

‘Sandeman System’ and the Marri, Bugti Tribes of Baluchistan

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Abstract

British in the context of anticipated Russian threat of invasion on India, from 1830s, to protect the empire followed a comprehensive ‘Forward Policy’. Under this policy, maintenance of law and order and keeping peace and tranquility in frontier tribal regions of Sindh and Punjab was top priority of the colonial government. At that time, at the border of the Punjab, two main races of Pathan and Baloch were inhibited. To enhance colonial influence upon these races and to bring them under government control, British provincial governments of Punjab and Sindh pursued their systematic policies. Under its policies, the colonial administration of Punjab used the policy of co-option to tumandars (tribal chiefs) in Baloch tribes of the adjacent regions by extending them patronage in their respective tribal areas of influence and co-opted them by adopting their local customs and traditions. This system of dealing with the Baloch tribes of border areas which was started from the Baloch tribal areas of Dera Ghazi Khan extended under “Forward Policy” to the neighbouring tribes of Balochistan also. This policy of patronage to tumandars was known as ‘Sandeman system’. Under this system, the colonial administration established indirect rule in the frontier region especially of Baloch tribes. The tribal chiefs were given huge material and administrative powers in their respective areas of influence. In this way, the colonial administration, changed the egalitarian nature of Baloch tribes into authoritative structures and bring the area of Baluchistan under colonial rule. So with this background, in this paper, the colonial policy of border

pacification in the context of “Forward Policy” in dealing with the two important Baloch Marri and Bugti tribes of Balochistan has been discussed.

Key Words: Forward Policy, Sandeman System, Frontier management, *Tumandars*, Patronage, Balochistan, Baloch tribes, Local customs and traditions, co-option.

Introduction

British contact to Balochistan, first started in 1839. At that time, the colonial government in the context of Indian defence against anticipated Russian threat was pursuing its policy of advancement towards Afghanistan. It sent ‘Indus Army’ under the command of General J. Keane. The army in its advancement towards Afghanistan after passing through Sindh, entered into the area of Kachhi and Bolan Pass of Kalat State. During this military advancement, the colonial power conducted treaty with the Khan of Kalat for military assistance and safe passage of the British forces through the area of Kalat State.¹ But despite the agreement, the colonial force when passing through the area of Bolan Pass had to face serious troubles inflicted by the Domki, Jakhhrani and Bugti tribes residing in the area.² At that time, Mehrab Khan, the ruler of Kalat State was unable to control these tribes residing in this region of the State. These tribes not only had created lawlessness in Kalat State but also had continued their devastations in the neighbouring areas of Sindh and Punjab. The wars and the blood sheds had also continually broken out amongst the tribes residing in the area. Pottinger, an English traveler in his account, writing about the socio-political life of the Baloch tribes of the time residing in the region mentioned that:

The forms of government and the common laws of the society are equally unknown and disregarded by these people, as they both depend solely on the caprice and temper of the heads of various tribes composing the population; but that distinction being hereditary, and the sons being bred up with the prejudices and views of their fathers, they naturally imbibe all their principles and habits, so that, in the course of time, the system

which was at first the effect of chance, assume something like an air of regularity, that passes down from one generation to another. Viewed in this light, we find that the Kohistan comprises a number of petty republics, in which every member of the community feels that he has a right to revenge his own wrongs, and give his vote on all points relating to the common good; in fact, there is a most perfect equality as to sentiments and actions, from the highest to the lowest.³

The British government at that time, because of its strategic interests was very keen to establish its influence and sway in the area. So after the end of first Afghan War, for maintenance of law and order in the region, it decided to punish the offending tribes. In 1839, a force of 700 men was sent against the tribes. After several skirmishes, the tribes' men had to face serious losses. Even Sardar Baibrak Khan, *tumandar* of Bugti tribe was also arrested.⁴ In this way, for the time being, the excursions of the Baloch tribes were checked. But after the departure of colonial forces, the region once again went into turmoil. The tribes also continued marauding in the border areas of Sindh and Punjab.⁵

In 1843, British got the control of Sindh. The colonial administration, to manage the frontier properly, under the command of Charles Napier continued military campaign for two years with 7000 troops against the neighbouring Domki, Jakhhrani, Bugti and Marri tribes. After the military campaign of Napier, the administration of Sindh, in its policy of border management deployed three regiments of force. These regiments were composed of all Indians and no resident of the area was employed in it. The local population was disarmed and not allowed to enter into any border fights.⁶

In 1849, Punjab also came under the British control. At that time, writing about the socio-political life of the general tribal people of the adjoining area of the North West frontier of the Punjab, Richard Temple, secretary of the Punjab Government mentioned that:

They are fierce and blood thirsty. They are never without weapons: when grazing their cattle, when driving beasts of burden, when tilling the soil, they are still armed. They are perpetually at war with each other. Each tribe, and section of a tribe, has its internecine war; every family its hereditary blood feuds; and every individual his personal foes. There is hardly a man whose hands are unstained. Each person counts up his murders. Each tribe has a debtor and creditor accounts with its neighbours, life for life. Reckless of the lives of the others, they are not sparing of their own. They consider retaliation and revenge to be the strongest of all obligations. They possess gallantry and courage themselves, and admire such qualities in others. Men of the same party will stand by one another in danger.⁷

In the same way, Bruce, a British administrator of the Rajanpur tehsil of Dera Ghazi Khan District, particularly mentioned about the adjacent border area of the Baloch tribes of the region that it “was studded with forts each the head-quarter of a robber chief. The revenue was collected by an army – or not at all. Similarly in Sind the border was a happy hunting ground for Marris and Bugtis.”⁸ So when the British got the control of Punjab, the Baloch tribes residing in the adjacent area were in continually war with each other and because of its lawlessness it was commonly known as “‘Yaghistan’ the rebellious or independent country”.⁹

Under these circumstances, the British after coming into power in Punjab, for the border administration, deployed Punjab Frontier Force comprised of Gurkhas, Pathans, Punjabi Sikhs and Muslims. But after short period, the colonial administration realized that the policy of only military deployment and expeditions could not bring permanent solution of the frontier tribes of the area. It realized the need of engagement of the tribal chiefs for the maintenance of law and order in frontier area. Suggesting about the policy of patronage of the Baloch tribes in the frontier region, Captain Minchin who served as Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ghazi Khan District, in a memorandum about the management of the Baloch tribes of the District and the Marri, Bugti and Khetran tribes of the adjacent

areas of Balochistan recommended to the Colonial government that:

Amongst these Beloch tribes the question of maintaining the position and influence of the chief is in my opinion one of paramount importance, both in the interests of the tribe and of Government. The tribes are sub-divided into sections or families, each governed by its own head men, who are again responsible to the chief for the conduct of their sections. In all police cases, the chief through their agency is able to trace out the offenders and enforce their surrender to government, whether residing in British territory or beyond the border. The members of the tribe willingly submit themselves to the guidance of their chiefs, and if he is a man of common energy and prudence he is able to govern the tribe completely. No police measure could ever equal this paternal form of government. To enable the chiefs to maintain their influence it is absolutely necessary that they should be provided with ample funds to exercise that liberal hospitality, which is as much regarded by the Beloches as the Arab from whom they are descended. If a chief is unable, from poverty, he at once loses his prestige, the tribe soon becomes disorganized, the several sections remain intact, but they lose their clan feeling, and the general control is lost for a time. Under these circumstances, a bad chief is better than none at all.¹⁰

So with this realization of engagement of local tribes, as a policy matter the *tumandars* (tribal chiefs) of the Baloch tribes living in the border area of Dera Ghazi Khan District were employed as incharges of the tribal levies and they were made responsible for the security of passes and the respective border areas.¹¹ Under this policy the regular force deployed by the Punjab administration in the border areas of Dera Ghazi Khan District was made to remain limited to outposts and not allowed to enter into the passes except in certain crucial circumstances. The people of the Baloch tribes residing in the area under colonial administration were also allowed to bear arms and were exempted from the operation of Arms Act. Moreover in interaction with the Baloch frontier tribes “every means was taken for the promotion of friendly intercourse. Thus, all

frontier custom duties were abolished; a capitation tax levied by the Sikhs on foreigners, was discontinued, and the land tax on the holdings of independent tribesmen was reduced to nominal sum; roads were made, connecting the frontier passes with the market towns, free hospitals and dispensaries were established; steamers for the conveyance of passengers and goods were started on upper Indus; and inundation canals, a priceless boon in rainless tracts, extending cultivation and affording food and work to thousands, were vigorously developed in southern Derajat.”¹²

In this way, the Baloch tribes residing in the hill areas were given lands to settle in plain areas. Like the Lashari and Pitafi sections¹³ of Gorchani tribe residing adjacent to the areas of Bugti, and Marri tribes of Balochistan were given lands in plains of Harrand area of the district and they were settled there.¹⁴ So in the same way, on the encouragement of the colonial administration of Dera Ghazi Khan District, Sardar Imam Bakhsh Khan, *tumandar* of Mazari¹⁵ tribe who was in good terms with the *tumandar* of Bugti tribe did his best to make arrangements for the settlement of the Mussori clan of the Bugti tribe in the plain area of the Dera Ghazi Khan District. Sardar Imam Bakhsh Khan also asked Sardar Jamal Khan¹⁶ *tumandar* of Leghari tribe who was at that time investing a lot of capital in canal excavation in the area to make arrangements for the settlement of Shambani clan of Bugti tribe in plain areas of the District.¹⁷ As Jamal Khan Leghari had marital relations with the headman of the Shambani clan.¹⁸ Under the policy of engagement with the border tribes of the Baloch area, some Bugti *mukadims* (elders) were also given positions in government services. Like Ghoram Khan, the brother of Mirza Khan, the elder of Shumbani clan and Khutto Khan, the elder of Mussori Bugti were appointed in levies services. In this way, the colonial administration of Punjab which had already developed close relationship with the *tumandars* of Baloch tribes of Dera Ghazi Khan started developing relations with the *tumandars* of adjacent Bugti and Marri tribes of Balochistan.¹⁹

In 1866, Punjab government appointed Robert Grove Sandeman as Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ghazi Khan

District. Up to that time, the colonial border of the Punjab was limited to the foot hills of Sulaiman Mountains and the Baloch tribes residing in the hills were out of its jurisdiction; and the colonial administration was following the policy of 'close border' towards the frontier tribes. Under this policy, the tribal people were allowed to enter in British area but the colonial administration was prohibited to interfere beyond the border. But at that time unlike, the previous policy of 'close border', the British administration changed its policy and followed the policy of peaceful penetration commonly known as 'Forward Policy', "a philosophy of extending British influence and authority beyond its physical borders, pushing that influence and authority as far north and west as possible and holding influence over the tribes."²⁰

At the time of appointment of Sandeman as Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ghazi Khan District, the British government in its political arrangement of the area had assigned responsibility to the Bombay Government and locally Commissioner Sindh, to conduct the affairs related to Khan of Kalat and its confederating chiefs. So under this arrangement, the Marri, Bugti tribes being under the suzerainty of Khan of Kalat, were out of the jurisdiction of administration of Sandeman and they had continued incursions into Dera Ghazi Khan District.²¹ Therefore under this administrative arrangement, after getting permission from the authorities, to enhance his influence beyond the borders of Punjab, he followed a policy of cooption of Baloch *tumandars*. Under this policy, by winning the 'hearts and minds' he developed closed relations with the *tumandras* of the Baloch tribes residing adjacent to Punjab border.²² According to H. S. Barnes, who served as revenue commissioner under Sandeman, this policy of cooption to tribal elders was based upon two assumptions:

The first was that in every Patan or Baluch tribe, however democratic, there do exist headmen of more or less influence and a system of tribal authority, which if effectually supported can compel obedience, In Baluch tribe this authority is easily

recognized and is usually centered in one man. Among the Patan, the authority is more divided and less powerful. Owing to the democratic feeling of the race, it is often the case that the headmen if supported cannot enforce authority over the more unruly spirits, and, in order to preserve that influence they possess, are compelled to follow in the path where the unruly spirits lead. But the balance of power is turned directly the headmen are given the means to entertain armed servants of their own, and when supported by suitable allowances and prestige of connection with our power, they both can and do exert themselves successfully to keep their tribes in order. The second assumption is that it is absurd to expect any man, least of all a wild frontier tribesman, to do work for us without being paid for it.²³

So in 1866, Sandeman, with the permission of Sindh authorities by using the influence of Sardar Imam Bakhsh Khan Mazari, one of the most influential *tumandar* of this side of the border tribes of Punjab as 'go between' contacted to Ghulam Murtaza Khan, the *tumandar* of Bugti tribe.²⁴ The Bugti *tumandar* became willing to cooperate with the British government for the management of law and order in the frontier area asked the government to support him directly rather than making arrangements through the elders of the different clans of the tribe. In this way, on his willingness, like the tribal services system for the protection of frontier region, already introduced in the Baloch tribes of Dera Ghazi Khan, the Bugti *tumandar* was offered levies service with the appointment of one *jamadar* and ten *sowars* on his behalf.²⁵ In this context, his son Shahbaz Khan was appointed as *jamadar* and incharge levies of the Bugti tribe on monthly payment of Rs. 765. With this British patronage to the *tumandar* of the Bugti tribe, the Shambani section of tribe which was for a long time in conflict with the *tumandar* and not accepting his authority now came to accept his power over it.²⁶ In the same way, on the request of the *tumandar*, Massory and Kalpur, the other two sections of the tribe with the British patronage to *tumandar*, brought under his influence.²⁷ In this way, the colonial administration, with its policy of patronage, helped the *tumandar* to establish its authority over the tribe and made him responsible for the

control of lawlessness in border areas of Dera Ghazi Khan. In the results of this policy, in 1867, when a band of 1200 Bugti, Marri and Khetran tribesmen of Balochistan under Ghulam Hussain Mussori Bugti attacked on Hurrand area of Dera Ghazi Khan, the Bugti *tumandar* co-operated the Punjab administration and timely informed about all the movements of the group. So in this way, with proper deployment of regular force and Baloch levies at the border, Gholam Hussain with 260 men were killed and many others were made prisoners.²⁸

Among the prisoners, there were 24 persons of the Marri tribe. In this regard, Sandeman after this incident sent his message to *tumandar* of Marri tribe to see him in person if he wanted to get the prisoners of his tribe released. The Marri chief, Guzan Khan along with some headmen of his tribe came to Sandeman. He was behaved well by the colonial administration and became willing to co-operate the colonial administration in maintenance of law and order in the region.²⁹ In this regard under tribal levies services, he was appointed incharge of the levies of his tribe and on his behalf twenty Marri levies *sowars* (recruits) were also inducted into the colonial services. In this context, the colonial government used to pay Rs. 1300 per month for their salaries.³⁰ The levies persons of the Marri tribe were employed to maintain communication between the colonial authorities at Rajanpur and Kahan, the Headquarter of Marri *tumandar*. Moreover, Sandeman in continuation of its policy of engagement, with the help of Sardar Jamal Khan Leghari, a very influential *tumandar* of Leghari tribe of Dera Ghazi Khan developed relations with Babul Khan, the *tumandar* of the Khetran tribe living in adjacent area of the Dera Ghazi Khan border. The later was also offered appointment in levies services under the colonial administration which he accepted happily.³¹ In the result of these arrangements, in 1868, for the first time in the history of colonial frontier arrangement, Sandeman without any military arrangements, in the company of Baloch *tumandars* of Dera Ghazi Khan toured hill areas for fifteen days and also visited the areas of Marri, Bugti and Khetran tribes of the adjacent

Kalat State where he was warmly welcomed by the chiefs of respective tribes.³²

Moreover, in continuation of British policy of engagement with the Baloch *tumandars* of the Balochistan area, the District administration of Dera Ghazi Khan made arrangements for the participation of these three tribal chiefs of Balochistan along with the *tumandars* of Dera Ghazi Khan in the visit of Sir Donald Macleod, the Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab at Bahawalpur. In his Darbar, the Governor gave them warm welcome and the chiefs of Marri, Bugti and Khetran tribes were presented handsome *Khilluts* of the value of five hundred rupees each.³³ So in this way, after developing close relations with the Baloch *tumandars* of the frontiers tribes of the Punjab, Sandeman proposed the higher authorities of the colonial government to make same nature of arrangements with the *tumandars* of Marri, Bugti and Khetran tribes of the Balochistan. His new suggestion was accepted by the Bombay and Punjab administration and the *tumandars* of Marri and Bugti tribes of Balochistan with more powers and incentives were employed in the levies. In this regard, 50 Bugti *sowars* were enlisted for services on the Sindh border and 30 *sowars* for Punjab border.³⁴ In the same way, the personal allowances of Marri *tumandar* and the other *sardars* of his Ghazani section of the tribe were raised to Rs. 2545 per mensem.³⁵ In the same way, in 1870s, with the development of Desert canal in Sindh, the colonial administration, in its policy of co-option to *tumandar* and *mukaddims* of the tribe, granted *jagirs* (agricultural lands) to Islam Khan, the *tumandar* of Bugti tribe and many other *mukaddims* of the tribe. In this grant it was not required to settle on the lands.³⁶

In 1871, a conference regarding the British policy towards these tribes of Balochistan was held at Mithankot. In this conference it was decided by the Punjab and Sindh administration that Sandeman would deal these tribes under the Supervision of Sindh authorities and for the arrangements of border pacification. Sandeman after getting authority from the government continued the policy of patronage to Baloch *tumandars* of the other side of the border. With this policy of

patronage to the *tumandars*, after getting confidence of the *tumandars* of the region, Sandeman to enhance his influence over the Baloch tribes of the region, invoked the traditional method of conflict resolution with the introduction of 'jirga' or council of elders. In this regard, for the first time, to settle disputes among the Baloch tribes of the Rajanpur tehsil of Dera Ghazi Khan District, he started *Jirga* meetings. After that with the success of this model of dispute resolution from 1875, he used to arrange annual gathering of the *tumandars* of the different tribes of the region of Punjab and Balochistan at fort Munro, a hill station located in the Sulaiman Mountains. Later on the same *jirga* meetings were arranged annually at Sibi in winter and Quetta in Summer. In this regard, according to Baloch tribal customs, he even used to prepare the tribal chiefs to settle dispute through *wani*, the tribal value of developing matrimonial relations between the tribal chiefs to end the tribal feuds.³⁷ In this context, to establish peace in this area, to end old feuds between the Marri and Mazari tribes and between the Marri and Dreshak tribes, he prepared the Marri chief to give his nieces in marriage to Mazari and Dreshak chiefs.³⁸ In this way, the people of these tribes got rid of their old antagonism and became friends to each others. Describing the arrangements of Sandeman in the Baloch tribal region, a Balochi war ballad, mentioned that:

He wanders about alone like a tiger, nor is anyone so strong to oppose him. This is a long lasting Government. The world trembles from dead of it over the whole land as for as Qandahar. Justice is done in assembly this glorious and lofty ruler. Thou art the Commander, thou art the Maker of arrangements, thou art the leader of brave youths; as lofty as the peaks of mountains, wherever thou hast rested a mark remains.³⁹

F. W. R. Fryer in first settlement report of Dera Ghazi Khan District, writing about the role of Sandeman in developing peace with Baloch tribal areas of Dera Ghazi Khan and the adjacent areas of Marri, Bugti and Khetran tribes of Balochistan mentioned that:

Captain Sandeman, the present Deputy Commissioner, has an excellent understanding with the chiefs of the independent hill tribes. The Bozdar, Khetran, Mari and Bugti chiefs all have a certain number of sawars in the services of Government, by means of communications with these chiefs are kept up, and notice is received of any intended raids by the more turbulent men of the tribes. So thorough is the confidence which the hill chiefs have in the Deputy Commissioner that he is enabled to make excursions into the independent Biloochistan attended only by Biloches selected from both within and without the border.⁴⁰

With these developments, to settle the disputes between the Khan of Kalat and its tribal chiefs, the colonial government under its "Forward Policy" by using the influence of Sandeman on the Baloch tribes of Dera Ghazi Khan and adjacent Baloch tribes of Marri, Bugti and Khetran tribes of Balochistan assigned him responsibility to deal with Khan of Kalat. In this context in 1875, for the first time, Sandeman marched towards Kalat to have peace talks with Khan of Kalat. In this tour, he was accompanied with Baloch *tumandars* of Dera Ghazi Khan along with 1000-1200 horsemen. In this march, on the way to Kalat, the *tumandars* of Bugti, Marri and Khetran tribes also joined him with considerable following from their tribes. Even the Marri *tumandar* in his support with the *sardars* against the Khan of Kalat, assured Sandeman his complete favour for making peace with the Khan of Kalat.⁴¹ So in this way, by developing close relations with the *tumandars* of the different Baloch tribes of the region, he became able to bring Khan of Kalat under the British influence.

In 1878-79, the second Afghan war started. In this war, the colonial army marched through Dera Ghazi Khan towards Kandhar, passing the area of Bugti tribe, Shahbaz Khan, the *tumandar* of Bugti tribe, helped the colonial army in its safe passage.⁴² Later on for the safe passage of trade routes having strong strategic importance, in 1881, when the charge of Marri tribe went under the Political Agent of Thal-Chotiali, the tribal levies services were re-organized at the cost of Rs. 2990 per

mensem and Rs. 430 per mensem were also allotted for the protection of telegraph. Later on the levies services of Marri tribe were re-organized. It was consisted of tribal chief, two headmen, Eight *Risaldars*, 12 *Jamadars*, 17 *duffadars*, 139 *sowars*, 8 foot men and 5 clerks. The total cost was Rs. 4, 842 per mensem.⁴³

In the same way, in 1882, the levies under the tribal chiefs were reorganized. Under new arrangements, in Bugti tribe it cost Rs. 1,775 per mensem. In 1891, its expenditure increased to Rs. 3,730 per month. Under this arrangement, the levies of the Bugti tribe consisted of its chief, two headmen, three *risaldars*, five *jamadars*, twelve *duffadars*, 119 *sowars*, four footmen, and five clerks and menials that cost Rs. 45, 552 per annum.⁴⁴ In the same way, the colonial administration when made arrangements under tribal services, the tribal chiefs and their near relatives were given key positions in Marri tribe also, like Sardar Mehrullah, the *tumandar* of the tribe was appointed as commandant Marri levies. His cousin Sher Mohammad was appointed as *Risaldar* Marri levies, another cousin Mir Hazzar was appointed *Jamaidar* in Marri Levies. In the same way, his cousin Haibat Khan was appointed as *Daffaidar* in Marri levies.⁴⁵ In 1882, the colonial government acknowledged the military services of the elders of the Marri tribe and through Agent to Governor-General gave *Khillats* to different headmen of the tribes. Among them the son of the Marri *tumandar*, Khair Bakhsh was given 1 *lungi*, 1 *choga* and Rs. 100 in lieu of his services to 3rd Native Infantry. Moreover for his good conduct to the colonial government, Sardar Khair Bakhsh Marri, was also given a handsome sword.⁴⁶ Sher Mohammad Khan Marri, the cousin of the *tumandar* and *Risaldar* of the levies was given 1 *lungi*, 1 *choga* and Rs. 80 for his services against the Bozdar tribe. In the same way, five other headmen of the Marri tribe were also given *khillats* for their military services to the colonial government.⁴⁷

As a result of colonial policies of tribal management in 1884, the British authorities mentioned about the Marri and the Bugti

tribes that they “are strength instead of weakness to our frontier.”⁴⁸

In this context, in 1889 the colonial government under its forward policy decided to open Gomal Pass. For this purpose Sandeman with the help of Bruce, his old subordinate and at that time serving as Deputy Commissioner Dera Ismail Khan, made proper arrangements. In this regard, the chiefs of Marri and Bugti tribes supported the colonial government in dealing with the Pushtoon tribes of northern Balochistan and Waziristan.⁴⁹

With this policy of co-options of *tumandars* in this area of Marri and Bugti tribes of Balochistan, in recognition of services of the *tumandars* for the colonial masters, in 1890, Sardar Shahbaz Khan, the *tumandar* of Bugti tribe was raised to the status of Nawab by the colonial government.⁵⁰ He was after one year, in 1891, in the same way, as a reward of his services to the colonial government, raised to the status of K.C.I.E.; a very eminent position in colonial hierarchy.⁵¹

In the same way of colonial patronage to *tumandars* in the Marri and Bugti area of Balochistan, in 1903 when the colonial administration, developed Jamrao canal in Sindh, Sardar Shahbaz Khan Bugti *tumandar*, for his political services to colonial masters when on the demand he sent 500 horsemen of his tribe under the command of his son Mehrab Khan against the *Hurs*,¹ was also granted thirty five thousand acres revenue free *jagir* (agriculture land) in Jamrao tract.⁵²

Moreover under this ‘Sandeman System’ when the government started work for telegraph and other road construction, it gave contracts to the powerful members of the Marri tribe. Like it gave contract to Sher Mohammad Marri who was son in law of Gazzan Khan *tumandar* and *risaldar* of the Marri levies.⁵³ In the same way, in continuation of colonial policy of patronage to

¹ The disciples of *Pir* of Pagaro sharif in Sindh are known as *Hurs*. They fought against the colonial masters in Sindh. To crush their movement, the colonial administration got the support of local influentials.

tribal elders, the tribal chiefs and the men of influentials were entitled to chair in colonial Darbars. In this regard the Marri *tumandar*, his son Khair Bakhsh and his cousin Sher Mohammad were entitled to chair in Marri *darbars*.⁵⁴ Moreover after getting control of the Balochistan, the colonial administration introduced Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCRs) in the areas of Marri and Bugti tribe of Balochistan.⁵⁵ Under these regulations the *tumandars* of the respective tribes were given more powers by formally giving them authority to preside the jirga of their own tribes. In these jirga meetings they were officially given judicial powers. So in this way, along their executive powers of being heads of levies of their respective tribes, they were also given judicial powers. In this way, the colonial administration through 'Sandeman System' of patronage to *tumandars* established indirect rule in these areas of Balochistan.

Conclusion:

When the British followed 'forward policy'. It realized the need to extend its influence beyond the frontiers of Punjab towards Balochistan. At that time, it found that the tribal organization in Baloch dominated areas adjacent to Punjab frontiers was in a state of turmoil. The "Imperial interests demanded that tribal conflicts should be replaced by tribal quiescence and law and order.... Sandeman resurrected the tribal organization of the Baluchis, which he found in a state of rapid decay. He established the position and dignity of the *tumandar* or chief".⁵⁶ After getting the control of area realized that to achieve colonial objectives of frontier pacification, "you cannot tame a Patan (Pathan) or Baluch tribe by 'zor' that is to say merely by coercion and threats, backed up though they may be by the spasmodic force of repeated military expeditions."⁵⁷ The British in their policy towards the Baloch tribes of the area were well aware that:

It is the *Sirkar* (government) who makes or unmakes these men (*tumandars*). As a matter of fact, the greatest of all changes brought about under Sandeman's regime - and this not alone with regard to the tribes beyond our Border line, but to those

within as well – was the setting on their legs of their hereditary chiefs and maliks, Pathan as well as Beluch, supporting them and working through them, and bringing them into line with ourselves in all matters connected with the good administration of the frontier; at the same time that he exercised a healthy control and supervision over their actions. It is to this policy that they owe the influence they at present possess, and were our support to be withdrawn their power and authority would soon dwindle away again.⁵⁸

So the colonial administration in its policy of patronage to *tumandars* gave them huge material benefits and authorities in their respective areas. It created sharp difference between the *tumandars* and the common member of their tribes. Like when the Muree *tumandar* Guzen Khan first time came to see Sandeman along with the headmen of his tribe in 1862, the dress at that time which he had wore was not different from the other members of the delegation of his tribe and was so poor in its condition that it was stitched at many places. Same was the nature of the food of those head men of the tribes. When they were served by the colonial administrator at the official guest house with a food of good standard most of them even their chief was having that food first time in his life.⁵⁹ But after colonial patronage, the administration changed the egalitarian nature of tribes into authoritarian nature of social organization.

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- ¹¹ Captain C. Minchin, *Ibid*, pp.35-38.
- ¹² Thomas H. Thornton, *Sir Robert Sandeman: His Life and Work on Our Indian Frontier*, (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1895), p. 17.
- ¹³ Captain Minchin, who had served as Deputy Commissioner of the Dera Ghazi Khan District, at one time, wrote about these sections that "the Lisharees are the worst on the whole border... one is never certain when they may not commit some excesses. They are nearly always fighting with the Boogtees, Khetrans and Murrees and then rushing for shelter into the District... the robberies which often occur in the Mithunkot sub-Division, particularly in the dense jungles about Fazulpoor, can nearly always be traced to them or the Pitafis." For detail see Captain C. Minchin, "Memorandum on the Beloch Tribes in the Dera Ghazi Khan District" in *Selections from the Records of the Punjab and Its Dependences*, New Series, No.3, (Lahore: Punjab Printing Company, 1869), p. 24.
- ¹⁴ F. W. R. Fryer, *First Regular Settlement Report, Dera Ghazi Khan District*. (Lahore, Pakistan: Central Jail Press, 1876), p. 67; Bruce, "Notes on the Dera Ghazee Khan", opcit, pp. 48-49. Hakam Chand, *Twarikh-i-Zilla Dera Ghazi Khan*, opcit, p. 79.

- ¹⁵ Sardar Imam Bakhsh Khan Mazari was a very close ally of the colonial administration in Dera Ghazi Khan Baloch tribal area. He used his influence by assisting Robert Sandeman, in establishing peace with the Bugti tribe, with the later he had close links. In his recognition of services for the British in establishing peace in the region and colonial 'forward policy', he was given the title of Nawab by the colonial powers. Later on, in recognition of his role in the negotiation with Khan of Kalat from 1874 to 1877, he was made a Companion of the Indian Empire. For detail see Lepel H. Griffin, and Charles Francis Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*, vol. I. Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1909.
- ¹⁶ Sardar Jamal Khan Leghari was also a close ally of the British in Dera Ghazi Khan and adjoining Baloch area. He played important role in Sandeman's policy of border pacification and development of his influence beyond the Suleiman hills especially in Balochistan with Khitran tribe and after that in forward policy and played his influence in negotiation with Khan of Kalat from 1875-76. In reward of his services, he was bestowed with the title of Nawab. See for detail Lepel H. Griffin, and Charles Francis Massy, *Chiefs and Families of Note*, opcit.
- ¹⁷ Captain C. Minchin, opcit, p. 29.
- ¹⁸ The daughter of Mirza Khan, the *Mukadim* of the clan was married to Noor Ahmmed Khan, the nephew of Jamal Khan and the daughter of Ghoram Khan, the brother of Mirza Khan was married to Mahmood Khan, the brother of Jamal Khan. See Bruce, "Notes on the Dera Ghazee Khan", opcit, p. 68.
- ¹⁹ For detailed discussion of British policy of patronage to *tumandars* of Baloch tribes of Dera Ghazi Khan, consult M. F. Anwar, "British Policy of Co-option of *Tumandars* (Tribal Chiefs) in Punjab: A Case Study of Dera Ghazi Khan District", *Historicus*, Vol. LXI, No. 3, (July-September 2017), pp.95-108.
- ²⁰ William Kerr Fraser-Tytler quoted in Christian Tripodi, "Good for one but not the other": The "Sandeman System" of Pacification as Applied to Baluchistan and North West Frontier, 1877-1947" *The Journal of Military History*, Volume 73, Number 3, July 2009, p. 774.
- ²¹ In 1857, War of independence or Mutiny erupted. Punjab Frontier Force stationed at the border adjoining to Kalat State was withdrawn and only the Baloch tribal Militia was supposed to protect the frontier. During this time, some Marris from the other side of the border, raided on the Asni border of Dera Ghazi Khan District of Punjab. Drishak *tumandar*, as chief of Baloch levies of his tribe under British service, his son and 40 of his tribes men while protecting the area were killed by the Marris. Ghoram Khan and Khutto Khan the two above mentioned elders of Bugti tribes who were serving under British administration of the adjoining tribal areas of Kalat State, as

incharges of levies of their respective clans of the Bugti tribe did not fulfill their responsibilities of protection of the areas. In 1859, the condition on Sindh frontier was so worst that on the advice of General Jacob, Mir Khudad Khan collected whole of force. He led an expedition which consisted of 4,000 foot, 4,000 horse men in command of Sir Henry Green against the Marri and Bugti tribes. The tribes surrendered and the campaign ended without bloodshed. But this expedition could not bring permanent solution and the tribe continued its raids. In 1862, once again Khan of Kalat was obliged to start an expedition against the Bugti and Marri tribes but without results and the raids continued in both Kalat and Sindh territories. In 1862, Marris with Shambani Bugti clan committed a raid upon the frontier of Dera Ghazi Khan. The Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ghazi Khan wrote through the Political Suprentendent, Upper Sindh Frontier to Khan of Kalat to restitution of the sufferers. The response came that the Khan of Kalat could not compel them for restitution as the Khan had nominal authority over them. On this report, the subsidy of Rs. 50,000 by the colonial government under the treaty of 1858 was suspended. B. J. Bruce, "Notes on the Dera Ghazee Khan District, N. W. Frontier, And Its Border Tribes" *Selections from the Records of the Government of the Punjab and its Dependences*, (Lahore: Civil Secretariat Press, 1871), pp.76-78.

22 The Baloch tribes at that time, residing partly under the British administration and adjacent independent hill area were: Mazari, Leghari, Dreshak, Gurchani, Lund, Khosa, Qaisrani and Buzdar. These tribes had their close links with the Marri, Bugti and Khetran tribes living under the suzerainty of Khan of Kalat .

23 H. S. Barnes "Sir Robert Sandeman's Method of Dealing with Frontier Tribes" in Thomas H. Thornton, *Sir Robert Sandeman: His Life and Work on Our Indian Frontier*, (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1895), p. 304.

24 Richard I. Bruce, *The Forward Policy and Its Results*, (Quetta, Pakistan: Gosha-e-Adab, 1977), p. 24.

25 Major A. McConaghey, *Baluchistan District Gazetteer Series, Volume III, Sibi District*, (Bombay: Times Press, 1907), p. 292.

26 Rai Bahadur Hatto Ram, *Gul Bahar* (Urdu), opcit, p. 285.

27 Rai Bahadur Hatto Ram, *Gul Bahar* (Urdu), Ibid, pp. 309, 310.

28 Major A. McConaghey, *Baluchistan District Gazetteer Series, Volume III, Sibi District*, (Bombay: Times Press, 1907), p. 291.

29 Hatto Ram, *Gul Bahar* (Urdu), opcit, p. 314.

30 Hatto Ram, Ibid, p. 318.

31 Khetran tribe was situated in this region in the north of Bugti tribe and the west of Leghari tribe. The *tumandar* of the tribe was related to the *tumandars* of both Leghari and Bugti tribe. Islam Khan, the *tumandar* of Bugti tribe had married with the sister of Khetran *tumandar*. Jamal Khan Leghari also had marital relations with the

- Khetran tribe. Hakam Chand, *Twarikh-i-Zilla Dera Ghazi Khan*, (Urdu), (Karachi: Indus Publications, 1876), p. 94; R. B. J. Bruce, "Notes on the Dera Ghazee Khan District, opcit, p. 88.
- 32 Longworth Dames, *Popular Poetry of the Baloches* (London: David Nutt, Long Acre, 1906), p. 103; Bruce, *The Forward Policy*, opcit, p. 27.
- 33 A dress of honour presented to a person by a ruler. It could also include arms or horse. Richard I. Bruce, *The Forward Policy and Its Results*, (Quetta, Pakistan: Gosha-e-Adab, 1977), p. 40.
- 34 Major A. McConaghey, *Baluchistan District Gazetteer Series, Volume III, Sibi District*, (Bombay: Times Press, 1907), p. 292.
- 35 McConaghey, *Ibid*, p. 284.
- 36 David Gilmartin, *Blood and Water: The Indus River Basin in Modern History*, (California: University of California Press, 2015), p. 44.
- 37 V. Ball, *Jungle Life in India or the Journeys and Journals of an Indian Geologist*, (London: Thos De La Rue, 1880), p.448.
- 38 Thornton, *Sir Robert Sandeman*. opcit, p. 34; Hatto Ram, opcit, pp. 345-346.
- 39 Dames, *Popular Poetry*, opcit p. 104.
- 40 Fryer, *First Regular Settlement Report*, opcit, p. 72.
- 41 Thomas H. Thornton, *Sir Robert Sandeman*, opcit, p. 68.
- 42 Hatto Ram, *Tarikh -i-Balochistan* (Urdu), opcit , p. 151.
- 43 McConaghey, *Baluchistan District Gazetteer Series*, opcit, p. 284.
- 44 McConaghey, *Ibid*, p. 293.
- 45 O. T. Duke, *A Historical and Descriptive Report on the District of Thal-Chotiali and Harnai*, (Calcutta: Foreign Department Press, 1883), p. 127.
- 46 O. T. Duke, *A Historical and Descriptive Report, Ibid*, p.133.
- 47 O. T. Duke, *A Historical and Descriptive Report, Ibid*, p.101.
- 48 *Frontier and Overseas Expeditions*, Opcit, p.29.
- 49 Hatto Ram, *Tarikh -i-Balochistan* (Urdu), Opcit , p.430.
- 50 Thomas H. Thornton, *Sir Robert Sandeman*: opcit, p. 64.
- 51 McConaghey, *Baluchistan District Gazetteer*, opcit, p. 292.
- 52 David Cheesman, *Landlord Power and Rural Indebtedness in Colonial Sindh 1865-1901*. (Surrey: Curzon Press, 1977), p. 76; Sherbaz Khan mazari, *A Journey to Disillusionment*. (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. xxvi.
- 53 Duke, *A Historical and Descriptive Report*, opcit, p. 132.
- 54 Duke, *A Historical and Descriptive Report, Ibid*, p. 133.
- 55 By this law Political Agent was empowered to: (a) Blockade hostile tribe, (b) Check the construction of villages and forts within five miles of the frontier, (c) Fine village communities for colluding with or harbouring offenders or escaped prisoners, and for suppressing evidence; (d) Banish any person who has a blood feud in the district or any person of it (*Gazetteer of Dera Ghazi Khan District, 1883-84*, p. 150).

- ⁵⁶ K. B. Sayeed, *Politics in Pakistan: The Nature and Direction of change*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1980, p. 3.
- ⁵⁷ H. S. Barnes, "Sir Robert Sandeman's Method of Dealing with Frontier Tribes", in Thomas H. Thornton, *Sir Robert Sandeman*. opcit, p. 303.
- ⁵⁸ Bruce, *The Forward Policy*, opcit, p. 19.
- ⁵⁹ Hatto Ram, *Gul Bahar* (Urdu), opcit, pp. 317-318.