The British Occupation of Kalat: A Critical Appraisal of the Establishment of British Rule in Baluchistan

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Abstract

The Kalat State ceded its land and sovereignty to the British Empire in India in exchange for a series of agreements (total four) from 1838 to 1876. Complete annexation happened after the Kalat State had agreed to such obligations and limitations resulting from its treaties with the British, the Paramount Power. The 1838 treaty was the first to be negotiated, and the 1841 and 1854 treaties that followed. They signed the last one in 1876. These treaties resulted in the khanate of Kalat being transformed into a British vassal state from an independent one. These agreements allowed the British to protect their dominion in India by securing their position outside the northwest boundary, while also restricting Khan of Kalat power over his subjects and realm. This paper will provide a thorough description and critical analysis of the Treaties of 1854 and 1876, which are mutually complementary and serve as the ultimate foundation for the State of Kalat's ties with the British Government. They were crucial to the British occupation of Baluchistan and helped to establish the groundwork for their colonial activities in the region. It aims to offer a comprehensive analysis of the various British policies that were put into place throughout their involvement in the area. It covers the time and events leading up to Kalat's suzerainty under the British. The acquiring of parts of the Khanate by the British as a consequence of various agreements is also summarized in the article.

Keywords: Baluchistan, British, Kalat, Khan, Khanate

Introduction

Up until the middle of the sixteenth century, Baluchistan's history was primarily about foreign conquerors passing through the area en route to Afghanistan or India. Darius I (522-486 BC) conquered Makran and extended his rule over parts of Baluchistan. Around 330 BC, Alexander

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the Great was retreating from India when he went through Baluchistan. Much later, the invasion of Makran by Chengiz Khan and his successors (AD 1150–1370) left behind a great deal of devastation. Parts of Baluchistan were under the dominion of the Timurid dynasty (AD 1370– 1506), which attempted to expand its influence along the Bolan in order to benefit from trading. From 1506 to 1747, Baluchistan was formally ruled by the Iran's Safavids or India's Mughals.[‡]

Kalat, literally meaning "fort" or "stronghold," actually refers to the entire region under the control of the Khan of Kalat. The khanate was established in 1666 when Kalat town was overrun by Khan Mir Ahmad Khan (1666-95).[§] Following the establishment of Brahui Ahmadzai rule in Kalat, the area was extended in all directions. That territory is the mountainous area west of the Indus Valley, the Arabian Sea to the south, Sindh and Punjab to the east, Afghanistan to the north, and Persia to the west. There were some fertile areas where pastoral tribes, primarily the Brahui and Baluch, were subject to the Khan to varying degrees, but the vast majority of the hill, plateau, and plain were arid and barren. It had almost 600 kilometers of coastline. Its population was modest, and its products were limited and unimportant.^{**}

The excessive growth of the Khan's realm over time allowed him to operate a more lavish court with more court officials. Additionally, bureaucracy, which managed the royal estate, grew. The Khan could thus issue decrees of war, peace, or treaties, act as the Court of Appeal in disputes between tribes, grant or deny jagirs or fiefs in regions directly under his jurisdiction, and make sure that no death sentence was executed without his consent. Only his own territories and the provinces he had subjugated were directly under his control, though, and the tribal chiefs' levies were the only source of armed support for his reign.^{††}

[‡] Martin Axmann, back to the Future: The Khanate of Kalat and the Genesis of Baloch Nationalism 1915-1955 (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2012), 18.

[§] Among the Qumbrani tribe, a tribal subgroup of the Brahuis ethnic group, Ahmad Khan was an influential figure. The dynasty of Ahmadzais got its name after Ahmad Khan.

^{*} Thomas Henry Thornton, Colonel Sir Robert Sandeman: His Life and Work on Our Frontier (London: John Murray, 1895), 41.

^{††} Ibid., 43.

The Baluch tribes now formed a loose confederacy. When a Khan died, the chiefs gathered chose his successor, and the Kambarani family gradually came to essentially inherit the khanship. After then, the tribes choose their chiefs according to hereditary traditions, but the Khan had to approve the selection.^{‡‡} Despite the fact that his immediate successors were far from ideal rulers, the confederated tribes were guaranteed considerable affluence and peaceful governance by this "unwritten Constitution" of Naseer Khan I (1749–1795), which was fairly obeyed.^{§§} Following his passing, the khanate was in utter chaos because to the nearly continual conflict between his successors and the Confederate Sardars.^{***}

Submission to the British Colonial Rule

As a frontier state, Kalat had no established channels of communication with Delhi, the capital of India, and was mostly cut off from other Indian states.^{†††} However, because it controlled the trade routes and was near the British Indian Empire's border, that connected Afghanistan, India, and Persia, the British government was eager to maintain both the friendship of its ruler and the stability of the region.^{‡‡‡} As early as the eighteenth century, British authorities in India proposed the creation of several buffer states in the extreme northwest of the subcontinent in order to safeguard the British-Indian Empire from a Czarists Russian invasion.^{§§§}

In order to keep track of Russian movements, personnel were employed by the British-Indian government to acquire information regarding the political and economic climate in the large regions outside their jurisdiction. In 1810, Colonel Henry Potinger was dispatched to Kalat to gather data on the khanate's political conditions and trade with Central Asia. The British authorities received a great deal of information from his records regarding travel routs, resource availability, and an evaluation of Kalat's political power.^{****}

^{‡‡} Ibid.

^{§§} Ibid., 43-44.

^{**} Riccardo Redaelli, The Father's Bow: The Khanate of Kalat and British India (19th-20th Century) (Washington: Wrigley's, 2012), 63.

^{†††} Thornton, Colonel Sir Robert Sandeman, 41.

^{‡‡‡} Ibid.

^{§§§} Axmann, Back To The Future, P. 27

^{****} Ibid., 26

Not prior to the First Anglo-Afghan War (1839–42), did Baluchistan, however, gain significance in the affairs of British-India.^{††††} In keeping with their plan to fortify and stabilize Afghanistan, the British chose to put Shah Shuja, who had been exiled for thirty years, back on the throne in Kabul in 1838. An arrangement was reached in order to secure the cooperation of Mehrab Khan I (1817/21-39), the Kalat ruler. Consequently, the khanate of Kalat was obliged to provide food and animal feed as well as to assure secure movement of the British Army of the Indus' troop columns in return for half-yearly installments of 1.5 lakh company rupees paid as an annual subsidy.^{‡‡‡‡‡} But the Khan had neither internal control nor the power to enforce the conditions.^{§§§§} By using royal seals to compose fake letters from the Khan, Mulla Muhammad Hasan, Khan's emissary, was able to organize simulated raids on the British army and incite the Brahui tribal chiefs against the Indian government.^{*****}

The British government falsely accused Mehrab Khan of betraying them in this way. In a bloody battle, a column of British troops captured Kalat on November 13, 1839, slaying hundreds of fighters, Mehrab Khan, and many Brahui Sardars.^{†††††} Kalat fell when the British put Shah Nawaz Khan, a collateral line descendant, as the next Khan after rejecting Mehrab Khan's son for the throne.^{‡‡‡‡‡} When the British and the

^{††††} In reality, "Baluchistan" did not exist until British colonial forces attempted, in the first half of the nineteenth century, to capture northwest India. During that period, the Kalat khanate's Brahui Ahmadzai rulers ruled over most of the hilly region west of Sindh and Punjab. Nevertheless, these regions were referred to by the British as Baluchistan rather than Brahuistan. There is no longer a traceable origin for the name "Baluchistan." But according to the family tales of the Ahmadzai dynasty, the ancient name of the region, "Turan" was transformed to "Baluchistan" under Mir Nasir Khan I's rule (1749–1795). Ibid. 26-27 & and Mir Ahmed Yar Khan Baluch, *Inside Baluchistan: A Political Autobiography of His Highness Baiglar Baigi: Khane-e-Azam, Mir Ahmed Yar Khan, Ex-Ruler of Kalat State*, (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1975), p.84.

^{‡‡‡‡} C. U. Aitchison, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads Relating to India and Neighboring Countries,* VOL. XI (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1909), pp. 209-210.

^{§§§§} Axmann, *Back to The Future*, p. 27.

^{*****} Aitchison, A Collection of Treaties, pp.186-187.

⁺⁺⁺⁺⁺ Redaelli, The Father's Bow, pp. 62-63.

^{******} Shah Nawaz Khan, who was fourteen at the time, was a direct male descendant of Khan-e-Kalat-V, Mahabat Khan (1737-1749). Because Mahabat

Khan failed to establish an enduring peace, the British changed course and eventually ousted the impostor, acknowledging the son of Mehrab Khan, Naseer Khan II, as the Khan of Kalat.^{§§§§§}

Additionally, the British government returned the territories of Sarawan and Kach Gandava, which they had taken from the khanate in 1839 and gave to the Kingdom of Afghanistan. On October 6, 1841, a second treaty between the two countries was established after the Khan declared his surrender to the British. In the agreement, Khan specifically accepted Kalat's perception as a vassal of the Afghan monarchy.^{******} In a similar vein Kalat's significance as an active participant in the developing "Great Game" between Czarist Russia and Imperial Britain was overlooked.^{†††††††}

Amir Shah Shuja's death in 1842 and the unsuccessful Afghan expedition led to the revocation of the 1841 treaty. Following the overthrow of the Kabul puppet monarchy, the British government viewed the Khan of Kalat's subordination to the Amir of Afghanistan as harmful.^{‡‡‡‡‡‡‡} It is therefore, in their frontier strategy, the British-Indian government attempted to reinterpret Kalat's role. British agents also suggested a scheme to recognize and establish the Khan as an authority separate from Afghanistan, and that the Khanate ought to be a separate part of the buffer state chain that the British-Indian government sought to establish.^{§§§§§§§}

In the ensuing years, the Indian government supported the British administration's benign non-interference strategy in Kalat affairs, which the governments of Bombay and Sindh adopted. It called for the chiefs to be recognized as the Khan's subjects and to be treated as such; it allowed

Khan was not well liked by his Sardars, Nasir Khan, his younger brother, was selected to replace him after Ahmed Shah Abdali overthrew the former. After the first Anglo-Afghan war, the British Indian government made an effort to change the succession, but the younger branch of the dynasty remained in power. Aitchison, *A Collection of Treaties*, p.186.

^{§§§§§} Axmann, Back To the Future, p. 27.

^{******} Aitchison, A Collection of Treaties, pp. 210-211.

^{******} Axmann, Back To The Future, p. 27.

^{******} Redaelli, *The Father's Bow*, p. 63.

^{\$\$\$\$\$\$} Axmann, Back To the Future, p.27.

no other authority to be acknowledged; and it refused to get involved in any way other than by offering counsel and considerate advice.^{*******}

In the end, the Treaty of 1854 nullified the Treaty of 1841. In accordance with the new treaty, the Khan was once again required to oppose all of the British government's enemies, act under its authority, avoid negotiating with any other country without its consent, and allow British troops to enter his territory if it were deemed necessary. In exchange for protecting merchants, restricting trade to a few designated tariffs and forbidding his subjects from committing crimes on British-Indian border territories, the Khan received an income of Rs. 50,000 per year from the British administration.^{†††††††}

The Khan was also obliged by the Treaty of 1854 to keep the Marri and Bugti tribes under control, as they were raiding nearby British-Indian territories. Instability along the shared border irritated the British, who had captured and annexed Sindh and Punjab to British India in 1843 and 1846, respectively. In order to extend his power over the more remote regions of the khanate, the Khan required a separate military and political structure. This was accomplished through the provision and use of British money.^{‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡}

When the British were first establishing a colonial presence in Baluchistan, they wanted Kalat to have a cost-efficient, centralized, and effective political structure. They backed Naseer Khan II's (1841–57) and Khudadad Khan's (1857-93) attempts to solidify power. From 1854 to 1872, British political strategies included keeping any military power from developing in Baluchistan that may successfully challenge their interests, like to that of the previous Kalat khanate. In an attempt to distance the Khan from the tribes by provoking their animosity, treaties were used to link him to the British and protect him from the larger number of tribes, making him reliant on Britain as the representative of Baluchistan.^{§§§§§§§§} As a result, the Khan had positioned himself to be more accountable to the British than the Sardars. A tiny mercenary force, apart from the Sardars and tribes, was established and armed by the Khan. He tried to elevate royal family members to the Sardari positions and appointed officials who

^{*******} Thornton, Colonel Sir Robert Sandeman, p. 49.

ttttttt Aitchison, A Collection of Treaties, pp. 212-213.

^{######} Axmann, Back To The Future, p. 28.

^{§§§§§§§§} Ibid.

backed him, reclaimed territory that had previously been given to Sardars and implemented policies aimed at controlling revenues.*******

At the same time, the State was in a terrible position, as one could expect. The Sardars and the notion of tribal federation suffered as a result of the Khan being regarded as the sole authority of the khanate. This policy's effects were seen in the overall uneasiness that resulted in a perpetual state of quasi-war among the tribes, weakening them militarily and economically as well as the Khan.^{††††††††} The British subsidy was necessary to maintain the mercenary force, even though it should have been used up in maintaining open trade channels. Khudadad Khan (1857– 93) benefited from greater British subsidies and a consistent income that he tried (in vain) to utilize to strengthen his authority inside the khanate.^{‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡}

Throughout this period, the Khan engaged in several conflicts with the main Brahui chiefs, occasionally aided by the Azad Khan of Kharan, a feudatory state northwest of his domain, and the Jam of Las Bela, a tiny feudatory state to the south. The chiefs presented the British Political Agent, who had been removed since 1864, with a remarkable list of their complaints when he was reappointed in 1869. However, nothing came of these representations other than the Khan's categorical unwillingness to make concessions.^{§§§§§§§§§}

Between 1854 until 1876, or over two decades, the history of Kalat is marked by an ongoing struggle between his Sardars, who preserved their federal rights, and the Khan, who aimed to establish an autocracy. Had the British not intervened, Kalat would have been annihilated.^{********} The Khan ignored the duties of his government and was secluded to his citadel for long periods of time, despite the fact that his mercenary followers were unchecked and a national disgrace. The nobles also avoided approaching him for fear of their lives.^{†††††††††}

However, London maintained a "Forward Policy" as an alternative to the then-dominant "Closed Border Policy" in order to bolster its own

The Dialogue

^{********} Ibid. p. 29.

^{*******} Ibid.

^{********} Ibid, 33.

^{\$\$\$\$\$\$} Thornton, Colonel Sir Robert Sandeman, 47.

^{*********} Redaelli, *The Father's Bow*, 63.

^{†††††††††} Thornton, Colonel Sir Robert Sandeman, 47.

From 1872 onward, the British government changed its approach due to these uncertainties. They decided to take the initiative to resolve the conflict between the Khan and his Sardars because to their concern that unrest along their border might allow Russian expansion and infiltration into areas under their direct control. However, the British government couldn't agree on the best way forward. The Sindh government of Sir William Merewether^{§§§§§§§§§} opposed British interference in the Khanate's domestic affairs and advocated an approach that strengthened the Khan's authority at the confederation's expense. In response, the Punjab government urged a more robust British engagement and insisted that communicating with the tribes directly was crucial.^{*********}

This disagreement within the British government on the best course of action for Baluchistan stemmed from the "institutional character" of the khanate of Kalat polity. In the past, the Kalat khanate was considered a "feudal state" by the English Administration of Sindh, which

^{\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$} Sir William Merewether was the Commissioner of Sindh at time.

^{***********} Thornton, Colonel Sir Robert Sandeman, p. 88.

Nonetheless, a new treaty between the Kalat State and the British Government was successfully signed at Jacobabad on December 8, 1876. It included provisions for the building of railroad and telegraph connections across Kalat territory and the deployment of troops there, among other things, and it confirmed the obligations made in 1854. With the proper escorts, political officers were to be stationed throughout the Khan's territories. Additionally, the British Government agreed to provide the Khan with a one-lakh rupee yearly subsidy, and in order to foster the growth of traffic on the trade routes that passed through his country, an additional Rs. 20,500 had to be contributed annually. It also established

^{‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡‡} Thornton, Colonel Sir Robert Sandeman, 88.

^{\$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$} Axmann, Back To The Future, 30.

Moreover, the British signed the Treaty of 1876 with the intention of preserving the Kalat State's independence while exercising suzerainty over it and acquiring the power to mediate internal disputes between the Khan and the Sardars (Article 3 & 5). The British did not think that more engagement or power of intervention was necessary or wise, and the accord envisioned the establishment of a state with a certain level of independence where British forces might be stationed at desire (Article 6). Theoretically, Kalat and the government engaged in this way, but in practice, their relationship had completely transformed. Sandeman was able to exert considerable control over Kalat's internal affairs without more explanation. The so-called "Sandeman system" drastically changed the Khan and Sardars' customary standing. The policy affected the Sardars' relationship with the Khan and their reliance on tribal support at the local level. The Sardars were equal to the Khan in that they were hereditary and permanent tribal chiefs supported by British authority. Ultimately, the Khan's previous pivotal role was no longer existent. Sandeman's system evolved in a politically contested Baluchistan featuring multiple power centers, Khan being just the one.¹¹¹¹¹¹¹¹¹¹¹¹

The political-doctrinal position that saw the Kalat khanate to be a mere "federal tribal confederation" sought to effectively weaken the Khan's authority for the good of the local Sardars and, of course, the Government of India's delegates in Baluchistan. A number of British Administration government officials, including Kalat's political agent and

^{***********} Aitchison, A Collection of Treaties, pp. 215-216.

the Governor General's Agent (AGG) in Baluchistan, were granted effective authority in all matters of concern. Conflicting tribal interests were now to be balanced, and British-appointed Jirgas, assistant political agents, and an array of British political agents were to arbitrate tribal conflicts both among the tribes and the Khan and between the tribes. The Khan served as Kalat's head of state, although only in principle. For all intents and purposes, the Political Agents had the power and were directly responsible for the Governor-General's directives. §§§§§§§§§§

Located against Afghanistan and the North-West Frontier, the Kalat khanate either permanently leased or annexed some northern districts to the British colonial administration after the latter's initial attempt at direct colonial authority in Baluchistan. Because of its proximity to the Bolan Pass, Quetta has been regarded by the British as a defensive and strategic stronghold from at least 1839 CE. Similarly, Khudadad Khan was persuaded by the English to take direct control of Quetta after the Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878–1880). The agreement gave the British complete administrative rights, including civil and criminal jurisdiction. This also gave them the authority to tax all traffic that passed through the Bolan Pass on its way to and from British India and Afghanistan. A yearly one-time payment of Rs 80,000 was to be given to the Khan in return.*******

The lands on which the Kandahar State railway had been built were also given to the British Government in 1880, with full jurisdiction.********** The Sindh-Quetta railroad was completed to Sibi in 1880 and Quetta in 1887. In 1888, it expanded to Gulistan and Chaman, the Crown police and courts total control over the railroad tracks and in

^{\$\$\$\$\$\$\$} Aitchison, A Collection of Treaties, 191 & Axmann, Back To The Future, pp. 33-34. Ibid. pp. 217-218.

^{******************} In princely states, city stations and cantonments were often built for military purposes, as was the case in Quetta due to its proximity to the Afghan border. For trunk or strategic reasons, railroad lines were built through states regardless of their status. Maybe that's why some areas, like the Khan of Kalat did, were leased to the British in princely states of India. Ibid. pp. 100-191. ¹¹¹¹¹¹¹¹¹¹¹¹¹ Axmann, Back To The Future, p. 35

trains on the land area sought for the Mushkaf-Bolan, \$\$\$\$\$\$\$\$ and Nushki

Conclusion

Following the conclusion of the Treaty of 1876, which was an extension of the Treaty of 1854 (it is essential to keep in mind that the former was a result of the latter and not an instrument completely separate from it), and the growth of the British indirect position of power, the khanate established a decentralized system of government that couldn't function without British assistance. Instead of overly aggressive and powerful Khans, weak Khans in need of British assistance were favored. This severely damaged the tenuous political unity between the Khan and the tribes and diminished Khan to assume a head of state role without functions. In essence, the khanate was relegated to a buffer standing that was completely dependent upon and subservient to British authority. This agreement served as the cornerstone for the British management of the Baluchistan Agency. Along with three aids, Major Sir Robert Sandeman was named the Governor-General's agent on February 21, 1877. Following that, the areas that the Agent to the Governor-General had political authority over were divided up into several agencies, Kalat being one among them. In order to resolve tribal conflicts and balance competing tribe interests, a number of British-appointed jirgas, British political agents, and assistant political agents were actively now assigned to the job. British Baluchistan's rapid expansion significantly reduced the khanate's political and economic significance. Sandeman started establishing autonomous ties with the strongest tribes, disrupting the Khan's efforts to consolidate command. This undermined the Khan's suzerainty over his subjects by giving the frontier chiefs, particularly the Jam of Las Bela, significant authority. The khanate's central authority's prestige and

^{************} Ibid. 228.

^{************} The main railway line from Sindh to Chaman via Sibi, the Bolan Pass, and Quetta was supplemented by the Chagai and Zhob railroads during and after World War I. The western line, constructed in 1905 up to Nushki, was extended to Seistan between 1917 and 1922. This gave the British unrestricted access to eastern Persia and southern Afghanistan. Axmann, Back To The *Future*, p. 36.

sovereignty were undermined when Sandeman used his charm to establish a network of close personal ties with the tribal leaders in order to gain their political allegiance to the British colonial government. Moreover, since the end of the nineteenth century, the British government classified and treated the areas of Kharan, Makran, and Las Bela—which together made up over half of the entire territory of the Kalat khanate—as "Feudatory States", when they achieved practically total de facto sovereignty. The khanate's status deteriorated to that of an administrative formality and convenience as Quetta outperformed Kalat as a center of administration and trade in the next years. Eventually, telegraphs and posts were constructed, and the Indian rupee took over as the country's currency. Many Sardars built residences in Quetta.

Last but not the least, for political and administrative reasons, Baluchistan was divided into three sections by the British. i) The Kalat khanate, divided of four principalities again: Kalat, Makran, Kharan, and Las Bela. ii) The leased areas: this includes the districts of Nushki, Nasirabad, Quetta, and Bolan, which were leased to the British government by the Khans of Kalat through different times. iii) British Baluchistan, which comprised the territories ceded by the Afghan government to the British in 1880 as part of the Treaty of Gandamak. This arrangement persisted till India was divided.

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