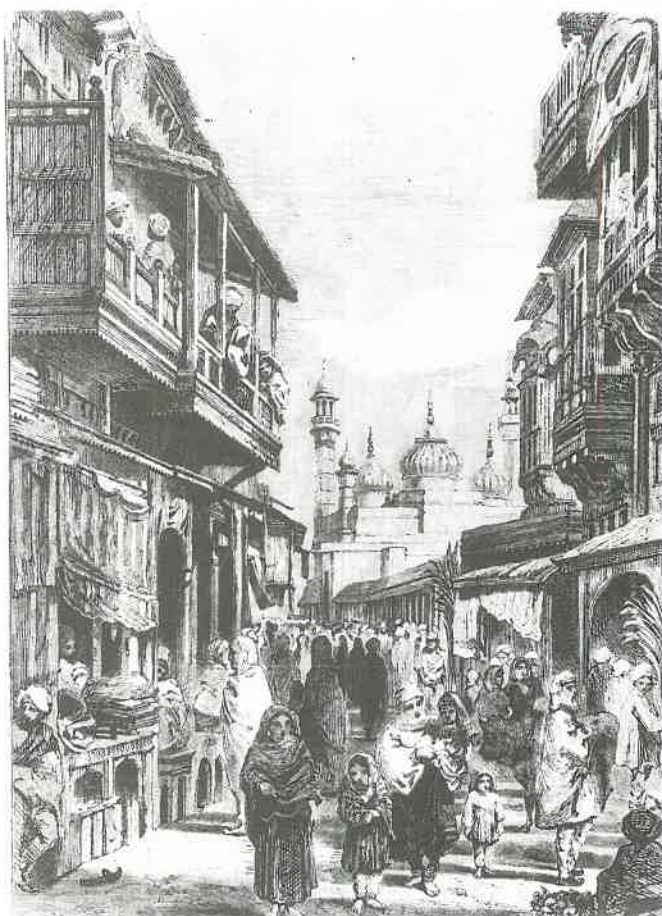
Describing the city of Lahore in the 1850s, the notes published with this engraving mention: 'It is constructed almost entirely of brick, the streets narrow and the houses lofty; the quarter for the shops and bazaars being separate from that inhabited by the rich, whose houses within gates, resemble French hotels, having inclosures at the top, with latticework made of tiles for the accommodation of the women, that they may enjoy the cool breeze in the evening without the danger of being overlooked.'

The original water-colours are now in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London and have been reproduced in Aijazuddin (1991), plates 54 and 55.

157 Street scene of Lahore, 1855.



158 Street scene of Lahore, 1855.





156 Delhi gate, c. 1920. (Left)

159 Mosque of Wazir Khan, Lahore, 1854.
(Below)

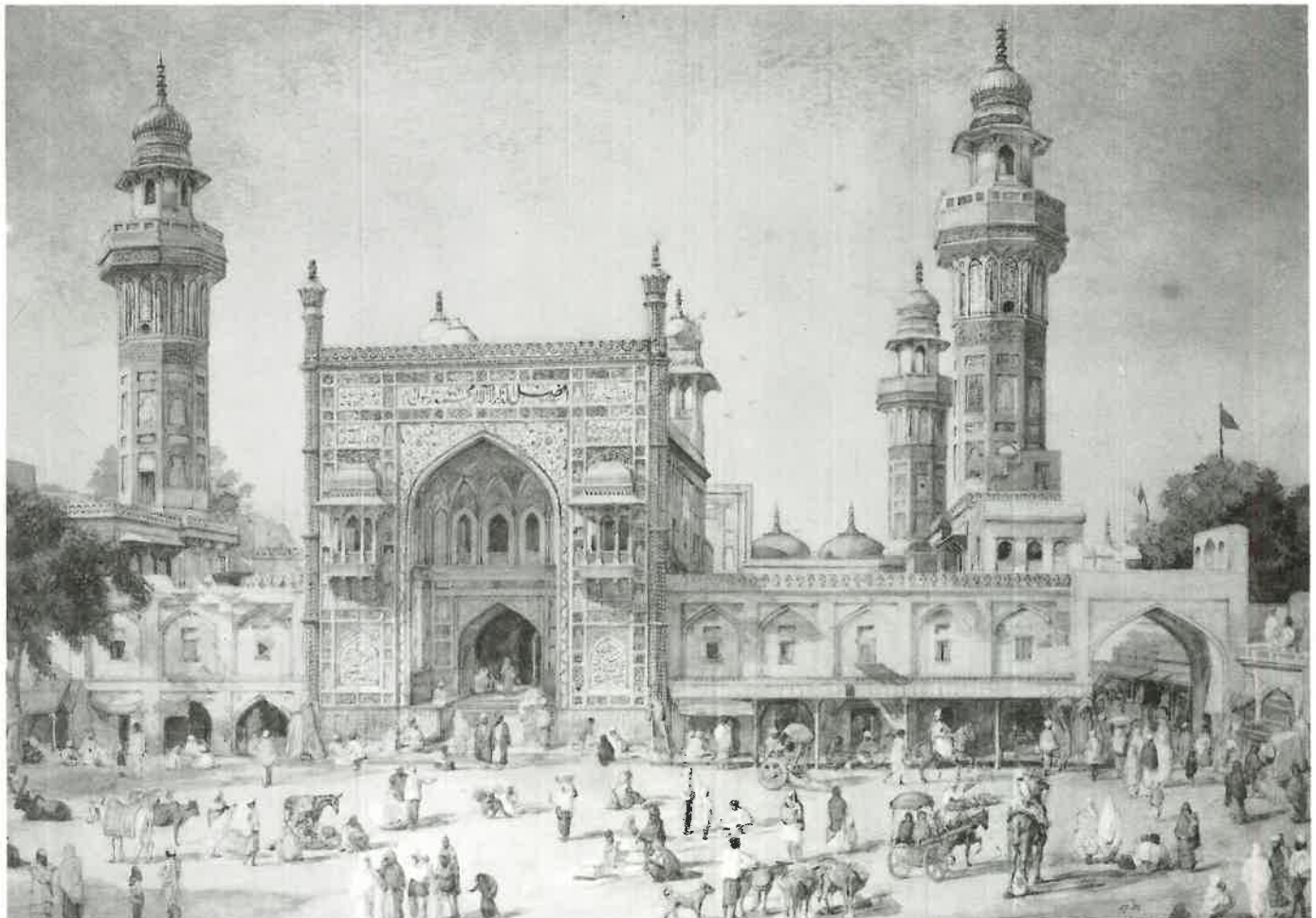
159. MOSQUE OF WAZIR KHAN, LAHORE, 1854
Water-colour by W. Carpenter, 1854.

The mosque known as Wazir Khan's mosque was completed in 1634 by Nawab Alimuddin, a grandee at the court of Shah Jahan.

For the coloured lithograph version of the same picture, see Aijazuddin (1991), plate 59.

160. MOSQUE OF WAZIR KHAN, LAHORE, 1864
Water-colour by W. Simpson, 1864, after a sketch done by him at Lahore in March 1860.

161. THE ENTRANCE OF THE MOSQUE OF
WAZIR KHAN, LAHORE, 1889
Engraving from a painting by E.L. Weeks, published in *The Illustrated London News*, 14 December 1889.





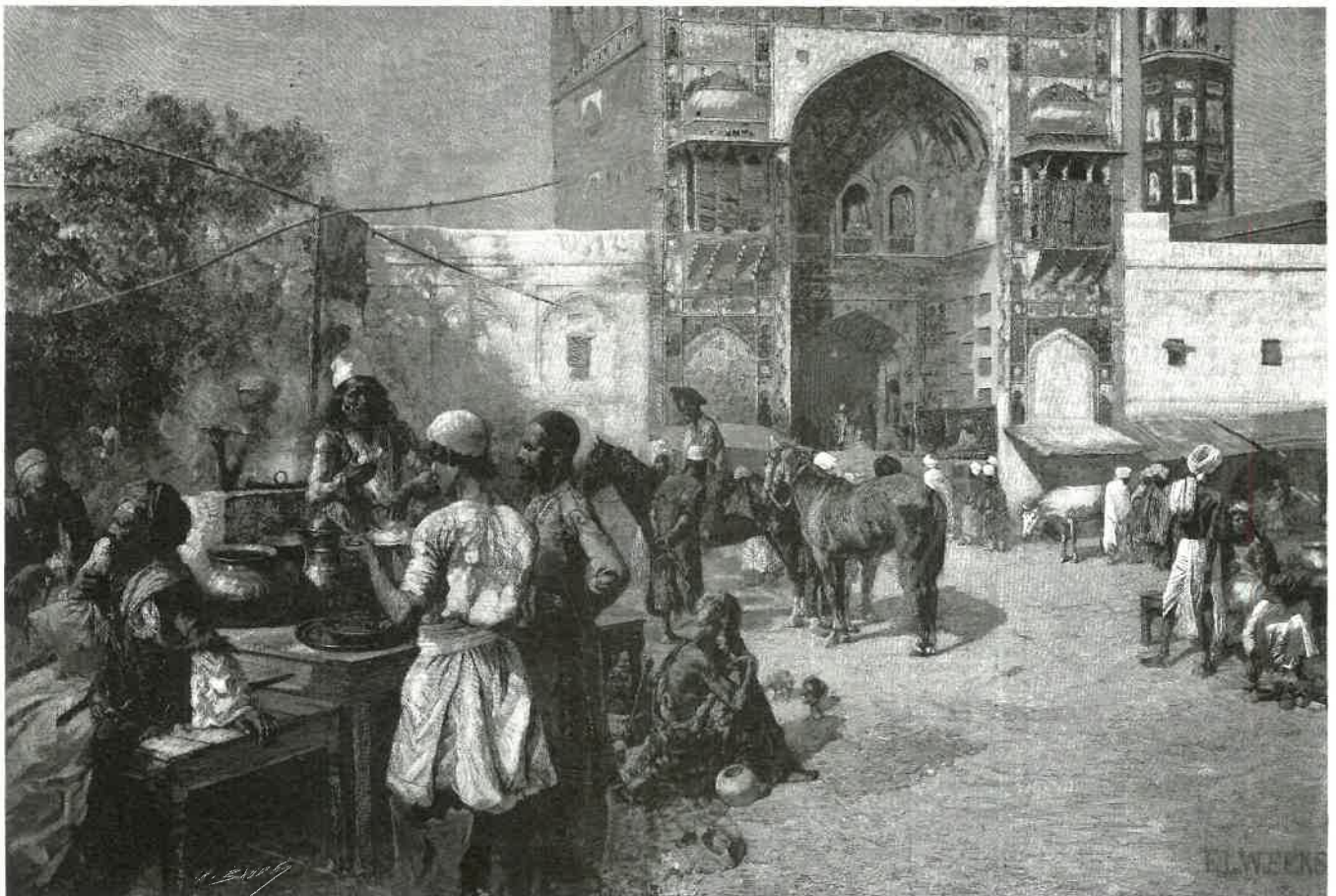
160 Mosque of Wazir Khan, Lahore, 1864.

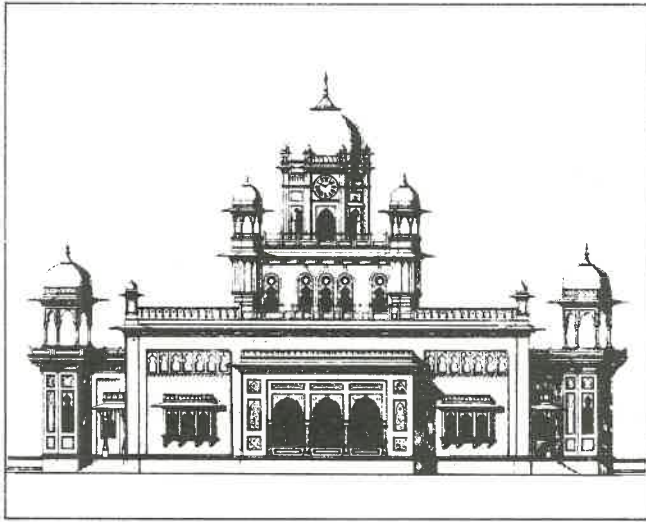
A Bostonian American by birth, Edwin Lord Weeks had studied under the famous orientalist painter Gerome at the Beaux-arts in Paris. He journeyed through northern India c. 1890 en route

southwards to Bombay.

This painting, which was exhibited at the Paris Salon in 1889, was reproduced as an engraving with the title: *An Open-Air Restaurant in Lahore*.

161 The Entrance of the Mosque of Wazir Khan, Lahore, 1889.





162 Aitchison College, Lahore, 1886.

162. AITCHISON COLLEGE, LAHORE, 1886
Sketch by D. Muhammad, 1886.

Aitchison College had been founded by Sir Charles Aitchison in 1886. After an initial consideration of the mausoleum of Jahangir at Shahdara as a possible site for the College, the College was located on the main Mall Road (now the Shahrah-i-Quaid-e-Azam). The design for the exterior of the building was submitted jointly by J. Lockwood Kipling and Bhai Ram Singh of the Mayo School of Arts at Lahore (now the National College of Arts), and the plan for its interior by Col. Swinton Jacob, Chief Engineer, who also designed the Sandeman hall at Quetta.

This particular sketch was used for the invitation card to the foundation stone laying ceremony of the College, held on 3 November 1886.

163. PUNJAB CLUB, LAHORE, c. 1920
Postcard, c. 1920.

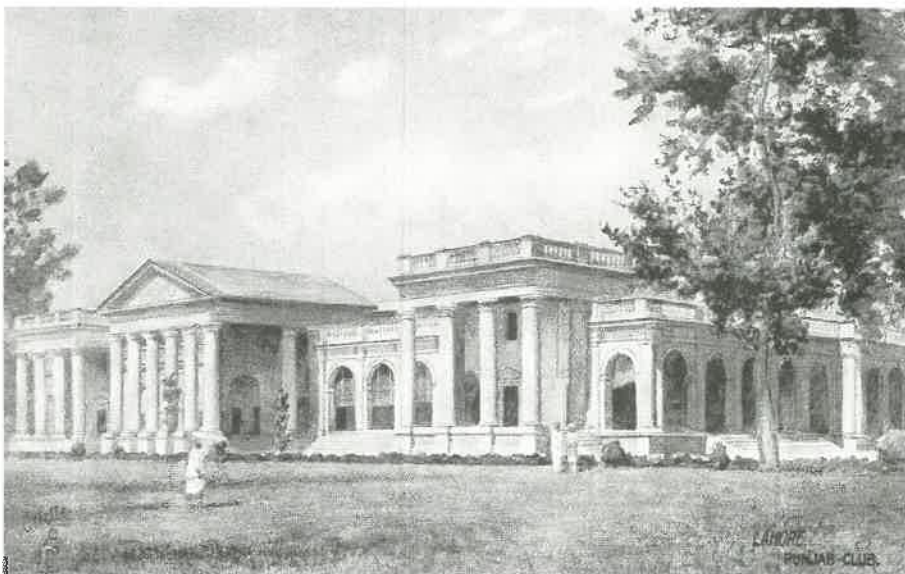
The building now occupied by the Pakistan Administrative Staff College, the crucible for the training of the country's modern civil servants, was formerly the site of the exclusive Punjab Club.

The Club was founded in 1863 as the The Anarkullie Billiard Club, with 12 founding Proprietors and 9 members including the Secretary. An idea may be had of the leanness of the Club's finances from its announcement on formation that 'The Room will be lighted on Thursday evenings at the expense of the Club. Any Member can order the room to be lighted on other evenings, one Rupee being charged for lighting.'

Records of the development and subsequent history of the Club are not readily available with it beyond the information that its grand Palladian premises were requisitioned by the Government in 1962 (it is believed because the Club eschewed the admission of Pakistanis as members), and a year later, exactly a century after its formation, the Punjab Club was relocated in its present comparably smaller premises in Danepur Road.

164. PUNJAB EXHIBITION BUILDING, 1864
Photograph, 1864.

This building, according to the excellent guide by Thornton and Kipling, 'was hastily constructed for the Punjab Exhibition of 1864, and was not intended



163 Punjab Club, Lahore, c. 1920.

164 Punjab Exhibition building, 1864.



to be permanent; but want of funds has prevented hitherto the erection of a more suitable structure'. At its entrance stood the famous cannon Zamzama which was brought there from its previous location near the Delhi gate.

The exhibition displayed both 'specimens of the antiquities, arts and manufactures' of the Punjab and specimens of 'its raw products, vegetable, mineral and animal'.

The building is still in use today, as the Tollington municipal market.

165. LAHORE TOWN HALL, 1893

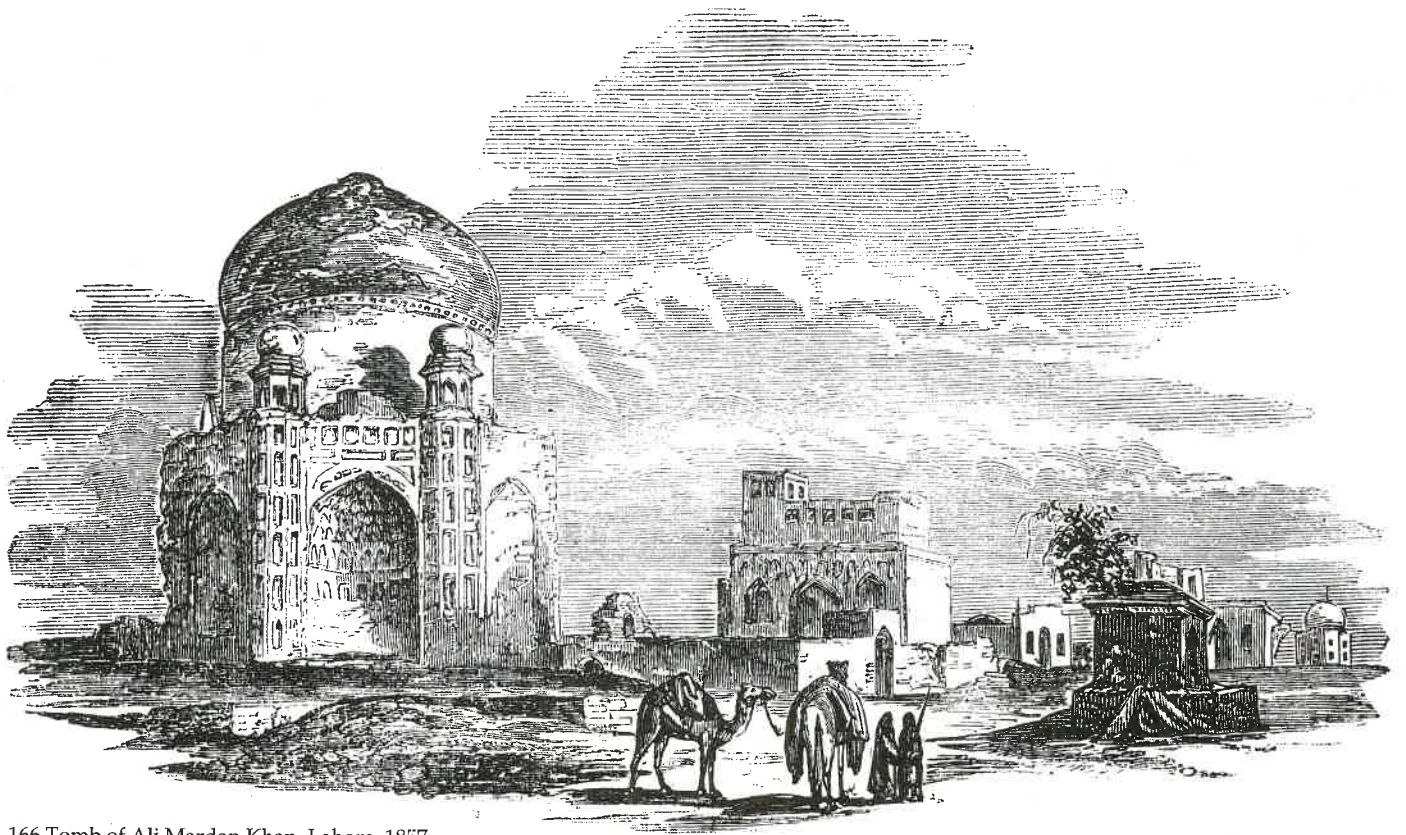
Photograph by Burke, January 1893.

Photographed in 1893, six years after its foundation stone had been laid by Sir Charles Aitchison, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, the Lahore Town Hall was decorated to receive Lord Frederick Roberts, Commander-in-Chief.

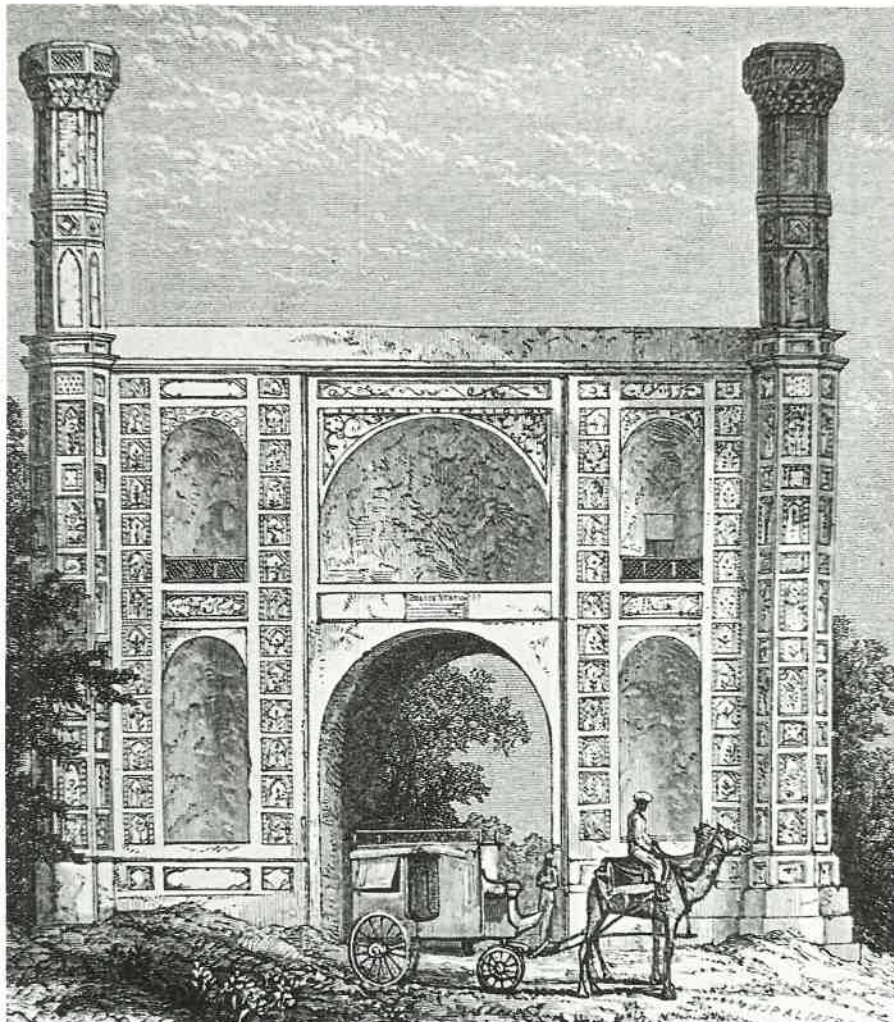
Built on the 'Oriental principle' by a Mr. Bull, Municipal Engineer, according to designs prepared by Mr. Pogson, a Madras architect, it cost Rs. 60,000.

165 Lahore Town Hall, 1893.





166 Tomb of Ali Mardan Khan, Lahore, 1857.



167 Gulabi Bagh gateway, Begumpura, Lahore, 1873.

166. TOMB OF ALI MARDAN KHAN, LAHORE, 1857

Engraving published in *The Illustrated London News*, 26 September 1857.

Incorrectly captioned as a 'tomb of an Ameer of Scinde', this engraving illustrates the tomb of Ali Mardan Khan, on the outskirts of Lahore.

Ali Mardan Khan, the Governor of the Punjab under Shah Jahan, died in 1657. He was responsible for the construction of the canal that brought water to the famous Shalimar gardens at Lahore.

167. GULABI BAGH GATEWAY, LAHORE, 1873.

Engraving by W.J. Palmer, after a sketch by J. Duguid, 1873. Published in J. Duguid *Letters from India and Kashmir* (London, 1874).

The Gulabi Bagh gateway, built at Begumpura in 1655 by Mirza Sultan Beg, led into one of the major gardens which dotted the environs of Lahore.

In this illustration, the gateway has been embellished fancifully with columns borrowed it would appear from the Chaburji gateway. The gateway, as the signboard states, was used as a police station.

168. SHALIMAR GARDENS, LAHORE, c. 1880
Painting in gouache by a local artist, Lahore, c. 1880.

The formal Mughal gardens of Shalimar were laid out for Shah Jahan in 1642 by Khaliullah Khan. The garden had three levels - the lowest providing access

to the gardens, the second higher level known as the *faiz baksh* or bountiful, and the highest where the royal apartments were being the *farah baksh* or pleasure-yielding.

169. BRIDGE OF BOATS ACROSS THE RAVI, LAHORE, 1849

Engraving published in *The Illustrated London News*, 27 January 1849.

The building on the right, incorrectly identified as the summer-house of Maharaja Ranjit Singh on the banks of the river Ravi, was most probably the riverside gateway leading to the mausoleum of Jahangir on the western Shahdara bank of the river.

For a similar view, see the water-colour by A. Oldfield, reproduced in Aijazuddin (1991), plate 11.

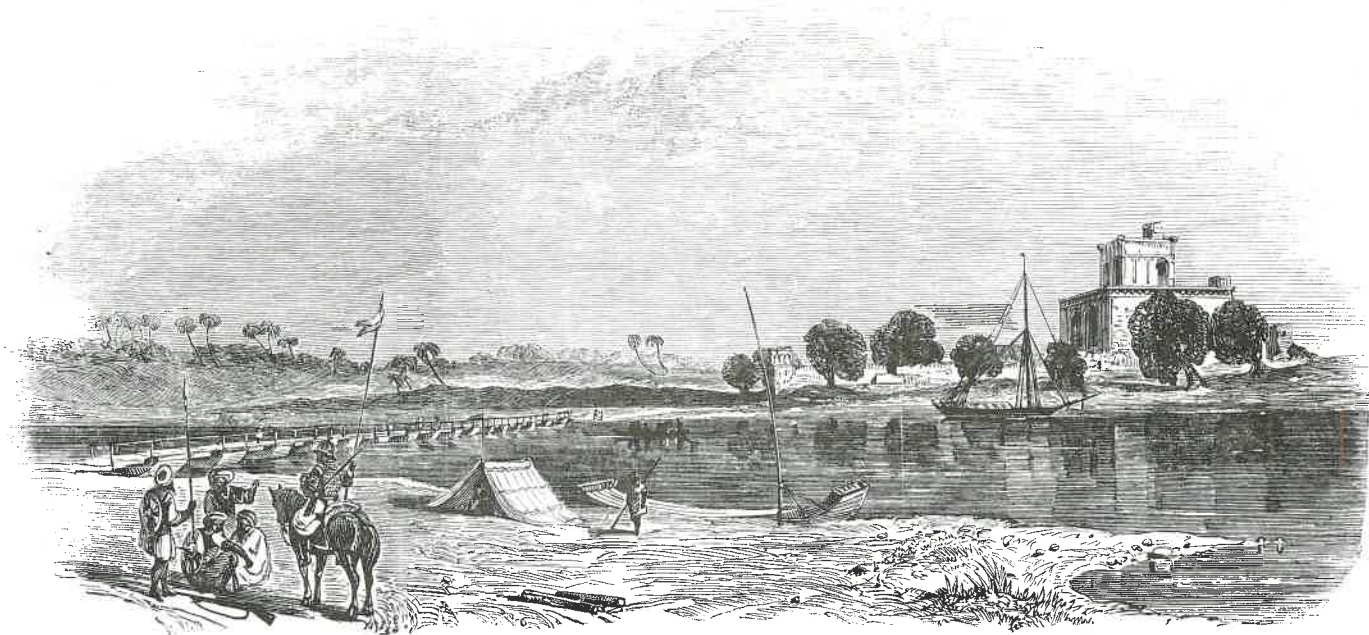
170. THE MAUSOLEUM OF THE EMPEROR JAHANGIR, SHAHDARA, 1878

Miniature painting in gouache by Lassaju, dated A.H.1296 (1878-79 A.D.). Inscribed: *naqsha maqbara jahangir badshah waqiah sawad lahore ma'aruf shah-darah - matabiq photograph* - 'plan of the tomb of the emperor Jahangir at Lahore and Shahdara'.

The mausoleum of the emperor Jahangir who died in 1627 was commissioned by his son and successor Shah Jahan. It took ten years and cost about ten lakhs to complete. This miniature by a local artist was derived, as its inscription states, from a contemporary photograph.

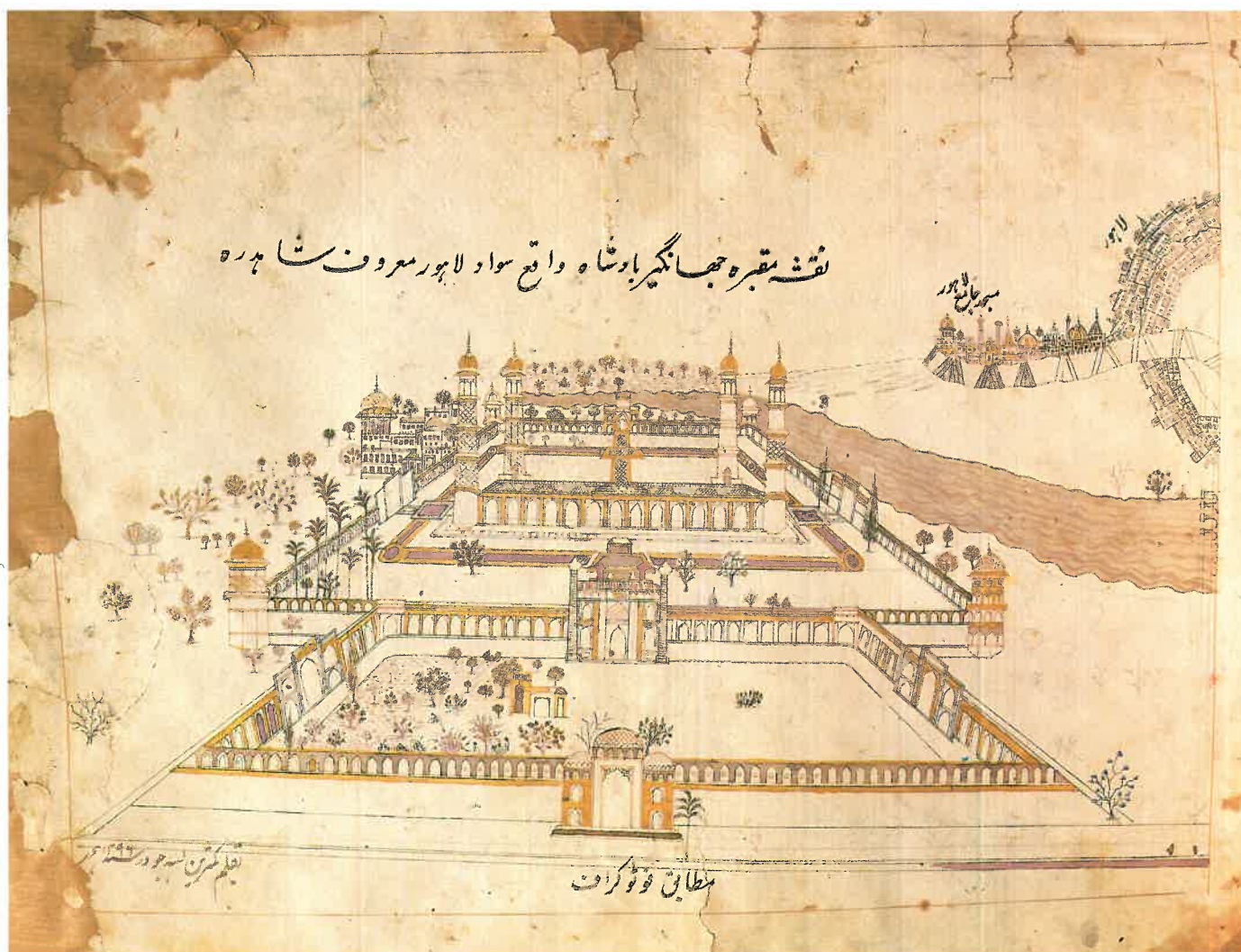
168 Shalimar Gardens, Lahore, c. 1880.

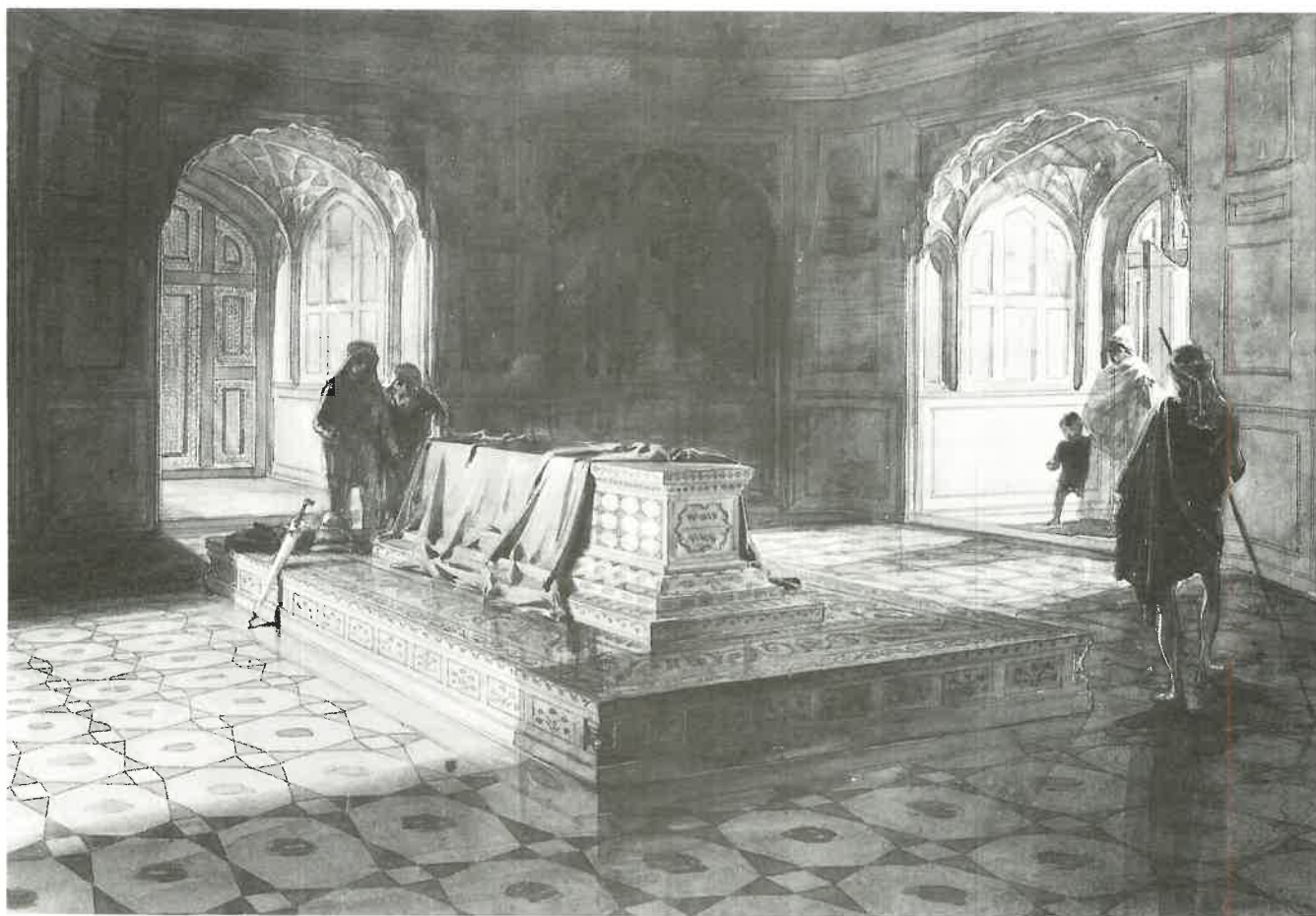




169 Bridge of boats across the Ravi, Lahore, 1849.

170 The Mausoleum of the Emperor Jahangir, Shahdara, 1878.





171 The Cenotaph of Emperor Jahangir, 1864.

171. THE CENOTAPH OF EMPEROR JAHANGIR, 1864

Water-colour by W. Simpson, 1864.

William Simpson visited Lahore in the spring of 1860, travelling with the camp of the Governor-General Lord Charles Canning and his artist wife Charlotte. Simpson's technique was to make quick deft sketches in situ, which he later developed into fuller water-colours. This particular picture had been part of an ambitious series he had intended to complete on India for publication as lithographs, comparable to David Robert's spectacular prints on the Holy Land and Egypt. The scheme foundered because of the insolvency of his publishers Day and Son Ltd. and eventually when a book of Simpson's Indian work was brought out in 1867 under the title *India Ancient and Modern*, it contained far less than the two hundred and fifty Simpson had originally planned.

The marble cenotaph, inlaid with semi-precious

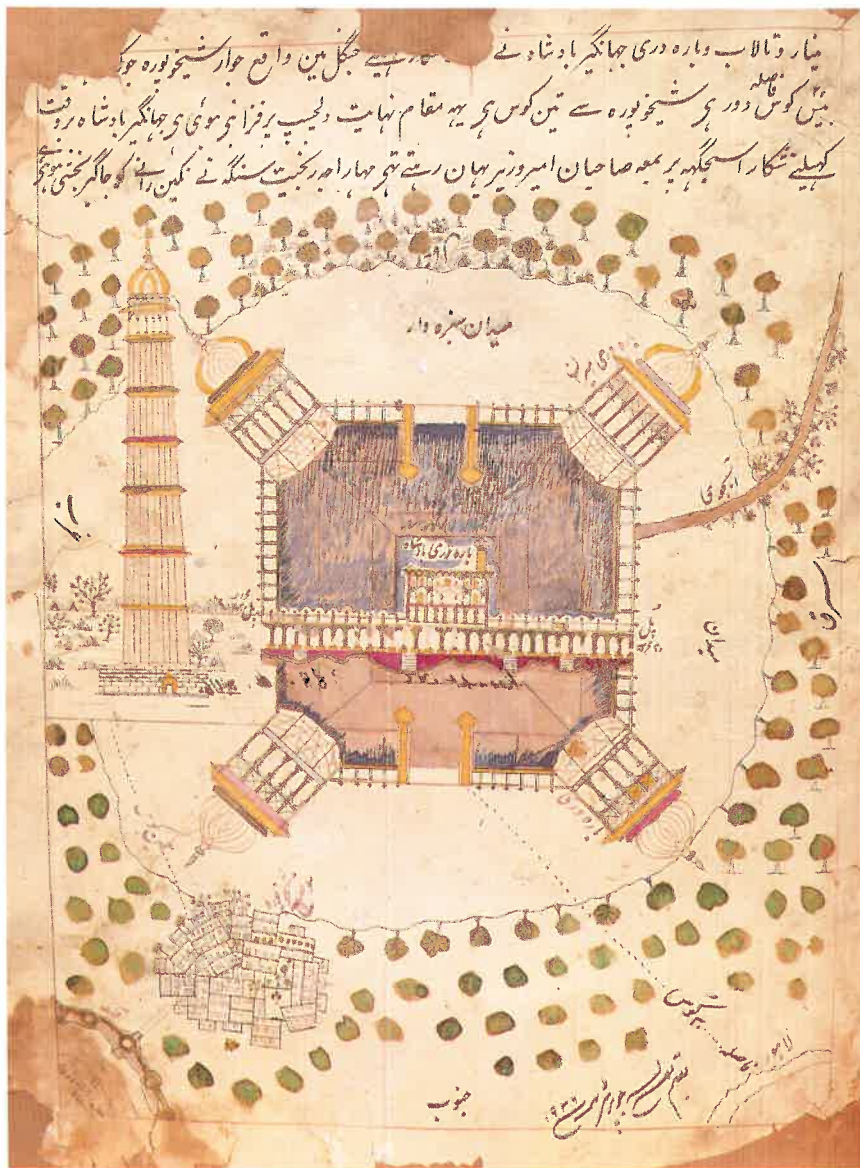
stones, depicted by Simpson in his sketch stood as was the convention in Mughal tombs above the actual grave of the king. For a coloured reproduction of this water-colour, see Aijazuddin (1991), no. 9.

172. HIRAN MINAR, SHEIKHUPURA, 1878

Miniature painting in gouache by Lassaju, a local artist, dated Samvat 1936 (1878 A.D.).

Located about 21 miles from Lahore on the western Shahdara side of the Ravi river, the Hiran Minar monument at Sheikhpura was built by Jahangir to commemorate a favourite deer. In those days the area was a royal hunting preserve and abounded with wild game.

The layout consisted of a central three storeyed pavilion set in the centre of a large artificial lake with an elevated access from two sides. If this representation is accurate, then one of the approaches has since been dismantled. The minaret on the left was over 100 feet high.



172 Hiran Minar, Sheikhupura, 1878.

173. CHURCH AT SIALKOT, 1854

Engraving from a photograph, published in *The Illustrated London News*, 29 April 1854.

The first Protestant Church to be built and consecrated in the Punjab, work on this church was started in 1852, its foundation stone being laid by the Archdeacon of Calcutta. The bricks for the church building were appropriated by the District Officer Mr. Inglis from 'a ruined little fortress (dismantled on account of the rebellion of its owner, an influential Sikh)'; wood and lime were provided by the Maharaja of Kashmir Gulab Singh, who had eight years earlier obtained both the state and the title to it by a timely act of disloyalty to his patrons the Sikhs. 'Admiring the exertions of his Christian neighbours in the cause of their religion,' the report in *The Illustrated London News* read, 'this heathen

Prince offered gratuitously as much wood and lime as might be needed by the Church; and the offer was thankfully accepted, by permission of the Government.'

The Church was designed by Lieut. Harley Maxwell and its completion by Sikh masons and carpenters supervised by him. It was opened on Christmas Eve 1853.

174. VIEW OF TOWN OF GUJERAT, 1864

Engraving published in *The Illustrated London News*, 27 August 1864.

The Illustrated London News reported on the town of Gujerat: 'It shows some of the largest houses in the most populous part of the town, and also the dome of a fine mosque. Guzerat is situated on the Grand Trunk Road, about six miles from the Chenab,

and contains upwards of 20,000 inhabitants.'

'The cultivated area of Guzerat comprises about 593,934 acres. In this district, where the grazing lands are very extensive, and the pasturage good, cattle of all kinds are largely bred. The brood mares of the district are considered very fine, and there is considerable demand for Guzerat horned cattle.'

175. ENGLISH CHURCH AT GUJERAT, 1864

Engraving published in *The Illustrated London News*, 27 August 1864.

Largely through the efforts of Sir Robert Montgomery, then Lieutenant Governor-General of the Punjab, permission was granted by the Government to establish churches in various stations in the province. Fifteen were therefore established during 1861, including that at Gujerat.

The plans for the church were provided by the Government. The Gujerat church was built under the supervision of Capt. E. H. Paske, Deputy Commissioner.



173 Church at Sialkot, 1854.



175 English Church at Gujerat, 1864.



174 View of Town of Gujerat, 1864.

ROHTAS FORT

Rohtas Fort, close to the village of Dina on the main Grand Trunk road, is perhaps the most impressive of the medieval forts still extant in Pakistan. Built between 1540 and 1545 by the Delhi ruler Sher Shah Suri to intimidate the local Ghakkar tribes and as a military base, the fort was completed by his son Ismail Shah Suri. According to Eastwick, an inscription on the eastern Takali gate (one of the fort's twelve gates) read:

"When the following date
Had passed from the Hijrah 948 years,
The gate of the fort was built
In the reign of the Emperor Shir Shah
the Pivot of the World.
By the good fortune of the 2nd Ayyaz,
Shahu Sultan, who completed it."

Eastwick wrote that the fort cost Rs. 7,712,975 and 6 and half annas to construct. It had 68 bastions and 1956 battlements. The fort stands on a hill 130 feet above ground and is set on a ridge protected on its southern side by a deep ravine. The area of the fort extends over almost 5 kilometres in perimeter. With

its undulating stone walls and intimidating massive towers, it remains even today a solid gauntlet of weathered stone, a formidable challenge to those who aspire to explore it.

176. ROHTAS FORT, 1839

Lithograph by T. and E. Gibbs from a drawing by Lieut. W. Barr and published in Barr, W. *March from Delhi to Peshawur and from thence to Cabul* (London, 1844), facing p. 161.

In 1839, Lt. William Barr and his detachment of Native horse artillery marched with two 24-inch howitzers via Lahore and Jhelum to Peshawar. Entering the Kahan valley, Barr and his small party struggled over the rocks and sand crossing the seasonal river (a tributary of the river Jhelum) until they reached the base of Rohtas fort. His initial sight of it on 7 March 1839 left Barr somewhat despondent: 'Our first glimpse of it was very characteristic, and well calculated to fill the mind with gloom, only one corner, forming the centre of a dismal hollow, enclosed by bleak and barren hills, being visible. Its wall is in a ruined state, and so horribly blackened

176 Rohtas fort, 1836.



by time that had we not known otherwise, we should have pronounced it to have been stained by the action of fire; and the surrounding cliffs, dark almost as itself, hideously harmonized with the whole. A narrow path led up to it; but being impracticable for guns, we had to continue ascending the bed of the river. At length we reached an opening in the hills, and a beautiful view of the extensive plain, backed by lofty and irregular mountains, was displayed to our sight.'

After a delay caused by an accident in which Barr almost lost some of his horses in quicksand, Barr finally reached the fort and explored it: 'Rhotas is built on not the highest part of a long ridge of hills, and why the spot was ever chosen as a place of defence it is difficult to say, as in many places it is commanded by neighbouring heights; but the wall, which is of stone, is strong, and further defended by numerous bastions. The road leading to the gateway is steep, and by no means calculated for large horses, being nothing more than a bad "puharrie" [hill] track: however, up we went; and though there was a good deal of stumbling over the smooth worn rock...we managed to enter the fort in safety. Ascending a paved causeway, inclosed on either side by lofty walls, we passed beneath a second gateway, over which is inserted a Persian inscription, cut in white marble, purporting, I believe, to commemorate the founder.'

Guided by a 'decent-looking individual', Barr and his companions were conducted around the interior of the fort. It was perhaps this guide who provided the information recorded by Barr about the origins of the fort. 'After Shah Shere had firmly seated himself on the throne of Hindoostan, he conquered the Punjab and issued for the chiefs to come and make obeisance to him. They all did so with the exception of Rai Sareeng, whose dominion extended over the mountainous tract of country situated to the west of the Jhelum, and his absence so exasperated the emperor that he was heard to express his determination "to throw such a wedge into the breasts of the Kakurs that it should stick there till the day of the resurrection".'

According to Barr, who quotes as his source Niamat Allah's *History of the Afghans*, the work of superintending the construction of the massive fort was done by 'one Toder Khuteri' who managed to

bribe the hostile but avaricious Ghakkars into building the fort by offering them one gold *ashrafi* for each stone laid. As the work proceeded, he reduced the rate gradually until the fort was completed.

Barr toured the expansive area within the fort and noticed particularly the decrepit building associated with Raja Man Singh, the Rajput general who during the reign of Akbar had campaigned as far as Attock. He described it as 'the ruins of the old palace, an edifice constructed of cream-coloured stone, and looking airy and light. It is, however, very much dilapidated, and on one side a complete ruin, the rooms being wholly exposed to the influence of the weather; but the other is more perfect, and being built on the edge of the hill, forms a lofty and noble object, and commands an extensive view of the surrounding country from its upper windows. Opposite to it stands a gateway, which probably formed the "Noubat Khaneh", where the royal band played. [Barr had been misled by the circular platform on the top of the central northern gate and thought it to be a bandstand. It is known nowadays, equally implausibly, as the execution tower.] Our attention was directed to the key-stone of its arch, which has slipped from its position, and appears as if it would momentarily topple to the ground; but our guide assured us it had been thus for eighty years'.

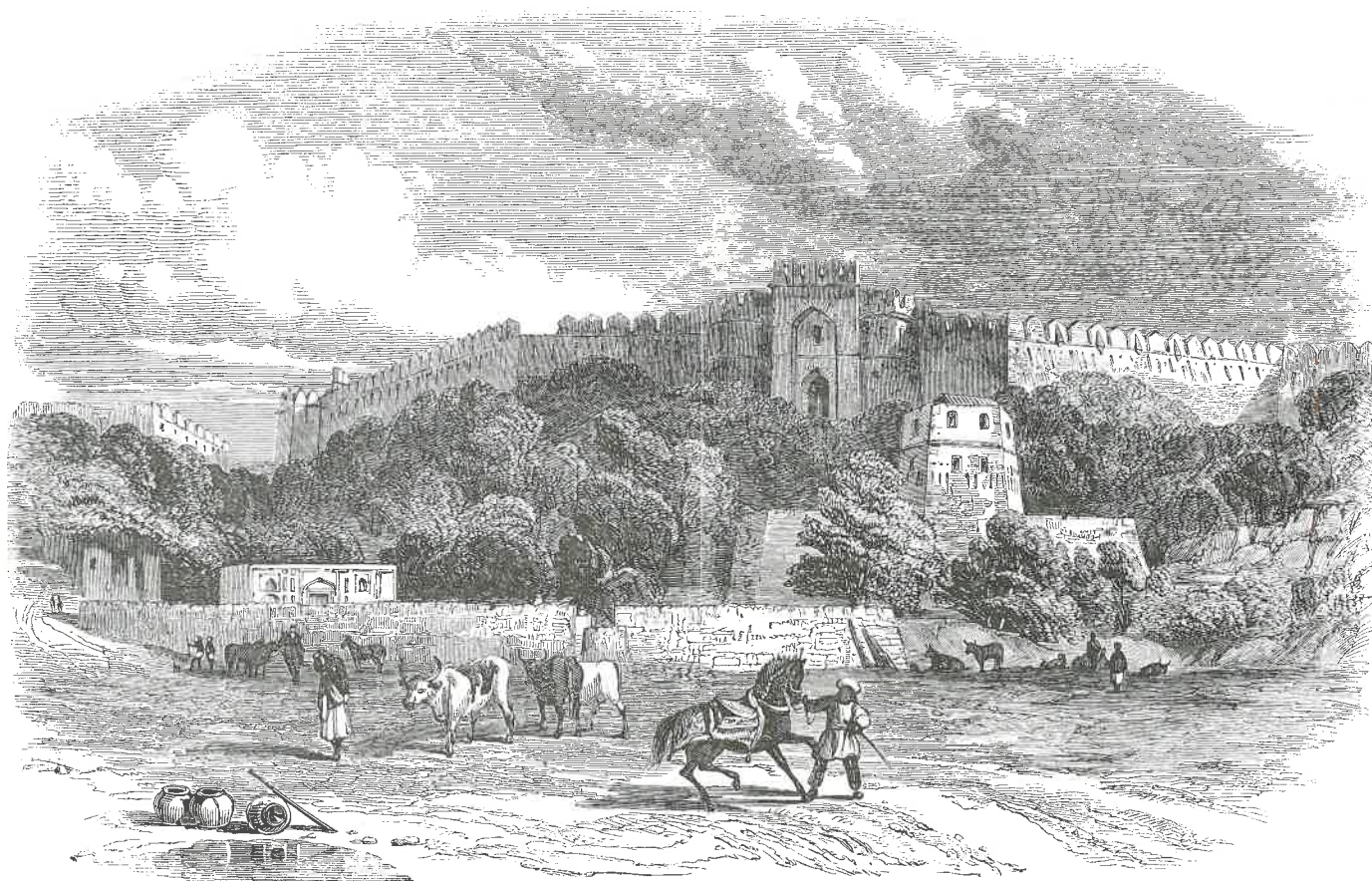
'Crossing a bridge which spans a ravine filled with brushwood and wild shrubs, we were taken to the entrance in the southern face of the fort, which is built of similar stone to the palace, and being free from all tawdry ornaments, looks simple, chaste, and massive. Two balconied windows, elegantly and curiously carved above and below, are on either side of the archway, and a smaller one between these stands out in bold relief from the plain surface of the building, and forms a pleasing contrast to the unadorned parts.' (Barr (1844) 161 - 163.)

Another pencil drawing by Barr of Rohtas fort is in the National Army Museum, London (No. 6910 - 15 - 21).

177. ROHTAS FORT, c. 1849

Engraving from a sketch by G.T. Vigne and published in *The Illustrated London News*, 21 April 1849.

In this sketch, derived by *The Illustrated London*



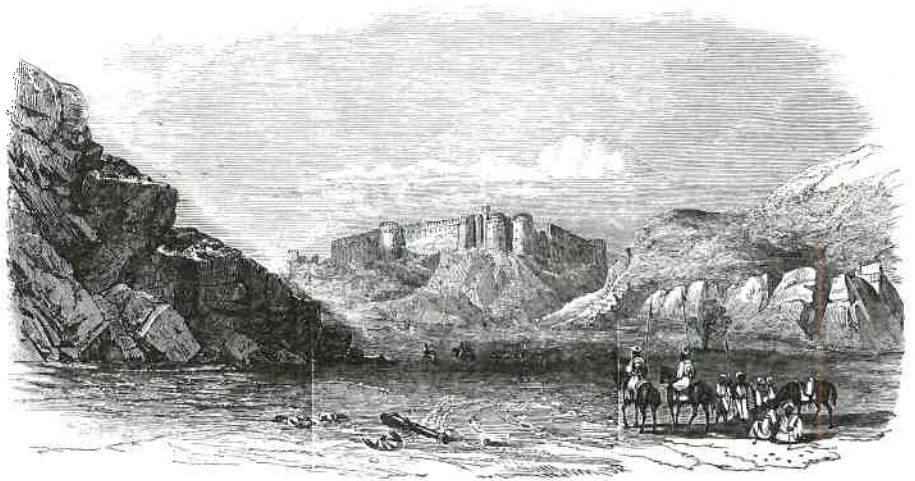
177 Rohtas fort, 1838.

News from an earlier sketch done by the British geographer Godfrey Thomas Vigne, the main entrance to the fort known as the Khawas Khan gate (named after the person buried in it) and in the foreground the small flat-roofed house built by the Sikhs have been depicted.

A previous visitor to the fort, the British veterinarian William Moorcroft, passed Rohtas fort on his way northwards from Jhelum on 13 November 1822. He described his attempts to gain access to its interior: 'We marched across a cultivated plain in a north-westerly direction, to the foot of the mound on which stands the celebrated fort of Rotas, and traversed a narrow stony defile with the fort close on the left, the base of the walls being about sixty or seventy feet higher than the pathway. The killadar refused to admit us to see the fortress; but riding along its western face, we found several practicable breaches in the walls, by one of which we ascended and entered an abandoned outwork. The structure was found to be most massive, the walls, of stone cemented with mortar, being in some places thirty feet thick. They were crenated throughout, and provided with a double row of loopholes. The out-

work we had scaled seemed intended to protect an immense bhauli or well of masonry. Passages of great breadth wound around it to the bottom, communicating with it by arched openings into the sides, and they led to the water's edge in so many places, that from fifty to a hundred persons might draw water at once.

From this spot we entered into the body of the fort, and ascended the highest part of the parapet without attracting observation. The interior of the fort extends about two miles and a half. It is of a long, narrow form, and its two sides and eastern end rest upon the edges of ravines which separate it from a table-land of equal elevation as the hill on which it stands. The western face of the hill has the Gham [Kahan] rivulet running along its foot, the bed of which abounds with quicksands, and must be dangerous to ford, at least in the rains. The Sikhs have erected a small mud fort within the principal gateway. Near the fort are a serai, said to have been constructed by Aurangzeb, and a garden enclosed by a wall, attributed to Shir Shah. There was formerly a Persian inscription over one of the gateways to Rotas, recording the date of its construction by



178 Rohtas fort, 1849.

Shir Shah, and denouncing an imprecation upon any of his successors who should suffer it to fall into decay. Zeman Shah, it is reported, took offence at the tenor of the inscription, and commanded it to be effaced.' Moorcroft (1841; 1979 reprint), II, 308 - 310.

178. ROHTAS FORT, 1849

Engraving published in *The Illustrated London News*, 21 April 1849.

A more generalised and not entirely accurate view of Rohtas fort was supplied by an unidentified correspondent of *The Illustrated London News* and subsequently published.

Another interesting view of Rohtas fort, painted in 1860 by Lady Charlotte Canning, wife of the Viceroy Lord Charles Canning, is in the Harewood collection. It has been reproduced in Allen (1986), 133 (bottom).

179. MANKYALA TOPE OR STUPA, NEAR RAWALPINDI, 1860

Water-colour by William Simpson dated 1863, from an earlier drawing done by him in February 1860.

The Mankyala tope or stupa, located 6 kilometres south of Riwat on the main Lahore-Rawalpindi Grand Trunk road, was a Buddhist shrine. From the evidence of the coins and other relics retrieved in 1830 from the core of the stupa by General Ventura (one of Ranjit Singh's European mercenaries), the stupa was probably originally built 'by Hoerke, who deposited coins of his own reign and of his predecessor Kanerke, and that the stupa having become ruinous was rebuilt in its present massive form by Yaso-Varmma, who re-deposited the relic caskets with the addition of a gold coin of himself and of several contemporary Arab governors.' (Eastwick (1883).)



179 Mankyala tope or stupa, near Jhelum, 1860.

Noticed initially by Monstuart Elphinstone in 1815 during his mission to Kabul, the Mankyala stupa was explored by General Ventura in 1830, by General Court in 1834 and in 1864 by Alexander Cunningham. In January 1836, the Austrian Baron Charles Hugel, accompanied by G.T. Vigne, examined the stupa. Hugel recorded: 'It is built of Kankar stone, which is the produce of water, and the softest stone known; the base is constructed of coarse sandstone, and about six or eight feet high, ornamented with pilasters four feet high, and with decorative capitals. These pilasters are six feet apart. Above this, and about fourteen feet higher than the ground, runs a projecting cornice whence the cupola rises.'

'The building was first opened by General Ventura. From the highest point which I reached, a well descends, twelve feet square and eighteen feet deep, but as the work of opening proceeded, this was soon filled up with stones; and another attempt to penetrate by the lower part of the building was found impracticable. He therefore ordered the workmen to begin at the upper part. In a short time, they arrived at the middle of the shaft, where they met large masses of stones; these were broken through, and near the foundation appeared a small vaulted recess containing a gold cylinder, with some fluid in it, and some Buddhist coins.' (Hugel (1845), 236-7.)

According to Hugel, '500 men worked for a whole month at the opening of this monument'. The vertical shaft was over 75 feet in depth and the relics were found deposited at equal distances of 25 feet, the final lowest cache containing a brass relic casket.

Recalling his own visit to the site of the Mankyala stupa in February 1860, the artist William Simpson wrote: 'The march of this day brought me to the Manikyala Stupa, known at that time as the Tomb of Bucephalus, the horse of Alexander, which died and was buried near the Jhelum. I sketched the monument, and made notes of its details.'

Describing it in 1883, not long after Simpson's visit, Eastwick noted its dimensions: 'The dome of the stupa is an exact hemisphere, 127 feet in diameter. The outer circle measures 500 feet in circumference, and is ascended by 4 flights of steps, one in each face, leading to a procession path 16 ft. in width, ornamented both above and below by a range of dwarf pilasters, representing the detached rail of the older Indian monuments.'

RAWALPINDI

Rawalpindi, centuries before it became the Headquarters of the Pakistan Army, has always had a touch of military khaki about it. During the eighteenth century it was the base of the restless Ghakkar tribes before they were subdued by the Sikhs who in turn, in the mid nineteenth century, finally capitulated to their successors, the British.

180. RAWALPINDI, 1846

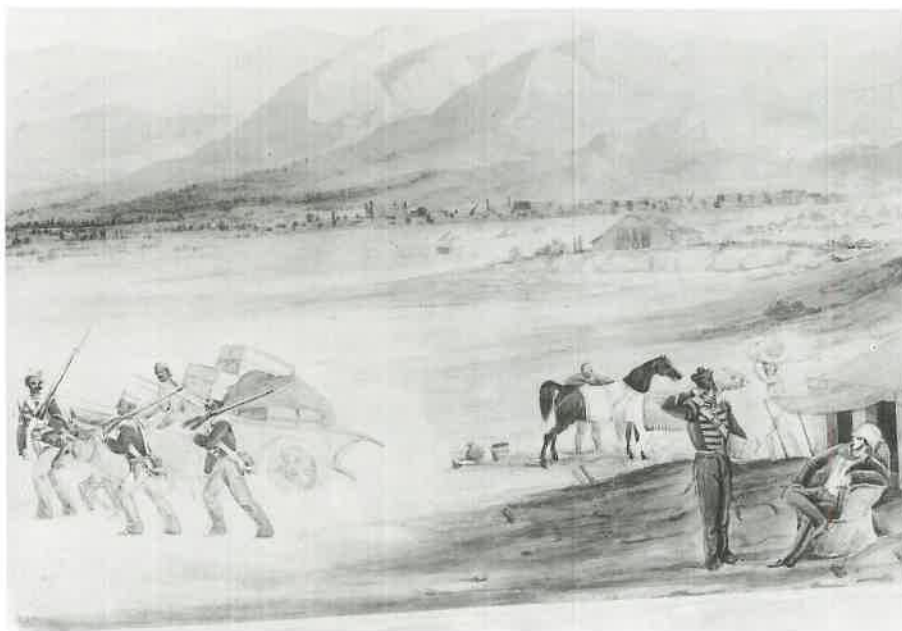
Water-colour by Sir H. Le Geyt Bruce, 1846.

Following the defeat of the Sikhs at the battle of Sohraon on 10 February 1846, British troops were posted in the Punjab ostensibly to assist the Sikh Darbar. Col. (later Sir) Henry Le Geyt Bruce (1823 - 99), an amateur artist, sketched this early view of Rawalpindi during his posting there.

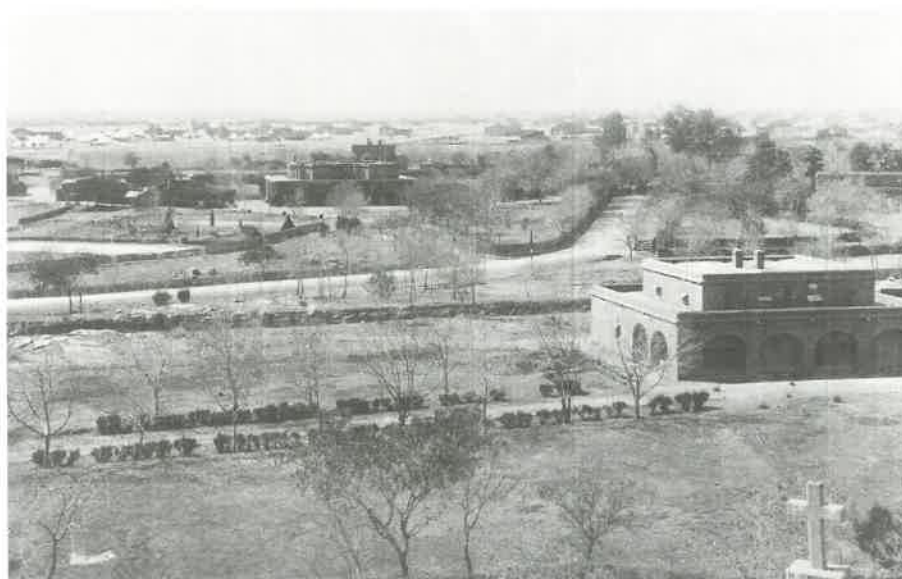
An earlier visitor to Rawalpindi, the veterinarian William Moorcroft recorded his impressions of Rawalpindi in the 1830s: 'Rawal Pindi is a town of considerable size, containing a number of low mud-houses with flat roofs, and a large but irregularly built bazar. It owes its importance to having been selected by Shah Sujah for the residence of his family, and of Zeman Shah, whilst he engaged in the contest with Shah Mahmud for the throne of Cabul. A rather large but ill-built mansion was raised for their accommodation. It appears to be of brick without plaster, and forms a conspicuous object. From the number of persons who accompanied the family Rawal Pindi became a place of some demand for grain and merchandise, and it is now the chief mart for the trade between Amritsar and Peshawar. It is chiefly supported by its commerce, for the agriculture of the adjacent lands has been ruined by exorbitant taxation.' (Moorcroft (1841), II, 313.)

The Austrian Baron Hugel stopped overnight in Rawalpindi on 29 December 1835 on his way to Lahore. His recollections of the town are understandably brief: 'I went to look about me in the adjacent parts, and then to my tent, which was pitched by the only well in town, and about a musket-shot from the nearest houses. Rawal Pindi is called a fort, but is had not even a wall of defence. The place is very populous, and has a large bazar.' (Hugel (1845) 227.)

180 Rawalpindi, 1846.



181. WESTRIDGE,
RAWALPINDI, 1893
Photograph by F. Bremner, 1893.

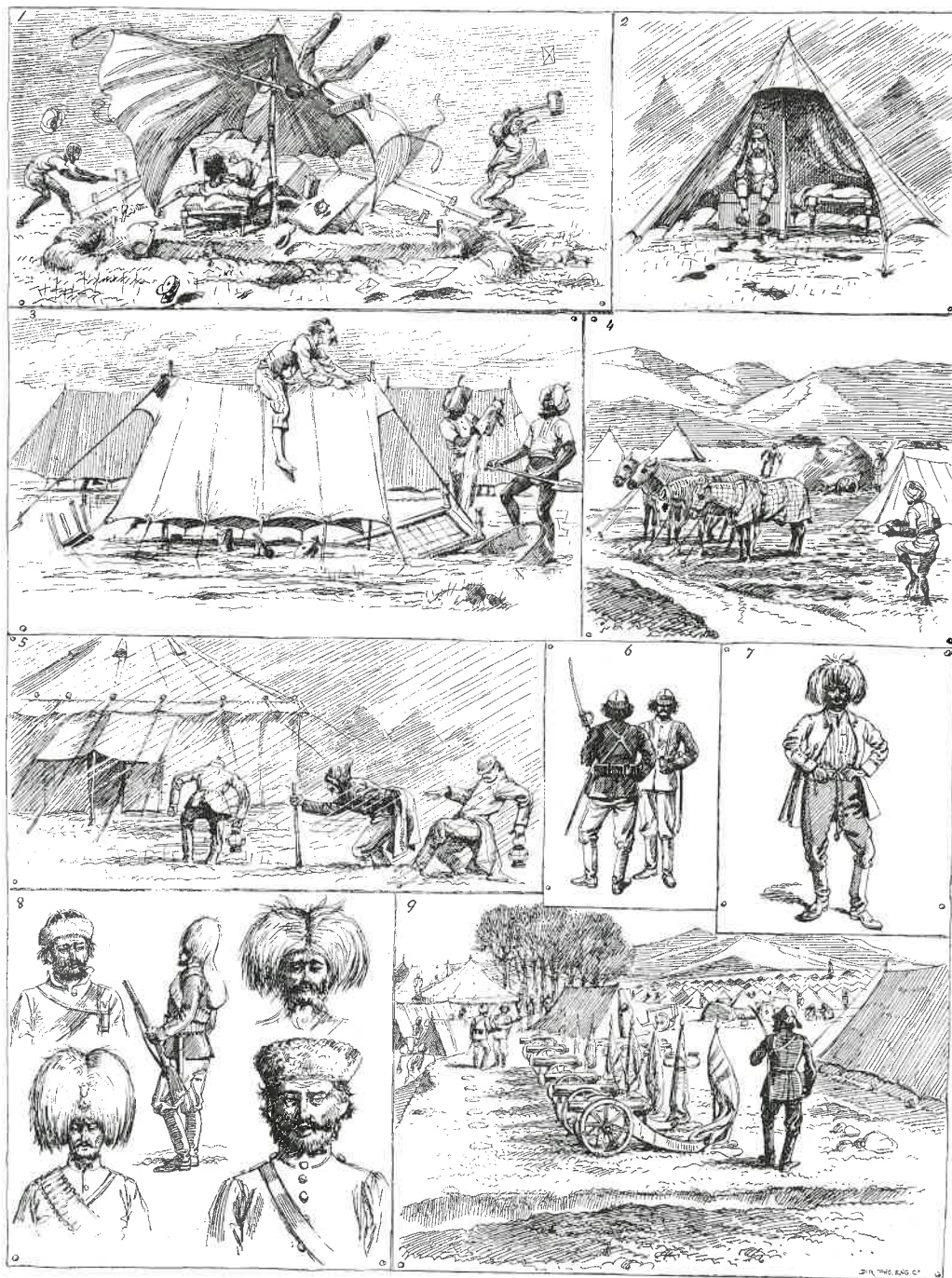


181 Westridge, Rawalpindi, 1893.

182. RAWALPINDI BAZAAR,
1893
Photograph (perhaps by
F. Bremner), 1893.



182 Rawalpindi Bazaar, 1893.



183 Rawalpindi Durbar, 1885.

183. RAWALPINDI DURBAR, 1885

Engravings from sketches by Lieut. O. Shore in April 1885, published in *The Illustrated London News*, 16 May 1885.

These humorous sketches of the less comfortable aspect of viceregal camp life were done by a lieutenant in the entourage of Lord Dufferin, on the occasion of the durbar held at Rawalpindi in April 1885 in honour of the Amir of Afghanistan Abdur Rahman.

184. RAWALPINDI CLUB, c. 1930

Postcard, captioned 'Natch Ghar (Dancing Place), Rawalpindi', c.1930.

184 Rawalpindi Club, c. 1930.



MURREE

Murree, 2413 metres above sea level and self-styled as 'Queen of the Hills', owes its origins to a morganatic connection with Rawalpindi. Commanding, as one guide book put it, 'magnificent views over forest-clad hills into deep valleys, studied with villages and cultivated fields, with the snow-covered peaks of Kashmir in the background', it stood naturally eligible to be selected as a recuperative health resort and as an escape from the heat of the Punjab plains. A sanatorium for British soldiers was made there in 1850 and subsequently barracks were built for them in 1853. A school known as the Lawrence Asylum (now Lawrence College, Ghora Gali) was also opened for their children. Murree served as the summer capital for the Punjab Government until 1876 when it was forced to defer to Simla.

Eastwick's guidebook of 1883 recommended that the journey from Rawalpindi to Murree, a distance of 33 miles, should be done in eight stages. It suggested that 'ladies would prefer to ascend in a *duli*, the cost of which including return, is Rs. 15; in this way the journey occupies 12 hours. The Government hill cart costs about 10 rs. for each person, and with express 16 rs.' He cautioned that tigers and panthers could still be found in the Murree hills.

185. VIEW OF MURREE HILLS, 1863

Engraving from a photograph by Capt. Robert T. Hickey, published in *The Illustrated London News*, 31 October 1863.

Almost certainly the earliest view of Murree, seen from the Observatory hill, this illustration was derived from a photograph taken by Capt. Robert Hickey, a British officer who might have visited Murree on summer or sick leave in the early 1860s..

Already, less than fifteen years after it had been selected for development, the popularity of Murree - refreshingly cool at 7500 feet above sea level - had become apparent from the number of houses and cottages which dotted its forested slopes. The Holy Trinity church, visible in the top right corner of the picture, begun in 1857 and completed ten years later, had already been consecrated and was in use by the time of this illustration.

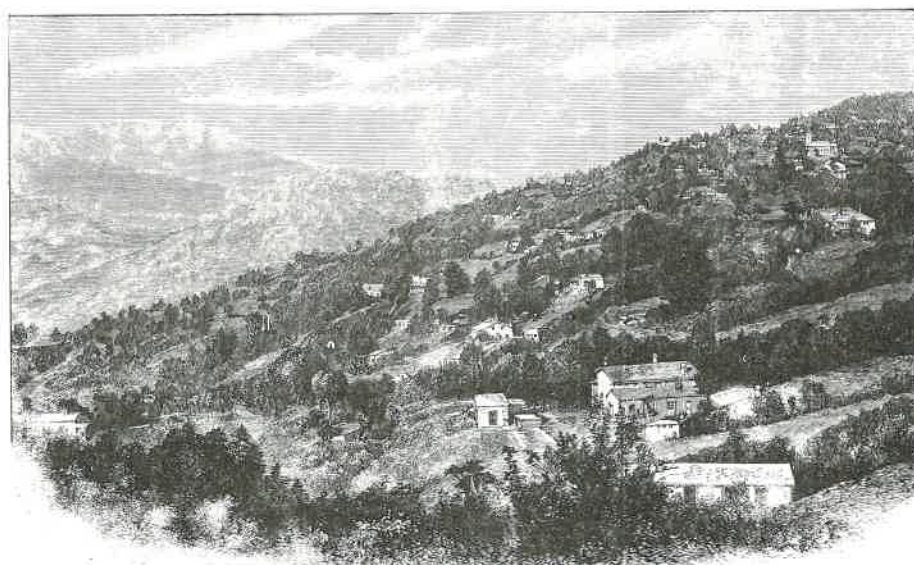
186. A VIEW OF MURREE, c. 1864

Photograph by Samuel Bourne, c. 1864.

By the time this photograph was taken, the identity of Murree recognisable as it appears today had emerged.

The photographer was Samuel Bourne, originally a bank clerk from Nottingham, who came to India at the age of twenty-nine in 1863 and joined the photographer Charles Shepherd in business at Simla. In 1864 Bourne travelled to Lahore and continued up to Murree.

Bourne subsequently became a partner to form the famous firm of photographers Bourne and Shepherd which had offices at Bombay, Calcutta and Simla. Bourne himself returned to England in 1870, leaving the firm to continue as one of the leading commercial photographers.



185 View of Murree hills, 1863.



186 A view of Murree, c. 1864.

187. A VIEW OF THE BAZAAR, MURREE, 1869.
Engraving published in *The Illustrated London News*,
20 November 1869.

In this interesting more detailed view of Murree in 1869, the Holy Trinity Church on the left overlooks and dominates the incipient bazaars. The original bazaar ran along the lower level, while on the upper level the broad path which passed along the church gradually assumed a superiority until it became the spine of Murree's social life, its main promenade known as the Mall.

The Holy Trinity Church had been first opened on 17 May 1857 and consecrated by Bishop Cotton on 2 March 1860. Its construction was supervised by an engineer Colonel Davies.

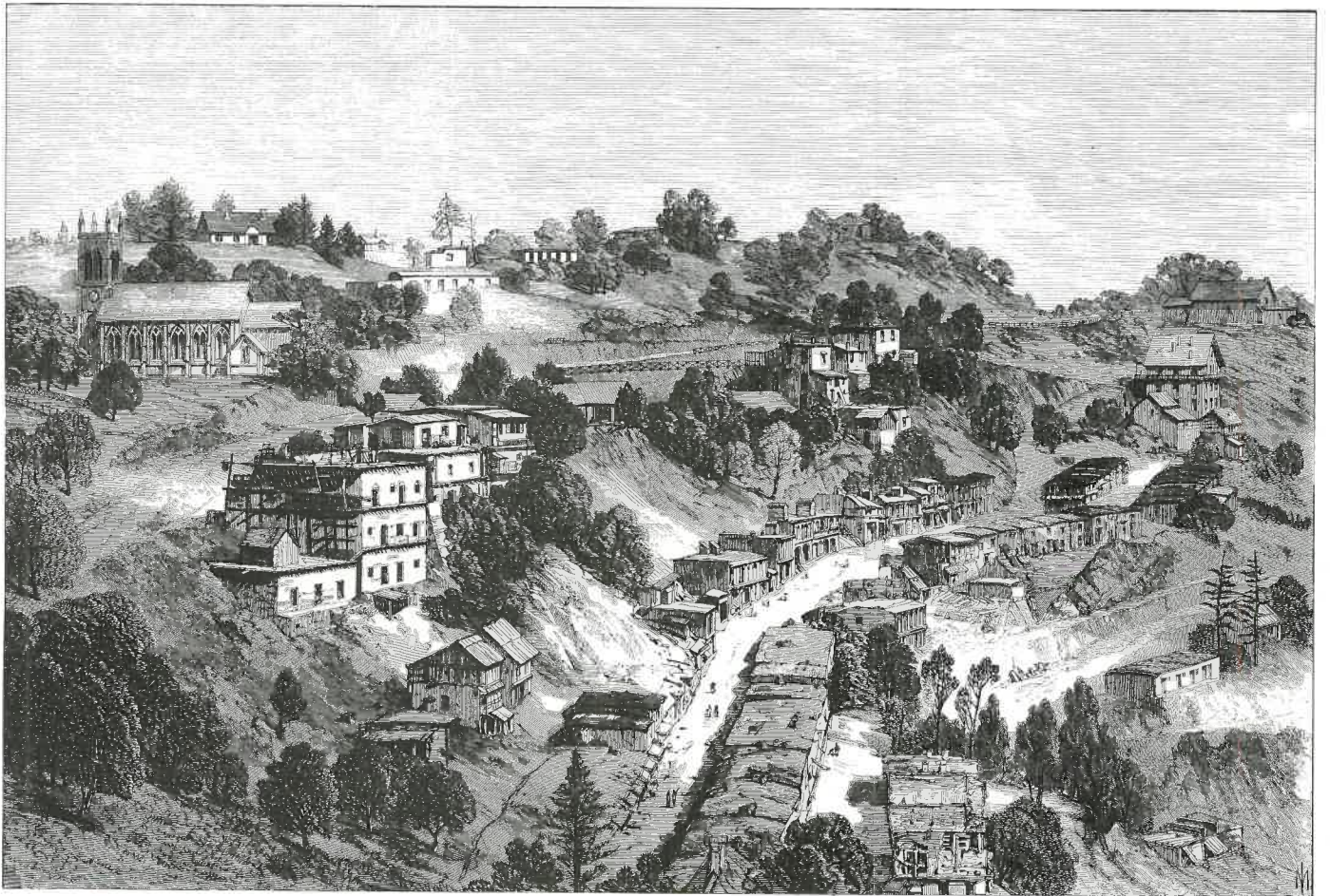
By 1883, Murree provided five hotels (three run by Europeans) catering for enervated civilian visitors who wanted to escape from the summer heat of the Punjab. The population of Murree then was 2346, rising during the season to over 14,000, and interestingly over forty years later, by 1926, the numbers had not increased all that dramatically, the permanent residents becoming about 3290 and in season about 15,800.

188. THE LAWRENCE ASYLUM, 1863
Engraving from a photograph by Capt. R. T. Hickey,
published in *The Illustrated London News*, 24 Oct. 1863.

The scheme for educating the children of British soldiers was initiated by Sir Henry Lawrence in 1845, when Lawrence 'struck by the neglected state and the great mortality of the children of the English community in India, especially in the plains' proposed the establishment of a school in the hills for the children of soldiers. The first such school was opened at Sanawar near Kasuali in the Himalayas, followed by others at Murree, Ootacamund and Mt. Abu.

Referring to the Lawrence Asylum School, the annual *Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies for the year 1876-77* contained the following entry: 'The Lawrence Memorial Asylum at Murree contains the children of soldiers only. It is a boarding school, supported by the proceeds and endowment, subscription, fees paid by sergeants and soldiers drawing Rs. 60 per mensem and upwards, and a Government grant-in-aid. The school contained, at the close of the year, 139 children, being 1 less than in the previous year. The school has been favourably noticed by the Inspector of Schools.' Within 25 years of its establishment, the number of pupils had risen to 160.

The Lawrence Asylum was located at Ghora Gali on the old tonga road from Rawalpindi and close to the Murree Brewery which had been established in 1860. The old buildings are still in use as the Senior School of the present Lawrence College, Ghora Gali.



187 A view of the bazaar, Murree, 1869. (Above)

188 The Lawrence Asylum, 1863. (Below)



189. ROADMAKING IN THE MURREE HILLS,
1863

Engraving published in *The Illustrated London News*,
17 October 1863.

In May 1863, a company of 100 men from the 51st Light Infantry and another from the 101st Royal Bengal Fusiliers was deployed to perform the task of widening the Murree-Abbottabad road. At the initiative of General Sir Sydney Cotton, an unusual approval - the first of its kind - was given by a triumvirate consisting of the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, the Commander-in-Chief and the Governor-General to employ soldiers on active duty in the construction and development of roads. The permission was an innovation in itself for, as *The Illustrated London News* correspondent noted: 'Except in field operations, where the necessities of service rendered it imperative, there has been no

instance, we believe, in this country where Europeans have been employed in actual outdoor labour throughout the day.'

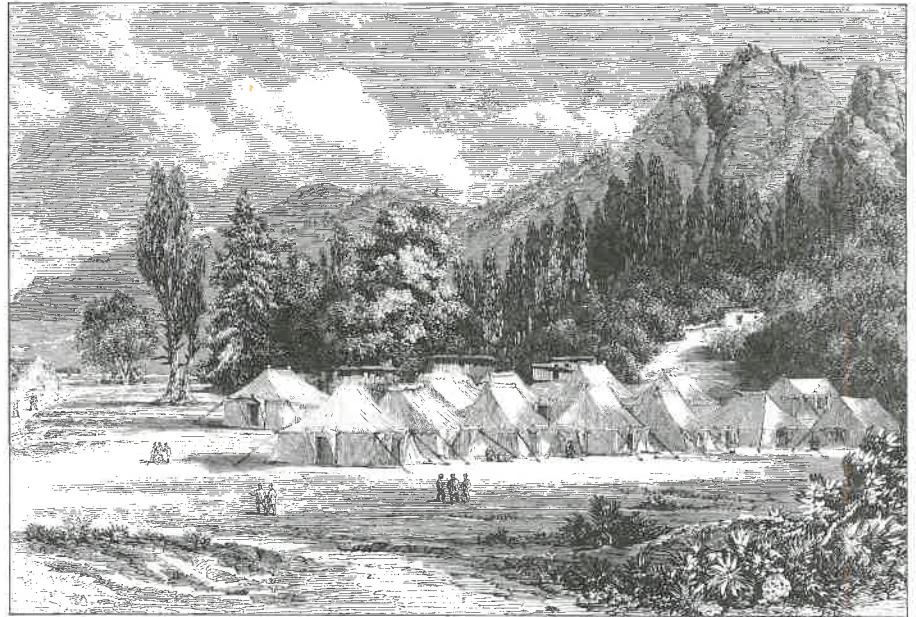
The forty mile long road had been built in about 1860, a few years earlier, and it was thought necessary to widen it from its original 6 ft. width to 13 ft. 'rendering it more accessible to artillery and troops ...and for general objects.'

'To each company one mile of road was apportioned as the first instalment of work. The rocky nature of the soil, principally limestone and hard shale, the high banks to be cut through, and the necessity for frequent blasting, rendered the work arduous and trying. In six weeks the two miles were nearly completed.'

For their exertions, soldiers with skills as an 'artificer' could earn, in addition to their military pay, 10 annas as day; less proficient subordinates got 6 annas, and a supervising officer 8 annas.

189 Roadmaking in the Murree hills, 1863.





190 Camp on Murree-Abbottabad road, 1863.

190. CAMP ON MURREE-ABBOTTABAD ROAD, 1863

Engraving published in *The Illustrated London News*, 17 October 1863.

The camp for the European soldiers was located at Burean Gully [Barian Gali], about nine miles away from Murree on the Murree-Abbottabad road.

191. ABBOTTABAD, 1863

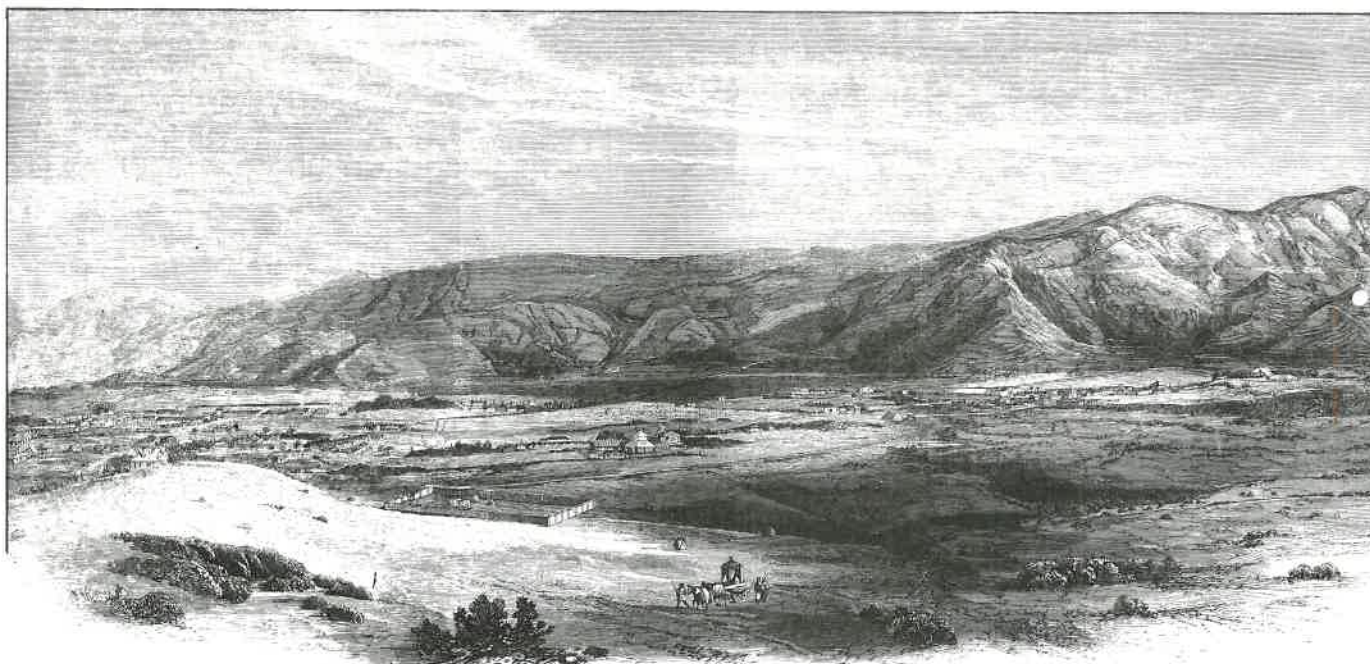
Engraving from a photograph by Capt. Robert T.

Hickey, published in *The Illustrated London News*, 31 October 1863.

Situated north-west of Murree, Abbottabad was named after Sir James Abbott, Commissioner Hazara (1845 - 1853). The population of Abbottabad in 1868 was under 4500 persons. By 1883, Eastwick mentions that it had 'a large Bazar, Court-house, and Treasury, Jail, Post Office, Telegraph Station and small church'. The church - St. Luke's - was consecrated in 1865, two years after this illustration.

191 Abbottabad, 1863.





192 Abbottabad, 1863.

192. ABBOTTABAD, 1863

Engraving from a photograph by Capt. R. T. Hickey, published in *The Illustrated London News*, 7 November 1863.

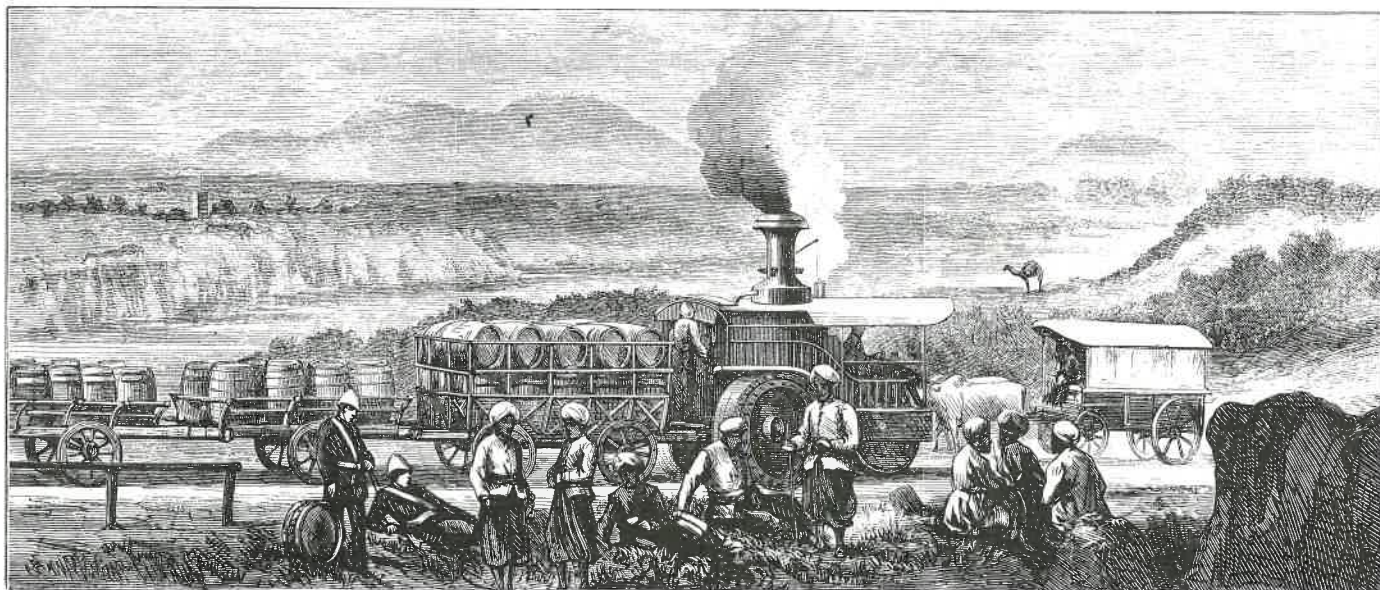
'In a small flat valley in the Himalayas, three thousand feet above the level of the sea, to the north of Murree...is situated Abbottabad. Two regiments of the Punjab Irregular Force are usually quartered there, besides a mountain battery. Abbottabad is remarkable healthy...but owing to the want of a hotel or other accommodation, is not much resorted to by invalids.'

193 Military manoeuvres at Lawrencepur, 1873.

193. MILITARY MANOEUVRES AT LAWRENCEPUR, 1873

Engraving from a sketch by Lieut. F.I. Palmer done in May 1873, published in *The Illustrated London News*, 13 September 1873.

A major military exercise involving about 26,000 men was organised in May 1873 at Lawrencepur (named after Sir Henry Lawrence) near Rawalpindi under the personal supervision of the Commander-in-Chief of India Lord Robert Napier of Magdala. Reporting on the event some five months after the manoeuvres, *The Illustrated London News* introduced



these sketches as the work of a naval officer Lieut. Francis Ingram Palmer, who had left his ship at Bombay and travelled up-country to witness the exercises.

'The particular subjects of our Illustrations are merely two or three scenes and incidents in and around the camp. One of these is the apparition of a steam elephant, as we might call the monster of a traction engine dragging a load of beer from the Murreestation along the Grand trunk road to Hassun Abdul. It contrasted strangely, indeed, with the beasts of burden commonly used in Asia, and these were not a little terrified by meeting their new mechanical competitor on the road.'

The steam traction engine proved to be a white elephant of sorts ; in 1883, Eastwick recorded in his *Handbook* that in Rawalpindi were housed 'some traction-engines, which, however, have not proved a success.'

194. ELEPHANTS IN THE CAMP NEAR HASSAN ABDAL, 1873



194 Elephants in the camp near Hassan Abdal, 1873.

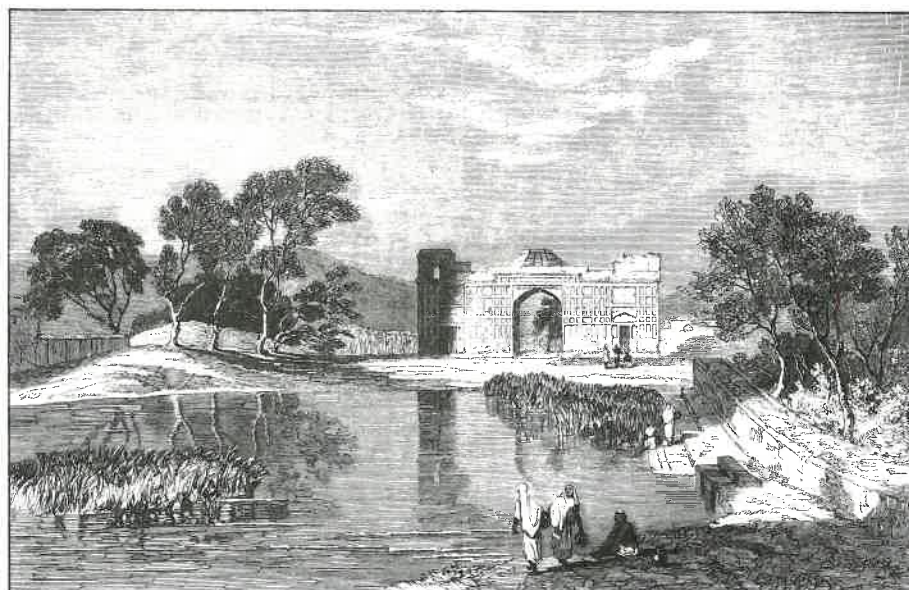
Engraving from a sketch by Lieut. F.I. Palmer done in May 1873, published in *The Illustrated London News*, 13 September 1873.

195. MUGHAL GARDENS AT WAH, 1850

Engraving after a sketch by G.T. Vigne c. 1836, published in *The Illustrated London News*, 20 April 1850.

One of the pavilions in the Mughal gardens at Wah, said to have built for the emperor Akbar during the 16th century, the garden is now a fractured fragment of its original grand plan. The main building stood at a higher level and from beneath its floor flowed a cascade of water derived from a perennial spring. This passed down a channel flanked by tall cypress trees until it reached the smaller pavilion depicted in this illustration.

The Mughal garden at Wah was included in the land granted by the British to Muhammad Hayat Khan for his timely assistance to the wounded John Nicholson during the uprising in 1857.



195 Mughal gardens at Wah, 1850.

ATTOCK

The point of confluence at which the Indus and the Kabul rivers merged, and the constricted gorge through which their combined waters were forcefully propelled downstream towards Kalabagh, would hardly have seemed an appropriate location for a crossing. Alexander wisely forded further upstream where the waters were shallower. Akbar, fortified with imperial resources, ordered the construction of the sentinel fort, a formidable deterrent better visible as was perhaps intended from the opposite Khairabad side of the river.

196. THE INDUS AT ATTOCK, 1839

Lithograph by T. and E. Gibbs from a drawing by Lieut. William Barr and published in *W. Barr March from Delhi to Peshawur and from thence to Cabul* (London, 1844), facing page 190.

The emperor Akbar, reacting to an attempt by his half-brother Hakim Mirza (then ruling Kabul) to invade the Punjab in 1580 - 81, reached the Indus at Attock and after crossing it, continued his pursuit of Hakim Mirza. He instructed his favourite Raja Birbal and presumably also his more reliable court engineer Qasim Khan to construct a fort at Attock. Although an inscription in the fort's old powder magazine records a date of 991 A.H./1583 A.D., the fort was completed by 1586, when Akbar returned to Attock and used the fort as his base for a subsequent campaign.

Lt. William Barr and his party reached the banks of the Indus on 23 March 1839. His diarised account read: 'We marched at daybreak this morning, and had an excellent road almost throughout, bounded on one side by an extensive plain, dotted here and there with villages surrounded by cultivation; and, on the other, by low hills that gradually increased in height as we approached Attock. Amongst other damage done by the hurricane, we were not a little annoyed to hear that its violence had swept away the bridge of boats thrown across the Indus, and that the road which led to it is rendered impassable by deep fissures cutting through it in every direction.'

Despite the set-back which proved to be temporary, Barr remarked upon the scenery with almost poetic admiration, describing the views on every

side as 'remarkably beautiful': 'The distance presents a succession of mountains, from the highly elevated snowy peaks of Hindoo Koosh to the more gentle undulations that bound the valley of Peshawur. On the right is the extensive plain of Chuch, covered with a bright green sward, and intersected by numerous rivulets; on the left, (partly concealed by a ridge on which we stood), the lofty and barren ridge of the Khuttuck range in Affghanistan; and, in front, the noble Indus, now swollen with heavy rains, and split into various branches, (one of which flowed beneath our feet,) was bounding onwards with resistless speed, its clear waters, as they dashed against the rocks, being lashed into foam and gleaming with silvery brightness wherever touched by the sun's rays.'

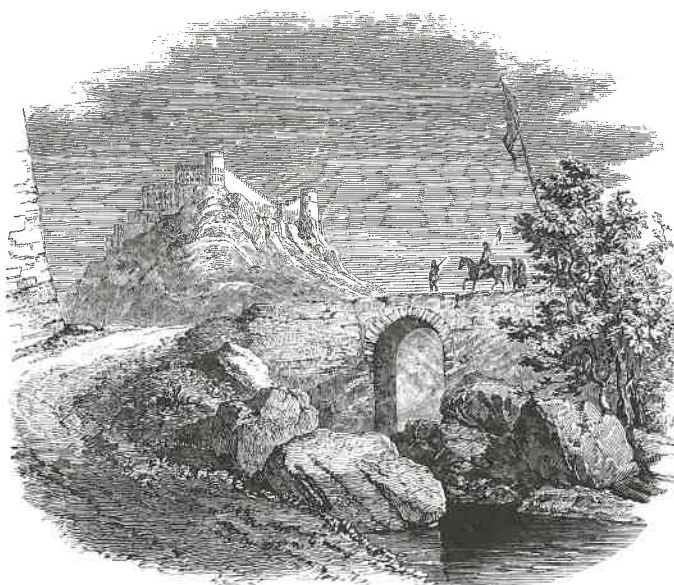
197. ASPECT OF ATTOCK FORT, 1849

Engraving published in *The Illustrated London News*, 10 March 1849.

In this sketch provided to *The Illustrated London News* by an 'obliging correspondent', the inherent dramatic location of the Attock fort, poised on the banks of the river Indus south of the point where it receives the river Kabul, has been further accentuated.

Ranjit Singh took the fort in 1812-13 by stratagem from the Wazir of Kabul and from then onwards until 1849, when the Sikhs themselves were defeated, the fort remained under their control.

197 Aspect of Attock fort, 1849.





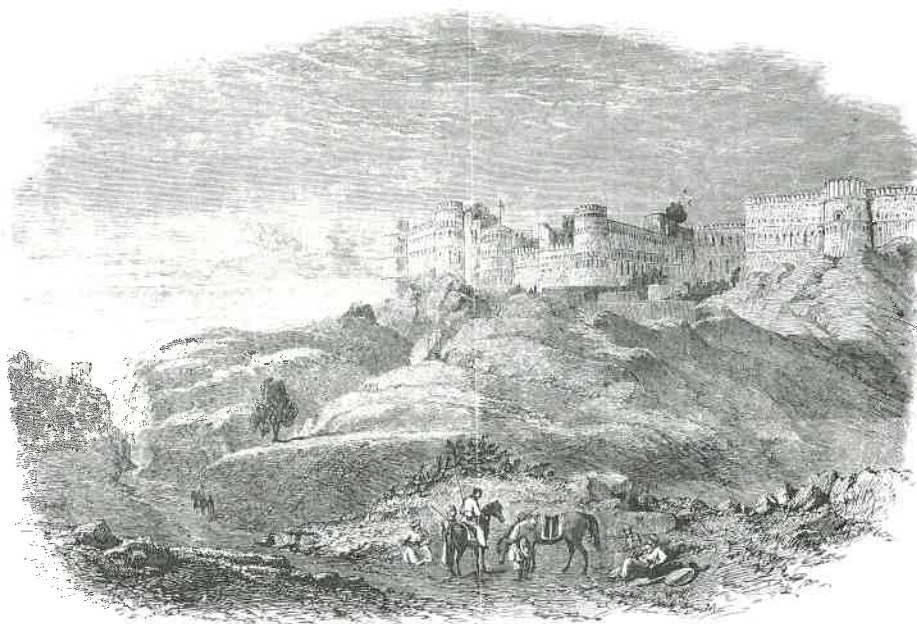
196 The Indus at Attock, 1839.

198. ATTOCK FORT, 1849

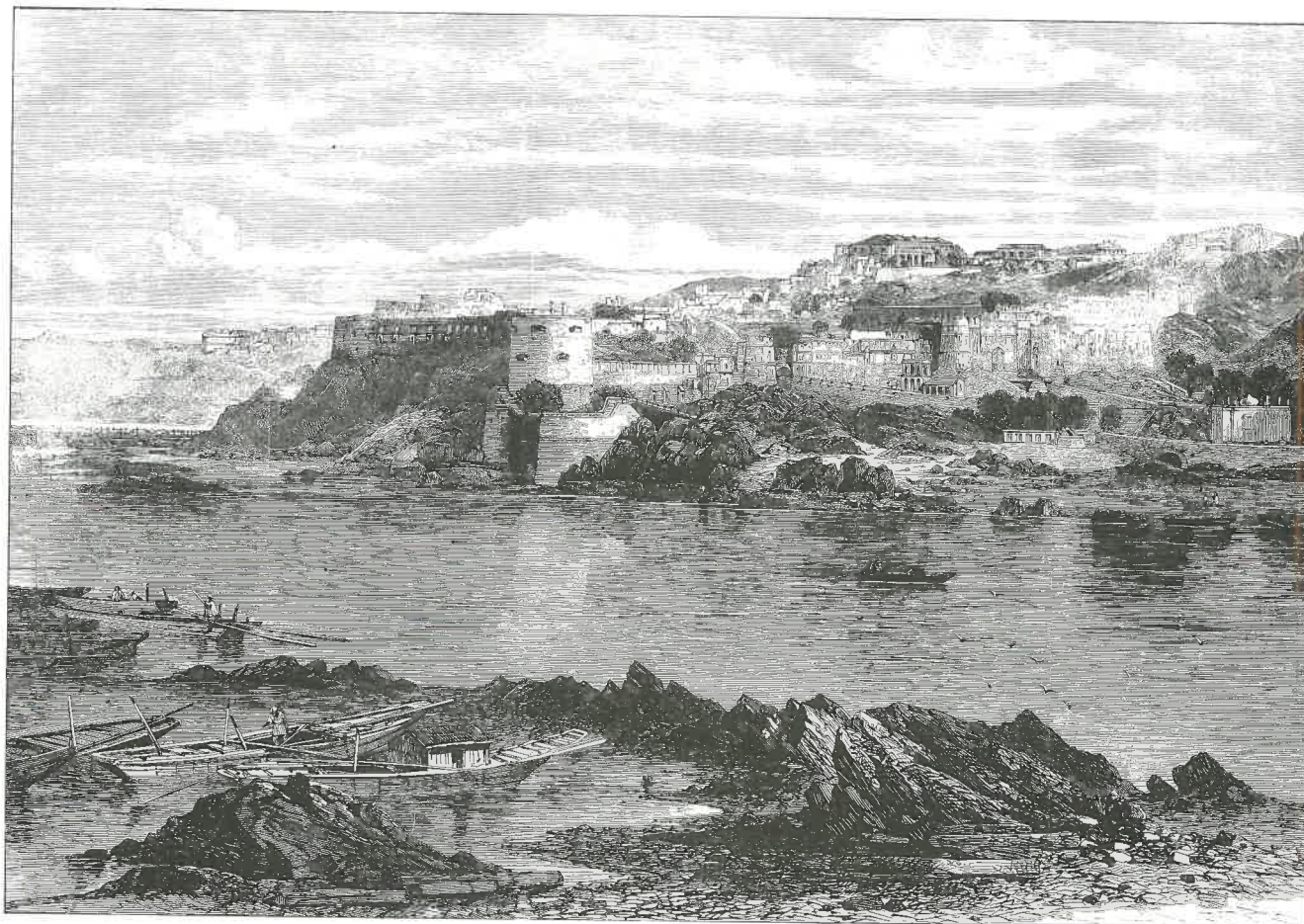
Engraving published in *The Illustrated London News*, 10 March 1849.

In 1831, William Moorcroft was given express permission by Ranjit Singh to tour the fort and noted this informative description of its interior: 'Proceeding from the serai to the gateway on the north, along a perfectly good road, unprovided with any defences, we entered into a small projecting court, about twenty yards long, in which Shuja-al-mulk was confined by Jehandad Khan, after he was driven from Afghanistan. From hence we passed through another gate into the bazar, a narrow lane of shops, chiefly for the sale of provisions, and along this we conducted to the opposite or southern gateway, which opened upon the side of the hill immediately above the ferry over the Indus. The gates of the fort are lofty and

large, and the walls are of the same description as those of Rotas, thick, crenated, and pierced with loopholes: the direction of the bazar is parallel with the river, and the bazar is four hundred paces long: between it and the river front are houses, and at the south-west angle a bastion projects into the stream: on the side of the bazar, farthest from the river, the fort contracts and extends in the form of an irregular parallelogram, about five hundred yards to the east. The interior is discernible from the right bank of the river, and the eastern end is commanded by hills of greater elevation than that on which it stands. Opposite to its southern face, and divided from it by a ravine which descends to the bank of the river, stands a petty village, on a level with the gateway. On the right bank of the river, and within musket-shot of the southern postern of the fort is the village of Khairabad, defended on the west by a mud re-



198 Attock fort, 1849.



201 The Fortress of Attock, 1868.

doubt, and by several small stone buildings, intended as stations for infantry, erected on different points of a ridge of row hills, about a hundred yards to the westward ; the most remote is within range of artillery from the fort, and perfectly commands the latter. This is the case, however, with even the road to Peshawar, on the Khairabad side, and it would not be necessary to erect batteries on the hills. The fort of Attok, however impregnable it may be to Sikhs or Afghans, could oppose no resistance whatever to European engineers.' (Moorcroft (1841; 1979 edition), II, 323-5.)

In the event, on the very day after this particular illustration was published in London, over 6000 miles away at a spot near Rawalpindi, the Sikhs formally surrendered their weapons to Major-General Gilbert on 11 March 1849, and the fort was yielded without a skirmish to the British.

199. ATTOCK FORT SEEN FROM KHAIRABAD, 1860

Drawing by William Simpson, dated 4 March 1860

and inscribed: *Attock from Khyrabad.*

Continuing his journey through the Punjab on his way to Peshawar in 1860, William Simpson stopped at Khairabad and looking back across the river, made this quick sketch which he developed later into a fuller water-colour (no. 200).

200. ATTOCK FORT SEEN FROM KHAIRABAD, 1860

Water-colour by William Simpson, dated 1860.

201. THE FORTRESS OF ATTOCK, 1868

Engraving published in *The Illustrated London News*, 7 November 1868.

The north-east gate of the fort was known as the Mari gate, and the one opposite the Delhi gate. By 1883, the interior of the fort had been rearranged, and some of the buildings dismantled, to accommodate companies of infantry and a battery of artillery deployed to guard the strategic bridge of boats



199 Attock fort seen from Khairabad, 1860.

200 Attock fort seen from Khairabad, 1860.



connecting the two banks of the Indus river.

The danger though was less from a human enemy than from snakes and scorpions - 'these reptiles render Atak, which would otherwise be a pleasant station, disagreeable and dangerous' - and from untimely natural calamities. An unfortunate instance of the latter occurred when an Asst.-Surgeon Kirke, who had obtained permission to go on leave to England in 1852 and whose carriage was waiting for him, stopped to close a window in his room and was struck dead by a thunderbolt of lightning.

202. BRIDGE OF BOATS AT ATTOCK, 1878

Engraving published in *The Graphic*, 26 October 1878.

'Here is a bridge, formed usually of from twenty to thirty boats across the stream, at a spot where it is 537 feet wide. In summer, when the melting of the snows in the lofty mountains to the north raises the stream so that the bridge becomes endangered, it is

withdrawn, and the communication is then effected by means of a ferry.' (Thornton (1844).)

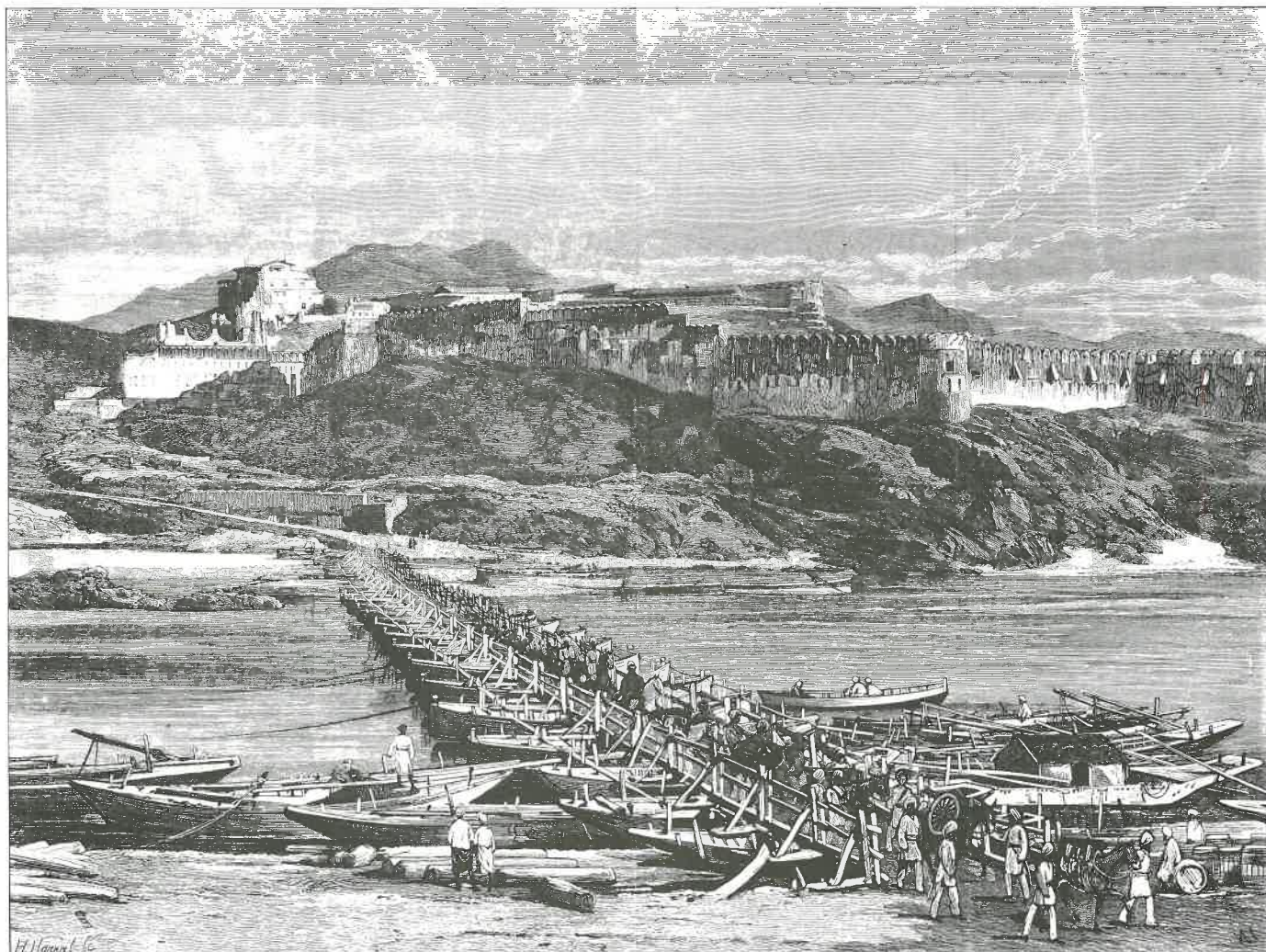
In 1883, the bridge of boats consisted of '24 large barges, moored side by side, and planked over.' The Indus at this point measured 970 feet across.

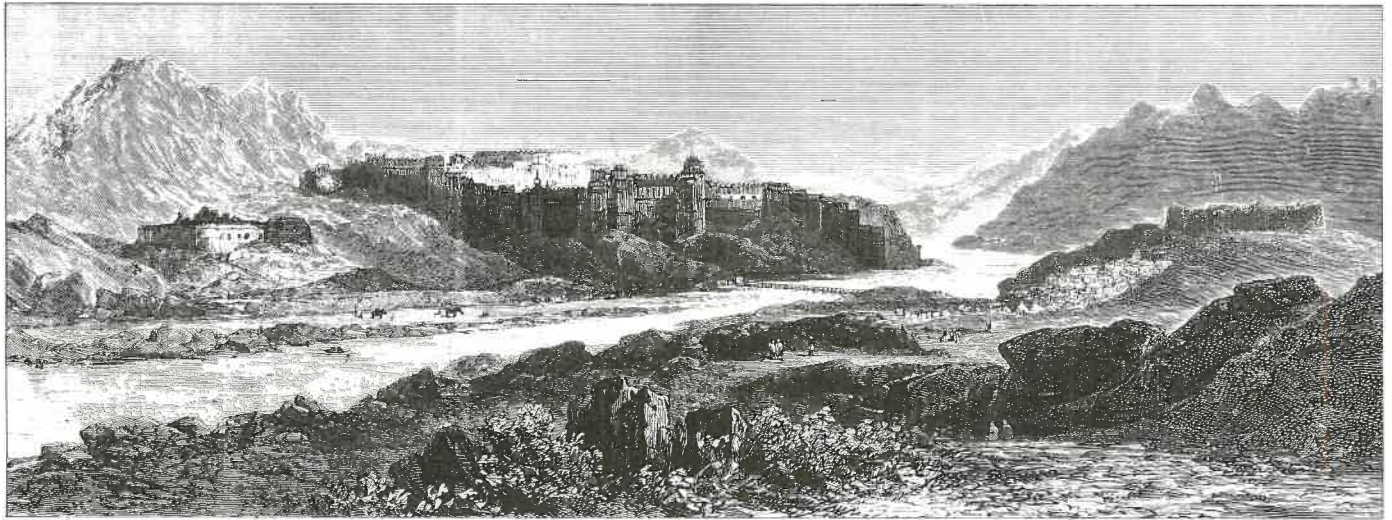
203. VIEW OF ATTOCK, 1878

Engraving published in *The Graphic*, 16 November 1878.

The explanatory notes to this illustration read: 'The Fort at Attock is situated on the left, or east bank of the River Indus, and commands the entrance to the Peshawur Valley, which is approached by a bridge of boats. The fort was erected by the Emperor Akbar, and is still a fortification of some strength. It is held by a garrison battery of artillery and a company of British soldiers. The bridge is formed of some thirty boats at a point where the stream is about 550 feet wide. This bridge is sufficiently strong

202 Bridge of boats at Attock, 1878.





203 View of Attock, 1878.

for all military stores and guns to pass over it, but elephants are made to swim across the rapids. In the summer, when the melting of the snow in the lofty mountains to the north raises the stream, the bridge becomes endangered, and it is then withdrawn when communication between the Peshawur Valley and the rest of India can be performed by a ferry; the boatmen, who form a distinct tribe, have resided at Attock since the days of Akbar.' [Their village was known as Mullahi Tola.] 'In 1856, the Indian Government commenced the construction of a tunnel under the Indus at Attock, but the work has never been completed, as it has been decided eventually, upon the completion of the Punjab State Railway, to construct a bridge over the river.'

Ross, writing in 1883, refers to the tunnel and mentions that it was in fact completed in 1862 by the 32nd Sappers, known as the Mazbis, but was subsequently abandoned 'owing to the difficulty of keeping it clear of water'.

204. THE SITE OF THE NEW RAILWAY BRIDGE ACROSS THE INDUS AT ATTOCK, 1883

Engraving published in *The Illustrated London News*, 3 November 1883.

Preparations for the construction of the new bridge connecting Attock and Khairabad was commenced in 1880. The bridge, of the Wipple Murphy type, was designed to have five spans and to provide for traffic at two tiers - the railway tracks on the upper and road traffic below. The contractors for the job were Westwood Baillie and Co. of London. Work actually started in December 1881 a mile downstream of Attock town and by September 1882 two piers of the bridge had been completed. It proved a challenge owing to the swiftness of the current and the height the bridge had to be above the highest level (90 ft.) the unpredictable river could reach. Fortified gates protected each end. The bridge was finally tested and opened for traffic in May 1883.

204 New railway bridge across the Indus at Attock, 1883.



Whether the crossing from Attock on the border of the Punjab to Khairabad, the first village in the North-West Frontier Province, was made before the permanent bridge was opened by having one's carriages 'drawn across the bridge of boats...by oxen', or afterwards via the higher railway track or by taking the low road available to four-wheeled and four-legged traffic, the traveller was simultaneously making a transition into history. Behind him lay a 'fine retrospect' of the new railway bridge and of the majestic Attock fort. Ahead of him, in the direction of Nowshera and Peshawar, lay the lofty mountainous portal to the subcontinent.

Alexander and his armoured Greeks marched briskly through this area in 327 B.C. Robed Buddhists in their wake made gentler circumambulations, stopping to erect monumental rounded stupas as foci to their faith and to establish monasteries as residential seats of learning. They left for an inconsiderate posterity a treasury of religious artefacts, sculptures and objects of veneration as extensive and as priceless as that left by the Ancient Egyptians on the banks of the Nile. And in time Buddhism withered away from the region and, like the religion of the Pharaohs, Buddhism would be familiar to moderns only from walls.

IV

Peshawar - the Khyber Pass - Fort Jamrud - Fort of Ali Masjid - Kohat - Chitral

PESHAWAR

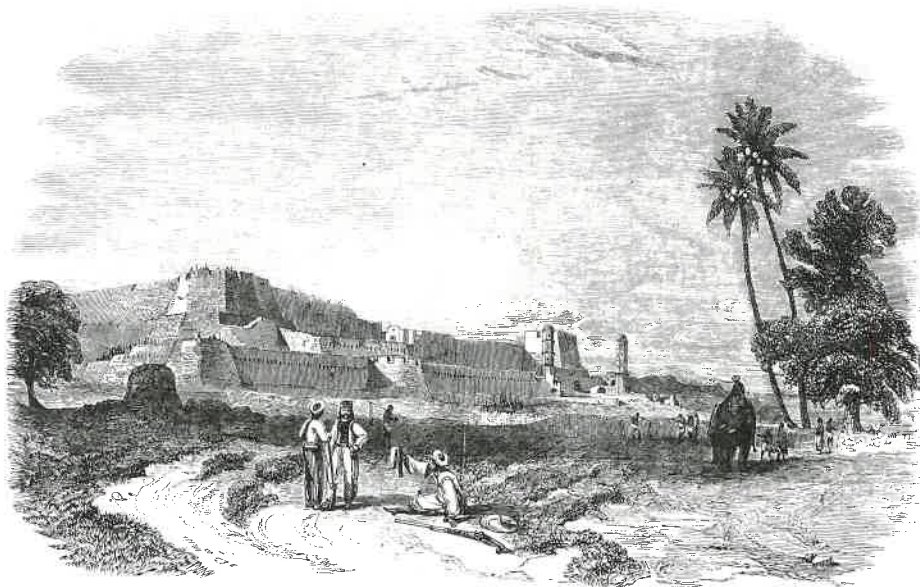
Known for at least a millennium, from Buddhist until Mughal times as Parashawar, this ancient settlement within riding distance of the Khyber Pass was re-named Peshawar or the frontier town by Akbar.

William Moorcroft gives an indication of its condition in his time: 'Many of the houses of the city were untenanted and in ruins, and in the plain very many of the villages were deserted, and extensive tracts of rich land were uncultivated. In the immediate vicinity of the town the Sikhs had inflicted more mischief than many years' labour could remedy, by destroying gardens and orchards, and demolishing the wells and channels of irrigation. The Bala Hisar, which, at the time of the British embassy, was the occasional residence of the king, and in which their audience took place, was now a heap of rubbish, and the only use made of it by the rulers of Peshawar was as a quarry from whence to procure materials for dwellings of their own erection.' (Moorcroft (1979 ed.), II, 337.)

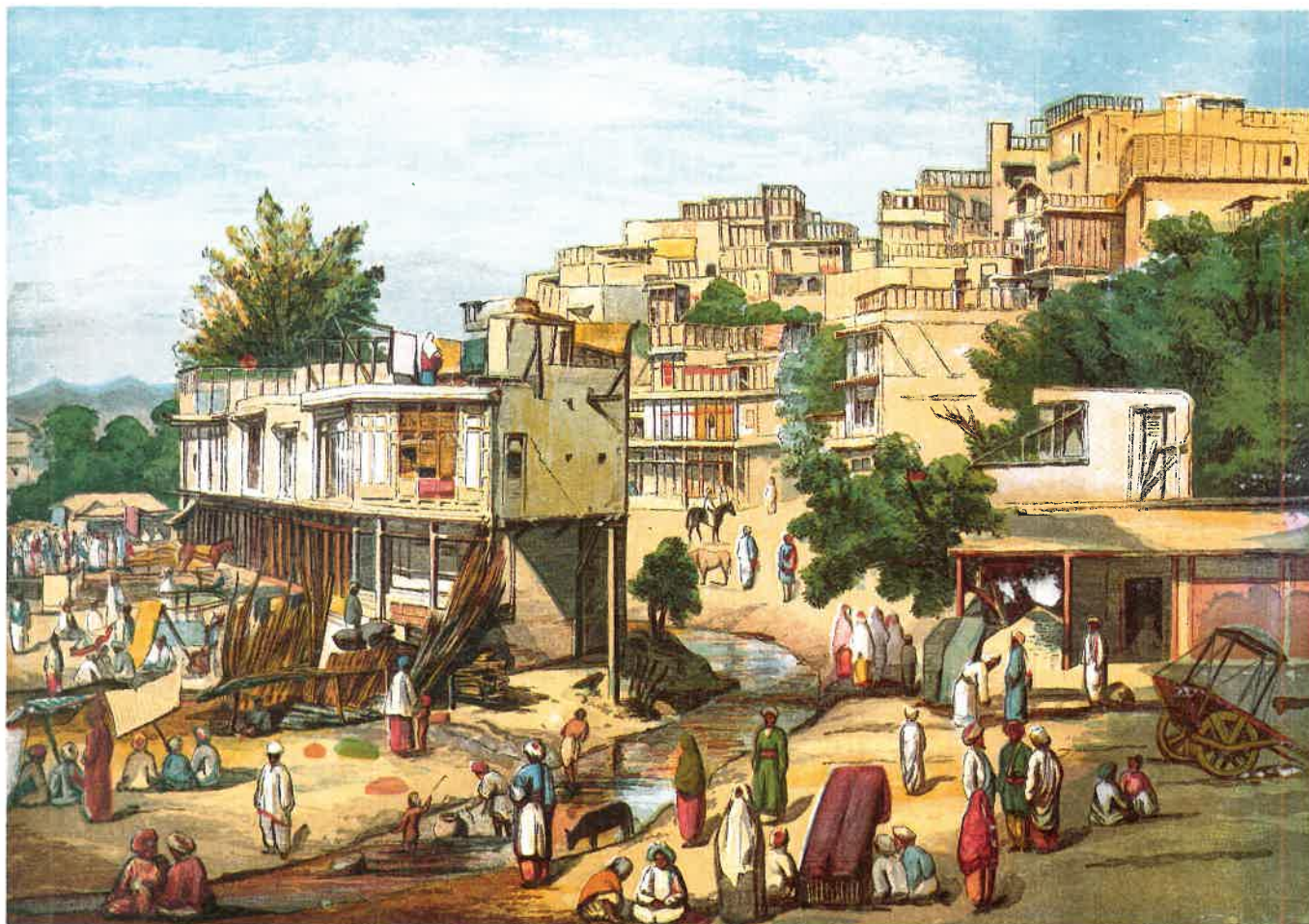
205. PESHAWAR, 1849

Engraving from a sketch by G.T. Vigne, published in *The Illustrated London News*, 26 May 1849.

The text for this illustration when it appeared in *The Illustrated London News* was derived from Thornton's *Gazetteer* published about five years earlier in 1844. The relevant portion of the text read: 'Thornton tells us that, "In the early part of the present century, when visited by Elphinstone, it was a flourishing town, about five miles in circuit, and reported to contain 100,000 inhabitants. Twenty years later, Runjeet Singh, after defeating the Affghans in the decisive battle of Noushera, took Peshawur, demolished the Bala Hissar, at once the capital and state residence - destroyed the fine houses of the chief Affghans, desecrated the mosques, and, cutting down the groves and orchards about the city, laid waste the surrounding country. The subsequent exactions and oppressions have effectually prevented its revival.'



205 Peshawar, 1849.



206 Peshawar city, 1857.

The account continued: 'The whole city has rather a melancholy appearance, presenting numerous ruins of great dimensions, the result, not so much of gradual decay, as of sudden and recent violence. The numerous mosques - many built in a splendid style of Oriental architecture - have been intentionally polluted by the Sikhs, and are going to ruin. A vast and magnificent caravanseraï has been converted into the headquarters of the Sikh governor. It is called Gorkhutru; it has quadrangular outlines, each side measuring two hundred and fifty yards, and contains extensive accommodation for all departments of the government, as well as a spacious house for the Governor. Court, about fifteen years ago, estimated the population at 80,000 - a mixed race of Affghans, Kashmirians, and Hindoos. It is believed to be now about 50,000. Peshawur was built by the Mogul Emperor Akbar, who affixed the name, signifying 'advanced post,' in reference to its being the frontier town of Hindostan towards Affghanistan.'

206. PESHAWAR CITY, 1857

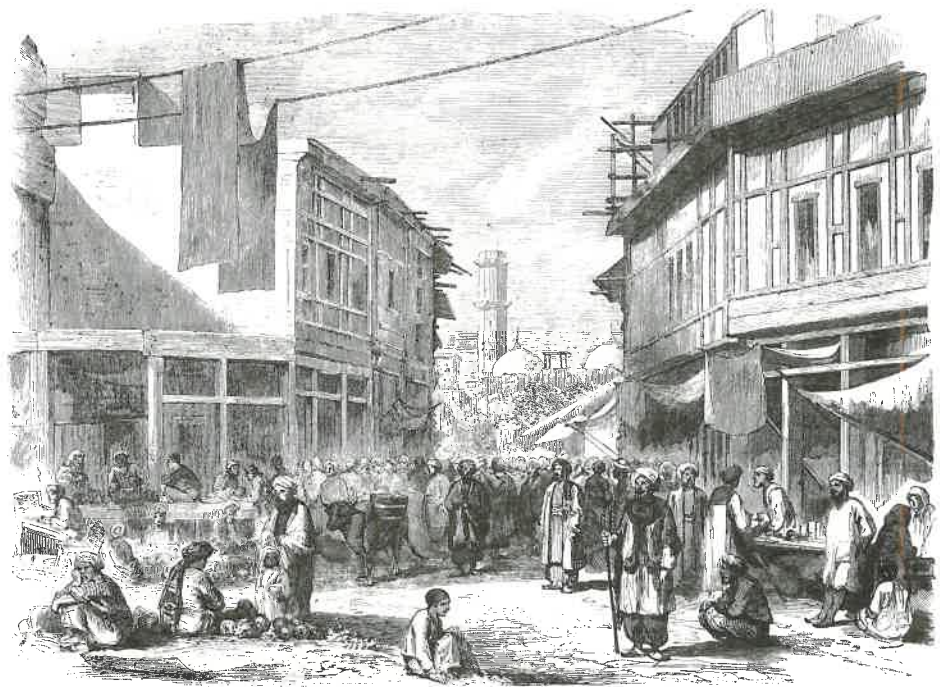
Chromolithograph from a sketch by W. Carpenter Jnr., published in *The Illustrated London News*, 28 November 1857.

'The houses, built of mud, or unburnt brick, on which the inhabitants spend much of their time. The whole city has rather a melancholy appearance, presenting numerous ruins of great dimensions, the result, not so much of gradual decay, as of sudden and recent violence.'

207. STREET SCENE IN PESHAWAR, 1858

Engraving from a sketch by W. Carpenter Jnr., published in *The Illustrated London News*, 27 February 1858.

The associated text read: 'Though Peshawur has long been a town of importance as the principal channel of intercourse between Affghanistan and the Punjaub, such have been the vicissitudes to



207 Street scene in Peshawar, 1858.

which it has been subject that it contains hardly any buildings of interest, and it generally presents a dilapidated aspect. The Governor's Palace, which contains within its walls barracks for a considerable body of troops, and the Jumma Musjid [the mosque of Mahabat Khan], which appears in the Illustration, are the only ones of any size. It is from the minaret of this mosque that Avitabile, while Governor under Runjeet Sing, ordered a man to be thrown; but he lodged on the parapet underneath, and clinging to it resisted all efforts of his executioners to approach him, and was only induced to give himself up by a pardon reached to him from beneath, signed by the Governor; but on quitting his asylum he was instantly seized and hurled over.'

from India, the Himalayas, Tibet, Afghanistan, and all parts of Central Asia.' (Simpson(1903), 109.)

The focal point of Simpson's sketch was the mosque of Mahabat Khan, a Governor of Peshawar during the reigns of the Mughal emperors Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb.

208 Street in Peshawar, 1860.



208. STREET IN PESHAWAR, 1860

Drawing by William Simpson, done on 28 February 1860. Inscribed: *Street in Peshawar with entrance to principal mosque 1860.*

William Simpson, accompanying Lord Canning to Peshawar in 1860, recalled aspects of his visit: 'At Peshawur I made the acquaintance of Captain Speedy. He had the gift of picking up languages, and could speak Pucktoo [Pushto], the language of the Afghans nearest Peshawur. He went with me to the bazaar, and by his speaking powers got all sorts of fellows to stand to be sketched, Peshawur being a place with a wonderful variety of races and types

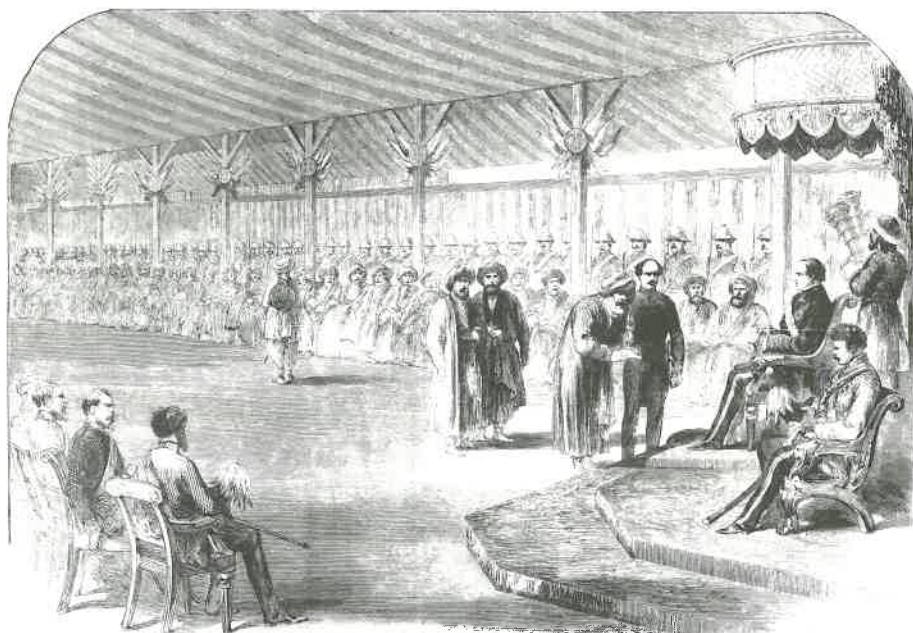


209 Viceregal durbar at Peshawar, 1860.

209. VICEREGAL DURBAR AT PESHAWAR, 1860
Water-colour by William Simpson, dated 29 February 1860.

Simpson witnessed the durbar convened at Peshawar by Lord Charles Canning on 29 February 1860. Here he has sketched the Viceroy receiving a *nuzzar* from a Pathan chief, who is being brought before him by the Secretary Mr. Clive Beadon. The figure seated on the Viceroy's left was Lord Clyde, the Commander-in-Chief.

210. VICEREGAL DURBAR AT PESHAWAR, 1860
Engraving after a water-colour sketch by William Simpson done on 29 February 1860 and published in *The Illustrated London News*, 23 June 1860.

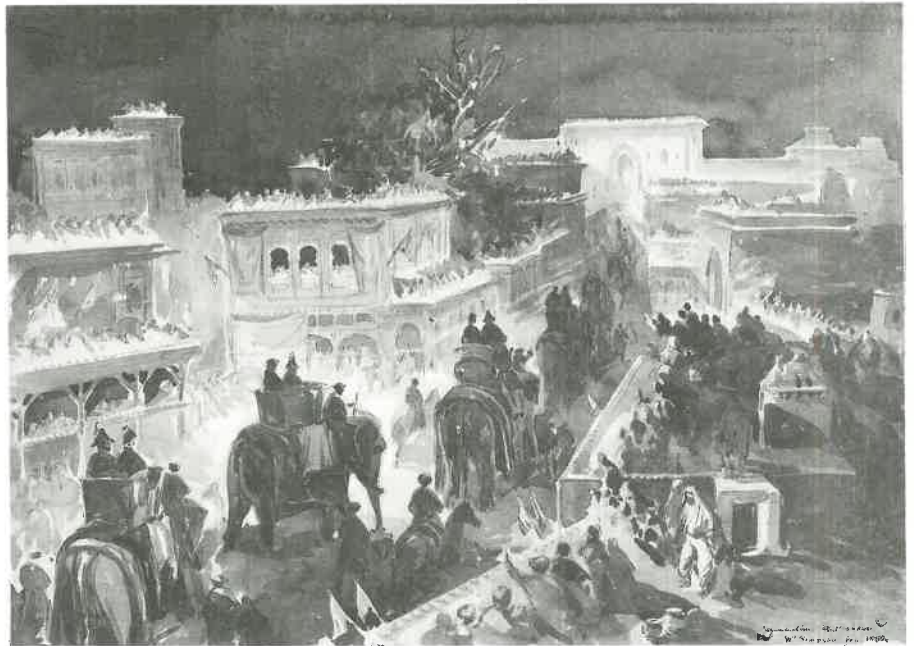


210 Viceregal durbar at Peshawar, 1860.

The engraving derived and developed from Simpson's on-the-spot sketch was published four months later in *The Illustrated London News*.

211. ILLUMINATIONS AT PESHAWAR, 1860
Water-colour sketch by William Simpson, February 1860.

Following the official durbar, held earlier in the day, a 'burra tamasha' or big celebration as Simpson described it was held at Peshawar. He sketched the scene in a deftly-executed water-colour which depicted the viceregal party as it proceeded on caparisoned elephants through the streets of Peshawar, which had been illuminated for the occasion by rows of numerous small oil lamps.

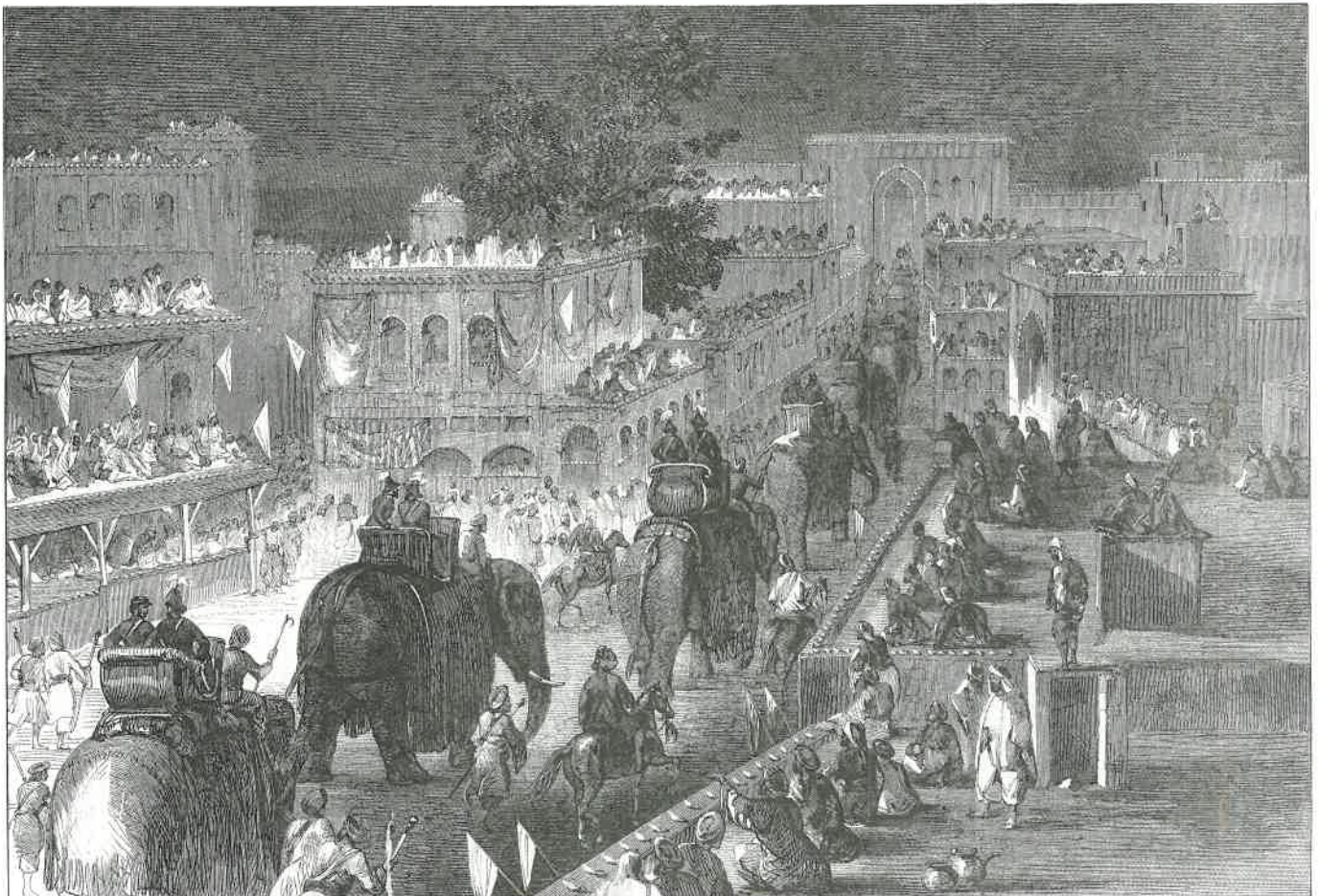


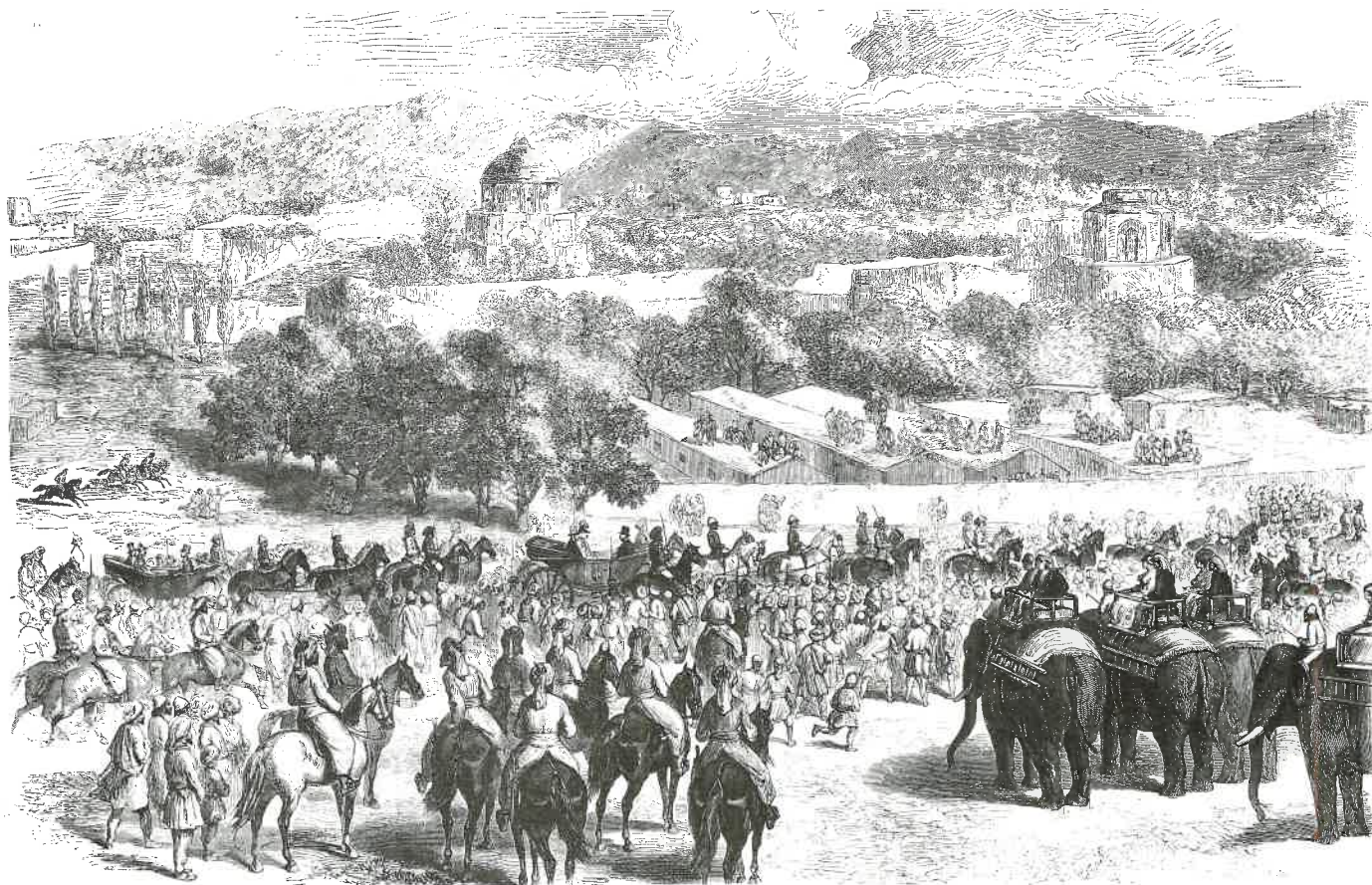
211 Illuminations at Peshawar, 1860.

212. ILLUMINATIONS AT PESHAWAR, 1860
Engraving from a water-colour sketch by William Simpson done in February 1860 and published in *The Illustrated London News*, 16 June 1860.

The conversion of Simpson's water-colour into this engraving demonstrates the unspoken coordination, distances notwithstanding, between the field-artist and his London counterpart.

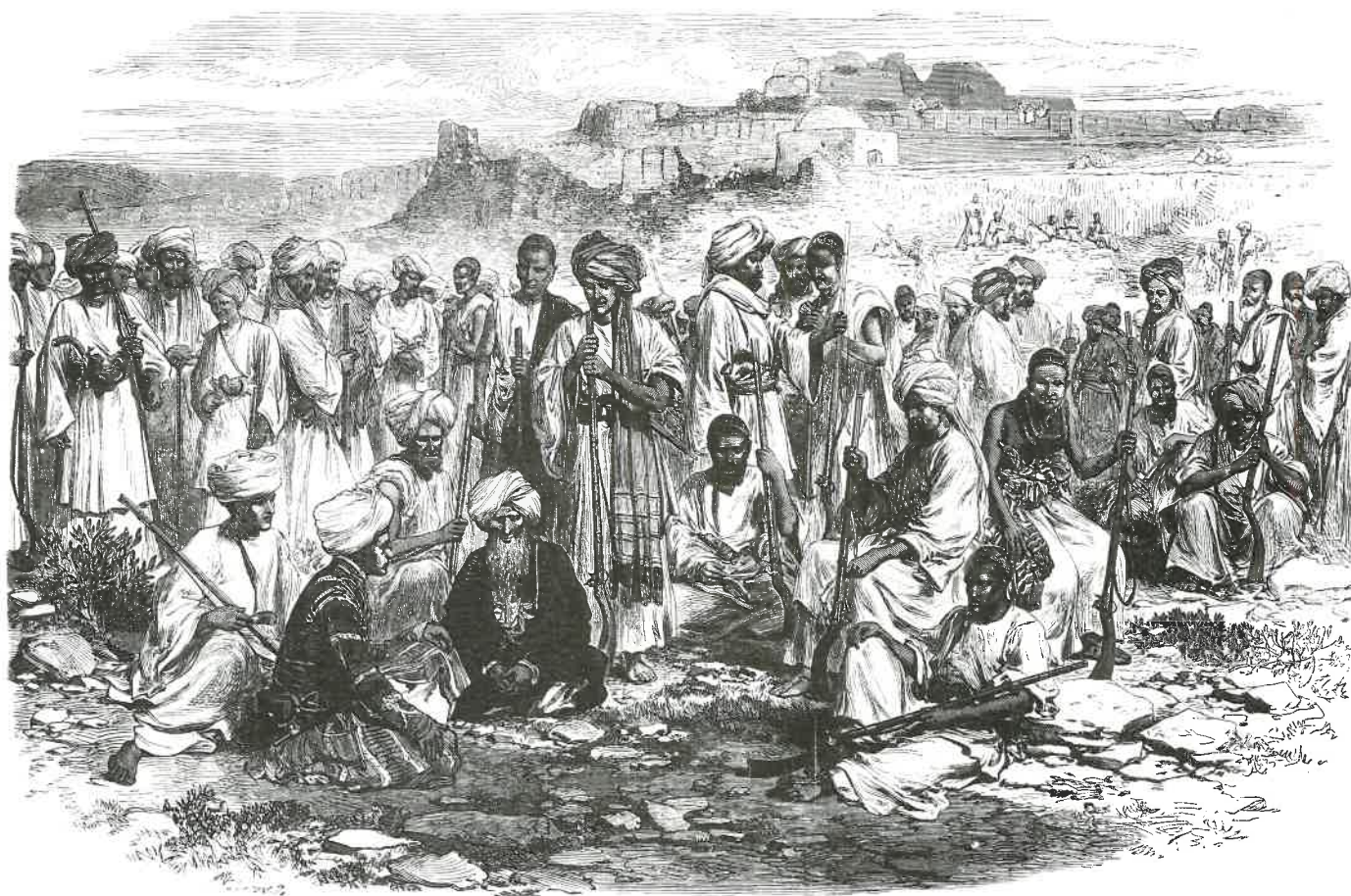
212 Illuminations at Peshawar, 1860.





213 Entry of Governor-General into Peshawar, 1870.

214 Group of Afridis, Peshawar, 1870.



213. ENTRY OF GOVERNOR-GENERAL INTO PESHAWAR, 1870

Engraving published in *The Illustrated London News*, 11 June 1870.

The scene depicted is the entry of a subsequent Governor-General Lord Mayo into Peshawar city in 1870. Mayo was assassinated two years later in the Andaman Islands.

214. GROUP OF AFRIDIS, PESHAWAR, 1870

Engraving published in *The Illustrated London News*, 18 June 1870.

To introduce to its readers the kind of tribals Lord Mayo would have encountered at Peshawar, *The Illustrated London News* presented a collage of different ethnic types from the Frontier, including 'wild Afreedees and Khyberees'.

215. PESHAWAR CITY FROM THE FORT, 1860

Drawing by William Simpson, dated March 1860.

William Simpson took the opportunity while at

Peshawar of climbing up the parapets of the fort, which stood almost 100 feet above the city, and to sketch the city from that vantage point. Visible in the distance on the left are the two minarets of the mosque of Mahabat Khan and in the foreground the Kabul gate entrance into the walled city.

216. KABUL GATE, PESHAWAR CITY, 1891

Photograph, 1891.

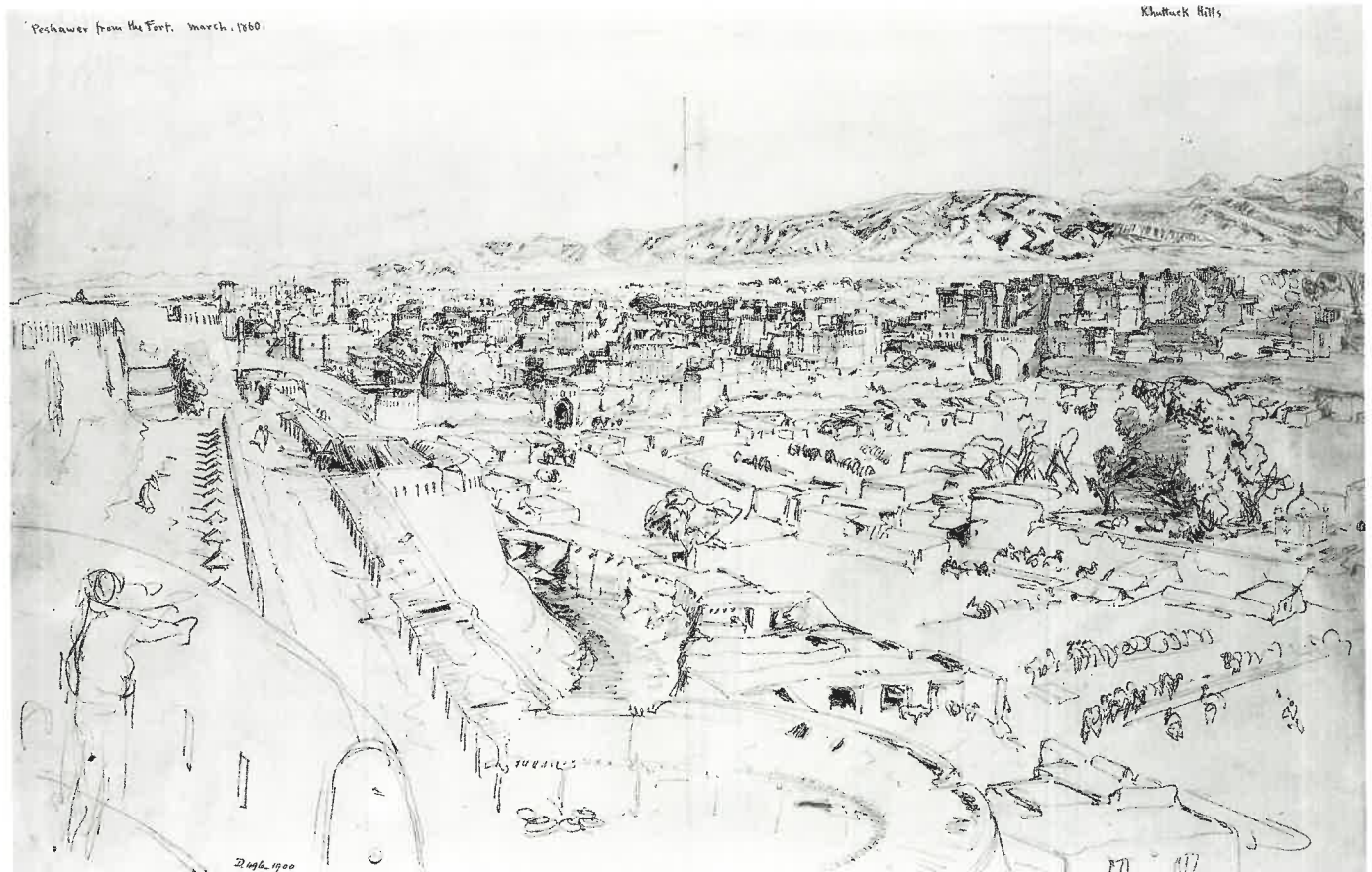
The city of Peshawar had sixteen gates, the most significant of which the Kabul gate led into the Kissa Khani bazaar. The gate had been re-erected as a memorial to Sir Herbert Edwardes.

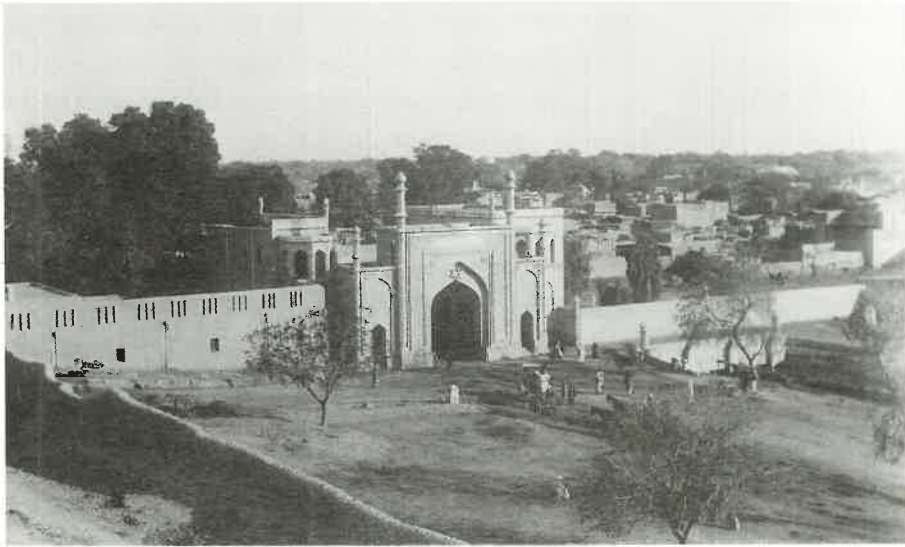
217. PESHAWAR FORT, 1868

Engraving published in *The Illustrated London News*, 7 November 1868.

This illustration, according to the contemporary *The Illustrated London News* text, 'represents the Shubkuddar fort, a part of the fortifications of Peshawur [.] This fort was built by the Sikhs, under Runjeet Singh, after the conquest of the province of

215 Peshawar city from the fort, 1860.





216 Kabul gate, Peshawar city, 1891. (Left)

217 Peshawar fort, 1868. (Below)

Peshawur from the Afghans, about forty years ago. It occupies the site of the Bala Hissar, the former residence of the Afghan Princes, which the Sikhs destroyed. The fort is square, with round towers at the angles, and with semicircular ravelins, and other outworks.'

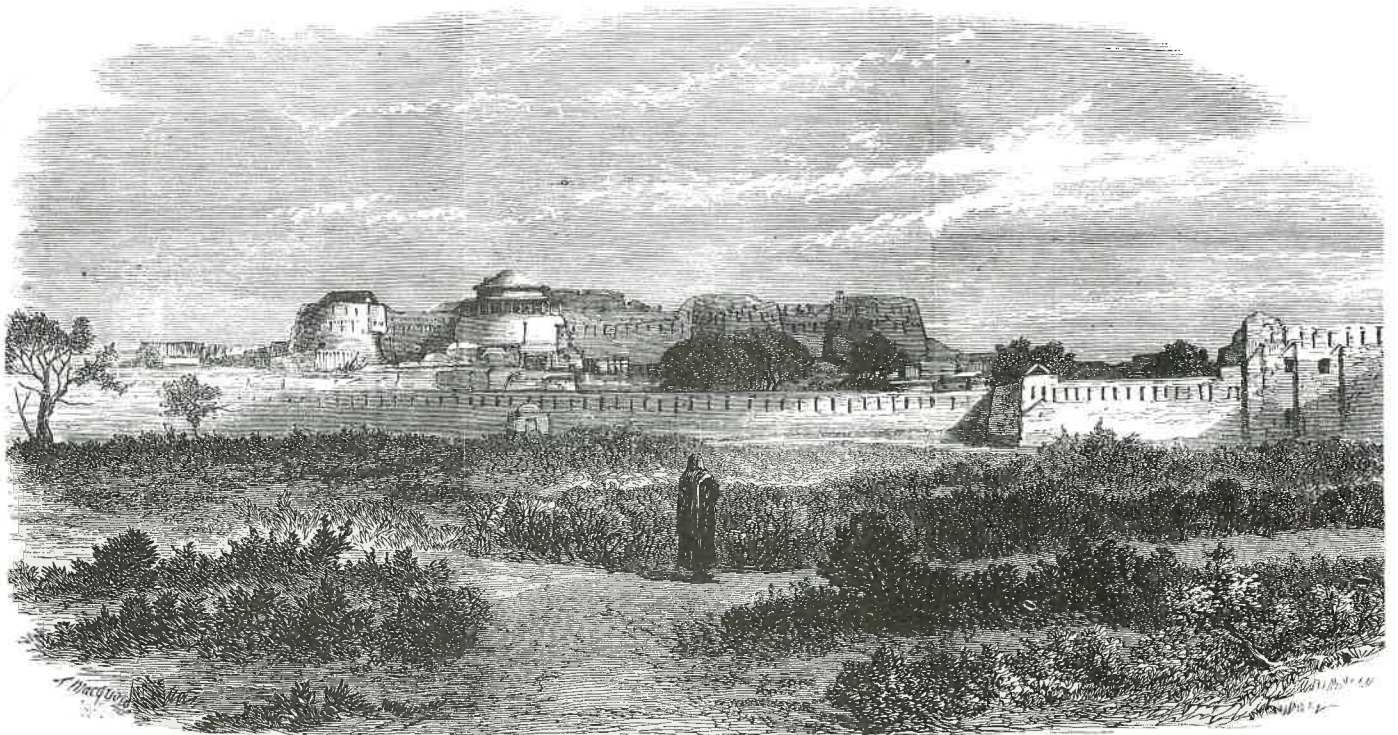
The illustration would appear to be of Peshawar fort, rather than the more modest fort of Shubkud-dar, 15 miles north of Peshawar.

218. PESHAWAR FORT, 1892

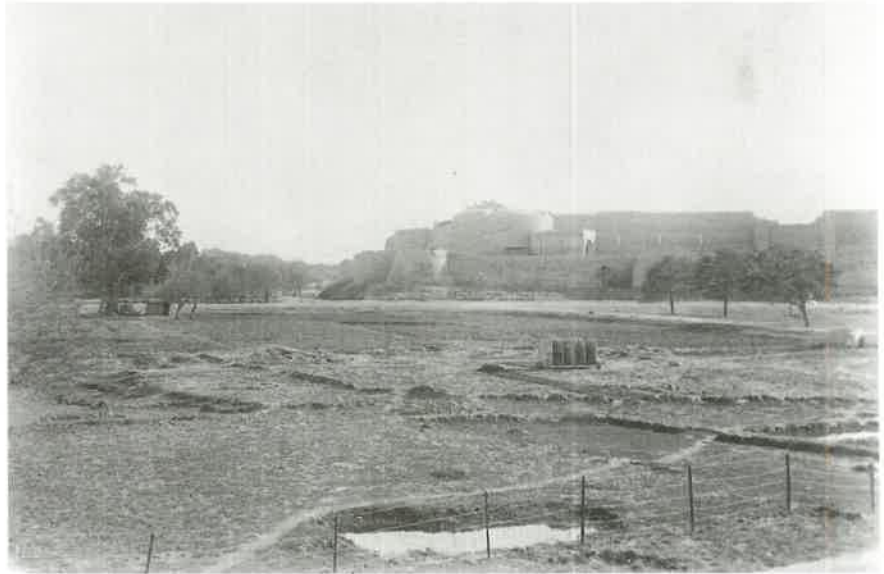
Photograph, 1892.

Thornton in his *Gazetteer* of 1844 records: 'The

fortress, recently erected by the Sikhs, on the site of the Bala Hissar, is a square of about two hundred and twenty yards, and is strengthened by round towers at each angle, every curtain having in front of it a semicircular ravelin. There is a *fausse braye* all round of substantial towers and curtains, with a wet ditch. The height of the inner walls is sixty feet - of the *fausse braye*, thirty - all constructed of mud. Within are capacious and well-constructed magazines and storehouses. The only gateway is on the northern face, and is protected by towers.' The fort had been substantially reconstructed by the Sikhs during the early part of the nineteenth century following their possession of Peshawar.



218 Peshawar fort, 1892.



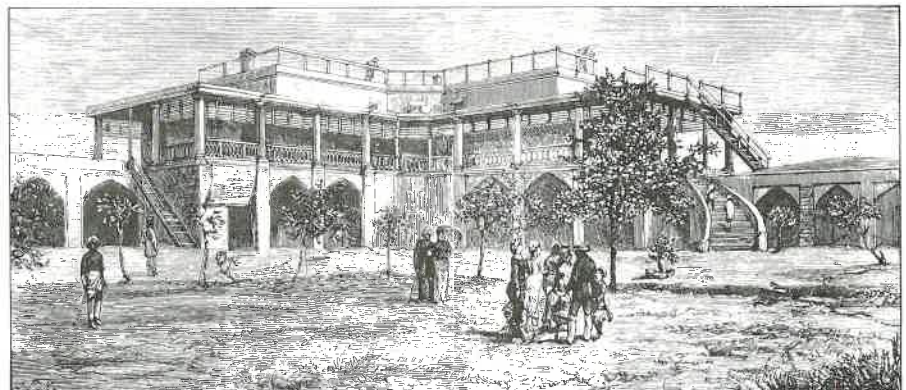
219. THE HOUSE IN WHICH AMIR SHER ALI LIVED IN PESHAWAR, 1878

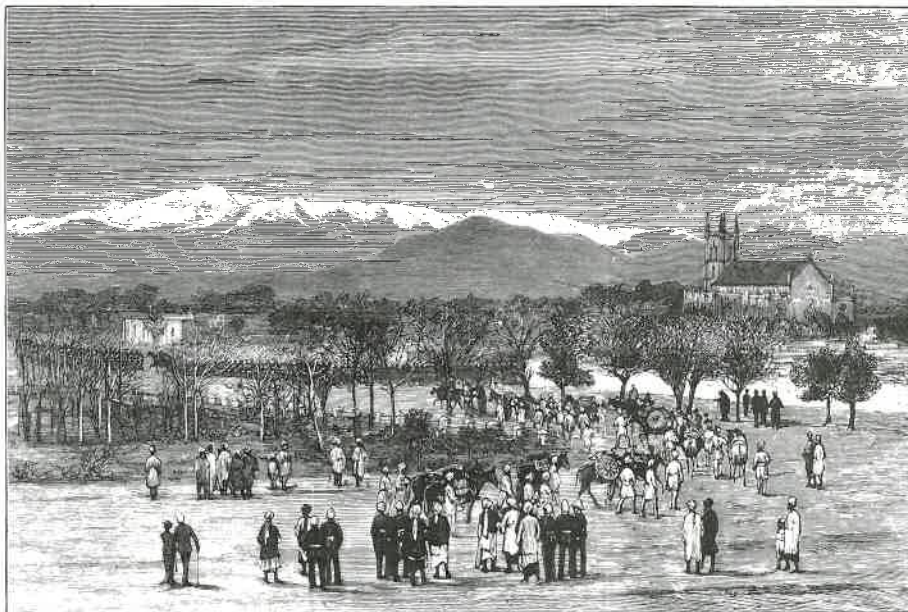
Engraving published in *The Illustrated London News*, 16 November 1878.

The accompanying text informed *The Illustrated London News* readers: 'On his way to meet Lord Mayo at Umballa Ameer Shere Ali stayed at Peshawur, and at his own special request he resided in the Mission House of the Church Missionary Society, which was kindly lent to him by the missionaries of that Society. The house which is represented in our engraving is built upon the walls of the Serai, which is situated in the centre of the native city, and is known as the Gurkhuttree [or Khatri's grave], and it is remarkable that this enclosure contains representative institutions of the three great religions creeds in India, for, in addition to the Christian Mission House, there are both a Mahomedan Mosque and a Hindu Temple. The Gurkhuttree is the most ancient part of the city, and

is celebrated as the residence of the Italian General Avitabile, who ruled Peshawur for the Sikhs with a rod of iron. In General Avitabile's day the most common sights on the walls of the Gurkhuttree were the decapitated heads of Afghan brigands, which were exposed to view for days as an example and a warning to his turbulent subjects. The General is said to have amassed a large fortune during his brief protectorate, but to have found it absolutely impossible to obtain leave to retire with his gains from Sikh service. Fortunately for him, however, the British troops needed money, which he most readily advanced for bills of exchange on Calcutta and London, and he was in this way to decamp with his treasure without exciting the suspicions of the Sikh Government. For some time he resided in his native land, but was eventually poisoned by a member of his own family. The name of "Avitabile Sahib" is still a word of terror to the children of Peshawur, whilst the recollection of his iron rule is yet green in the remembrance of many of the old folks of the valley.'

219 The house in which Amir Sher Ali lived in Peshawar, 1878.





220 The English church at Peshawar, 1878.

220. THE ENGLISH CHURCH AT PESHAWAR, 1878

Engraving published in *The Illustrated London News*, 16 November 1878.

The contemporary text published with this illustration read: 'The first object which strikes the eye of the traveller as he enters the Peshawur valley from the Khyber Pass is the tower of the Peshawur Church. It is a fine Gothic structure erected in the Cantonments, close to the highway to Cabul. It is an exceedingly handsome structure, and is capable of seating about 1,200 troops. When the residents of Peshawur some years ago decided to erect the church, the spot selected was said by the natives to have been the site of a celebrated saint's grave, and as the foundations were being laid some of the old sages of the valley shook their heads, and declared that such a sacrilege could never obtain the blessing of the Almighty! Strange to relate, it did take an unconscionably long time to get the roof on, and then at last, the money fell short'.

A shortage of funds proved to be only one of many obstacles which beset the work of constructing St. John's church, the oldest in Peshawar. According to Eastwick, work had first started in 1849 but the walls fell during an earthquake. Its foundation stone was laid again on 23 March 1851 and on the day of its consecration, on 18 February 1860, a violent storm swept into the church. Fifteen years later, in December 1875, it suffered further damage during a second earthquake.

221 (A & B). TWO ILLUSTRATIONS OF PESHAWAR, 1878

Engravings derived from photographs and published in *The Illustrated London News*, 16 November 1878.

(A) A COMMISSARIAT TRAIN, PESHAWAR, 1878

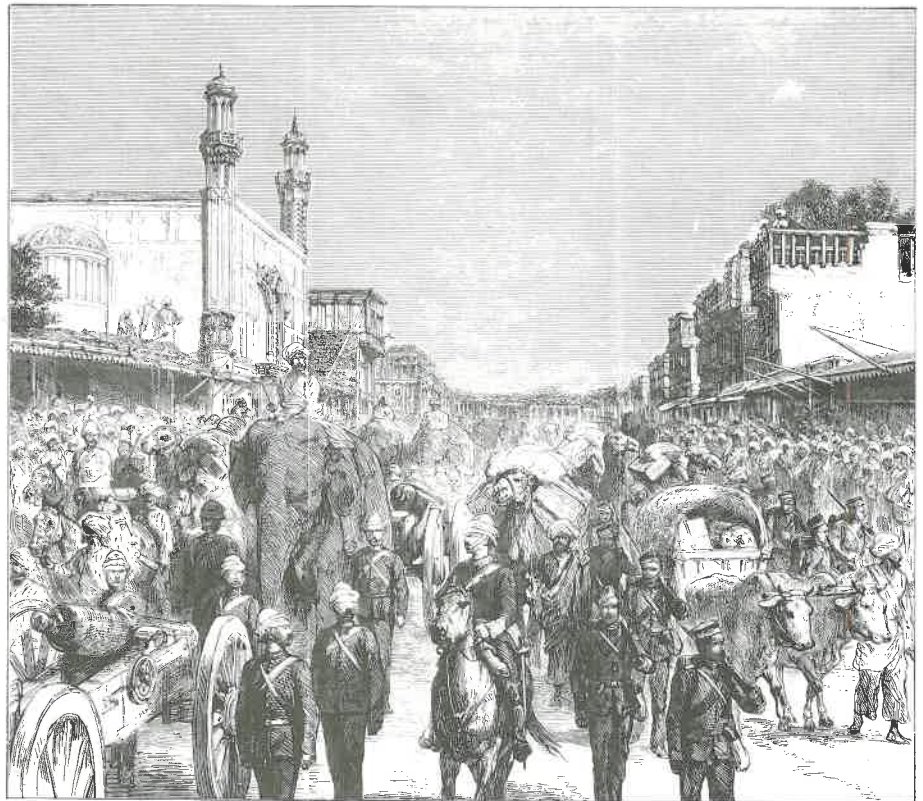
(B) A STREET IN PESHAWAR, 1878

The text for both these illustrations read: 'The chief street of Peshawur is the entrance to the native city from the military cantonments, and as most of the necessary stores needed for the expedition are collected within the native city, one of our illustrations represents a commissariat train of mules and camels conveying the supplies to the military camp outside the walls, whilst another is a sketch of a very characteristic side street of the same city, with the native troops fresh from Hindostan marching to cantonments. Both sketches have been drawn from photographs taken on the spot by an officer of the Indian army.'

222. THE GATHERING OF THE CLANS, 1878

Engraving published in *The Illustrated London News*, 16 November 1878.

Uneasy relations between the British and the Amir of Afghanistan Sher Ali, fuelled by the suspicion in 1878 that he was entertaining a Russian diplomatic mission at Kabul, came to a head when Lord Lytton

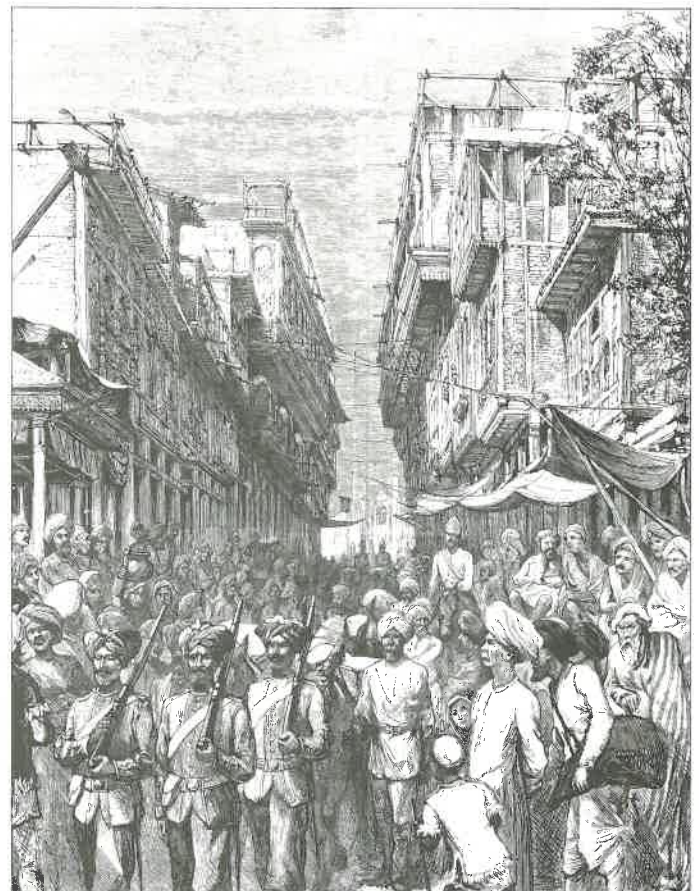


221 (A) A commissariat train, Peshawar, 1878.

demanding that Sher Ali receive also a British Mission. Before the hapless Amir who had not invited the Russian delegation either could react to the peremptory and gratuitous ultimatum, the British invaded Afghanistan. Three forces were amassed, one of them at Peshawar.

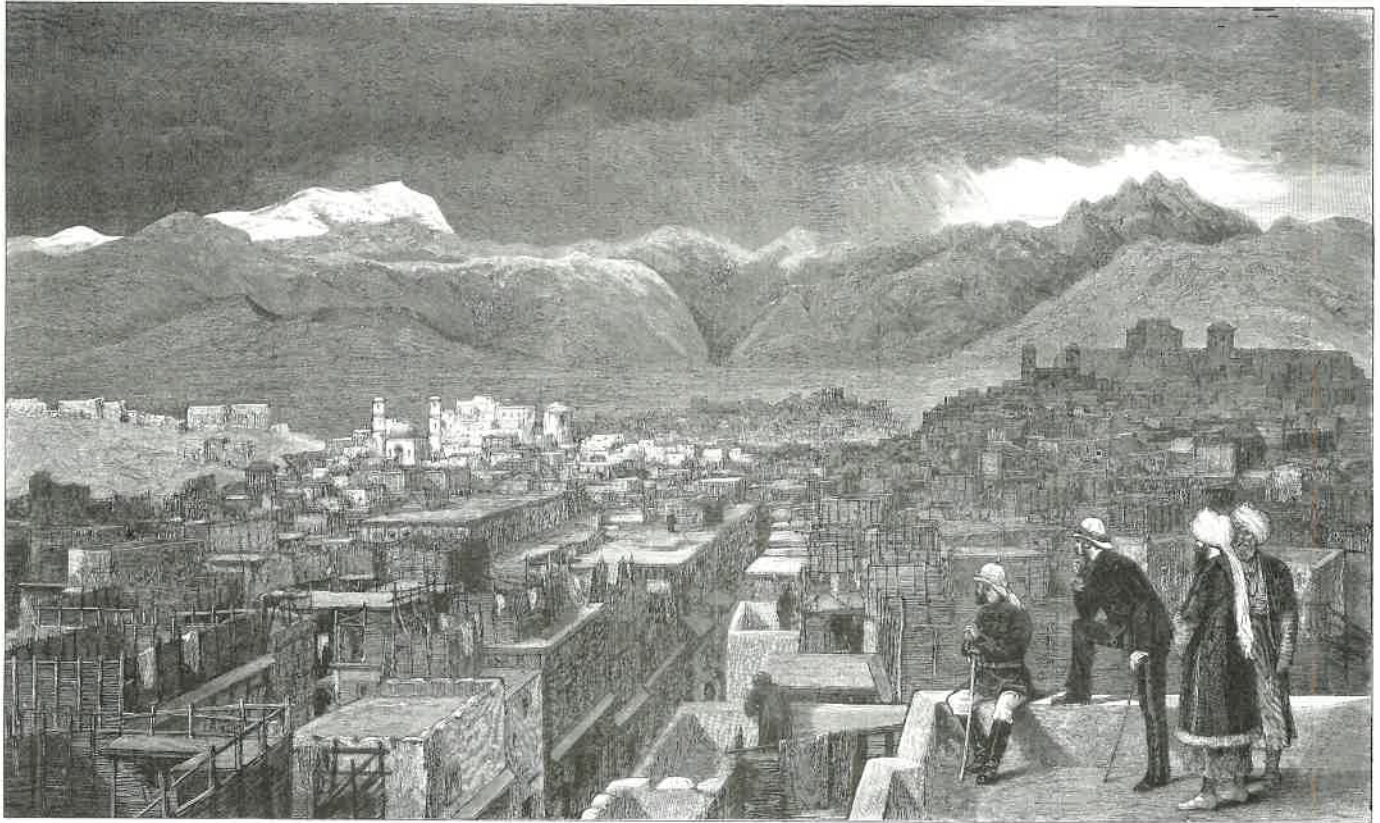
Responding to the war-fever generated amongst its readers, *The Illustrated London News* reported: 'Between the portion of Afghanistan occupied by the British and the territories of the Ameer there is a long line of independent tribes occupying the mountain ranges which form our north-western barrier. Adjoining the Peshawur Valley, there are the Gaduns, Buneerwals, Swatees, Utman Kheyls, Momunds, and Afreedees, numbering some 80,000 fighting men. Further down our frontier, near to Banoo and Dera Ismail Khan, there are the Orukzais, Zaimoshtees, Turees, and Wazeerees, who can muster at least another 80,000. These men are armed with matchlocks, pistols, swords, and knives, and, being used to hill warfare, will be a powerful auxiliary to that side with which they cast their lot. Every effort is being made by Generals Browne and Roberts to induce these warlike tribes to join the British standard, and already some of the leading tribes have assembled with our troops for an onward march.'

221 (B) A street in Peshawar, 1878.





222 The gathering of the clans, 1878.



223 Peshawar and the Khyber pass, 1878.

223. PESHAWAR AND THE KHYBER PASS, 1878
Engraving published in *The Illustrated London News*,
23 November 1878.

The ultimatum issued by Lord Lytton to Sher Ali had expired on 20 November. As copies of *The Illustrated London News* containing this illustration alerting its readers about the impending war in the

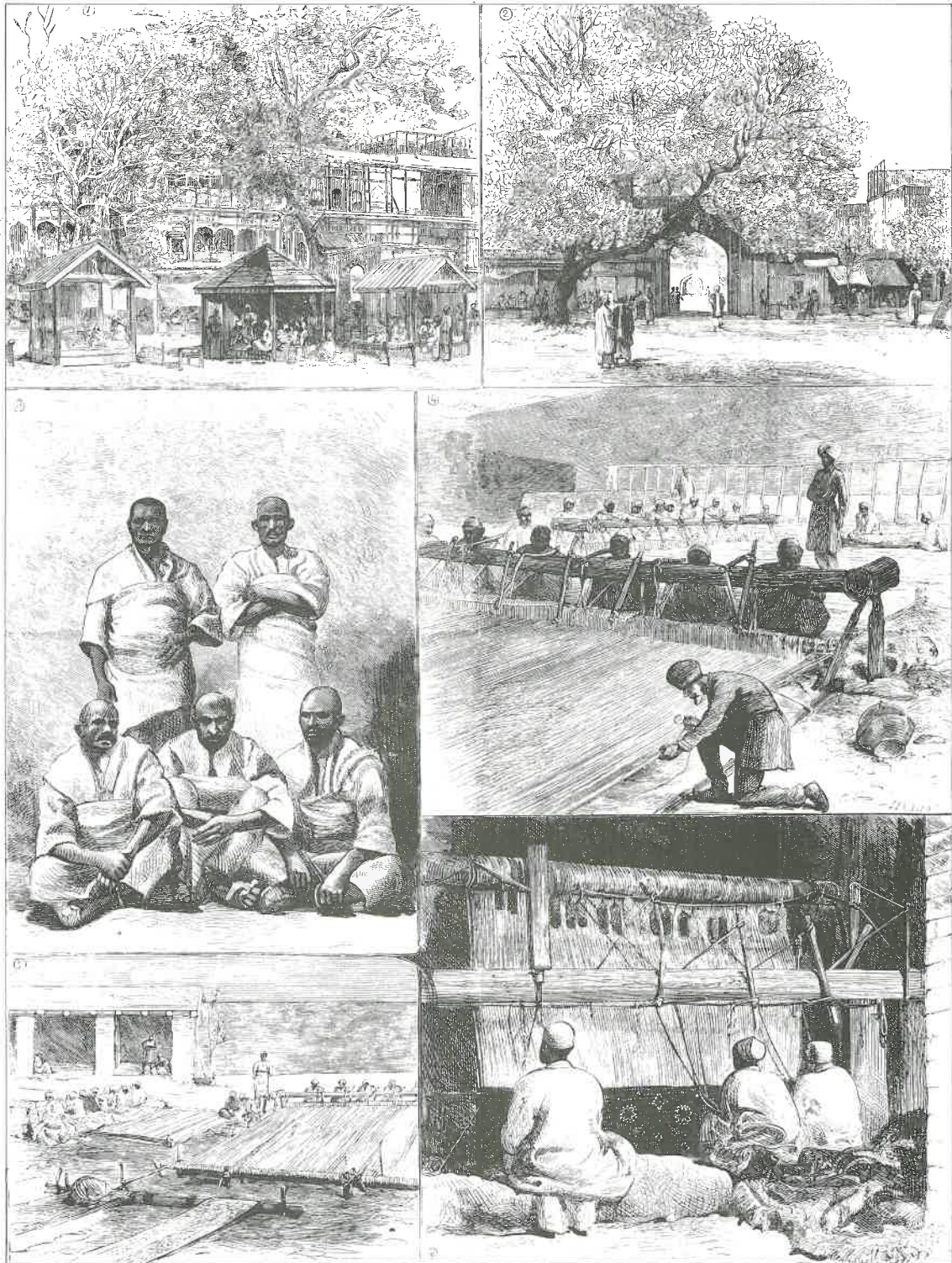
east were being distributed, the British forces invaded Afghanistan and took control. A treaty was signed in May 1879 by the British with Yakub Khan, the son of Sher Ali who had died in February.

224. GOVERNMENT HOUSE, PESHAWAR,
c. 1890

Photograph by Penn, c. 1890.



224 Government House, Peshawar, c. 1890.



225 Carpet weaving in Peshawar Jail, 1883.

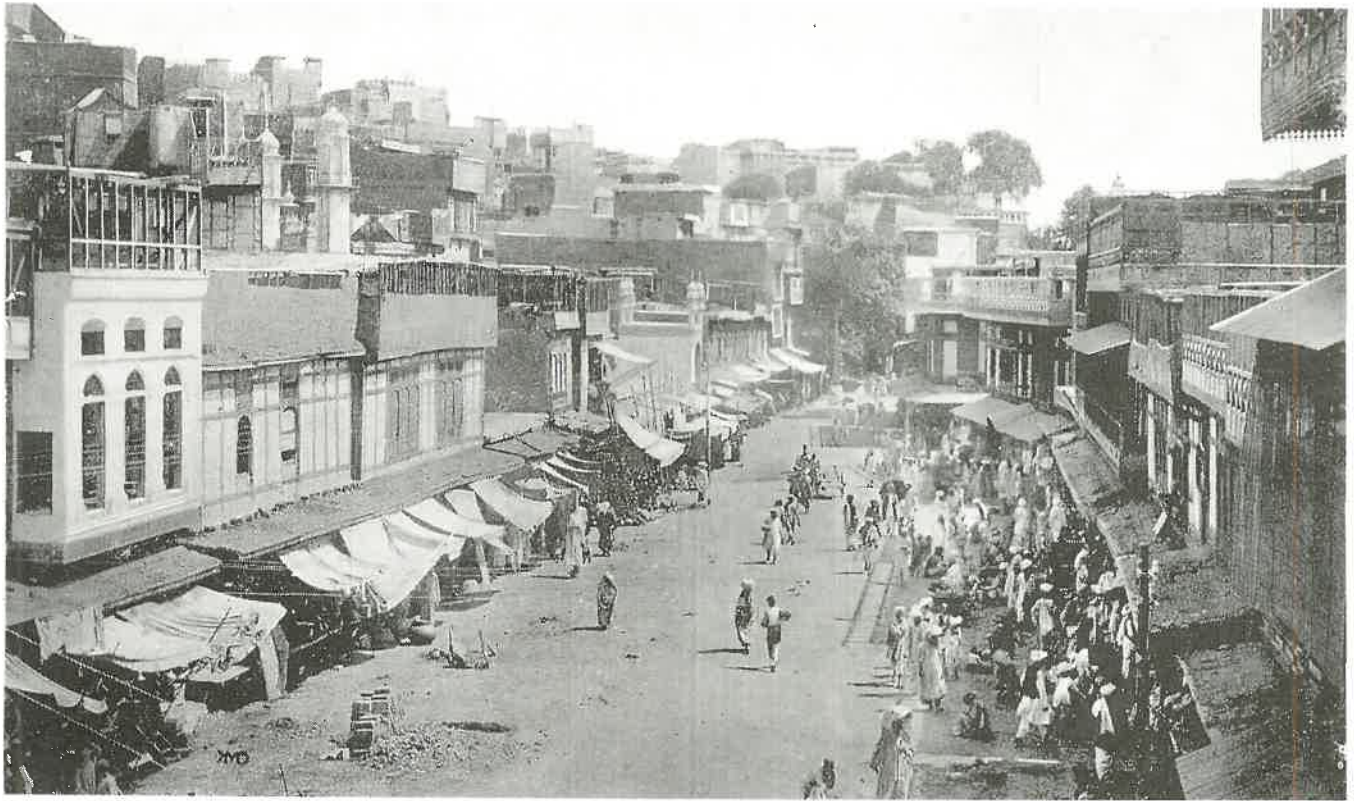
225. CARPET WEAVING IN PESHAWAR JAIL, 1885

Engraving published in *The Illustrated London News*, 11 April 1885.

These scenes of the Cloth Market and the Silk Market at Peshawar show also some interiors of the Jail, with various prisoners, dressed in cloth of their

own making, industriously employed in weaving cotton *durries* and carpets.

The objective was not simply to keep such prisoners occupied usefully while in jail and to provide them a small stipend, but also to equip them to earn a living once released. The descendants of many such entrepreneurs have catered to a continuous traffic of tourists visiting Peshawar.



226 Kissa khani bazaar, Peshawar, c. 1900.

226. KISSA KHANI BAZAAR, PESHAWAR, c. 1900
Postcard from a photograph by Dadabhoy of Multan, c. 1900.

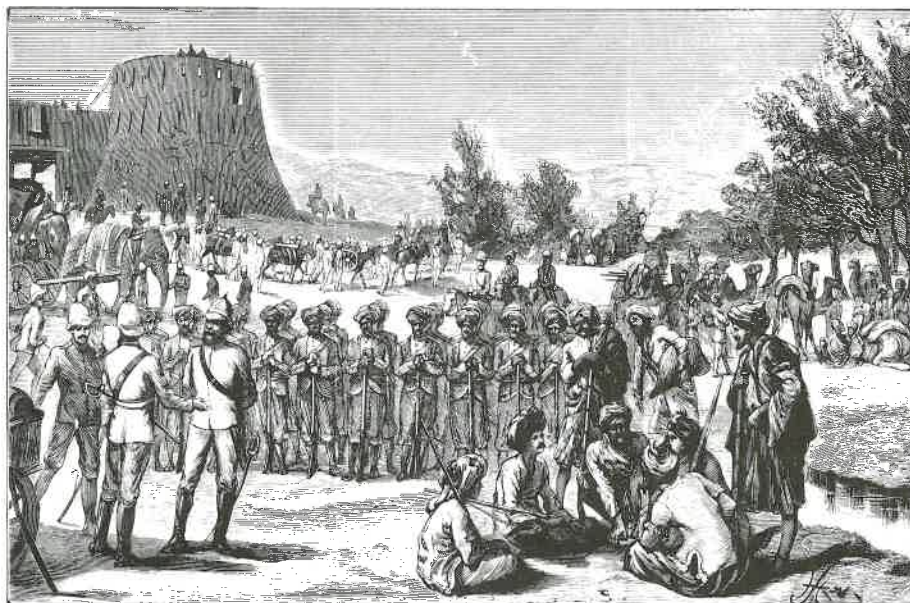
The famous Kissa Khani or story-tellers' bazaar, close to the fort, was described at the time of this photograph as being ' a broad roadway 50 feet in width, consisting of two double rows of shops, the upper rooms of which are usually let out as lodgings' (*Imperial Gazetteer of India* (1908), XX, 124).

227. KISSA KHANI BAZAAR, PESHAWAR, c. 1900
Postcard from a photograph by Dadabhoy of Multan, c. 1900.

Regardless of the commodity traded, whether dried or fresh fruit, locally manufactured or cloth of a foreign weave, small arms or ammunition of a higher calibre, the role of Peshawar as the free - flowing conduit of commerce between Afghanistan, Central Asia and the subcontinent has remained unchanged.



227 Kissa khani bazaar, Peshawar, c. 1900.



228 Hari Singh's tower, near Peshawar, 1878.

228. HARI SINGH'S TOWER, NEAR PESHAWAR, 1878

Engraving published in *The Graphic*, 16 November 1878.

Located about six miles from Peshawar on the way to the Khyber Pass, the *Hari Singh ka Burj* or the tower of Hari Singh commemorated the Sikh general Hari Singh Nalwa who lost his life in battle against the Afghan troops of Dost Mohammed in April 1837.

229. ENTRANCE TO THE KHYBER PASS AND FORT OF JAMRUD, 1878

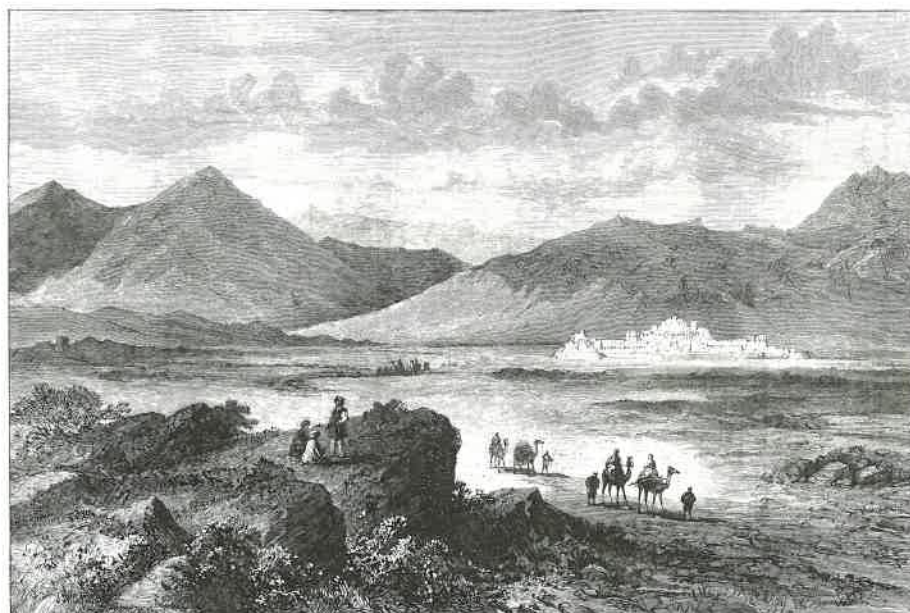
Engraving published in *The Illustrated London News*, 5 October 1878.

The fort of Jamrud, about 11 miles from Peshawar, was re-built by the Hari Singh Nalwa, one of the most valiant of the Sikh generals serving Ranjit Singh. The fort is surrounded by stone walls on three sides and stands 100 feet high.

230. FORT JAMRUD, 1878

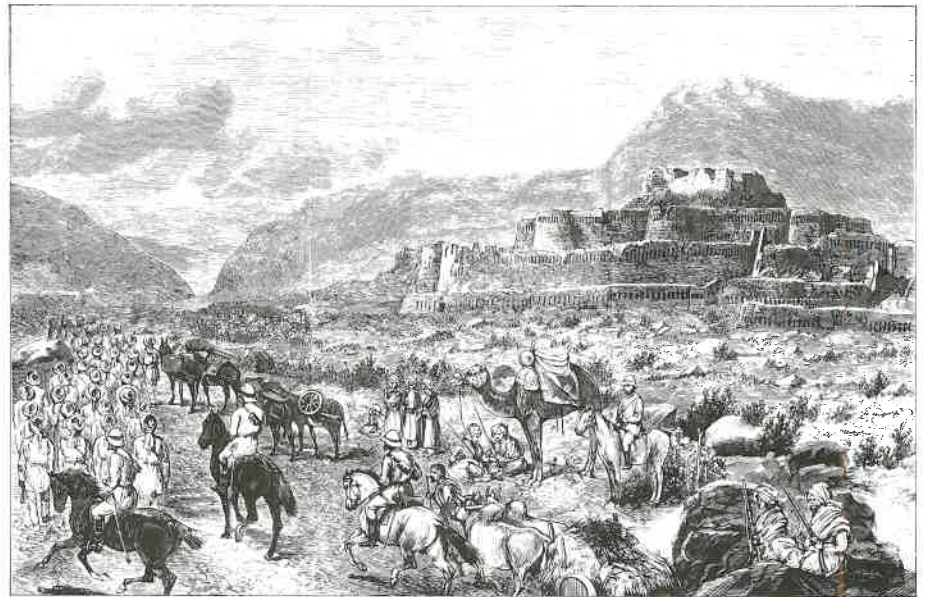
Engraving published in *The Graphic*, 16 November 1878.

An extract from *The Graphic* report read: 'The old mud fort at Jumrood is situated ten miles from the Peshawur Cantonments, and close to the entrance of the Khyber Pass. It originally belonged to the Afghans, but it was seized by the Sikhs in 1837, and in an attempt made by the Afghans to retake it, the Sikh

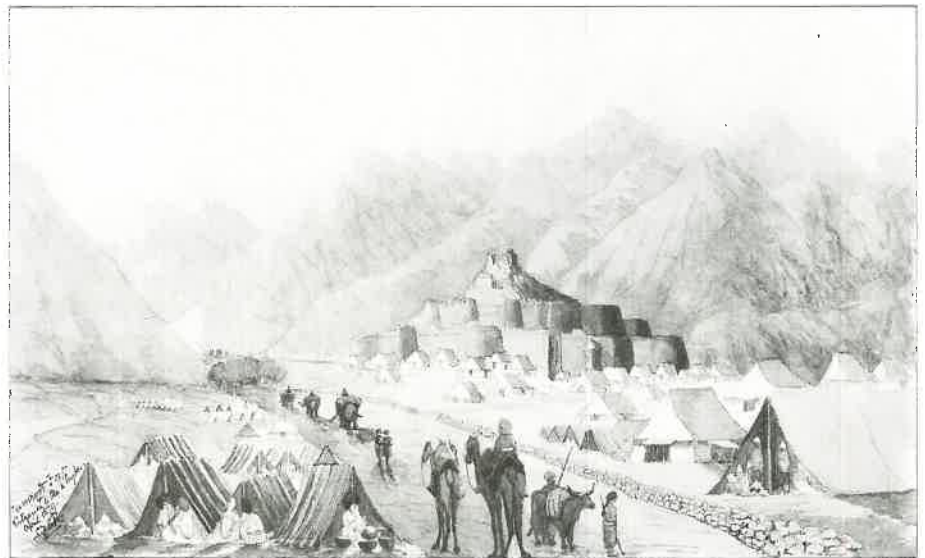


229 Entrance to the Khyber Pass and fort of Jamrud, 1878.

230 Fort Jamrud, 1878.



231 Encampment near Fort Jamrud, 1879.



General Huree Singh was killed. According to the Sikh custom he was burnt, and his ashes are now entombed in a brick tower which is still seen in the walls of the fort facing Peshawur. Since the British occupation of Peshawur, Fort Jumrood has been held to be neutral ground, and nominally in charge of the independent Afreedee tribes.'

231. ENCAMPMENT NEAR FORT JAMRUD, 1879
Water-colour by Charles J. Cramer-Roberts, April 1879.

Major C.J. Cramer-Roberts of the 9th Foot (Norfolk Regiment) saw action in the Second Afghan Campaign of 1879 -80. Another amateur artist, he sketched his encampment at the foot of fort Jamrud.

232. JAMRUD FORT, c. 1900
Postcard, c. 1900.

232 Jamrud fort, c. 1900.



FORT OF ALI MASJID

233. FORT OF ALI MASJID, 1839

Lithograph by T. and E. Gibbs from a drawing by Lieut. W. Barr and published in Barr, W. *March from Delhi to Peshawur and from thence to Cabul* (London, 1844), frontispiece.

234. FORT OF ALI MASJID, c. 1840

Lithograph by W.L. Walton after a sketch by Lieut. James Rattray, published in J. Rattray, *Scenery, Inhabitants, & Costumes, of Afghaunistan* (London, 1847 - 48), plate 13.

'Ali Musjid,' an account read, 'as will be seen, occupies a most imposing situation, on a great wall of rock, when seen from below, yet it might really be commanded from several of the neighbouring heights, or avoided altogether by a detour through the Taratra Pass, a little to the north of the Khyber. But the portion of the path immediately adjoining Ali Musjid certainly offers some of the greatest difficulties on the whole route. The road narrows down to the boulder-strewn bed of the torrent, whilst almost perpendicular rocks inclose it on either side, and the rude little Afghan fort overhangs it threateningly from above [.] But, fortunately, the fort is commanded both from the south and from the west, and it was on these faces that Colonel Wade delivered his attack in 1839. Although he commenced his operations on July 25, and was enabled in a few hours to drive the defenders from their outworks by the accuracy of his shell fire, they only

being armed with matchlocks. It was not until three days later that the place surrendered.'

The account continued: 'As the occupation of the place was absolutely necessary in order to keep open free communication with our forces in Jellalabad and Cabul, a garrison of Yusufzae Pathans was placed in it. In November 1841, a desperate attack was made on the fort by a body of about 2000 men belonging to the neighbouring tribes. They cut off the water supply and reduced the place to dreadful straits; but Mackeson, ever fertile of resource, bought them off.'

235. FORT OF ALI MASJID, 1879

Engraving from a sketch by William Simpson, published in *The Illustrated London News*, 11 January 1879.

William Simpson, during his third visit to India in 1878, accompanied the British troops moved to the Frontier against Sher Ali of Afghanistan. Three columns were mobilised - one under Sir Donald Stewart to reach Qandahar via Shikarpur, the second under General (later Lord) Roberts and the third under the command of General Sir Samuel Browne. Simpson attached himself to the latter. His recollection of the campaign read: 'At last, on the 20th of November, we were all at Jamrud, ready for the next move. This began very early next morning. I determined to go on foot, so as not to be bothered with a horse. I started with the early dawn, and as I reached the entrance I was quite alone. Troops had already gone in, and others were following, but I was in a gap of the movement, and apparently as



233 Fort of Ali Masjid, 1839.



234 Fort of Ali Masjid, 1840.

235 Fort of Ali Masjid, 1879.





236 Cricket at Kohat, 1863.

solitary a figure as if there were not a soul within a hundred miles of me. I pushed on and reached the Shagai heights in time to see the first shot fired. At this point we were in sight of Ali Musjid, or the fort of that name. Our artillery came up and opened fire, the infantry advanced, and the fighting went on all day. When darkness came on we had just to lie down and find a bed on the ground.'

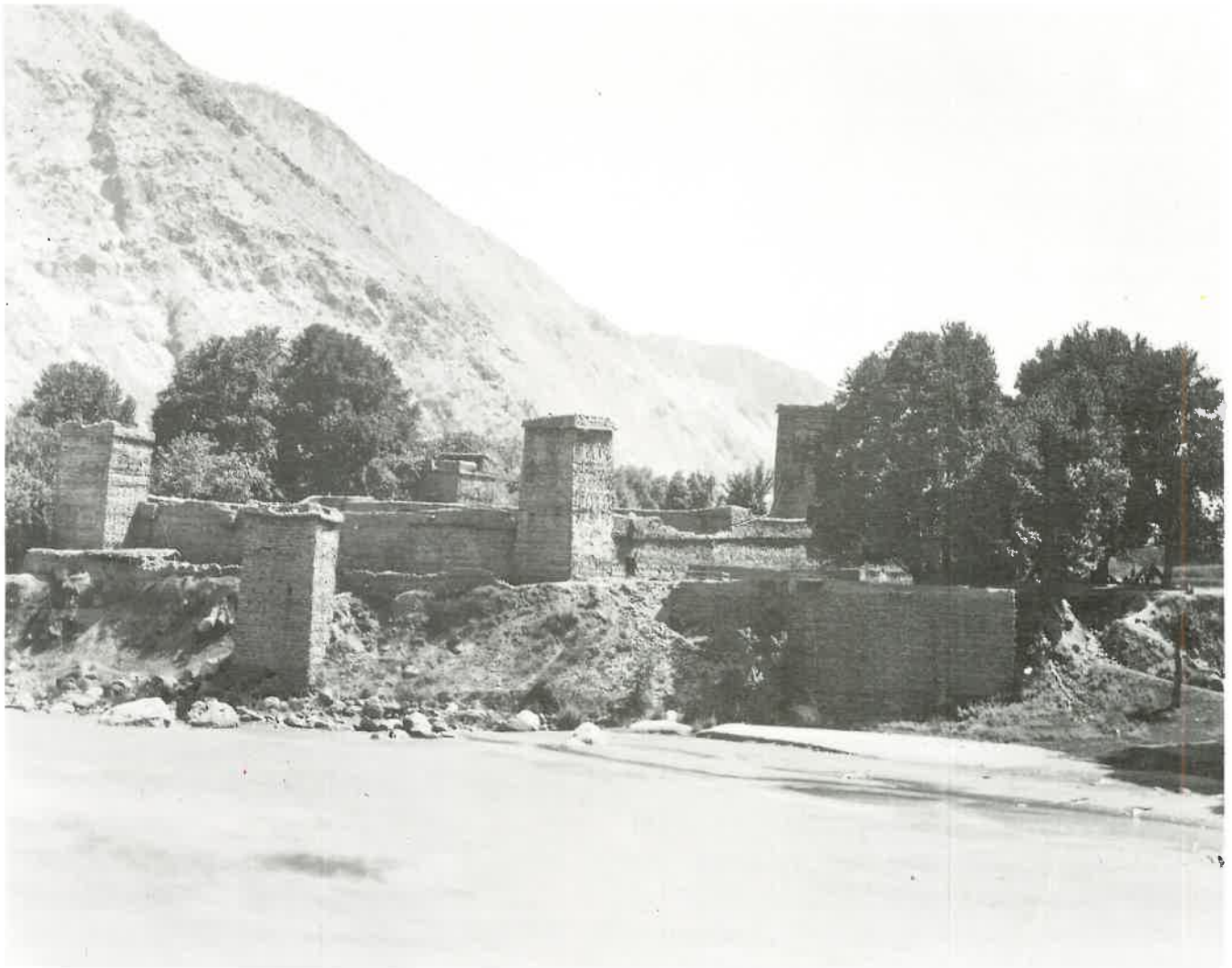
The strategy for the next day had been for some of the British forces to go over the hills and enter the Khyber in the rear of Ali Masjid. Simpson continues: 'The Afghans discovered this stratagem, and evacuated the fort during the night. Next morning we entered, finding none but the dead and wounded. I climbed up and entered the fort with Sir Samuel. Afterwards, when I learned the peculiar character of Buddhist masonry, I realised how old some parts of the wall must have been. My impression now is that the fort was an old Buddhist monastery. Mr. Beglar,

of the Archaeological Survey Department, made some explorations, and found remains of stupas, which fact supports this supposition. The Musjid or Mashad of Ali is a small tomb-like structure on the banks of the stream, below the almost perpendicular cliff on which the fort stands. We stayed all day and night, and I was able to finish sketches and catch the mail.' (Simpson (1903), 278.)

236. CRICKET AT KOHAT, 1863

Photograph by Major Keyes, 1st Punjab Infantry, Kohat, April 1863.

An early view of the parade ground at Kohat, converted temporarily into a cricket field, with the cantonment church and the racquet court in the background. The English sport of cricket had reached as far as Kohat within seventeen years of the first All - England team touring the home country.



237 Chitral fort, 1895.

237. CHITRAL FORT, 1895

Photograph, c. 1895.

Chitral fort became the scene of a siege in 1895 when the forces under Sir George Robertson, Political Agent at Gilgit, were pinned within the fort for forty-seven days until rescued by a relief force. The fort, a rustic bastion made of stone and wooden beams, belonged to the ruling Mehtar family of Chitral.

In a sense, the Chitral expedition, more of a skirmish than a campaign, represented a punctuation mark, a halt in the narrative of British military expansion in the northern areas of the subcontinent. By the end of the nineteenth century, the axis had been shifted to another continent, to Africa where the Boer war was being fought. It proved to be the last of the wars of Queen Victoria's long reign. She died in January 1901, unaware that within fifteen

foreshortened years of her death, three of her relatives - King George V of Great Britain, Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany and Czar Nicholas II of Russia - would be engaged in an Armageddon of unprecedented proportions, a war fought not on foreign soil but at home.

The Crimean War, one of the first of her reign, had brought about an acceleration in the development of lithography and early photography and their use in pictorial journalism. Over the next fifty years, these images of war fought on distant continents had conveyed with vivid realism the flashes and the fires, the smoke and the swirling dust of far-off battlefields. Soon, such substitutes would no longer be necessary, for the soil of Europe would itself be churned into the mud of Passchendaele, when once again, a century after the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo, war would become a reality in Britain and in Europe.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- 1 FORT AND HARBOUR OF KARACHI. Lithograph, c. 1840. *Page 20*
- 2 A VIEW OF KARACHI. Drawing, c. 1850. *Page 21*
- 3 THE TOWN OF KARACHI. Water-colour, 1851. *Page 23*
- 4 KARACHI SEEN FROM CLIFTON. Water-colour, 1851. *Page 23*
- 5 MAP OF KARACHI. Map, 1852 - 53. *Page 24*
- 6 RIFLE PRACTICE AT KARACHI. Wood engraving, c. 1855. *Page 25*
- 7 HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, KARACHI. Photograph, c. 1865. *Page 25*
- 8 ANOTHER VIEW OF HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, KARACHI. Postcard, c. 1900. *Page 26*
- 9 FRERE HALL, KARACHI. Photograph, c. 1865. *Page 26*
- 10 SIND CLUB, KARACHI. Postcard, c. 1900. *Page 27*
- 11 BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF KARACHI. Postcard, c. 1900. *Page 28*
- 12 BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF KARACHI. Postcard, c. 1900. *Page 28*
- 13 SADDAR BAZAAR, KARACHI. Postcard, c. 1900. *Page 28*
- 14 SOMERSET STREET, KARACHI. Postcard, c. 1900. *Page 29*
- 15 EMPRESS MARKET. Postcard, c. 1900. *Page 29*
- 16 SIND ART'S COLLEGE AND VICTORIA MUSEUM, KARACHI. Postcard, c. 1900. *Page 29*
- 17 OYSTER ROCKS AND HARBOUR ENTRANCE, KARACHI. Postcard, c. 1900. *Page 30*
- 18 DISTANT VIEW OF MANORA. Postcard, c. 1900. *Page 30*
- 19 THE CROCODILE TANK, NEAR KARACHI. Lithograph, c. 1841. *Page 31*
- 20 THE TOMB OF HAJI MANGHO PIR, NEAR KARACHI. Sepia sketch, 1850. *Page 33*
- 21 THE TOMB OF HAJI MANGHO PIR, NEAR KARACHI. Pencil drawing, c. 1870. *Page 33*
- 22 THE CROCODILES AT MANGHO PIR, NEAR KARACHI. Pencil drawing, c. 1880. *Page 34*
- 23 THE RAJAH CROCODILE AT MANGHO PIR. Woodcut engraving, 1878. *Page 35*
- 24 FEEDING THE CROCODILES AT MANGHO PIR, Woodcut engraving, 1878. *Page 35*
- 25 GWADAR. Engraving, 1863. *Page 36*
- 26 WORKING PARTY AT AGRORE, MAKHRAN. Engraving, 1863. *Page 37*
- 27 THE GREAT MALAN, OFF MAKHRAN. Engraving, 1863. *Page 37*
- 28 TOMBS AT TRAK. Lithograph, 1844. *Page 38*
- 29 THE TOMB OF MIRZA ISA TARKHAN, THATTA. Lithograph, c. 1839. *Page 39*
- 30 THE TOMB OF MIRZA ISA TARKHAN, THATTA. Lithograph, c. 1838. *Page 40*
- 31 KALANKOT FORT, NEAR THATTA. Woodcut engraving, 1878. *Page 40*
- 32 THE FORT AT HYDERABAD. Engraving, 1843. *Page 41*
- 33 THE FORT AT HYDERABAD. Steel engraving, c. 1845. *Page 42*
- 34 NORTH-WEST FRONT OF HYDERABAD FORT. Lithograph, 1844. *Page 43*
- 35 THE ROUND TOWER OF HYDERABAD FORT. Lithograph, 1844. *Page 44*
- 36 THE ROUND TOWER OF HYDERABAD FORT. Lithograph, 1844. *Page 45*
- 37 VIEW FROM THE ROUND TOWER OF HYDERABAD FORT. Lithograph, 1844. *Page 45*
- 38 MAIN GATEWAY OF HYDERABAD FORT. Lithograph, 1844. *Page 46*
- 39 MAIN GATEWAY AND GOVERNMENT HOUSE, HYDERABAD FORT. Lithograph, 1844. *Page 47*
- 40 A VIEW OF HYDERABAD. Lithograph, c. 1843. *Page 48*
- 41 THE TOMB OF MIR KARAM ALI KHAN TALPUR, HYDERABAD. Photograph, c. 1890. *Page 49*
- 42 SHAIKH MAKAI FORT, HYDERABAD. Postcard, c. 1890. *Page 49*
- 43 RUINS AT BRAHMANABAD. Engraving, 1857. *Page 17*
- 44 RUINS AT SEHWAN. Lithograph, c. 1838. *Page 50*
- 45 ENTRANCE TO THE TOWN OF SEHWAN. Lithograph, 1845. *Page 51*
- 46 FORTRESS AT DERA BUGTI. Lithograph, 1845. *Page 52*
- 47 SOUTHERN ENTRANCE TO TRAKI. Lithograph, 1845. *Page 52*

- 48 FORT OF BUKKUR SEEN FROM ROREE. Lithograph, 1838. *Page 53*
- 49 FORT OF BUKKUR AND ROHRI SEEN FROM SUKKUR. Lithograph, 1838. *Page 54*
- 50 A GATEWAY OF BUKKUR FORT. Lithograph, 1838. *Page 54*
- 51 ROHRI ON THE INDUS. Lithograph, 1844. *Page 55*
- 52 THE TOWN OF ROHRI AND THE FORT OF BUKKUR. Lithograph, 1838. *Page 55*
- 53 THE SHRINE OF KHWAJA KHIZR, NEAR BUKKUR FORT. Lithograph, 1838. *Page 56*
- 54 ISLAND ON THE INDUS BELOW BUKKUR. Lithograph, 1838. *Page 56*
- 55 FORTRESS OF BUKKUR. Lithograph, 1838. *Page 57*
- 56 SUKKUR ON THE INDUS. Lithograph, c. 1841. *Page 57*
- 57 BRIDGE OF BOATS ACROSS THE INDUS AT ROHRI. Lithograph, c. 1841. *Page 58*
- 58 VIEW OF ROREE ON THE INDUS. Engraving, 1878. *Page 58*
- 59 SUKKUR ON THE INDUS. Engraving, 1878. *Page 58*
- 60 TOMB OF THE SEVEN MAIDENS, SUKKUR. Engraving, 1878. *Page 58*
- 61 TAKING SOUNDINGS FROM A STEAMER ON THE INDUS. Engraving, 1876. *Page 59*
- 62 A PARTY OF WAZIRIS CROSSING THE INDUS. Engraving, 1864. *Page 59*
- 63 PALA FISHERMEN ON THE INDUS. Engraving, 1876. *Page 60*
- 64 THE LANDING OF SIR WILLIAM MANSFIELD AT SUKKUR. Engraving, c. 1865. *Page 60*
- 65 JACOBABAD. Engraving, 1859. *Page 61*
- 66 THE ENTRY OF SIR WILLIAM MANSFIELD INTO JACOBABAD. Wood engraving, c. 1865. *Page 62*
- 67 WATER-TANK AT JACOBABAD. Engraving, 1878. *Page 62*
- 68 THE BOLAN PASS. Lithograph, 1838. *Page 64*
- 69 MOUNTAINS AT KIRTA NEAR BOLAN PASS. Lithograph, 1838. *Page 64*
70. VILLAGE OF KIRTA, BOLAN PASS. Engraving, 1857. *Page 65*
- 71 DADUR. Lithograph, 1838. *Page 65*
- 72 ENTRANCE TO THE BOLAN PASS FROM DADUR. Lithograph, 1839. *Page 66*
- 73 ENTRANCE TO THE BOLAN PASS FROM DADUR. Engraving, c. 1840. *Page 67*
- 74 THE OPENING INTO THE NARROW PASS ABOVE THE SIRI BOLAN. Lithograph, 1839. *Page 68*
- 75 THE APPROACH TO THE FORTRESS OF QUETTA. Lithograph, 1839. *Page 68*
- 76 QUETTA. Lithograph, 1839. *Page 69*
- 77 KANDAHAR GATE, QUETTA. Lithograph, 1839. *Page 69*
- 78 VIEW OF QUETTA FORT. Pencil drawing, 1843. *Page 70*
- 79 QUETTA FORT AND CITY. Engraving, 1885. *Page 70*
- 80 QUETTA FORT. Photograph, 1900. *Page 71*
- 81 THE RESIDENCY, QUETTA. Photograph, 1900. *Page 71*
- 82 THE SANDEMAN MEMORIAL HALL, QUETTA. Photograph, 1900. *Page 71*
- 83 THE SANDEMAN MEMORIAL HALL, QUETTA. Postcard, c. 1930. *Page 72*
- 84 DURBAR HALL AND POLITICAL OFFICES, QUETTA. Photograph, 1900. *Page 72*
- 85 ADMINISTRATIVE BUILDING, QUETTA. Photograph, 1900. *Page 72*
- 86 ADMINISTRATIVE BUILDING, QUETTA. Postcard, c. 1930. *Page 72*
- 87 ST. MARY'S CHURCH, QUETTA. Photograph, 1900. *Page 73*
- 88 ST. MARY'S CHURCH, QUETTA, IN WINTER. Postcard, c. 1930. *Page 73*
- 89 THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, QUETTA. Photograph, 1900. *Page 73*
- 90 THE CLUB AND INSTITUTE, QUETTA. Photograph, 1900. *Page 74*
- 91 THE GYMKHANA or RACE COURSE, QUETTA. Photograph, 1900. *Page 74*
- 92 QUETTA BAZAAR. Photograph, 1900. *Page 75*
- 93 BRUCE ROAD, QUETTA. Postcard, c. 1930. *Page 75*
- 94 CHOR OR THIEVES BAZAAR, QUETTA. Postcard, c. 1930. *Page 76*
- 95 OLD CANTONMENT MARKET, QUETTA. Postcard, c. 1930. *Page 76*
- 96 STAFF COLLEGE, QUETTA. Postcard, c. 1930. *Page 76*
- 97 STAFF COLLEGE, QUETTA. Photograph, c. 1930. *Page 76*

- 98 ST. JOHN MILLS, QUETTA. Photograph, 1900. *Page 77*
- 99 THE KERANI BREWERY, QUETTA. Photograph, 1900. *Page 77*
- 100 MURREE BREWERY, QUETTA. Postcard, c.1930. *Page 77*
- 101 QUETTA RAILWAY STATION. Photograph, 1900. *Page 77*
- 102 THE RAILWAY INSTITUTE, QUETTA. Photograph, 1900. *Page 78*
- 103 HANNA PASS, NEAR QUETTA. Photograph, 1900. *Page 78*
- 104 BRIDGE ON THE SIND-PISHIN RAILWAY, NEAR QUETTA. Photograph, 1900. *Page 78*
- 105 KHOJAK TUNNEL. Photograph, 1900. *Page 79*
- 106 KHOJAK TUNNEL. Postcard, 1900. *Page 79*
- 107 CHAMAN RAILWAY STATION. Photograph, 1900. *Page 79*
- 108 OCTROI POST, CHAMAN. Photograph, 1900. *Page 79*
- 109 BUGTI CHIEFS. Photograph, 1900. *Page 80*
- 110 ARMED TRIBESMEN. Photograph, 1900. *Page 80*
- 111 BRAHUI TRIBESMEN. Photograph, 1900. *Page 80*
- 112 FRONTIER SOLDIERS. Photograph, 1900. *Page 80*
- 113 VIEW OF ZIARAT, NEAR QUETTA. Photograph, 1900. *Page 81*
- 114 VIEW OF ZIARAT. Photograph, 1900. *Page 81*
- 115 AFGHAN HOUSES, GOONDAN. Engraving, 1878. *Page 81*
- 116 KALAT. Lithograph, 1838. *Page 82*
- 117 (A & B) TWO VIEWS OF KALAT. Two lithographs, c. 1840. *Page 83*
- 118 KALAT. Engraving, 1878. *Page 84*
- 119 RULERS OF KALAT. Photograph, 1900. *Page 84*
- 120 TROOPS CROSSING THE RAVI, NEAR MULTAN. Engraving, 1848. *Page 86*
- 121 FORT OF MULTAN FROM WEST. Lithograph, 1848. *Page 86*
- 122 SOUTH VIEW OF THE EIDGAH, MULTAN. Lithograph, 1848. *Page 87*
- 123 EIDGAH, MULTAN. Water-colour, 1849. *Page 87*
- 124 STORMING THE MUNDEE AWA, MULTAN. Engraving, 1848. *Page 88*
- 125 STORMING THE MUNDEE AWA, MULTAN. Lithograph, 1848. *Page 88*
- 126 MUNDEE AWA, MULTAN. Sketch, 1848. *Page 89*
- 127 MUNDEE AWA, MULTAN. Lithograph, 1848. *Page 89*
- 128 BATTERY BREACHING THE DELHI GATE, MULTAN. Engraving, 1849. *Page 90*
- 129 BATTERY BREACHING THE DELHI GATE, MULTAN. Lithograph, 1849. *Page 90*
- 130 EXPLOSION OF THE POWDER MAGAZINE, MULTAN. Engraving, 1839. *Page 91*
- 131 EXPLOSION OF THE FORT POWDER MAGAZINE. Lithograph, 1848. *Page 92*
- 132 BREACHING THE KOONJ BURJ, MULTAN. Engraving, 1849. *Page 93*
- 133 STORMING OF THE KOONJ BOORJ, MULTAN. Lithograph, 1849. *Page 94*
- 134 AFTER THE FALL OF MULTAN. Engraving, 1849. *Page 94*
- 135 AFTER THE FALL OF MULTAN. Lithograph, 1849. *Page 95*
- 136 NORTH-EAST SIDE OF THE FORT WALL, MULTAN. Lithograph, 1848. *Page 96*
- 137 NORTH-EAST ASPECT OF FORT, MULTAN. Water-colour, 1849. *Page 96*
- 138 FUNERAL OF VANS AGNEW AND ANDERSON, MULTAN. Lithograph, 1849. *Page 97*
- 139 NORTH-WEST CORNER OF FORT, MULTAN. Water-colour, 1849. *Page 98*
- 140 SIKI GATE OF FORT, MULTAN. Water-colour, 1849. *Page 98*
- 141 MAIN HEADQUARTERS, MULTAN. Water-colour, 1849. *Page 98*
- 142 TOMB OF RUKN-I-ALAM. Engraving, 1863. *Page 99*
- 143 PERSIAN WATER WHEEL AT PAKPATTAN. Lithograph, 1842. *Page 100*
- 144 PERSIAN WATER WHEEL ON THE BANKS OF THE INDUS. Lithograph, 1838. *Page 100*
- 145 MAP OF LAHORE. Map, 1837. *Page 101*
- 146 VIEW OF LAHORE. Engraving, 1846. *Page 102*
- 147 LAHORE FORT AND BADSHAHI MOSQUE. Engraving, c. 1870. *Page 102*
- 148 VIEW FROM THE SHEESH MAHAL OF LAHORE FORT. Engraving, 1878. *Page 103*
- 149 THE SAMADHI OF MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH, LAHORE. Engraving, c. 1870. *Page 103*

- 150 INTERIOR OF THE BADSHAHI MASJID. Photograph, c. 1870. *Page 104*
- 151 THE HAZURIBAGH PAVILION. Photograph, c. 1870. *Page 104*
- 152 THE NAULAKHA PAVILION IN THE LAHORE FORT. Photograph, 1870. *Page 105*
- 153 THE TAXALI GATE, LAHORE. Water-colour, 1865. *Page 105*
- 154 LAHORE GATE. Photograph, c. 1900. *Page 106*
- 155 LAHORE GATE. Engraving, 1917. *Page 106*
- 156 DELHI GATE. Water-colour, c. 1920. *Page 108*
- 157 STREETSCENE OF LAHORE. Engraving, 1855. *Page 107*
- 158 STREETSCENE OF LAHORE. Engraving, 1855. *Page 107*
- 159 MOSQUE OF WAZIR KHAN, LAHORE. Water-colour, 1854. *Page 108*
- 160 MOSQUE OF WAZIR KHAN, LAHORE. Water-colour, 1860. *Page 109*
- 161 THE ENTRANCE OF THE MOSQUE OF WAZIR KHAN, LAHORE. Engraving, 1889. *Page 109*
- 162 AITCHISON COLLEGE, LAHORE. Sketch, 1886. *Page 110*
- 163 PUNJAB CLUB, LAHORE. Postcard, c. 1920. *Page 110*
- 164 PUNJAB EXHIBITION BUILDING. Photograph, 1864. *Page 111*
- 165 LAHORE TOWN HALL. Photograph, 1893. *Page 111*
- 166 TOMB OF ALI MARDAN KHAN, LAHORE. Engraving, 1857. *Page 112*
- 167 GULABI BAGH GATEWAY, BEGUMPURA, LAHORE. Engraving, 1873. *Page 112*
- 168 SHALIMAR GARDENS, LAHORE. Painting, c. 1880. *Page 113*
- 169 BRIDGE OF BOATS ACROSS THE RAVI, LAHORE. Engraving, 1849. *Page 114*
- 170 THE MAUSOLEUM OF JAHANGIR, SHAHDARA. Miniature painting, 1878. *Page 114*
- 171 THE CENOTAPH OF EMPEROR JAHANGIR. Water-colour, 1864. *Page 115*
- 172 HIRAN MINAR, SHEIKHUPURA. Miniature painting, 1878. *Page 116*
- 173 CHURCH AT SIALKOT. Engraving, 1854. *Page 117*
- 174 VIEW OF TOWN OF GUJERAT. Engraving, 1864. *Page 117*
- 175 ENGLISH CHURCH AT GUJERAT. Engraving, 1864. *Page 117*
- 176 ROHTAS FORT. Engraving, 1836. *Page 118*
- 177 ROHTAS FORT. Lithograph, 1838. *Page 120*
- 178 ROHTAS FORT. Engraving, 1849. *Page 121*
- 179 MANKYALA TOPE OR STUPA, NEAR JHELMUM. Water-colour, 1860. *Page 121*
- 180 RAWALPINDI. Sketch, 1846. *Page 123*
- 181 WESTRIDGE, RAWALPINDI. Photograph, 1893. *Page 123*
- 182 RAWALPINDI BAZAAR. Photograph, 1893. *Page 123*
- 183 RAWALPINDI DURBAR. Engraving, 1885. *Page 124*
- 184 RAWALPINDI CLUB, c. 1930. *Page 124*
- 185 VIEW OF MURREE HILLS. Engraving, 1863. *Page 125*
- 186 A VIEW OF MURREE. Photograph, c. 1864. *Page 126*
- 187 A VIEW OF THE BAZAAR, MURREE. Engraving, 1869. *Page 127*
- 188 THE LAWRENCE ASYLUM. Engraving, 1863. *Page 127*
- 189 ROADMAKING IN THE MURREE HILLS. Engraving, 1863. *Page 128*
- 190 CAMP ON MURREE-ABBOTTABAD ROAD. Engraving, 1863. *Page 129*
- 191 ABBOTTABAD. Engraving, 1863. *Page 129*
- 192 ABBOTTABAD. Engraving, 1863. *Page 130*
- 193 MILITARY MANOEUVRES AT LAWRENCEPUR. Engraving, 1873. *Page 130*
- 194 ELEPHANTS IN THE CAMP NEAR HASSAN ABDAL. Engraving, 1873. *Page 131*
- 195 MUGHAL GARDENS AT WAH, NEAR HASSAN ABDAL. Engraving, 1850. *Page 131*
- 196 THE INDUS AT ATTOCK. Lithograph, 1839. *Page 133*
- 197 ASPECT OF ATTOCK FORT. Engraving, 1849. *Page 132*
- 198 ATTOCK FORT. Engraving, 1849. *Page 133*
- 199 ATTOCK FORT SEEN FROM KHAIRABAD. Drawing, 1860. *Page 135*
- 200 ATTOCK FORT SEEN FROM KHAIRABAD. Water-colour, 1860. *Page 135*
- 201 THE FORTRESS OF ATTOCK. Engraving, 1868. *Page 134*
- 202 BRIDGE OF BOATS AT ATTOCK. Engraving, 1878. *Page 136*

203 VIEW OF ATTOCK. Engraving, 1878. *Page 137*
 204 NEW RAILWAY BRIDGE ACROSS THE INDUS AT ATTOCK. Wood engraving, 1883. *Page 137*
 205 PESHAWAR. Engraving, 1849. *Page 139*
 206 PESHAWAR CITY. Chromolithograph, 1857. *Page 140*
 207 STREET SCENE IN PESHAWAR. Engraving, 1858. *Page 141*
 208 STREET IN PESHAWAR. Drawing, 1860. *Page 141*
 209 VICEREGAL DURBAR AT PESHAWAR. Water-colour, 1860. *Page 142*
 210 VICEREGAL DURBAR AT PESHAWAR. Engraving, 1860. *Page 142*
 211 ILLUMINATIONS AT PESHAWAR. Water-colour 1860. *Page 143*
 212 ILLUMINATIONS AT PESHAWAR. Engraving, 1860. *Page 143*
 213 ENTRY OF GOVERNOR-GENERAL INTO PESHAWAR. Engraving, 1870. *Page 144*
 214 GROUP OF AFRIDIS, PESHAWAR. Engraving, 1870. *Page 144*
 215 PESHAWAR CITY FROM THE FORT. Drawing, 1860. *Page 145*
 216 KABUL GATE, PESHAWAR CITY. Photograph, 1891. *Page 146*
 217 PESHAWAR FORT. Engraving, 1868. *Page 146*
 218 PESHAWAR FORT. Photograph, 1892. *Page 147*
 219 THE HOUSE IN WHICH AMIR SHER ALI LIVED IN PESHAWAR. Engraving, 1878. *Page 147*
 220 THE ENGLISH CHURCH AT PESHAWAR. Engraving, 1878. *Page 148*
 221(A) A COMMISSARIAT TRAIN, PESHAWAR. Engraving, 1878. *Page 149*
 221(B) A STREET IN PESHAWAR. Engraving, 1878. *Page 149*
 222 THE GATHERING OF THE CLANS. Engraving, 1878. *Page 150*
 223 PESHAWAR AND THE KHYBER PASS. Engraving, 1878. *Page 151*
 224 GOVERNMENT HOUSE, PESHAWAR. Photograph, c. 1890. *Page 151*
 225 CARPET WEAVING IN PESHAWAR JAIL. Engraving, 1885. *Page 152*
 226 KISSA KHANI BAZAAR, PESHAWAR. Postcard, c. 1900. *Page 153*

227 KISSA KHANI BAZAAR, PESHAWAR. Postcard, c. 1900. *Page 153*
 228 HARI SINGH'S TOWER, NEAR PESHAWAR. Engraving, 1878. *Page 154*
 229 ENTRANCE TO THE KHYBER PASS AND FORT OF JAMRUD. Engraving, 1878. *Page 154*
 230 FORT JAMRUD. Engraving, 1878. *Page 155*
 231 ENCAMPMENT NEAR FORT JAMRUD. Water-colour, 1879. *Page 155*
 232 JAMRUD FORT. Postcard, c. 1900. *Page 155*
 233 FORT OF ALI MASJID. Lithograph, 1839. *Page 156*
 234 FORT OF ALI MASJID. Lithograph, c. 1840. *Page 157*
 235 FORT OF ALI MASJID. Engraving, 1879. *Page 157*
 236 CRICKET AT KOHAT. Photograph, 1863. *Page 158*
 237 CHITRAL FORT. Photograph, 1895. *Page 159*

Fig. 1 Sir K. A. Jackson sketching at Thatta. Detail from lithograph, c. 1838. *Page 14*

Fig. 2 Lithographs being prepared at Day and Son Ltd., 1856. *Page 15*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Grateful acknowledgements are made to the India Office Library and Records, London; to the Director, Lahore Museum; the National Army Museum, London; to the Board of Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; and in particular to Mr. Paul Theroux for permission to reproduce material from their collections. I am particularly indebted to Mr. M. Marker for the generous loan of his book *Baluchistan 1900*, an invaluable collection of photographs of Quetta by Fred Bremner. All other illustrations are from the collection of the author and Mrs. Shahnaz Aijazuddin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abbey, J.R. (ed. M. Oliver), *Travel in aquatint and lithography 1770 - 1860 from the library of J.R. Abbey: a bibliographical catalogue* (London, 1957)
- Adamson, H., and Shaw, I., *A Traveller's Guide to Pakistan* (Islamabad, 1981)
- Aijazuddin, F.S., *British Lithographs of Pakistan 1840 - 50* (British Council exhibition catalogue, Lahore, 1978)
- Aijazuddin, F.S., *Lahore : Illustrated Views of the 19th Century* (Lahore, 1991)
- Allen, The Rev. I.N., *Diary of a Journey through Sindh and Afghanistan* (London, 1843)
- Anon., *A Trip to the Land of the Five Rivers via the North Western Railway* (Bombay, 1911)
- Archer, M., *British Drawings in the India Office Library* (London, 1969)
- Archer, M., *India and British Portraiture 1770 - 1825* (London, 1979)
- Archer, M., *Visions of India : the sketchbooks of William Simpson 1859 - 62* (Oxford, 1986)
- Archer, M. and Lightbown, R., *India observed : India as viewed by British artists 1760 - 1860* (London, 1982)
- Atkinson, J., *Sketches in Afghanistan* (London, 1842)
- Bacon, T. (ed. H.H.Wilson), *The Oriental Portfolio: picturesque illustrations of the scenery and architecture of India* (London, 1838 - 1841)
- Baillie, A.F., *Kurrachee : Past, Present, and Future* (London, 1890)
- Baluchistan District Gazetteer Series :
 Volume III: *Sibi District* (Bombay, 1907)
 Volume IV: *Bolan Pass and Nushki Railway District* (Karachi, 1906)
 Volume V: *Quetta-Pishin District* (Ajmer, 1907)
 Volumes VII and VII-A: *Makran and Kharan* (Bombay, 1907)
- Barr, W., *March from Delhi to Peshawur, and thence to Cabul* (London, 1844)
- Barthorp, M., *The North-West Frontier. British India and Afghanistan - a pictorial history 1839 - 1947* (Poole, 1982)
- Bernier, F. (ed. V.A.Smith), *Travels in the Mogul Empire AD 1656 - 68* (New Delhi, 1983)
- Buckland, C.E., *Dictionary of Indian Biography* (London, 1906)
- Burnes, A., *Cabool being a personal narrative of a journey to, and residence in that city 1836 - 38* (London, 1842)
- Burnes, J., *A Narrative of a Visit to the Court of Sindh* (London, 1839; reprint of 1831 edition, Karachi, 1974).
- Cook, H.C.B., *The Battle Honours of the British and Indian Armies 1662- 1982* (London, 1987)
- Cousens, H., *Antiquities of Sind* (Calcutta, 1929)
- Davies, P., *Splendours of the Raj* (London, 1985)
- De Silva, R.K., *Early prints of Ceylon* (London, 1985)
- Dunlop, J., *Mooltan, a series of sketches during and after the siege* (London, 1849)
- Eastwick, E.B., *Dry Leaves from Young Egypt* (London, 1851; second edition)
- Eastwick, E.B., *Handbook of the Panjab, Western Rajputana, Kashmir, and Upper Sindh* (London, 1883)
- Eden, E., *Up the country* (London, 1866)
- Gascoigne, B., *The Great Moghuls* (London, 1971)
- Hardinge, C.S., *Recollections of India* (London, 1847)
- Hardinge, C.S., *Rulers of India : Viscount Hardinge* (Oxford, 1891)
- Hardy, M., *Between Indus and Jhelum* (Islamabad, 1976)
- Hughes, A.W., *A Gazetteer of the Province of Sind* (London, 1876)
- Huttenback, R.A., *British Relations with Sind 1799 - 1843* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1962)
- Imperial Gazetteer of India* (Oxford)
- Innes, Lt. General J.J.M., *Sir Henry Lawrence* (Oxford, 1898)
- Jackson, K.A., *Views in Afghanistan* (London, 1841)
- Kennedy, R.H., *Narrative of the campaign of the Army of the Indus in Sind & Kaubool* (London, 1840)
- Khan, Dr.A.N., *Multan - History and Architecture* (Islamabad, 1983)
- Lady, A (anon.), *Original sketches in the Punjaub* (London, 1854)
- Lambrick, H.T., *Sir Charles Napier and Sind* (Oxford, 1952)
- Lambrick, H.T., *Sind - a general introduction* (Hyderabad, 1964)
- Latif, S. M., *Early History of Multan* (Lahore, 1891)
- Latif, S.M., *History of the Punjab from the Remotest Antiquities to the Present Time* (Calcutta, 1891)
- Latif, S.M., *Lahore : Its History, Architectural Remains*

- and Antiquities, etc.* (Lahore, 1892)
- Masson, C., *Narrative of various journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan, the Panjab, and the Kalat* (London, 1844)
- MacLeod, J., 'Memoranda on the Pearl Banks and Pearl Fishery, the Sea Fishery, and the Salt Beds of Sind', 31 December 1847. pp. 699-708.
- Mitford, Major R.G.W., *To Caubul with the Cavalry Brigade* (London, 1881)
- Morris, J. (text) with Winchester, S. (photographs), *Stones of Empire*, (Oxford, 1983)
- Parks, F., *Wanderings of a pilgrim, in search of the picturesque during four-and-twenty years in the East* (London, 1850)
- Postans, M., *Cutch, or random sketches taken during a residence in one of the northern provinces of Western India* (London, 1839)
- Punjab District Gazetteer*
Vol. XXIX A: Attock District Part A (1909)
- Rattray, J., *Scenery, inhabitants and costumes of Afghaunistan* (London, 1847 - 48)
- Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies for the year 1876-77* (Lahore, 1877)
- Robertson, Sir G., *Chitral* (London, 1899)
- Ross, D., *The Land of the Five Rivers and Sindh* (London, 1883)
- Simpson, W., *India Ancient and modern* (London, 1867)
- Simpson, W. (ed. G. Eyre-Todd), *The autobiography of W. Simpson* (London, 1903)
- Soltykoff, Prince A.D., *Indian scenes and characters* (London, 1858 - 59)
- Thomas, G., *History of Photography - India 1840 - 1980* (Andhra Pradesh, 1981)
- Twyman, M., *A dictionary of London lithographic printers 1800 - 50* (London, 1976)
- Twyman, M., *Lithography 1800 - 50. The techniques of drawing on stone in England and France and their application in works of topography* (London, 1970)
- Waldemar, F.W., *Zur Erinnerung an die Reise den Preinzen Waldemar von Preussen nach Indien in den Jahren 1844 - 46* (Berlin, 1853)
- Whitteridge Sir G. *Charles Masson of Afghanistan* (Warminster, 1986)
- Yapp, M. E., *Strategies of British India* (Oxford, 1980)

INDEX

ARTISTS

Ainslie, A.F. 22
 Atkinson, J. 14, 55, 67, 69, 99, 100
 Barr, Lt. W. 14, 118, 132, 156
 Bellasis, A.F. 24, 48
 Bellasis, J.B. 97
 Boileau, A.J.M. 70
 Bruce, Sir H. Le G. 122
 Carpenter, W. 103, 107, 108, 140
 Cramer-Roberts, C.J. 155
 Creed, Lt. H. 57, 82
 Crowe, C.H. 36-7
 Duguid, J. 113
 Dunlop, Dr. J. 14, 16, 85-97
 Edwards, Lt. W. 14, 38, 42-44, 47, 51, 52, 54
 Fitzgerald, Capt. 47
 Gonne, Lt. C.M. 70
 Green, Capt. M. 63
 Haines, Capt. 19
 Heathorn, Lt. J.C. 87, 96-98
 Jackson, Sir K.A. 14, 40, 50, 53, 54, 56, 63, 65, 69, 82, 100
 Lassaju 113, 115
 Le Mesurier, J. 26, 27
 Masson, C. (James Lewis) 14, 21, 69
 Muhammad, D. 110
 Needham, Lt. 85
 Palmer, Lt. F.I. 131
 Rattray, Lt. J. 156
 Simpson, W. 16, 105, 108, 115, 121, 122, 134, 141-143, 145, 156, 158
 Shore, Lt. O. 124
 Vigne, G.T. 119, 120, 122, 131, 139
 Weeks, E.L. 108

ENGRAVERS

Dureau 42
 Palmer, W.J. 113
 Roberts, E.I. 103
 Scallan, F.C. 106

LITHOGRAPHERS

Dean and Munday 19, 57, 82
 Gibbs, T. and E. 118, 132, 156
 Haghe, C. 15, 38, 42-44, 46, 47, 51-55, 67, 69, 99
 Haghe, L. 15, 55, 67, 69, 99
 Harding, J.D. 15
 Maclure, A. 85, 86, 88-90, 95, 97
 Maclure, MacDonald and Maclure 32, 39
 Walton, W.L. 15, 156
 Warren, H. 15

PHOTOGRAPHERS

Bourne, S. 16, 125
 Bremner, F. 16, 70-81, 106, 123
 Burke 111
 Dadabhoy 153
 Hickey, Capt. R. T. 16, 99, 125, 126, 129, 130
 Houghton, Capt. W.R. 16
 Jung, J. A. 25, 26
 Keyes, Major 158
 Penn 151
 Shepherd, C. 16, 125
 Tanner, Lt. H.C.B. 16

GENERAL INDEX

Abbott, Sir J. 129
 Abbottabad 16, 129, 130
 Abdullah Haroon Road, Karachi 28
 Abdur Rahman, Amir 124
 Administrative Building, Quetta 72

Administrative Staff College, Lahore 110
 Afghan houses 81
 Afghan Wars :
 First 11, 13, 70
 Second 11, 13, 16, 82, 155
 Afghanistan 19, 21
 Afridis 145
 Agrore, 37
 Aitchison, Sir C. 110
 Aitchison College, Lahore 71, 110
 Akbar 17, 39, 43, 50, 53, 101, 103, 119, 131, 132, 136, 137, 140
 Alexander 20, 39, 50, 84, 122, 132, 138
 Alexandria 22
 Ali Mardan Khan 113
 Ali Masjid 156-158
 Allen, Revd. C. 22
 Alligators (see Crocodiles)
 Alor 53, 55
 Amritsar 101, 122
 Anarkali 103
 Anarkullie Billiard Club 110
 Anderson, Lt. W.A. 13, 85, 86, 97
 Annexation of Punjab (1849) 13, 97, 101
 Annexation of Sindh (1843) 13, 14, 19, 38
 Army of the Indus 13, 14, 19, 40, 53, 58, 63
 Asiatic Society, Bombay 16
 Attock 17, 132-138
 Aurangzeb 53, 85, 120, 141
 Avitabile, P.B. 101, 141, 147

Badger, Revd. 36
 Badshahi Masjid, Lahore 103, 104
 Baha al-din Zakriya 99
 Baillie, A. 26, 27, 34
 Bala Hissar 139, 146
 Baluchistan 17, 21
 Bandar Abbas 36
 Barian Gali, Murree 129
 Barnes, Sir H. 71, 75
 Basra 36
 Bath Island, Karachi 22
 Bazaars at -
 Karachi 28, 29
 Lahore 102
 Murree 126
 Peshawar 141
 Rawalpindi 122
 Quetta 69, 75, 76

Beadon, C. 142
 Beglar, Mr. 158
 Bejar Khan 47, 52
 Bela 11
 Bhai Ram Singh 110
 Bharatpur 21
 Bholari 26
 Birbal, Raja 132
 Bolan Pass 11, 13, 17, 63, 67, 82
 Bombay 19-21
 Bourne and Shepherd 125
 Brahmanabad 17, 49
 Brahui mountain 63
 Brahui tribesmen 80
 Bridge of boats at
 Attock 136
 Lahore 113
 Rohri 58
 Browne, Sir J. 78
 Browne, Genl. Sir S. 149, 156
 Bruce Road, Quetta 75
 Bucaphelus 122
 Bugti chiefs 14, 80
 Bukkur, 53-57

Bull, Mr. 111
 Burnes, Sir A. 12, 53
 Burnes, Dr. J. 11-13, 43, 48
 Burton, Sir R. 21, 22, 25, 27, 30
 Bushire 21

Camera lucida 32
 Canning, Lady C. 115, 120
 Canning, Lord C. 115, 120, 141, 142
 Carless, Lt. T.G. 31, 32, 34
 Chaburji gateway, Lahore, 113
Chachnama 56
 Chahbar 36
 Chaman
 Railway station 79
 Octroi post 79
 Chaukandi tombs 38
 Chenab 116
 Chitral fort 11, 159
 Chor Bazaar, Quetta 76
 Church at
 Abbottabad 129
 Gujerat 117,
 Kohat 158
 Murree 125, 126
 Peshawar 148
 Quetta 73
 Sialkot 116
 Church Missionary Society 147
 Clifton, Karachi 22, 24, 25
 Clubs at
 Karachi 27
 Lahore 110
 Rawalpindi 124
 Quetta 73, 75

Clyde, Lord 142
 Cornwallis, Lord 14
 Cotton, Bishop 126
 Cotton, Sir S. 128
 Court, Genl. 122, 140
 Courtland 101
 Cousens, H. 46, 58
 Cricket 17, 158
 Crimea 16
 Crocodiles 32, 34
 Crow, N. 11, 19
 Cunningham, Genl. 122

D. J. Medical College, Karachi 29
 Dadur 65
 Dalurai, King 56
 Dara Shikoh 53
 Davies, Col. 126
 Day and Son Ltd. 15, 115
 Delhi 11
 Delhi gate at
 Attock fort 134
 Lahore 107, 111
 Multan fort 90, 91
 Del Hoste, Capt. 50
 Dera Bugti 52
 Devis, A. 14
 Dina 118
 Dinshaw Public Dispensary, Karachi 28
 Dombkis 14, 47
 Dost Mohammed 19, 154
 Dufferin, Lord 124
 Dufour Mulat and Boulanger 42
 Durbar at:
 Peshawar 142
 Rawalpindi 124
 Durbar Hall, Quetta 72
 Durrani 101

- East India Company 11, 19, 39
Eastwick, E.B. 15, 32, 39, 57, 58, 118, 121, 125, 129, 131, 148
Eduljee Dinshaw Charitable Trust, 28
Eidgah, Multan 86, 87, 97
Elizabeth I, Queen 11
Ellenborough, Lord 12
Elphinstone, M. 40, 122, 139
Elphinstone street, Karachi 24, 28
Empress market, Karachi 28, 29
- Fane, Sir H. 101
Ferguson, Sir J. 29
Fitzgerald, Capt. 47
Ford, W.O. 71
Forts at
 Ali Masjid 15, 17, 156–8
 Alor 53
 Attock 15, 132–9
 Bukkur 53–57
 Chitral 159
 Gwadar 36
 Hyderabad 17, 41–44, 47
 Jamrud 154–5
 Kalankot 40
 Lahore 15, 103–4
 Manora 19, 21
 Multan 91–8
 Peshawar 145
 Quetta 69, 70
 Rohtas 15, 17, 118–121
 Shaikh Makai 48
 Shubkuddar 146
Frere, Sir H.B. 26
Frere Hall, Karachi 26, 27, 29
Frere Street, Karachi 24
Frontier soldiers 80
Fulaili river, Hyderabad 41, 44
- Garden, Capt. W. 101
George V, King 159
Gerome 109
Ghakkars 118, 119, 122
Gharo creek 20
Ghora Gali, Murree 126
Ghurkhuttree, Peshawar 140, 147
Gilbert, Maj.-Genl. 134
Gilquin and Dupain 42
Goldsmid, Major 36
Goondan 81
Government House
 Karachi 24
 Peshawar 151
Grand Trunk Road 17, 116, 121, 131
Gujarat (India) 19
Gujerat 116
Gujerat, battle of 13
Gulab Singh 116
Gulabi Bagh gateway 116
Gwadar 21, 36
Gymkhana Club, Quetta 75
- Hakim Mirza 132
Hala 41, 49
Hanna Pass, Quetta 78
Harbour Improvement Works, Karachi 21
Hardinge, C.S. 14
Hardinge, Sir H. 14
Hari Singh Nalwa 154
Hassan Abdal 131
Hayat Khan 131
Hazuri Bagh, Lahore 104
Hearst, W.R. 16
Heddle, J.F. 41, 42
Hieun Tsang 85
- Hill, Capt. J. 25
Hinglaj 24, 37
Hiran Minar 115
Hoerke 121
Holy Trinity Church at
 Karachi 25–28
 Murree 125–6
Home, R. 14
Hotel Metropole 27
Hugel, Baron C. 122
Hughes, T 29, 34, 50
Hullmandel, C. 15
Hujamry 19
Humayun 50
Hyderabad 11, 17, 19, 22, 41, 44, 46, 50
- India Office Library and Records 22, 24, 26, 39, 55, 67
Indus river 11, 12, 17, 19, 40, 59, 132
Indus Valley civilisation 19
Indus Valley Railway 60
Ingle Mr. 75
Inglis, Mr. 116
- Jacob, Genl. J. 61, 62
Jacob, Col. S. 71, 110
Jacobabad (formerly Khangarh) 61–63
Jahangir 39, 103, 110, 113, 115
Jam of Lasbela 36
Jamrud Fort 154–5
Jask 36
Jehandad Khan 133
Jellal Khan 69
Jhelum 118, 120, 122
Jinda Pir (see Khwaja Khizr)
Jinnah, M.A. 81
Jungshahi 26, 38
- Kabul city 13, 40, 75, 122
Kabul gate, Peshawar 145
Kabul river 132
Kalabagh 132
Kalat 11, 14, 19, 69, 82
Kalat, Khans of 36, 75, 83, 84
 Mir Khudadad 84
 Mir Mahmud 84
Kandahar 69, 75, 82, 156
Kandahar gate, Quetta 69
Karachi 11, 14, 17, 19–22, 30, 31, 36, 39, 79
Keamari, Karachi 24, 30
Keane, Lord 69
Kennedy, Dr. R.H. 14, 19–21, 30, 57, 63, 67, 82
Kerani Brewery, Quetta 77
Keshu Khan 53
Khairabad 131, 133, 134
Khairpur 11, 19
Khaliullah Khan 113
Khan, Dr. A.N. 99
Khawas Khan gate, Rohtas 120
Khojak tunnel 78, 79
Khwaja Khizr 55, 56
Khyber Pass 11, 13, 16, 17, 63, 139, 148, 154, 156
Kipling, J.L. 107, 110
Kirta 63
Kissa khani bazaar 153
Koh-i-Nur 101
Kohat 13, 17, 158
Kondye 67
Koonj Burj, Multan 93
- Lahore 12, 17, 101, 113, 118
Lahore gate 106
Laki hills 38
Lal Shahbaz Qalandar 31, 50, 51
Larkana 48
- Lasbela 36
Latif S. M. 106
Lawrence, Sir. H. 125, 126, 130
Lawrence Asylum now Lawrence College, Ghora Gali) 125, 126
Lawrencepur 13
Lithography 15
Louise, Duchess of Connaught 78
Lytton, Lord 148, 151
- Macleod, J. 30
MacLeod Road, Karachi 24
Mahabat Khan 141, 145
 mosque of 141
Mahmud of Ghazni 50, 85
Makli hills 38, 40
Makran 11, 36, 37
Malan mountain 37
Malik Ayaz 106, 118
Malik Iktiyaruddin 51
Man Singh, Raja 119
Mangho Pir 17, 31–35
Mankyala Tope or stupa 121, 122
Manora 19–21, 30
Mansfield, Sir. W. 60, 62
Map of
 Lahore 101
 Karachi 24
 Pakistan 18
Mari gate, Attock fort 134
Mauripur, Karachi 25
Mauritius 20
Mayo, Lord 145, 147
Mayo School of Arts, Lahore 71
Maxwell, Lt. H. 116
Mazbis (32nd Sappers) 137
Mehrab Khan 82
Mehtar of Chitral 159
Mereweather, Sir. W. 27
McCosh, Dr. J. 16
Miani, battle of 11, 12, 19, 41
Mian Mir 103
Mir Fateh Ali 19, 41, 48
Mir Ghulam Shah 13, 41, 42, 48
Mir Karam Ali 48, 51
Mir Kasim Shah Sabzwari 58
Mir Murad Ali 11, 43, 48
Mir Nasser Khan 47
Mir Rustam 53
Mirpur 11
Mirza Ghazi 51
Mirza Isa Khan 39, 40
Mirza Jani 51
Mirza Sultan Beg 113
Montgomery, Sir R. 117
Moorcroft, W. 120, 122, 131–134, 139
Muhammad bin Qasim 50, 85
Muhammad Tughlaq 53
Muhanos (Indus fishermen) 60
Mullahi Tola village, Attock 137
Mulraj 13, 85, 86, 91, 98
Multan 13, 14, 16, 17, 85
Mundee Awa, Multan 87–89
Murree 16, 17, 125–128
Murree-Abbottabad road 128, 129
Murree Brewery, Quetta 77
Murree Brewery, Murree 126
Muscat 21
Museum, Karachi 26, 29
- Nadir Shah 39
Napier, Sir C. 12–4, 38, 41, 43, 47, 52
Napier, Lord R. 130
Napier Mole, Karachi 30
Napier Street, Karachi 24

- National College of Arts, Lahore 71
 Nau Nehal Singh 101
 Naulakha pavilion 104
 Nawab Alimuddin (see Wazir Khan)
 Nawab Dindar Khan 51
 Nearchus 39, 84
 Niamat Allah 119
 Nicholas II, Czar 159
 Nicholson, J. 131
 Nolan, Dr. E.H. 103
 Nowshera 130, 139
 Nurpur 22
- Observatory hill, Murree 125
 Oldfield, W.A. 113
 Ootacamund 126
 Oriental Inland Steam Navigation Co. 60
 Oyster rocks, Karachi 30
- Pakpattan 101
Pala fishing 57, 60
 Paske, Capt. E.H. 117
 Patel, B.B.D. 77
 Pearl fishing 30
 Persia, Shah of 36
 Persian water-wheel 99, 100
 Peshawar 13, 17, 118, 122, 139–153
 jail 152
 Photography, early 16
 Pogsan, Mr. 111
 Public Dispensary, Karachi 28
 Punjab Club, Lahore 110
 Punjab Exhibition building 110
 Punjab State Railway 137
- Qasim Khan 132
 Quetta 13, 16, 17, 63, 69–77
 1935 earthquake 16, 63
- Race-course at
 Karachi 25
 Lahore 103
 Quetta 75
 Railway Institute, Quetta 77
 Ranjit Singh 11, 12, 13, 19, 53, 63, 85, 101, 103,
 113, 121, 132, 133, 139, 141, 145
 Ravi 85, 102, 113
 Rawalpindi 17, 122–125, 131
 Rawalpindi Club 124
 Reay, Lord 29
 Rendel, A.M. 58
 Residency at
 Quetta, 71
 Ziarat 81
 Riwayat 121
- Roberts, D. 115
 Roberts, Lord F. 111, 149, 156
 Robertson, Sir G. 159
 Rohri 13, 14, 17, 53–55, 57, 58, 63
 Roman Catholic Church, Quetta 73
 Ross, D. 34, 37, 57, 137
 Rukn-i-Alam, Shah 99
 tomb of 16, 99
- Saddar bazaar, Karachi 28, 29
 Sadh Bela 57
 Sadozai 11, 85
 St. John Mills, Quetta 77
 St. John's church, Peshawar 148
 St. Luke's church, Abbottabad 129
 St. Paul's church, Manora 21
 St. Mary's Church, Quetta 73
 Samma rulers 39
 Sanawar 126
 Sandeman, Col. Sir R. 71
 Sandeman Memorial Hall, Quetta 71, 110
 Sawan Mal 85, 98
 Scinde Horse 47
 Scott, Major 97
 Sehwan 22, 31, 38, 46, 48, 50, 51
 Seven maidens, tomb of 58
 Shahdara, Lahore 110, 113, 115
 Shah Beg Argun 53
 Shah Jahan 39, 40, 53, 103, 104, 113, 141
 Shah Shuja 13, 19, 122
 Shaikh Makai 48
 Shalimar gardens, Lahore 113
 Shawl (see Quetta)
 Sheesh Mahal, Lahore 13, 103
 Sheikhpura 115
 Sher Ali, Amir 147–149, 151, 156
 Shikarpur 52, 69, 156
 Shubkuddar fort 145, 146
 Shuja-ul-Mulk 133
 Sialkot 116
 Sibi 63
 Sikh Wars
 First 11, 101
 Second 11, 16
 Simpson, Genl. 52
 Sind Art's College, Karachi 29
 Sind Club 27
 Sind–Pishin Railway 78
 Sobraon, battle of 13, 122
 Somerset street, Karachi 24, 29
 Speedy, Capt. 141
 Staff College, Quetta 76
 Steamers on the Indus 41, 59, 60
 Stewart, Sir D. 156
 Strachan, J. 29
- Suhrawardiya silsila* 99
 Sukkur 13, 14, 17, 53, 57, 58, 63
 Suri, Sher Shah 118–121
 Suri, Ismail Shah 118
 Sutlej river 11, 13
- Takali gate, Rohtas fort 118
 Tangi spring 78
 Tarkhan rulers 39
 Taxali gate, Lahore 105
 Thatta 11, 17, 19, 38, 39
The Graphic 14, 16, 40, 58, 62, 82, 103, 136,
 154, 155
The Illustrated London News 14, 16, 36, 37, 41,
 42, 49, 59, 60–64, 67, 70, 85, 87, 89, 90–94, 99,
 101, 108, 113, 116, 119, 121, 124–126, 129–
 134, 140, 143, 147, 148, 151–156
 Thornton, T.H. 107, 110, 136, 139
 Timur 85
 Tipu Sultan 14
 Tollington market 111
 Town Hall, Lahore 111
 Traction engines 131
 Trak 38
 Traki 52
 Tribesmen 81
 Tughlaq, Firuz Shah 99
 Tughlaq, Ghias al-din 99
- Umarkot 43, 50
- Vans Agnew, P. A. 13, 85, 86, 97
 Ventura, Genl. 101, 121, 122
 Victoria, Queen 13, 78, 159
 Victoria and Albert Museum, London 22, 107
 Victoria Museum, Karachi 29
- Wade, Col. 156
 Wah gardens 131
 Wazir Khan's Mosque, Lahore 102, 108
 Waziris 59
 Westridge, Rawalpindi 123
 Westwood Baillie and Co. 137
 Whympers H.J. 77
 Wilhelm II, Kaiser 159
 Wilkins, Lt. Col. H. St. C. 26
 William IV, King 12
- Yakub Khan 151
 Yaso–Varmina 121
- Zaman Shah 19, 122
 Zamzama cannon 111
 Zaman Shah, 121
 Ziarat 81

