CHAPTER XXIV

THE CONQUEST OF UPPER BURMA

The Kingdom of Upper Burma, 1852–1885

KING PAGAN'S brother Mindon, fearing for his life, fled from court in December, 1852, and after several weeks' petty fighting deposed Pagan, keeping him in captivity for the rest of his life. King Mindon (1853–78) was a complete contrast to his four murderous and insane predecessors. Although so shocked at a map of the world, which showed the size of Burma, that the bystanders had to vow the map was wrong, he was erudite according to native standards; he would gaze at English visitors near his throne through opera glasses, feeling that these added to his impressiveness, yet he was of truly royal presence; his economic measures were obscurantist, but he possessed real business aptitude, and would have made a successful broker; his piety was ostentatious, and his humanitarianism was rendered possible by the speed with which his ministers carried out executions before he could intervene, yet he sincerely loved his fellow-men.

Fearing to be chronicled as the king who signed away territory, Mindon would not accept Dalhousie's treaty,[1] but he recalled his troops and respected the new frontier. In 1854 he sent envoys asking Dalhousie to restore Pegu as it was not he, but his discredited predecessor who had made war; Dalhousie said to Phayre, who interpreted, "Tell the envoys that so long as the sun shines, which they see, those territories will never be restored.... We did not go to war with the king but with the nation". Subsequently Mindon, thinking that as his clergy had great influence with his government, Christian clergy must have influence with their governments, sent his sons to the Anglican Dr Marks's mission school at Mandalay and cultivated the acquaintance of the French Catholic bishop Bigandet; when he found that they would not urge Queen Victoria to restore Pegu, he thought missionaries very ungrateful people, and dropped them. For years he kept a reserve of officers to administer Pegu when the English should restore it, either as a mark of appreciation or during some European crisis. But he discountenanced the Pegu dacoits who for decades claimed to hold his commission; and when the Pegu garrison was depleted to supply the needs of the Indian Mutiny, he rejected his court's advice to march, saying it was unworthy to strike a friend in distress.

[1] Cf. vol. v, p. 562, *supra*.

a new king was expected to change the capital, Mindon in 1857 abandoned Amarapura and built a new city at Mandalay near by, but he abrogated the custom of burying human victims at the foundation. Probably his most cherished achievement was the Fifth Buddhist Council and its memorial, the presentation of a new spire to the Shwedagon pagoda, Rangoon. The Fourth Council had been held in Ceylon nineteen centuries previously; in 1871 Mindon summoned 2400 clergy to Mandalay, where, after they had recited the Buddhist scriptures, a definitive text was engraved on marble; although only Burmese clergy had been invited, Mindon styled himself "Convener of the Fifth Council". The erection of a spire on a major pagoda was the prerogative of a king in his own dominions, but the English agreed, provided he did not come himself; coated with gold, studded with jewels, and worth £62,000, it was erected by his envoys in 1871 and is still in place; the population of Rangoon was temporarily doubled, yet crime ceased, and unprotected women were able to wear their jewels in public throughout the festivities. Mindon's reign was a happy period, for the Burmese simultaneously enjoyed English administration and soothed their pride by the thought that their king still sat on his throne in the Golden Palace at Mandalay. Beloved though he was, travellers were struck by the contrast between the down-trodden bearing, the sullen faces, the coarse clothes, of the Burmese in his territory, and the laughter, the free bearing, the silken clothes of the Burmese in English territory. From 1857 onwards, even before the opening of the Suez Canal, an appreciable number of his subjects, disobeying his veto, annually migrated to Pegu; the 1881 census shows 8·4 per cent. of the population of British Burma as born in Upper Burma.

Abandoning the traditional seclusion of his predecessors, Mindon employed Europeans, and sent missions to Europe; among the envoys was the Kinwunmingyi. The failure of the mission to Queen Victoria to secure direct negotiations was a severe disappointment, for to Mindon, as to every other Burman, then as now, it was humiliating to deal with a mere viceroy; however, he swallowed his chagrin, made no difficulty over dealing with the viceroy, and never failed to receive English officers courteously. The residency, re-established in 1862, was raised from the 3rd to the 2nd class in 1875; its incumbents were Dr Williams (1862–4), Captain (later Sir Edward) Sladen (1864–9), Major MacMahon (1869–72), Captain Strover (1872–5), Colonel Duncan (1875–8), Mr Shaw (1878–9), Colonel Horace Browne (1879), Mr St Barbe (1879). An assistant political agent was maintained at Bhamo: Captain Strover (1869–72), Captain Spearman (1872–3), Captain Cooke (1873–7), Mr Cooper (1877–8), Mr St Barbe (1878–9).

Chambers of commerce in England credited Yunnan with an enormous population and an unlimited capacity for purchasing Manchester goods; the shortest route from England lay along the

Irawadi River. Trade treaties made in 1862 and 1867 between the king of Burma and the Government of India opened Upper Burma to trade. English steamers ran regularly from Rangoon to Mandalay after 1868 and reached Bhamo in 1869. English officers from Rangoon visited Yunnan in 1868, 1875, 1877; those of 1875 turned back when Margary of the Chinese consular service, who had travelled overland from Shanghai and met them in Bhamo, was murdered by a Chinese rabble. Mindon did everything possible to foster trade with Yunnan, even removing a governor of Bhamo for obstructing English officers, but the wild tribes north of Bhamo were subject to neither Burmese nor Chinese rule; furthermore, from 1855 to 1873, the Yunnan market ceased to exist in the anarchy of the Panthay rebellion. Trade in Burma itself was hampered by Mindon, who not only enforced the usual royal monopolies but was also the largest dealer in all kinds of produce in his dominions. Even so, at the end of his reign, whereas the annual value of English trade across land frontiers in India was £5,145,000, with Upper Burma and Yunnan it was £3,225,000.

The raiders of Karenni carried off Burmans and Shans into slavery, bartering them for cattle with the Siamese. Mindon's troops entered Karenni; but when the English objected, he received the viceroy's envoy, Sir Douglas Forsyth, in 1875 and concluded a treaty whereby Karenni was recognised as independent. Hence, unlike the Shan States, to which it is culturally inferior, Karenni is not part of British India to-day.

When dictating the treaty of 1826 to a vanquished court, the English had omitted to insist that envoys should neither remove their shoes nor kneel in the presence. Successive residents, chief commissioners, and Sir Douglas Forsyth, knelt unshod. In 1876 the viceroy said that this might have been permissible in the days before Burmans had gone abroad, but now they had visited European courts and seen that at all there was only one method of receiving ambassadors, irrespective of a court's indigenous ceremonial; he himself received Burmese envoys not only retaining their head-dress but also wearing shoes and sitting on chairs, and in future the resident would neither remove his shoes nor kneel. The Kinwunmingyi, who realised the force of the argument, appears to have tried to state it to Mindon. Although to yield meant losing face with his people, Mindon's prestige was such that he could have carried them with him; but he exclaimed, "I did not fight to recover a province, but I will, sooner than yield on etiquette". The Government of India was ill-requiting a harmless old man, the one king of Burma who maintained correct relations. Thereafter no resident was admitted to the palace, and English influence declined.

One more reign like Mindon's should have given the thoughtful minority at court time to grow, so that, like the kindred realm of Siam,

Burma might have been so prudently administered as to render annexation inconceivable. By the irony of fate it was Mindon himself who prevented his successor from being a person worthy of him, and it was the very steps taken by the thoughtful minority to ensure reform which caused obscurantism to triumph.

To keep the royal blood pure, a Burmese king's chief queen was his own half-sister; yet her son seldom succeeded to the throne, as the king nominated any prince, whether brother or son; many a king avoided the decision, leaving things to settle themselves at his death. Mindon had fifty-three recognised wives, forty-eight sons, sixty-two daughters. He nominated his brother; in 1866 two of his sons tried to assassinate him, and assassinated the brother. Thereupon Sladen, the resident, urged him to select a capable son and proclaim him heir, so that the kingdom might become accustomed to an accomplished fact; Mindon refused, saying he had so many sons, that to nominate any one of them would be equivalent to signing the boy's death warrant. On his death-bed he appointed his three best sons to succeed as joint kings, each with a third of the kingdom. Realising that this meant civil war, and wishing to have a nonentity as king so that they could introduce cabinet government, the ministers approved the plot of the queen dowager, whose daughter Supayalat was married to Thibaw, a junior son of Mindon's; they suppressed the order, imprisoned the remaining princes and princesses, proclaimed Thibaw king, and substituted for the immemorial oath of allegiance to the king a new oath to the king acting with his ministers.

Although the king's orders had always been subject to the concurrence of the Hluttaw (the council of the ministers), that could refuse only at peril, and in the last resort the king alone could claim obedience. The resident saw in the new oath, and in the character of the ministers, hope for progress. But no paper oath could avail against the sycophancy of the palace. Thibaw's mother, a junior queen, had been expelled from the harem for adultery with a monk; he himself, aged twenty, weak-minded, addicted to gin, was dominated by his feline wife Supayalat; by a process of mutual attraction the couple were soon surrounded by the vilest characters in the palace, who superseded the better officers and took command of the troops. Through fear of Supayalat, Thibaw further outraged convention by not marrying the four major queens and numerous lesser queens necessary to a Burmese king. The Kinwunmingyi usually acquiesced, but only to retain office in hope of better days, and finally Thibaw, fearing to be overthrown in favour of one of the imprisoned princes, enforced the "Massacre of the Kinsmen": on 15–17 February, 1879, nearly eighty princes and princesses of all ages were—since royal blood was taboo—strangled or clubbed by intoxicated ruffians and flung, dead or alive, into a trench the earth over which was trampled by elephants.

The Hluttaw was not implicated. The household staff arranged the massacre; it had not been enforced for four reigns, and it now took place in the age of the telegraph and newspaper; but even the defective chronicles of Burma contain seven instances since 1287, and Thibaw's court seems to have been surprised at the horror aroused in the outer world. It was the Kinwunmingyi himself who drafted the curt reply to the resident's protest, that Burma was a sovereign power, that her government was the sole judge of what the exigencies of state required, and that the massacre was strictly in accordance with precedent. A Burmese officer of humane character subsequently said to an English commissioner:

> We had no alternative. It has taken you English five years to crush dacoits led by a few sham princes. How long would it have taken you had they been led by seventy real princes? That was the risk we had to face, and we had none of your resources. By taking those seventy lives we saved seventy thousand.

The chief commissioner recommended immediate withdrawal of the resident, saying that this would secure the collapse of Thibaw's unsteady throne. The Government of India refused, and covered their indecision by saying that his presence would prevent further massacres —as if whatever moral influence he possessed were not forfeited by his continuing at such a court. Executions never ceased, and culminated in the "Jail Massacre" of September, 1884; perhaps the Kinwunmingyi himself owed his immunity to the fact that he already held the ancient title Thettawshe, "he to whom the king grants long life", signifying that he alone, of all mortals, could not be executed out of hand. The residency, a collection of bamboo huts surrounded by a fence, was virtually blockaded, and no Burman dared be seen entering. Yet the Government of India withdrew it in October, 1879, only because reports that Thibaw contemplated exterminating it coincided with the outcry at Cavagnari's murder in Kabul.

Four of Thibaw's brothers had fled the country—Myingun and Myingundaing in 1866, after assassinating Mindon's uncle; Nyaungyan and Nyaungok shortly before the "Massacre of the Kinsmen". In 1868 Myingun escaped from internment at Rangoon, tried to raise a rebellion in Upper Burma, was reinterned, and in 1882 escaped into French territory. In 1880 Nyaungok escaped from internment at Calcutta, raised a brief rebellion in Upper Burma, and was reinterned. One or another of the four princes would have succeeded in ousting Thibaw had not the French and English interned them; Nyaungyan in particular, Mindon's favourite son, whom he had nominated one of his three joint successors, inherited his father's character and charm, and was deservedly popular.

Opinion among non-officials in British Burma was unanimous that Upper Burma must be annexed. In 1884 English and Chinese merchants joined in sending money to Myingun at Pondichery, asking

him to invade Burma through Siam. Dr Marks inveighed from his Rangoon pulpit and led the firms in public meetings which demanded immediate annexation in the interests of humanity and trade; they claimed that these meetings represented every race, but in reality Burmese British subjects, though they deplored Thibaw's misrule, would not attend. The chief commissioner—Bernard, nephew to Henry Lawrence who deprecated annexing the Panjab—advised that annexation would infuriate the Burmese, alarm the princes of India, and entail years of trouble; that we were not free from moral responsibility for Thibaw's misrule, as Nyaungyan would long before have ousted him but for our veto; that the Burmese would welcome Nyaungyan even if imposed by us, and he would prove a friendly and enlightened ruler. The Government of India, saying that internal misgovernment did not justify intervention, and that statistics did not support the contention that Thibaw's misrule diminished trade, would neither act nor even protest against the later massacres.

What forced the English to act was that France, having won an empire in Indo-China, now tried to dominate Upper Burma by peaceful penetration. For a decade the Burmese, anxious for their independence, had vaguely striven for an alliance with some first-class power; France refused to ratify the trade treaty of 1873 because the Burmese insisted on inserting provisions for the import of arms and for a full alliance. But in 1873 France had only Cochin China, whereas in 1884 she had Tonkin and was advancing towards Upper Burma. When, therefore, in January, 1885, Ferry, the French foreign minister, signed a public treaty for trade, he gave the Burmese envoys at Paris a secret letter promising to permit the import of arms through Tonkin when order was restored there; it was not a cordial letter, for the French, like the English, found the Burmese unsatisfactory to deal with; moreover the public treaty did not secure French nationals the safeguards (e.g. consular jurisdiction) desired by Ferry, and French officers in Tonkin disliked the distribution of arms. While the treaty was pending, Lyons, the English ambassador in Paris, warned Ferry that England had special interests in Upper Burma; in his last interview before signing the treaty Ferry assured Lyons that he would never permit the import of arms, so ardently desired by the Burmese; in the interview announcing signature, Ferry told Lyons it was a harmless trade treaty, and he avoided mentioning arms. In July, 1885, however, the secret letter was seen in the Mandalay palace by an underling friendly to the chief commissioner, and the viceroy telegraphed it verbatim to London.

France followed up the treaty by stationing a consul, Haas, at Mandalay. A quiet scholarly man, ignorant of the language and country, Haas suffered in health and disliked Mandalay. With him, and with a Burmese envoy in Paris, French concessionaires negotiated the establishment of a bank at Mandalay, the construction of a railway

from Mandalay to the railhead in British Burma, and the management of the royal monopolies, capital and interest to be secured on the revenues of the kingdom. None of these grandiose schemes was sound, and few advanced beyond the draft stage, but they would have left the kingdom permanently in French control. Failing to collect his revenue, Thibaw pawned the harem jewels, and, in defiance of his father's memory, established state lotteries which, however, disappointed expectation; unable to wait till the French bank materialised, he turned to the Bombay-Burma Trading Corporation, an English firm which extracted timber over half his kingdom. They lent him £100,000, and when they refused a further £220,000 early in 1885, they found themselves arraigned before the Hluttaw, sitting as a High Court, for failing to pay their employees and defrauding the Burmese crown of royalties in the Ningyan (Yamethin) forests. Sufficient particulars survive for any magistrate to recognise the accusation as typical of the false cases from the bazaar which come before him to-day. On hearing that a French syndicate would take over the forests if the corporation were evicted, the Hluttaw passed judgment *ex parte*, condemning the corporation to pay £230,000.

Though alarmed, England could not act against Thibaw for negotiating with a friendly power, but the corporation case compelled action on unexceptionable grounds. And at this juncture France, having suffered reverses in Tonkin which delayed her westward advance, withdrew from Upper Burma: her ambassador in London repudiated Haas's acts, 6 October, 1885. The Burmese refusal to submit the corporation case to the viceroy's arbitration reached Rangoon 13 October, and was reported to India the same day. The draft ultimatum was approved in London and received back in Rangoon on 19 October; it directed the Burmese to receive a permanent resident, giving him free access to the king without humiliating ceremonies, to submit the corporation case to the viceroy's arbitration, to submit their foreign relations to English control, and to assist the through trade with Yunnan. On 9 November Thibaw's rejection of the ultimatum reached Rangoon, and he issued a proclamation commanding his army to drive the infidel English into the sea. On 28 November he was a prisoner in his palace, under a British infantry guard.

Public opinion in England, shocked at Thibaw's atrocities, desired annexation. The Government of India disliked it save as a last resort, and the ultimatum meant what it said—that Upper Burma could continue independent if its court would accept the slight restraint which experience showed to be the irreducible minimum. The Burmese having rejected this offer of a protectorate, annexation followed, for the English were not in a position to appoint a successor to Thibaw; his massacres had left so few claimants alive that there was no field for selection; the only claimant known to possess character,

Nyaungyan, had died in June, 1885; Myingun, believed to possess character, was under French influence.

Dalhousie in 1852, Bernard in 1884, prophesied that, whereas Arakan, Tenasserim, and Pegu, the outlying territories of the Burmese, had been quickly conquered, the kingdom of Upper Burma, the Burmese homeland, would offer prolonged resistance; in 1879 the general commanding at Rangoon said he could take Mandalay with 500 men but would need 5000 to take Upper Burma. And so it proved, for the loosely knit state bristled with village stockades and evinced in defeat the tenacious vitality of the lower organisms. Dacoity, always endemic, had become chronic under Thibaw; his new ministers protected dacoits, shared their booty, and left district governors unsupported; villages submitted to the exactions of their youthful braves in return for protection against the braves of other villages; in 1884 Kachins captured Bhamo and carried fire and sword half-way down to Mandalay. The troops who had been massed against the English scarcely fired a shot, as Thibaw's proclamation was not followed by definite orders to his men, and many, not knowing Nyaungyan was dead, at first believed the English came to set him on the throne; but now, in the hour of the monarchy's dissolution, they went home with their arms and joined the dacoits. They could not combine, they plundered each other, and their fellow-countrymen, of whom the majority, sickened by their cruelty, ended by welcoming the English, called them not patriots but dacoits. Although they could seldom be brought to action, and the invaders' battle deaths were only sixty-two in eight months, it took five years to dispose of them; Sir George White, Sir George Wolseley, and the commander-in-chief in India, Sir Frederick Roberts, were present; at one time no fewer than 32,000 troops were employed.

And the area pacified in 1885–90 was only the kingdom of Upper Burma, i.e. barely half of Upper Burma. The greater half consisted of tribal areas where Burmese rule had either, as in the Chin hills, never penetrated, or, as in the Shan States, been ineffective. The remotest Shan state submitted in 1890 when Mr (later Sir George) Scott took forty sepoys, rode boldly into Kengtung, a mediaeval city with five miles of battlemented wall, and received the surrender of the wavering chief. Fighting against the Chins lasted till 1896.

Neither Sir Charles Crosthwaite, the masterful chief commissioner of the pacification, nor J. E. Bridges, his best officer in knowledge of the people, had any illusions about the Burmese, yet both regretted the annexation; Crosthwaite said it extinguished the good as well as the evil of the only surviving Buddhist state in India, and Bridges said, "It was a pity. They would have learnt in time". Indirect administration, giving the benefits of annexation without its defects, would have yielded little revenue; moreover, native institutions, shaken under Thibaw, were overthrown by the mere process of pacification,

as half the territorial families were in the field against us. But the real reason for imposing direct administration was that it was the fashion of the age, and modern standards of efficiency were the only standards intelligible to the men who entered Upper Burma. Few of them spoke the language, and those who did, came with preconceptions gained in Lower Burma. When overrunning Lower Burma, the Burmese had devastated and depopulated the country; our administration led to the return of refugees and to Indian immigration, but this hybrid population grew up without traditions or hereditary institutions. Hence Englishmen came to regard the Burmese as one dead level of peasants, without class distinctions or hereditary institutions, their government as unsystematised despotism, and Upper Burma as a *tabula rasa* whereon to erect an administration of the approved Anglo-Indian type.

These preconceptions are largely invalidated by research. Burmese society was honeycombed with class distinctions, and the sumptuary laws rendered it possible to tell a man's rank and occupation by a glance at his dress. Even now, after the 1885 revolution, there are village headmen who can trace their pedigrees for two and a half centuries. The king did not proclaim himself, he was proclaimed by the will of the nobles. He took no coronation oath, yet he was bound by immemorial custom and by religious awe. He could not issue a single order till it had been registered by the Hluttaw, the Council of the Ministers—the four "Great Burdens", the four "Arms and Shoulders of the State"—for, as the French noted independently, the races of Indo-China abhor the rule of an individual. He had no parliament: but thrice a year he had to face his lieges, as every office-bearer, down to the humblest village headman, attended the three great "Homage Days", when the king, having worshipped his ancestors, was in turn worshipped first by his family and then by the assembled court. He might be a haughty and murderous tyrant, but if the lowliest cleric in the realm entered, he must leave his throne, kneel, and, at the holy man's bidding, recall the death sentence he had just uttered. There was in Upper Burma a complete social, religious and political system of appreciable vitality, and two instances (divorce and clerical discipline) will show what the annexation swept away.

Burmese divorce is by mutual consent, but under native rule it required the concurrence of the village headman, who imposed delays and levied fees; under English rule these formed no part of his duties, and already in 1850 Phayre, noting the deplorable increase in divorce, attributed it to the removal of these checks.

The king was head of the Buddhist Church. His chaplain was a primate who prevented schism, managed church lands, and administered clerical discipline, through an ecclesiastical commission appointed and paid by the king. The primate prepared the annual clergy

list, giving particulars of age and ordination, district by district, and any person who claimed to be a cleric and was not in the list was punished. A district governor was precluded by benefit of clergy from passing judgment on a criminous cleric, but he framed the trial record and submitted it to the palace; the primate passed orders, unfrocking the cleric and handing him over to secular justice. In January, 1887, the primate and thirteen bishops met the commander-in-chief, Sir Frederick Roberts, offering to preach submission to the English in every village throughout the land, if their jurisdiction was confirmed. The staff trained by the English in Lower Burma for two generations included Burmese Buddhist extra assistant commissioners who could have represented the chief commissioner on the primate's board. But English administrators, being citizens of the modern secularist state, did not even consider the primate's proposal; they merely expressed polite benevolence, and the ecclesiastical commission lapsed. To-day schism is rife, any charlatan can dress as a cleric and swindle the faithful, and criminals often wear the robe and live in a monastery to elude the police. As Sir Edward Sladen, one of the few Englishmen who had seen native institutions as they really were, said, the English *non-possumus* was not neutrality but interference in religion.

The Province of Burma, 1852–1918

Lower Burma, embracing the three commissionerships, Pegu, Tenasserim, Arakan (which were mutually independent and corresponded, Pegu and Tenasserim with the Government of India, Arakan with the government of Bengal), in 1862 was formed into a single province, British Burma, with headquarters at Rangoon. Upper Burma was, after annexation in 1885, combined with Lower and styled the province of Burma, with headquarters at Rangoon. Its head was a chief commissioner (1862–97); thereafter a lieutenant-governor: General Sir Arthur Phayre (1862–7), General Fytche (1867–71), Mr Ashley Eden (1871–5), Mr Rivers Thompson (1875–8), Mr Charles Aitchison (1878–80), Mr Charles Bernard (1880–7), Mr Charles Crosthwaite (1887–90), Sir Alexander Mackenzie (1890–4), Sir Frederick Fryer (1895–1903), Sir Hugh Barnes (1903–5), Sir Herbert White (1905–10), Sir Harvey Adamson (1910–15), Sir Harcourt Butler (1915–17), Sir Reginald Craddock (1917–22); of these fourteen, eleven were appointed from India without previous experience of the province. Legislative power was reserved to the Government of India until 1897, when the Burma Legislative Council was constituted, a small body with an official majority and limited powers.

Until 1886 the head of the province had one secretary and disposed of all non-judicial work through district officers. He now has three secretaries, a financial commissioner (1888) as chief revenue authority,

a commissioner of settlements and land records (1900) as head of the settlement department created in 1873, an excise commissioner (1906), a registrar of co-operative societies (1904), and a director of agriculture (1906). The creation of the great centralised departments has resulted in the execution of work which the district officer left undone; the belief that his power has diminished will not bear examination.

By 1862, the year in which subdivisions were created and assistant commissioners first stationed outside district headquarters, the district officer was styled deputy-commissioner, and the distinction between circle headman and township officer had crystallised; the circle headman remained a vernacular villager with only revenue powers, the township officer became a salaried civil servant with both judicial and revenue powers, and he began to learn English. Two-thirds of the Burma Commission were Indian civilians, one-third soldiers and uncovenanted.

The deputy-commissioner was in direct charge of the police until 1861 when an inspector-general of police was created, with a superintendent of police in each district. Till 1887 the force was inefficient and expensive, because the village community had been destroyed and its headman deprived of police powers, and because early superintendents, being subalterns from the Indian Army, did not speak the language and filled the ranks with Indians. In 1887 the village headman was given police powers, and the police were divided into two: the civil police, consisting of Burmans, undertakes detection; the military police, consisting of Indians, garrisons outposts and guards treasuries. The creation of an excise department in 1902 relieved the police of excise duties. English policy is to discourage intoxicants by making them expensive, and incidentally to raise revenue. Native policy was prohibitionist in theory, but drink and opium were not uncommon in practice. Burmese opinion is that indulgence has greatly increased and produces so large a revenue that the English wish it to be so. In reality the excise department has prevented an increase in the use of opium and has kept the increase of drink within bounds. English officers have only legal powers, whereas under native rule high officials were leaders of society, nor had the influx of immigrants, many of whom belong to drinking races, taken place.

The local regiments—Arakan Local Battalion, Pegu Light Infantry, Pegu Sapper Battalion—were disbanded on the creation of the police service in 1861. Save for the *corps d'élite*, a Burmese company of Sappers and Miners raised in 1887, no further recruiting occurred till the great war, when 8500 men were formed into rifle battalions, mechanical transport, and labour corps, and, with the sappers, served overseas. The rifle units were recruited chiefly from the tribal areas; few Burmans joined, and fewer stood the discipline. Yet in pre-British times the race had a fighting record, and in the first generation of

English rule regimental officers thought well of the Burmese sepoys they led against insurgents and frontier tribes—their marksmanship, courage, initiative, endurance, and a cheerfulness which increased with hardship. But since the post-Mutiny reorganisation the Indian Army avoids small racial units speaking obscure languages.

In 1862 the chief commissioner, himself constituting a Chief Court, had three commissioners, who were sessions and divisional judges, trying murder cases and second civil appeals; twelve deputy-commissioners, who were district magistrates and district judges, trying cases not requiring over seven years' imprisonment, major civil suits, and first civil appeals; and a hundred subordinate executive officers, mostly natives, trying minor criminal and most civil original cases. Recorders existed in Rangoon (1864–1900) and Moulmein (1864–72); a recorder was an English barrister district and sessions judge subject to the Calcutta High Court. A judicial commissioner, appointed in 1872 with Chief Court powers (save over the recorder), relieved the chief commissioner of all judicial functions. In 1890 a judicial commissioner was appointed for Upper Burma. In 1900 the judicial commissioner, Lower Burma, and recorder, Rangoon, were abolished and a Chief Court for Lower Burma constituted. The first general step towards separation of judiciary and executive occurred in 1905 in Lower Burma, where population and work are greatest: a separate judicial service was created, commissioners ceased to exercise judicial functions and deputy-commissioners and their executive assistants tried only major criminal cases. In Upper Burma commissioners and deputy-commissioners still try most criminal and some civil cases. Although in some respects Western legal training unfits a man to administer justice among backward Eastern peoples, and few of the judiciary know sufficient English to master a voluminous legal literature, the tendency is for judicial administration to become increasingly complex and for case-law to swamp the codes. The system has helped to create a class of denationalised native lawyer who shows little skill save in raising obstructions and procuring perjury. For long it was usual to appoint as judges men who had failed as executive officers. Sir Charles Bernard said there were no High Courts in the British Empire where the atmosphere was so unreal; in successive annual pronouncements he condemned frequent interference in appeal as showing perfunctory appellate work, which encouraged frivolous appeals and increased crime. In Upper Burma, a man could be tortured to death on summary trial, until the day of the annexation; almost from the day after, he could not even be fined without a prolonged trial and appeals, and Sir Charles Crosthwaite was dismayed at the appointment of a judicial commissioner to Mandalay while fighting was still in progress. The dacoit leader Nga Ya Nyun pounded infants in rice mortars under their mothers' eyes, roasted old women between the legs, and ate his prisoners alive; in 1890 he

was sentenced to death at Myingyan on evidence which would have satisfied a home judge and jury in twenty minutes, but the judicial commissioner in appeal was with difficulty induced, after prolonged quibbling, to imprison him. The belief that appellate interference was less common in the old days is contrary to facts: confirmations rose from 54 per cent. in 1864 to 68 per cent. in 1918.

Public works officers had always existed in the garrison engineers of important districts, but by 1862 there was a complete civil cadre under a chief engineer; relying partly on jail labour, they laid out Rangoon; in 1864–83 they built the great delta embankments, and after 1885 they extended the native irrigation system of Upper Burma. The single railway line from Rangoon reached Prome in 1877, Toungoo in 1885, Mandalay in 1889, Myitkyina in 1898, Lashio in 1902, Moulmein in 1907. But there is no railway communication with India or Siam; there are still barely 2000 miles of metalled road, less than in a London suburb, in a province twice the area of the British Isles; and anywhere, after a century of English rule, one can ride for days—in the dry season, for in the rains one cannot ride a furlong—without meeting a road or a bridge. The huge lead-silver mines of the Northern Shan States are near a railway; the oil-fields of Yenangyaung are on the Irawadi River; the wolfram mines of Tavoy are near the sea; but elsewhere minerals lie untouched, and agricultural development is hampered for lack of communications. As each conquest (1826, 1852, 1885) was an overseas operation, the cost of which was not recovered for a generation, the Government of India had to recoup itself by seizing the surplus revenues of Burma, which would have been ample to provide communications, although population was scarce and labour cost thrice ordinary Indian rates.

It was on a reference from McClelland, superintendent of forests, Pegu, that Dalhousie in 1855 enunciated the forest policy of India. And it was in Pegu that Sir Dietrich Brandis, arriving in 1856, laid the foundations of the Indian forest department, in the teeth of European firms' opposition, and trained his great successor, Sir William Schlich. The forests of Burma are among the finest in the world; thanks to state ownership they remain one of her principal assets and provide much of her revenue; one-fourth of the Indian forest service is concentrated in Burma.

In 1865 Phayre said that the true line of educational advance lay not in Anglo-vernacular schools but in improving vernacular schools, of which the Buddhist clergy had spread a network over the country —save among the wild tribes, every village in Burma has its cleric, and his monastery is the village school, so that for centuries, though learning has been rare, most men and many women have been able to read and even to write. In 1866 a director of public instruction was appointed to execute Phayre's scheme; but the director spoke little Burmese, the clergy spoke no English; the director had no staff, the

clergy had no central authority; most were either apathetic, or distrustful of new-fangled methods proposed by alien infidels, nor might a cleric take instructions from a mere layman, who must, indeed, address him in an attitude of adoration. The director could not spend even the limited funds at his disposal, and in 1871 the chief commissioner, regretting that he had no power to appoint a central authority, consisting of clergy, to restore ecclesiastical discipline and improve education, abandoned Phayre's plan and instituted lay vernacular schools. Since 1875, when he received his first inspector, the director has developed a staff, but his energies are concentrated upon Anglo-vernacular schools, and there is a complete break in continuity between the atmosphere of the home and the school, between the traditions of the race and the only progressive education in the country. Yet it is the people themselves who insist on the teaching of English. In the very year of their foundation the earliest lay vernacular schools were found to be surreptitiously teaching English, and English officers who prevented this were regarded as reactionaries. Although a backward agricultural country provided no employment for Anglo-vernacular youths save in government offices, the growing complexity of English administration could for long more than absorb the whole product of the schools; in 1869 the chief commissioner said he did not wish to reserve office to the product of mission schools, but nowhere else could he get qualified candidates. Rangoon Government High School, a secular school founded in 1873, produced its first graduate and developed into Rangoon College, affiliated to Calcutta University, in 1884.

Minor operations continued after the annexation of Pegu in 1852 because, though Talaings and Karens welcomed the English, the Burmese were doubtful, and the higher strata of society—district governors, circle headmen—ceased to exist. In 1826 these had thrown in their lot with the English and suffered terrible vengeance when the incredible happened and the English withdrew. Consequently in 1852 their successors remained loyal to their king and retreated before the English, taking many of the people with them to Upper Burma. Simultaneously the anarchic forces in society broke loose, forming powerful dacoit gangs, who became popular heroes now that government was foreign; their atrocities finally alienated support, but several survived till 1868, and in 1875 a gang, having visited Mandalay palace, gave out that it had received royal recognition, harried Pegu subdivision, and killed the inspector-general of police in action.

Pegu, a thinly populated area of swamp and forest in 1852, is now one of the principal rice-exporting areas of the world. The clearance of its malarious jungles was the achievement of Burmese pioneers, many of them Upper Burmans; they were aided by temporary seasonal migration from India, especially south India, which rose from 60,000 in 1868 to 300,000 in 1918, making Rangoon second only

to New York as an immigrant port. The population of Pegu rose from 700,000 in 1852 to 1,500,000 in 1867, and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 provided a further stimulus; Syriam district grew 400,000 acres of rice in 1869, 700,000 in 1874, and the total rice-area in Lower Burma rose from one and a half million acres in 1869 to nine million to-day. Rangoon, with a population of 25,000 in 1852, had 330,000 in 1918 and is rapidly challenging Calcutta as second port in India. Development on such a scale would have been impossible under native rule, and although Europeans made fortunes, most of the monetary wealth thus created went into native pockets. But, as England found during the Industrial Revolution, unchecked individualist development tends to become anti-social; and whereas in sovereign countries the tendency is checked by the conservative forces in society, in subject countries these forces have been overthrown. The Irawadi Delta, where two-thirds of the crop is exported, and the population consists largely of homeless coolies, leaderless men, provides Burma with most of her crime. In England highway robbery, the nearest approach to the mediaeval crime of dacoity, disappeared a century ago, and all crime has decreased for generations; the annual incidence of murder (including infanticide) decreased from 5·7 per million people in 1857–66 to 4·3 in 1908–12. In Burma the annual incidence of murder (including murder by robbers and dacoits), and of dacoity, per million people, is

	Murder	Dacoity
1871–5	25·9	19·4
1876–80	26·5	11·6
1881–5	35·4	20·6
1886–90	war (Upper Burma) and rebellion (Lower)	
1891–5	30·1	29·2
1896–1900	24·8	9·5
1901–05	26·5	6·3
1906–10	32·0	9·4
1911–15	39·0	14·6
1916–18	39·7	16·0

Caste, purdah, Hinduism and Muhammadanism, with their paralysing strife, are unknown in Burma. But, though nine of her thirteen million inhabitants are Burmese Buddhists, fourteen indigenous languages are spoken, and a sixth of her inhabitants, covering a third of her area (chiefly in the hills), are Shans, Chins, Kachins, Karens, etc., who have immemorial feuds with the Burmese. In these areas Burmans will not serve, the staff is European, and the administration has often the forms, and sometimes the spirit, of indirect rule; thus, major chieftains in the Shan States retain powers of life and death, and administer their native customary law, not the English codes. Slavery and human sacrifice survive in unadministered areas west of Myitkyina and east of Lashio.

for the Burmese themselves, what differentiates Burma from most of India is that the peoples of India have been commingled by repeated invasion, whereas the Burmese, inhabiting a geographical backwater, invaded seldom, and only by kindred races, developed what may fairly be called a nation state, and possess a national consciousness. The Anglo-Indian conquerors found in Burma a language and society unlike anything to which they were accustomed, and Western education was non-existent. Having to construct an administration at short notice, they brought over their subordinate Indian staff; and, finding Lower Burma largely an unoccupied waste, they encouraged Indian coolie immigration, paying shipowners, until 1884, a capitation fee on each Indian immigrant. Burmese resentment is acute, and successive lieutenant-governors now insist on the employment of Burmans. Indians still bulk large in subordinate medical and engineering staffs, but have been eliminated from general administration. As for European employment, the incidence of imperial service officers (all departments) rose from one in 26,000 people in 1850 to one in 20,000 in 1900, a year moreover when, of 142 police inspectors (on Rs. 150 monthly) outside Rangoon, eighty-two were European. A Burman first became a subdivisional magistrate in 1880, a deputy-commissioner in 1908, a chief court judge in 1917. Municipalities, created in 1875, have no vitality outside Rangoon; Ripon's scheme of rural autonomy could not be applied, owing to the paucity of the English-speaking public, and district boards have never existed. The administrative machine is a modern machine, needing modern minds to work it, and down to 1918 Burma has produced only 400 graduates.

Tribal rebellions in the Chin hills (1917–19), precipitated by recruiting, occupied 5000 troops. Otherwise the late war left Burma so unruffled that after Thibaw died in 1916, a state prisoner near Bombay, Supayalat was allowed to return to Burma. Burma's war contribution was not men but raw material—wolfram, and the three staples (rice, teak, petroleum). The forest department supplied the Admiralty direct, and in its need of food the home market offered such prices that no rice would have been left in the province had not government prohibited its export, save under official control for the benefit of the Food Ministry.

CHAPTER XXV

THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER, 1843–1918

THE conquest of Sind in 1843 and the annexation of the Panjab in 1849, by advancing the British administrative boundary across the Indus, made it coterminous with the territories of the Baluch and Pathan tribes, and eventually brought the Government of India into closer contact with the khan of Kalat and the amir of Afghanistan. Thus there grew up two distinct schools of frontier administration, the Sind and the Panjab. The policy adopted in Sind can be roughly described as an uncompromising repression of outrages by a strong military force; the success of the Panjab system depended to a very large extent upon an efficient political management of the tribes.

Having crushed the power of the amirs, Sir Charles Napier immediately set to work to place Sind under a military administration, selecting his subordinates not from the ranks of the civil service but from the soldiers who had helped him in the conquest of the country. This arrangement naturally had its disadvantages, and, like the conquest of Sind, became the subject of embittered controversy. The most exposed part of the Sind frontier stretched for a distance of about 150 miles from Kasmore to the northern spurs of the Hala mountains, but, at first, no troops were stationed here, neither was it thought necessary to place anyone in charge of it. This immediately led to marauding incursions by Bugtis from the Kachhi hills and Dombkis and Jakranis from the Kachhi plain, who entered Sind in bands of five hundred or more, plundering and burning villages far inside the British borders. An attempt was therefore made to grapple with the problem by building forts and posting detachments of troops at certain points, and by appointing an officer to command this vulnerable part of the border. But these measures did not prove effective. Disorder reigned supreme. On several occasions British troops were signally defeated by these robber bands and once about sixty of the local inhabitants, who had turned out in a body to protect their homes, were mistaken for robbers and put to death by the 6th Bengal Irregular Cavalry, the very force which had been posted there for their protection.[1] Eventually, in 1845, Sir Charles Napier led an expedition against these disturbers of the peace, but it was only a qualified success. The Bugtis were by no means crushed, for, on 10 December, 1846, about 1500 of these freebooters marched into Sind, where they remained for twenty-four hours before returning to their hills, seventy-five miles away, with 15,000 head of cattle. It can

Tribal raids.

[1] *Records of Scinde Irregular Horse*, 1, 275.

be safely stated that, until the arrival of Major John Jacob and the Scinde Irregular Horse, in January, 1847, no efficient protection had been afforded to British subjects along this exposed frontier.

According to Jacob, the fact that the inhabitants of the British border districts were allowed to carry arms was chiefly responsible for the prevailing unrest, for they too were in the habit of proceeding on predatory excursions. Some of the worst offenders were the Baluch tribes from the Kachhi side, who had been settled in Sind by Napier in 1845. Strange to relate, the marauders from across the border disposed of most of their loot in Sind where the banias supplied them with food and the necessary information to ensure the success of their raids. What was worse, the military detachments stationed at Shahpur and other places remained entirely on the defensive, prisoners within the walls of their own forts, for no attempt was made at patrolling the frontier. In 1848, Major, afterwards General, John Jacob was appointed to sole political power on the Upper Sind frontier where he completely revolutionised Napier's system. Under Jacob's vigorous and capable administration, lands which had lain waste for over half a century were cultivated once more, and the people, who had lived in constant dread of Baluch inroads, moved about everywhere unarmed and in perfect safety. All British subjects were disarmed in order to prevent them taking the law into their own hands, but, as the possession of arms in a man's own house was not forbidden, the people were not left so entirely defenceless as is sometimes supposed.[1] No new forts were built and existing ones were dismantled, for Jacob believed that the depredations of Baluch robbers could be best checked by vigilant patrolling, to which the desert fringe of Sind was admirably adapted. In other words, mobility was the system of defence. At first Jacob advocated that the political boundary should coincide with the geographical. His contention was based on the supposed permanency of the latter, but the gradual disappearance of the desert as a result of increased cultivation caused him to alter his opinion.[2] Although Jacob, in his military capacity, commanded all troops on this frontier and was responsible to no one but the commander-in-chief, his duties did not cease here. Not only was he the sole political agent, but he was in addition superintendent of police, chief magistrate, engineer, and revenue officer.

It is now generally accepted that Jacob's methods were inapplicable to the Panjab where frontier administrators were faced by a much more formidable problem. The first colossal mistake on the Panjab frontier was the initial step, the taking over of the frontier districts from the Sikhs, and the acceptance of an ill-defined administrative boundary. Indeed, it was extremely unfortunate for the British that the Sikhs had been their immediate predecessors in the Panjab, for

[1] *Records of Scinde Irregular Horse*, II, 243.
[2] *Views and Opinions of General John Jacob* (ed. Pelly), p. 74.

Sikh frontier administration had been of the loosest type. They possessed but little influence in the trans-Indus tracts, and what little authority they had was confined to the plains. Even here they were obeyed only in the immediate vicinity of their forts which studded the country. Peshawar was under the stern rule of General Avitable whose criminal code was blood for blood, whose object was the sacrifice of a victim rather than the punishment of a culprit. Hazara groaned under the iron heel of General Hari Singh who was able to collect revenue only by means of annual incursions into the hills. Hence, on the Panjab frontier the British succeeded to a heritage of anarchy, for the Sikhs had waged eternal war against the border tribes and even against the inhabitants of the so-called settled districts. The administration of the Panjab frontier was further complicated by geographical conditions which offered every inducement to a marauding life. Not only was the frontier longer and therefore more difficult to defend, but it was also extremely mountainous, whereas in Sind a strip of desert intervened between British territory and the haunts of the Baluch robbers, facilitating the employment of cavalry and the use of advanced posts. In the Panjab rich harvests waved in dangerous proximity to the intricate maze of nullahs and valleys which gave access to the plains.

The aims of the Panjab authorities were to protect their subjects from the attacks of marauding bands, to keep the trade-routes open, and, as far as possible, to secure the tranquillity of the hitherto blood-stained border. It was imperative to put a stop to the state of affairs then in existence; and, in order to give the Pathans an impression of their strength, the British were forced to resort to reprisals. There could be no peace while raids were constantly taking place and individual acts of fanaticism rendered the life of any government servant unsafe. The evidence of Mr, afterwards Sir, Richard Temple, one of Lawrence's assistants in the Panjab, points to the fact that the tribes were absolutely incorrigible. He accuses them of giving asylum to fugitives from justice, of violating British territory, of blackmail and intrigue, of minor robberies, and of isolated murders of British subjects. Finally he charges them with firing on British regular troops and even with killing British officers within the limits of the Panjab.[1] On the other hand, the policy of Panjab administrators was one of forbearance, for, although British officials were prevented from entering tribal territory, the tribesmen were allowed to trade within the British borders. It seems clear that for over twenty-five years no official of the Panjab government crossed the border; they were certainly discouraged from doing so. Whatever the merits of this policy may have been, it was evidently a concession to the susceptibilities of the tribesmen, and intended in the interests of peace. The

[1] Temple, *Report showing relations of the British Government with the tribes of the N.-W.F.* 1849–55, 1856, pp. 63–4.

permission to trade and the provision of medical and other assistance to tribesmen entering the Panjab were certainly attempts to promote friendly relations. But the contumacious attitude of the tribesmen themselves eventually drove the British to resort to reprisals and resulted in a state of chronic warfare for many years. Of course it could not be expected that they would immediately cease from harassing the border: the customs and habits of centuries are not so easily thrown on one side. Thus the first step of the Panjab authorities was a defensive measure; the next was an attempt at conciliation, to show the tribesmen how they would benefit by becoming friendly neighbours.

Various conciliatory methods were adopted. The hated capitation tax of Sikh days and all frontier duties were abolished; a system of complete freedom of trade was instituted, and commercial intercourse encouraged in every way. Steps were taken to protect and increase the Powindah trade; fairs were held for the exchange of commodities; roads were constructed from the passes to the nearest bazaars; and steam communication was established on the upper Indus. Free medical treatment was provided in the hospitals and dispensaries established at various points along the frontier; tribal maliks and jirgas were encouraged to enter British territory for the settlement of their disputes; and attempts were made to colonise waste lands with families from across the border. Lastly, the ranks of the army and police were thrown open for all those desirous of entering British service.[1]

Because the Panjab frontier was too long and too mountainous to admit of its being defended by the military alone, much depended upon the political management of the tribes. At first there was no special agency for dealing with the tribal tracts, and relations with the tribesmen were conducted by the deputy-commissioners of the six districts of Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan, and Dera Ghazi Khan. In 1876 the three northern districts formed the commissionership of Peshawar, the three southern ones that of the Derajat. The system of political agencies was not adopted until 1878, when a special officer was appointed for the Khyber during the second Afghan War. Kurram became an agency in 1892, while the three remaining agencies of the Malakand, Tochi, and Wana were created between 1895 and 1896. The Malakand was placed under the direct control of the Government of India from the outset, all the other agencies remaining under the Panjab government. This was the arrangement until the creation of the Frontier Province in 1901.

To protect the frontier a chain of forts was erected along the British borders, parallel to which a good military road was constructed. A special force, the Panjab Frontier Force, was recruited from Sikhs, Pathans, Gurkhas, and Panjabi Mussulmans, and was placed, not

[1] *Panjab Administration Report*, 1869–70, p. 21.

under the commander-in-chief, but under the Board of Administration.[1] It was not until 1886 that this force was amalgamated with the regular army. In addition, the inhabitants of the frontier districts were allowed to retain their arms, and were encouraged to defend their homes.

Three methods of forcing the tribesmen to terms have been employed by the British: fines, blockades, and expeditions. The idea of inflicting a fine was to get compensation for plundered property and "blood-money" for lives lost. As a last resort the tribe was either blockaded or a punitive force was marched against it. Unfortunately, the cases in which a blockade can be successfully employed are extremely limited. To be completely successful, the blockading power must be in possession of the approaches to a country; it must be able to sever the arteries of trade and supplies; and must have the support or friendly co-operation of the surrounding tribes. From this it becomes apparent that the success of a blockade is largely determined by geographical conditions. This is the reason why the Adam Khel Afridis are so susceptible to this form of coercion. Surrounded by tribes with whom they have little in common; inhabiting hills within easy reach of the military stations of Kohat and Peshawar; and dependent upon their trade with British India for the necessaries of life, they are soon forced to come to terms.[2] The Panjab system of punitive expeditions has been most unfavourably criticised, but chiefly by exponents of the Sind School, such as Sir Bartle Frere, who condemned it because the whole tribe was punished for the offences of a few malcontents.[3] Frere, whose experience was confined to Sind, failed to recognise that the intensely democratic constitution of the majority of Pathan tribes rendered any distinction between the guilty and the innocent extremely difficult. Lord Lytton in his memorable minute of 22 April, 1877, condemned punitive expeditions as "a system of semi-barbarous reprisals", which had not always proved successful, even in the most limited sense.[4] Sir E. C. Bayley, a member of the viceroy's council, in his minute of dissent, pointed out that this attack was extremely unfair, for, in its inception, this policy had been forced upon the British as a natural consequence of Sikh misrule. Nevertheless, an examination of the causes leading up to frontier expeditions should bring the impartial student to the conclusion that there have been many occasions when the authorities in India have been only too ready to resort to punitive measures.

The existence of two distinct systems in two widely separated parts of the frontier, inhabited by tribes who differed considerably in characteristics and constitution, was a necessity. But, in the Dera

[1] *Panjab Administration Report*, 1892–3, pp. 32–3; *Confidential Frontier and Overseas*, 1, vi–vii.
[2] Davies, "Coercive Measures on the Indian Borderland", *Army Quarterly*, April, 1928, pp. 81–95.
[3] Martineau, *Life of Sir Bartle Frere*, 1, 363–8.
[4] *Parl. Papers*, 1878, LVIII (C. 1898), 142.

Ghazi Khan district, an anomalous state of affairs had grown up in the meeting-place of Pathan and Baluch tribal areas. Certain tribes, such as the Marris and Bugtis, came into contact with both systems of frontier policy, for their territories were contiguous to the Dera Ghazi Khan district of the Panjab and also to the Upper Sind frontier. Under the former system they received allowances; under the latter this was not the case. In the Panjab they held possessions on both sides of the administrative boundary; in Sind this was not allowed. Under the Sind system, military posts had been pushed far into the neighbouring hills, with the result that the Panjab boundary was in the rear of the Sind posts. In the Panjab the tribesmen were dealt with by special regulations framed in accordance with their customary laws, tribal system, and blood-feuds. The reverse was the case in Sind where no notice was taken of tribal ties or of local custom. There, the prosecution of a blood-feud was considered as malice aforethought, and no allowances were made in passing sentences in such cases. To settle this difficulty, a conference between Panjab and Sind officials took place at Mittankot, on 3 February, 1871. Another object of the conference was to determine the exact relations between the khan of Kalat and his sardars. The Sind authorities considered that they alone were responsible for political negotiations with the khan; and, acting under this belief, they had attempted to control the Marris and Bugtis through their legitimate chief. On the other hand, the Panjab government had no direct relations with Kalat, and compensation for offences committed by these tribes had been obtained through Sind. In 1867 Captain Sandeman, the deputy-commissioner of Dera Ghazi Khan, had entered into direct relations with these tribes, which action had been followed by a period of peace on the Panjab frontier. Far otherwise was the case on the Sind frontier, where the absence of any definite engagements was considered as an excuse for marauding incursions. One flagrant case has been placed on record where a tribe, which had been prohibited from entering Sind, still remained in receipt of allowances on the Panjab frontier.[1] The conference resulted in the following proposals being placed before the Government of India. In future, Marri and Bugti tribal affairs should be placed under the control of Sandeman who, for this purpose, should consider himself subordinate to the Sind authorities. All payments to Marri and Bugti chiefs should be made in the name of the khan of Kalat. No decision was arrived at regarding the relations existing between the khan and his sardars. These recommendations were sanctioned by the Government of India on 19 October, 1871.

During the years 1872 to 1878 several important measures calculated to improve the administration of the frontier districts were introduced.[2] To ensure a better understanding between government

[1] *Parl. Papers*, 1877, LXIV (C. 1807), 77.
[2] *Idem*, 1878, LVIII (C. 1898), 68–76.

officials and the tribesmen, civil officers were obliged to qualify themselves by passing an examination in either Pashtu or Baluchi. In the interests of peace the nawab of Tank, a loyal but incompetent ally, was relieved of the police administration of his troublesome charge. To increase its efficiency the militia of the Derajat, a local force acting as an auxiliary to the Panjab Frontier Force, was reorganised; and, in 1878, as a result of a Defence Committee which met at Peshawar in 1877, measures creating a Border Police and Militia were sanctioned for parts of the Kohat and Peshawar districts. This meant that the procedure adopted at the annexation of the Panjab was reversed, for the militia now took the place of the military as a first line force. Lastly, with a view to their becoming industrious agriculturists, settlements or colonies of Afridis, Waziris, Gurchanis, Bhittannis, and Bugtis were formed in British territory. This has often been put forward as a solution to the frontier problem, but its success or failure depends upon the fierceness of the tribe and the distance it is removed from its original habitat. It has been tried with success in the Yusafzai country, but this cannot be said of the experiment in so far as the more turbulent Mahsud is concerned. This was the state of affairs on the Panjab frontier on the eve of the second Afghan War, in 1878. While this system of defence was being evolved in the north, great changes had been taking place on the southern frontier.

Relations between Kalat and the Government of India were regulated by the treaty of 14 May, 1854, which pledged the khan to abstain from negotiations with any other power, without first consulting the British; to receive British troops in Kalat whenever such a step should be thought necessary; to protect merchants passing through his territories; and to prevent his subjects from harassing the British borders. In return for this he received an annual subsidy of Rs. 50,000.[1] About the year 1869 it became apparent that Khudadad Khan, who had used this subsidy to raise a standing army, was attempting to increase his authority at the expense of his confederated chiefs; and, it was obvious that, if British support were withdrawn, Kalat would become the scene of internecine struggles.

"It is surely time for our government", wrote Sandeman in 1869, "to interfere when we find that the Khan of Khelat's mismanagement of his khanate has led to the peace and administration of that part of the Punjab border being placed in much jeopardy; for such truly is the case."[2]

By the end of 1871 the sardars were in open revolt against the khan's authority, and the anarchy prevailing in Kalat led to raids along the British borders. The climax was reached in 1873, when Major Harrison, the British agent, was recalled, and the khan's subsidy withheld, because he had failed to comply with the terms laid down in the treaty of 1854. Instead of sanctioning an expedition, the

[1] *Parl. Papers*, 1873, L.

[2] *Idem*, 1877, LXIV (C. 1807), 6.

Government of India decided to dispatch Sandeman on a mission of reconciliation to the khan's territories. It was Sandeman's second mission, in 1876, that led to the Mastung Agreement and the treaty of 1876, which marked the death of non-intervention on the southern frontier.[1] By the Mastung Agreement of July, 1876, the khan and his Brahui sardars were formally reconciled. The Treaty of Jacobabad, signed on 8 December of the same year, renewed and supplemented the treaty of 1854. In return for an increased subsidy the khan granted permission for the location of troops in, and the construction of railway and telegraph lines through, Kalat territory. The importance of the treaty lies in the fact that it was the foundation of the Baluchistan Agency, for on 21 February, 1877, Major Sandeman was appointed agent to the governor-general, with his headquarters at Quetta. Lord Lytton justified this advance on the ground that it was impossible to remain inert spectators of the anarchy in Kalat, when the connection between Kalat and Sind was so intimate that any disturbance in the one was immediately reflected in the other.

Sir Robert Sandeman's tribal policy was one of friendly and conciliatory intervention. Casting all fear on one side, he boldly advanced into their mountain retreats and made friends with the tribal chiefs or tumandars. Recognising that the British side of the question was not the only side, he never condemned the action of a tribe, until he had fully investigated its grievances. This had been impossible under a system of non-intervention which prohibited officers from entering the independent hills. The weakest part of his system was that it depended too much upon the personal influence of one man. There have not been wanting critics who have regarded his system of granting allowances as blackmail. This charge falls to the ground when it is remembered that those in receipt of allowances had strenuous duties to perform in the guarding of trade-routes and passes, and in the carrying out of jirga decrees. Allowances may be termed blackmail when they are granted solely to induce the tribesmen to abstain from raiding. Sandeman never withheld allowances because of offences committed by individual members of a tribe. He always demanded that the actual offenders should be brought to justice, that the guilty alone should be punished. This system was quite successful amongst Baluch tribes where there was some tribal chief powerful enough to enforce his authority. Its introduction by Mr R. I. Bruce, the Commissioner of the Derajat (1890–6), into Waziristan among the more democratic Mahsuds, where no such authority existed, ended in complete failure. Bruce, who had previously served under Sandeman, hoped that Mahsud maliks, chosen by him, would, in return for allowances, be able to control the ulus, the name given to the body of the Mahsud tribe.[2] But Bruce made a fatal mistake. He

[1] *Parl. Papers*, 1877 (C. 1808), pp. 255–7, 314–16.
[2] *Idem*, 1902 (C. 1177), pp. 125–7.

introduced his maliki system without first having occupied a commanding and central position in the Mahsud country. Sandeman, on the contrary, realised that the first essential was to dominate the Baluch country with troops. The policy of Sir Robert Warburton in the Khyber was similar to that of Sandeman, in that an attempt was made to gain the confidence of the surrounding tribes. But, in reality, the two systems were fundamentally different, for, in the Khyber, the object aimed at was the control of the pass. To this everything else was subordinated. It was not considered necessary to extend British control over the neighbouring tribes, though friendly intercourse was not forbidden. For this reason, in the Khyber, the British never interfered with the internal feuds of the Afridis, who were allowed to wage war, even within sight of the walls of Jamrud, so long as their struggles did not affect the protection of the pass.

It will be convenient at this stage to summarise the later history of Baluchistan, for, after 1890, interest chiefly centres in the Pathan frontier. By the Treaty of Gandammak, May, 1879, Pishin and Sibi were handed over to the Government of India by Yakub Khan as "assigned districts", which meant that any surplus of revenue over expenditure had to be handed back to the amir.[1] Although this treaty was abrogated by the massacre of Cavagnari and his escort, these areas were retained by the British, but were not declared British territory until 1887, when the agent to the governor-general was appointed chief commissioner for them. The ten years preceding Sandeman's death, in 1892, were marked by tremendous administrative activity. Communications were opened out in every direction, irrigation schemes were taken in hand, forests were developed, and arrangements made for the collection of land-revenue. In the administration of justice the indigenous system of jirgas, or councils of tribal elders, has been developed under British administration. Local cases are referred to local jirgas, while more important disputes are placed before inter-district jirgas, or before the Shahi Jirga, which meets twice a year, once at Sibi and once at Quetta. The province as now administered can be divided into British Baluchistan, consisting of the tracts assigned by the Treaty of Gandammak; agency territories, which have been acquired by lease or otherwise brought under the control of the Government of India; and the native states of Kalat and Las Bela.

Closely interwoven with the local question of tribal control is the more important problem of imperial defence. From the conquest of the Panjab, in 1849, frontier policy was in the hands of administrators of the Lawrence or "non-intervention" school, but the arrival of Lord Lytton, in 1876, marked the end of "masterly inactivity". It was the second Afghan War, 1878–80, and the consequent occupation of Afghan territory, that impressed upon statesmen the necessity for a

[1] Aitchison, *Treaties*, XI, 346.

scientific frontier. Military strategists became divided into two opposing camps, the Forward and the Stationary. Both these terms are unfortunate in that they can both be subdivided into the extremists and the moderates. The extreme section of the Forward School did not know where their advances would stop; the moderates desired the best possible strategic frontier with the least possible advance. On the other hand, the extreme advocates of non-intervention would have held the Indus line; the moderates were inclined to an advance, if it could have been proved to them that Russia constituted any real menace.

The essential function of any frontier is that of separation. But a good frontier, while serving this useful purpose, should at the same time constitute a line of resistance following, as far as possible, easily recognisable natural features, and avoiding sharp salients and re-entrants. If possible, it should also be based upon ethnic considerations. There are four possible lines of resistance on the Indian borderland: the river Indus; the old Sikh line, which roughly corresponds to the administrative boundary; the Durand line, delimited in 1893 and demarcated, as far as was possible, in the succeeding years; and the so-called scientific frontier stretching from Kabul through Ghazni to Kandahar. Military experts have waxed eloquent over what they have considered to be India's best line of defence. One thing however is certain: they have all erred in regarding it from a purely military point of view, when the problem should have been examined in all its aspects, military, political, ethnological, and financial.

Early writers went astray in supposing that the Indus was once the north-west frontier of India. This is the origin of the "Back to the Indus" cry. It can be safely asserted that the Indus frontier, in the literal sense of the term, never existed. The British inherited their frontier from the Sikhs who never held the river line, but the foothills towards the independent Pathan country. The greatest exponent of the Indus boundary was Lord Lawrence, who advocated meeting any invader in the valley of the Indus, for the longer distance an invading army had to march through Afghanistan and the tribal country, the more harassed it would be.[1] This contention is contrary to the opinion of the greatest military authorities who hold that a river is not a good line of defence in that it can always be forced by an enterprising general. The defensive capacity of rivers naturally varies, and depends very much upon whether the defenders' bank commands the other. This is not the case with the Indus, where the left bank is flat and is frequently commanded by the right. Although many of the defects of the old days have been remedied by improved communications in the rear, the natural defects still remain. The Indus is continually shifting its course, and, when in flood, overflows its bank for miles on either side. Again, the unhealthiness of the valley renders it unsuitable as

[1] *Parl. Papers*, 1878–9, LXXVII (73), 15.

an area for the concentration of troops. Perhaps the weightiest argument that can be brought forward against meeting an enemy on the banks of the Indus is the disastrous moral effect such a course would have upon the inhabitants of the Indian peninsula.

The present administrative boundary, besides violating ethnic considerations, breaks nearly every requirement of a good frontier. To give but one example: Peshawar and Kohat are separated by a sharp salient of independent territory, known as the Jowaki peninsula, through which narrow strip of Afridi country runs the road between these two important frontier outposts. This is a notorious example of the haphazard way in which the frontier was taken over from the Sikhs. Both here and in the Gumatti area, farther south, the boundary line should have been straightened out long ago.

The Durand line, which demarcates the respective spheres of influence of the amir and the Government of India over the frontier tribes, possesses no strategic value at all. The Khost salient between Kurram and Waziristan is but one of its many strategical imperfections. This disposes of three possible lines of resistance. The real frontier that the British are called upon to defend in India is the mountain barrier. To do so, it is essential to cross the Indus in order to prevent the enemy from debouching on to the plains. To defend a mountain barrier it is necessary to do more than this. The defenders must be in a position to see what is taking place on the other side. The greatest advance from the old red line of the maps was the result of Sandeman's work in Baluchistan. The strategic importance of Quetta must now be discussed.

The proposal to occupy Quetta dates back to the days of General John Jacob of Sind fame, who, in 1856, urged Lord Canning to garrison this important point of vantage, for, as he observed, this would enable the British to threaten the flank of any army advancing upon the Khyber.[1] In his letter of 18 October, 1856, Lord Canning rejected the proposal on the grounds that, surrounded by hostile tribes and cut off from its true base, the isolated position of the garrison would be extremely precarious. The next time, in 1866, the proposal emanated from Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Henry Green, the political superintendent of Upper Sind, but, unfortunately, it had to face the united opposition of Lord Lawrence and his council. Ten years passed. The exponents of "masterly inactivity" were no longer predominant in the viceroy's council-chamber; Khiva had fallen before Cossack hosts which were drawing nearer and nearer to the gates of India; and, more dangerous still, the estrangement of the amir Sher 'Ali had brought India and Afghanistan to the brink of war. Reference has already been made to the occupation of Quetta which served such a useful purpose during the second Afghan War. During this war the question of the so-called scientific frontier was broached: should the

[1] *Views and Opinions of General John Jacob* (ed. Pelly), p. 349.

British hold the Kabul, Ghazni, Kandahar line? Some extremists advocated the retention of all the recent conquests in Afghanistan; others recommended a complete withdrawal, even to the banks of the Indus. Amongst the moderates the stumblingblock was the retention of, or withdrawal from, Kandahar. The question was further complicated by a discussion as to the relative merits and demerits of the Khyber, Kurram, and Bolan as channels of communication with Afghanistan.[1]

The retention of Kandahar was advocated on military, political, and commercial grounds. Situated at the junction of roads leading to Kabul and to Herat, Kandahar dominated the whole of southern Afghanistan. Easily defensible, with a good water supply, its garrison would not be called upon to endure great hardships. A strongly fortified Kandahar would not only threaten the flank of any force advancing by way of Kabul towards the Khyber, but forces advancing simultaneously from Kabul and Herat would also be isolated. The majority of minutes written in support of retention entirely ignored the financial side of the question, and refused to acknowledge that permanent occupation would entail a drain of money and men. But would the occupation of Kandahar have been the end of an advance into Afghanistan? It was predicted that the defence of Kandahar would necessitate the occupation of Girishk and Kalat-i-Ghilzai, in which case the British would have been called upon to defend a frontier as unscientific as the one it was proposed to abandon, for both ran along the foothills of a wild, mountainous country.[2] Some even went so far as to assert that the British advance would not cease until Herat had been reached, for the greatest difficulty confronting the Forward School would be to know where to stop. Fortunately the counsels of the moderates prevailed. They realised that the recent acquisitions in Baluchistan would enable the British to occupy this position whenever it became necessary, for in their eyes the importance of Kandahar was a war-time importance only. Furthermore, the later extension of the railway to New Chaman advanced the British borders to the Khwaja Amran range, beyond which a broad desert stretched to the walls of Kandahar. Closely connected with the Kandahar question was the proposal to occupy the Kabul, Ghazni, Kandahar line, which was the outcome of a desire to discover the best possible line of defence against invasion from the direction of Central Asia. It was argued, that, if this line were connected with the main Indian railway system, troops could be rapidly concentrated on either flank. Neither the right flank nor the left could be turned, for the northern was protected by an almost impenetrable maze of mountains, the southern by an impassable desert. The retirement already

[1] Davies, "An Imperial Problem", *Army Quarterly*, October, 1927, pp. 28–41; see also *Parl. Papers*, 1881, LXX, 67.

[2] *Parl. Papers*, 1881, LXX (C. 2776), 91.

referred to necessitated the abandonment of this frontier. The British scheme of defence against Russia was settled not by military strategists, but by diplomatists. The steady advance of Russia towards the northern frontiers of Afghanistan brought about a compromise between the Forward and Stationary Schools, and it was decided to build up a strong, friendly, united Afghanistan to serve as a buffer state. By means of an annual subsidy, together with gifts of arms and ammunition, an attempt was made to form a closer and more intimate alliance with the amir. At the same time the frontiers of Afghanistan were strictly defined by international agreement; and, as long as British control of Afghan foreign affairs continued, any violation of the amir's northern frontier by Russia would have been tantamount to a declaration of war.

This settlement of the imperial problem by no means settled the local problem of tribal control. The causes of unrest on the Indian borderland are geographical, economic, religious and political. Certain factors, such as the geographical and economic, have been operative from the dawn of history: others, such as the arms' traffic, are of more recent origin. As long as hungry tribesmen inhabit barren and almost waterless hills, which command open and fertile plains, so long will they resort to plundering incursions in order to obtain the necessaries of life. The rich *daman* (plain) of Dera Ismail Khan is a case in point. The greater part of Waziristan is a region of stony nullahs and barren *raghzas* (plateaux), with only occasional stretches of cultivated land in the warmer valleys. In close proximity lie the fertile plains of the Derajat, while to the south runs the famous Powindah caravan route from Ghazni and the bazaars of Central Asia. Thus the plundering of caravans and the raiding of the *daman* have been forced upon the Mahsud by his environment. In the cold weather, from November to April, the tribesmen enter British India to engage in agricultural labour and for the purpose of trade. In April they receive their allowances, after which they return to their hills. For this reason, "the political barometer of the North-West Frontier is always more nearly at 'fair' in April than at any other season of the year".[1] Therefore, the hot season, when no hostages remain in British territory, is the Pathans' opportunity.

Although it is often stated that the economic factor is at the root of almost every frontier disturbance, a close study of the problem should convince anyone that political propaganda, especially from 1890 onwards, has been the most potent cause of unrest. It has been Afghan intrigues, either instigated directly from Kabul with the full cognizance of the amir, or carried on by his local officials, which have from time to time incited the tribes to rebel against the British raj. The colony of Hindustani fanatics, which for years disturbed the peace of the Hazara border and which was reinforced by a steady stream of

[1] *Secret Border Report*, 1917–18, p. 1.

recruits from Bengal and other parts of India, is a notorious example of anti-British intrigues originating in British India.

Considerable unrest has also been produced by the practice of dealing with the tribes through *arbabs*, or Pathan "middlemen". This system, the adoption of which was to a certain extent inevitable in the early days of British rule, when officers were ignorant of the language and customs of the tribes, was one of the evils inherited from the Sikhs. In the year 1877 a raid, committed by Bunerwals on the Yusafzai border, was traced to the direct instigation of Ajab Khan, a "middleman" and leading khan of the Peshawar district. One of the chief causes of trouble on the Kohat borders before the Miranzai expeditions of 1891 was that a local "middleman", the khan of Hangu, had stirred up discontent amongst the very tribes for whose peaceful conduct he was responsible.[1]

Throughout the 'nineties of the last century, especially from 1895 onwards, the frontier districts were abnormally disturbed. There were two main reasons for this: the forward policy pursued under Lord Lansdowne and Lord Elgin, and the intrigues of the amir of Afghanistan. By the year 1889 Sandeman had extended British control over the Bori and Zhob valleys, to the south of the Gumal pass. The occupation of Zhob was of paramount importance from a military, political, and commercial standpoint. Not only did it shorten the British line of defence and prevent raiding gangs from escaping into Afghanistan, but it also served as a protection for the Gumal trade-route. In the year 1890 the Gumal river, from Domandi to its junction with the Zhob stream, was declared the boundary between Baluchistan and the Panjab frontier zone.

The opening years of the 'nineties witnessed punitive expeditions against the Shiranis inhabiting the slopes of the Takht-i-Sulaiman; the Orakzai clans in the neighbourhood of the Samana range; the Isazai tribes of the ill-omened Black Mountain;[2] and the petty chiefs, or thums, of Hunza and Nagar.[3] Far more important than these petty wars was the peaceful acquisition of the Kurram valley, which was taken over, in 1892, at the request of its Turi inhabitants. This active policy along the entire length of the British border, especially its later developments, not only alarmed the tribesmen whose independence has ever been their proudest boast, but it also thoroughly alarmed the amir, Abd-ur-rahman Khan, with the result that, between 1890 and 1898, Anglo-Afghan relations were so strained, that on several occasions war seemed imminent. When it is realised that the inhabitants of the frontier hills, with rare exceptions, are orthodox Muhammadans of the Sunni sect, and are, in many cases, of the same racial stock as the people of south-eastern Afghanistan, it becomes

[1] *Parl. Papers*, 1890–1, LIX (C. 6526), 8–9.
[2] Mason, *Expedition against Isazai clans*; *Parl. Papers*, 1890–1, LIX (C. 6526), pt II.
[3] Durand, *The Making of a Frontier*; *Parl. Papers*, 1892, LVIII (C. 6621).

apparent that the amir has been able to show his displeasure by exploiting the marauding proclivities of these turbulent tribesmen. For this reason, it was fortunate for the British during the Mutiny that diplomatic negotiations had resulted in the Anglo-Afghan Treaty of 1855 and the Agreement of January, 1857. The outbreak of war with Afghanistan in 1878 was the signal for increased disturbances throughout the tribal zone. The Hazara border was in a perpetual ferment; the Khyber was constantly raided by Zakka Khels and Mohmands; Zaimushts harassed the Kohat line of communications; and Mahsuds from the heart of Waziristan raided and laid waste the country in the vicinity of Tank.

For some time before the dispatch of the Durand Mission to Kabul, in 1893, it had been rumoured abroad that the British were desirous of a more exact delimitation of the Indo-Afghan frontier. This knowledge may have led to the increase of the amir's intrigues in Zhob and Waziristan. It undoubtedly prompted Abd-ur-rahman Khan to write a letter to the viceroy, in which he warned Lord Lansdowne of the results of a more forward policy.

"If you should cut them out of my dominions", he wrote, "they will neither be of any use to you nor to me. You will always be engaged in fighting or other trouble with them, and they will always go on plundering. As long as your government is strong and in peace, you will be able to keep them quiet by a strong hand, but if at any time a foreign enemy appear on the borders of India, these frontier tribes will be your worst enemies. . . . In your cutting away from me these frontier tribes, who are people of my nationality and my religion, you will injure my prestige in the eyes of my subjects, and will make me weak, and my weakness is injurious for your government.[1]"

The Durand Agreement of 1893 resulted in the delimitation of a boundary, afterwards known as the Durand line, across which neither the amir nor the Government of India was to interfere in any way. The importance of this agreement has been somewhat overrated. It is true that by putting an end to the existing uncertainty the demarcation of this boundary should have considerably facilitated frontier administration, but frontier history, since 1893, shows that this agreement has not only increased the responsibilities of the Government of India, but has also increased the chances of collision with the tribes and of war with the amir. The new boundary line was not based upon sound topographical data, for, during the process of demarcation, it was discovered that certain places, marked on the Durand map, did not exist on the actual ground. Many ethnic absurdities were perpetrated, such as the handing over to the amir of the Birmal tract of Waziristan, peopled by Darwesh Khel Waziris, the majority of whom were included within the British sphere of influence. The worst blunder of all was the arrangement by which the boundary cut the Mohmand tribal area into two separate parts. It seems certain that

[1] Abd-ur-rahman, *Autobiography*, II, 158.

this could not have been a tripartite agreement, for there is no evidence that the tribesmen were consulted before 1893. To give but one example: it was not until the year 1896 that the Halimzai, Kamali, Dawezai, Utmanzai, and Tarakzai Mohmands, afterwards known as the eastern or "assured" clans, accepted the political control of the Government of India.[1] In all probability the political issues at stake occasioned this sacrifice of ethnological requirements. If the amir had not been promised the Birmal tract, it is quite likely that he would have refused his consent to the inclusion of Wana within the British sphere of influence. In the light of subsequent events it is difficult to understand the reasons which prompted the amir to sign this agreement. It may have been that the increase of his subsidy to eighteen lakhs of rupees, and the recognition of his right to import munitions of war, bribed him into acquiescence.

While these negotiations were taking place Chitral became the scene of fratricidal conflicts. On his death, in 1892, Aman-ul-mulk, the Mehtar of Chitral, had been succeeded by one of his sons, Afzal-ul-mulk, who, after a short reign of two months and seven days, was slain by his uncle, Sher Afzal, who had been allowed to escape from Kabul where he had been living as a pensioner of the amir. Sher Afzal held the reins of government until he was ousted from his position by his nephew, Nizam-ul-mulk, who was recognised by the Government of India. It is significant that Sher Afzal fled to the camp of the Afghan commander-in-chief at Asmar. In answer to the new Mehtar's request, a mission under Dr Robertson was dispatched to Chitral. Although Robertson advocated the retention of British troops in Chitral and Yassin,[2] Lord Lansdowne, towards the end of 1893, issued instructions for the withdrawal of the political officer from Chitral, if no further complications occurred. Two factors were instrumental in reversing this decision. It was considered inexpedient to withdraw so long as the Pamir boundary dispute with Russia afforded an excuse for aggressive action from that direction. It was further feared that, owing to the hostile attitude of Umra Khan of Jandol, on the southern borders of Chitral, withdrawal would be followed by a period of anarchy. In January, 1895, the Mehtar was murdered, and Sher Afzal once more appeared on the scene. To make matters worse, Umra Khan proclaimed a jehad throughout Dir, Swat, and Bajaur, and Robertson found himself besieged in Fort Chitral by a combined force of Chitralis and Pathans.[3] This necessitated the immediate dispatch of a relief column. The memorable siege from 4 March to 19 April, 1895; the heroic efforts of the defenders; Kelly's marvellous march of 350 miles in 35 days from Gilgit; and the advance of Sir Robert Low by way of the Malakand are well known to students of the frontier problem.

[1] *Parl. Papers*, 1908, LXXIV (Cd. 4201), 125–6.
[2] *Idem*, 1895, LXXII (C. 7864), 27–9.
[3] *Idem*, pp. 35–42.

Prior to Low's march over the Malakand, the only communication with Chitral was by way of Kashmir and the isolated position of Gilgit. Not only was this route circuitous and the roads bad, but Gilgit for many months in the year was cut off by snow from both India and Chitral. The question of the retention of a garrison in Chitral therefore hinged on the proposal to construct a more direct road over the Malakand. As soon as it had been decided to move troops over the Malakand and Lowarai to Chitral, a proclamation had been issued on 14 March, 1895, to the people of Swat and Bajaur, to the effect that if they granted British forces an unmolested passage through their territories, their country would not be occupied.[1] On 8 May, 1895, the Government of India decided to retain a garrison in Chitral; and, to ensure its safety, proposed the construction of a road from Peshawar through Swat. This decision did not meet with the approval of Lord Rosebery's cabinet and the liberal government at home. Once more, however, was an important imperial problem to become the sport of English party politics, for this decision was reversed by Lord Salisbury's government in August of the same year. The liberal contention, that the construction of the new road was a deliberate breach of faith with the tribes and contrary to the spirit of the proclamation, was merely a party cry, for the tribes, with one exception, had paid no heed to the proclamation and had resisted the British advance.[2]

Is the retention of a garrison in Chitral a strategic necessity for the protection of that part of the frontier? It was pointed out at the time that, by the Durand Agreement, the amir had pledged himself not to interfere in Swat, Bajaur, or Chitral: consequently all danger from Afghanistan had passed away. On the other hand, it should have been remembered that Afghan intrigues had played no small part in the recent struggles in Chitral. On 10 September, 1895, the Pamir boundary dispute came to an end, and the spheres of influence of Great Britain and Russia were definitely mapped out in that region. Some authorities were therefore of opinion that the danger of Russian aggression had passed away. The answer to this was that the Pamir Agreement had brought Russia a great extension of military and political prestige, because she had been allowed to advance her frontiers to the Hindu Kush. Military experts were at loggerheads. Lord Roberts lent his support to the advocates of retention. Arrayed against him were formidable antagonists, such as Sir Donald Stewart, Sir Neville Chamberlain, Sir John Adye, Sir Charles Gough, and Lord Chelmsford. It is, however, difficult to see how any effective movement could be made by Russia from the Chitral side, unless she were in complete military occupation of Afghanistan, or in friendly alliance with the amir. In 1895 the danger of an attack upon India from the direction of Chitral was infinitesimal.

[1] *Parl. Papers*, 1895, LXXII (C. 7864), p. 39. [2] *Idem*, 1896, LX (C. 8037), 9–10.

The echoes of the Chitral expedition had no sooner died away than the frontier was abnormally disturbed by the conflagration of 1897. The first outbreak occurred in the Tochi valley, which had been taken over, at the request of its Dawari inhabitants, in 1895. Here, on 10 June, 1897, the political officer and his escort were treacherously attacked in the village of Maizar. Thence the revolt spread into Swat, where the tribesmen rose under Sadullah Khan, the Mad Mullah, and attacked the Malakand and Chakdarra. The next to rebel were the Mohmands, who, under Najm-ud-din, the Adda Mullah, attacked the village of Shankargarh in the Peshawar district. Finally, the Orakzais and Afridis, instigated by Mullah Sayyid Akbar, an Aka Khel Afridi, captured the Khyber forts and laid siege to the Samana posts. The result was that troops had to be marched to Datta Khel in the Tochi; to Swat, Bajaur, Chamla, the Utman Khel country, and Buner. The Mohmands were punished by a force operating from Peshawar; and lastly, a well-organised expeditionary force penetrated into the heart of Orakzai and Afridi Tirah.

Many frontier officials believed that each rising had its own particular local cause; that, in the beginning, there was not the slightest connection between the Malakand, Afridi, and Maizar disturbances.[1] The relative importance of fanaticism, Afghan and other intrigues, and the feeling of unrest engendered by discontent at tribal allowances, as causes of the Maizar outrage, will perhaps never be definitely determined, but it seems certain that the exaggerated reports of this affair, disseminated by anti-British mullahs, did tend to affect the rest of the border—to some extent Maizar heralded the approaching storm.

The main factors underlying the 1897 risings were the active forward policy pursued in the 'nineties and the influence of fanaticism. There can be no doubt that this policy of intervention in tribal affairs had thoroughly alarmed and annoyed the amir. The charges brought against Abd-ur-rahman were that he had received deputations from the British tribal zone; that he had failed to prevent his regular troops and subjects from joining tribal lashkars; and that he had granted an asylum to the enemies of the Government of India. It is a well-known fact that he addressed an assembly of mullahs from all parts of Afghanistan and the frontier, and impressed upon them that it was the duty of all true believers to wipe out the infidel. It is significant, too, that at the same time he assumed the title of Zia-ul-Millat wa-ud-Din, the "Light of the Nation and Religion". The publication of the amir's book entitled *Taqwim-ud-din*, "Catechism" or "Almanac of Religion", which dealt with the question of a jehad, was, to say the least, inopportune. A correct interpretation of this book may have been perfectly harmless; the construction placed upon it by frontier mullahs and its distribution within the British tribal zone were not calculated to promote peaceful relations.

[1] Bruce, *Forward Policy and its Results*, p. 141.

In 1897 a spirit of fanaticism was in the air. Wholesale massacres of Christians had taken place; the Turks had been victorious over the infidel Greeks; the Arabs of the Sudan had broken British squares; and behind it all was the sinister figure of Sultan Abdul Hamid II. British prestige was very low indeed until that crushing blow at Omdurman. It would be difficult to state how far these happenings affected the Indian frontier, but certain letters discovered in Mullah Sayyid Akbar's house in the Waran valley of Tirah show clearly the wild rumours that were prevalent.[1] Contemporary opinion, especially that of officers and officials in the war zone, favoured fanaticism as the chief cause of the outbreak, but they have ever been ready to confuse fanaticism with the natural desire of the tribesmen for independence.

If the risings were the outcome of a more forward policy, why did the movement not spread to Baluchistan and Kurram? A detailed answer to this question would revive one of the greatest of frontier controversies, the respective merits and demerits of the Sandeman and Panjab systems. The answer lies in the difference between the Baluch and Pathan, in tribal constitution and in racial characteristics, and in the fact that Baluchistan had long enjoyed an ordered administration. Although minor disturbances did take place among the Sarawan Brahui chiefs and in Makran, it would be difficult to connect them with the northern Pathan upheaval. As for the Turis of Kurram, they were Shiahs and at deadly enmity with their Sunni neighbours.

Thus, when Lord Curzon arrived in India, in January, 1899, the Government of India had successfully brought to a conclusion a series of punitive expeditions against widespread and violent tribal risings. The new viceroy found more than 10,000 troops cantoned across the administrative border, in the Khyber, on the Samana range, in Waziristan, and in the Malakand area. Not only were these advanced positions many miles from a base, but they were also entirely unconnected by lateral communications, and were consequently in constant danger of being overpowered before supports could be rushed to their assistance. The lesson of 1897 seemed to have had no effect upon the authorities in India, for, not only were they still persisting in a policy of dispersion instead of concentration of forces, but proposals were also being brought forward for the construction of fresh and costly fortifications in tribal territory.[2] Fortunately, wiser counsels prevailed under Lord Curzon, whose policy can be described as one of withdrawal and concentration. In other words, the policy pursued in the 'nineties was to be replaced by one of non-interference resembling in many respects the old "close border" system. What Lord Curzon accomplished can be best summed up in his own words:

> Withdrawal of British forces from advanced positions, employment of tribal forces in defence of tribal country, concentration of British forces in British

[1] *Parl. Papers*, 1898 (C. 8714), Appendix G, p. 39 c. [2] *Idem*, 1901 (Cd. 496), p. 116.

territory behind them as a safeguard and a support, improvement of communications in the rear.[1]

The important point to remember about his militia scheme is that he recognised that a tribal militia would break down, if called upon to perform the duties of regulars. Consequently, he arranged for their protection and support by movable columns and light railways. By 1904 the new system was in operation along the whole frontier from Chitral to Baluchistan. All regular troops had been withdrawn from Gilgit, and the protection of that isolated position left in the hands of the Kashmir Imperial Service troops. In Chitral alone were regular forces to be found. These were concentrated at Kila Drosh in the extreme south, at a discreet distance from the Mehtar's capital. Mastuj was the headquarters of the Chitrali irregulars. In 1902 the Khar Movable Column was withdrawn and regulars stationed at Chakdarra, Malakand and Dargai. Chakdarra was of great importance owing to the fact that the Swat river had been bridged at that spot, and because it was the starting-point of the famous road to Chitral. All the outlying posts were held by the Dir and Swat levies, who were responsible for the safety of the road. To support the Malakand garrisons, a light railway was constructed from Naushahra to Dargai. Similarly, regular troops were withdrawn from the Khyber, which was guarded by the reorganised Khyber Rifles, consisting of two battalions under British officers. For their support a flying column was kept in constant readiness at Peshawar, which was connected with Jamrud by an extension of the broad gauge railway, with Landi Kotal by a road running through the Mullagori country, and with Kohat by a cart-road running through the Kohat pass. The Mullagori road was an alternative route to the Khyber, and its construction had been previously advocated by Sir Robert Warburton. The bridge over the Indus at Kushalgarh and the extension of the railway from Kohat to Thal were not completed during Lord Curzon's term of office. In the Orakzai country, the Samana Rifles were raised, and were supported by British troops at Kohat. British garrisons were recalled from Kurram and were replaced by two battalions of the Kurram Militia, equipped and officered on the same lines as the Khyber Rifles. In the Waziri country, the Northern and Southern Waziristan Militia were raised for the protection of the Tochi and Gumal passes respectively, and were supported by movable columns stationed at Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan. In Baluchistan the Quetta–Nushki railway was commenced, but it was not completed until 1905. This line played an important part in the later development of the Nushki–Seistan caravan route.

The creation of the North-West Frontier Province was the consummation of all Curzon's frontier policy. For at least a quarter of a century

[1] Budget Speech, 30 March, 1904.

viceroys and frontier administrators had put forward proposals for the formation of a new administrative unit. In 1843, six years before the Panjab was wrested from its Sikh owners, Sind had been placed under the government of Bombay. Had the Panjab been annexed first, in all probability Sind would have been incorporated with it, for these two areas are connected by the strongest of all natural links, a large river. During the governor-generalship of Lord Dalhousie a proposal had been made to unite them, but, for financial reasons, it was not sanctioned by the court of directors.[1] After the Mutiny the question was reconsidered, but, owing to the backward state of communications along the Indus, Lord Canning refused to give his consent. Moreover, Sind was prospering under the excellent administration of Sir Bartle Frere. The *status quo* was, therefore, maintained, and, even to-day, in spite of distance, Sind remains under the government of Bombay.

Lord Lytton sought to solve the problem by the creation of an enormous trans-Indus province, consisting of the six frontier districts of the Panjab and of the trans-Indus districts of Sind, with the exception of Karachi.[2] To compensate Bombay for the loss of trans-Indus Sind, Lytton proposed that it should receive the whole, or part, of the Central Provinces. It was this proposal which contributed largely to the non-acceptance of his scheme. During the viceroyalty of Lord Lansdowne the proposal was revived in its original form, but, owing to the formation of the Baluchistan Agency, Sind had ceased to be a frontier district. Nothing had been done when Lord Curzon assumed office, although the secretary of state, in his dispatch of 5 August, 1898, had pointed out the desirability of placing tribal policy more directly under the control and supervision of the Government of India.[3] After carefully considering all previous proposals, Lord Curzon determined to carve out a new frontier province across the Indus. The reasons which led him to take this step are clearly laid down in his minute of 27 August, 1900. The most important reason for the change was that between the frontier system and the authority of the viceroy there was placed a subordinate government, through whose hands all frontier questions had to pass before they reached the Government of India. He pointed out that under this system, with its long official chain of reference, rapidity of action and swiftness of decision, both of which were essential on an exposed frontier, were well-nigh impossible.

Politically, the new province was divided into two parts: the settled districts of Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, and Dera Ismail Khan; and the trans-border tracts which lay between the administrative and Durand boundaries. It should be remembered that the trans-border area, in addition to the five political agencies of the Malakand, Khyber, Kurram, Tochi, and Wana, also contained tribal tracts under the

[1] *Parl. Papers*, 1878, LVIII (Cd. 1898), 5.
[2] *Idem*, pp. 136–43.
[3] *Idem*, 1901 (Cd. 496), p. 71.

political control of the deputy-commissioners of the adjoining settled districts. The cis-Indus tract of Hazara was not included in the scheme as originally drafted by Lord Curzon. It is interesting to note that between Dera Ismail Khan and Hazara there was only one trans-Indus tract which was not taken away from the Panjab; the trans-riverain tahsil of Isa Khel, the inhabitants of which were non-Pashtu-speaking Pathans, remained within the limits of the Panjab. The head of the new unit was to be a chief commissioner and agent to the governor-general, to be appointed by and responsible to the Government of India. In addition, there was to be both a revenue and a judicial commissioner.

The first chief commissioner was Lieutenant-Colonel H. A. Deane, whose staff consisted of officers of the political department of the Government of India, members of the provincial and subordinate civil services, police officers, and officers specially recruited for the militia, engineering, education, medicine, and forestry departments.[1] The civil and judicial administration of the settled districts approximated to that obtaining elsewhere in British India. Each of the five districts was placed under a deputy-commissioner who was assisted by the usual tahsildars, naib-tahsildars, kanungos, and patwaris. The judicial commissioner, Mr C. E. Bunbury, was the controlling authority in the judicial branch of the administration, his court being the highest criminal and appellate tribunal in the province. Subordinate to him were the two divisional and sessions judges of Peshawar and the Derajat. The revenue administration of the whole settled area was likewise under the control of the revenue commissioner, Mr (afterwards Sir) Michael O'Dwyer.

It was, however, found impossible to separate the administration of the five settled districts from the political control of the adjoining unadministered areas. This had always been the case. Nevertheless, before the formation of the new province, a suggestion had been brought forward to make the commissioner of Peshawar directly responsible to the Government of India as far as his external policy was concerned, while for internal affairs he was still to remain answerable to the Panjab authorities. Fortunately, Lord Curzon was well aware that, for at least a quarter of a century, this suggestion had been reprobated by all the greatest frontier administrators. Neither did he fail to realise that the administrative boundary was an arbitrary line drawn through the limits of a more or less homogeneous population, that the people on either side were closely connected socially, ethnically, and commercially.

> Thousands of our subjects are constantly visiting independent territory, many thousands of the hillmen regularly migrate to our districts, whole clans live for half

[1] A good account of the early administrative system will be found in O'Dwyer, *India as I knew it*, chap. vii. For later changes in the staff of the chief commissioner see *N.-W.F. Province Administration Report*, 1921–2, p. 17.

this year on this and for the other half of the year on that side of the border; where the residents within and without the frontier are not men of the same clan or of the same tribe, they are connected by the intimate ties of common race, of marriage, neighbourhood and of an association, territorial and social, which has endured for many generations.[1]

Before proceeding to describe how this close connection between the plains and the hills affects the administration of justice in the settled districts, some account of the state of affairs in the tribal tracts, where no organised magistracy exists, is essential.

The Pathan code of honour, known as *Pakhtunwali*, imposes upon the tribesman three obligations, the non-observance of which is regarded as the deadliest of sins, and is followed by lasting dishonour and ostracism. He must grant to all fugitives the right of asylum (*nanawatai*), he must proffer open-handed hospitality (*melmastia*), even to his deadliest enemy, and he must wipe out insult with insult (*badal*). This leads to blood-feuds, which, as a general rule, have their origin in *zar*, *zan*, and *zamin*—gold, women, and land. Hence the tribes are perpetually at feud, tribe with tribe, clan with clan, and family with family. Feuds are of rare occurrence amongst the law-abiding Marwats; they are almost domestic incidents in the Afridi country, where it is not uncommon to find one half of a village at deadly feud with the other. Indeed, the Afridis are so distracted by intestine quarrels that they have little time for carrying on feuds with the neighbouring tribes. According to the customary law of the Mahsud and the Shirani, only the actual murderer should be punished, but theory is one thing, practice another. As a general rule revenge extends to the male relatives of the murderer. There is, however, a growing tendency in some quarters to blot out the remembrance of former wrongs by means of a payment known as blood-money. A temporary cessation of tribal feuds may occur during harvest operations, or in the face of a common danger, such as the advance of a British punitive force. The Maidan Jagis had been for years at deadly feud with the Turis of Kurram, but, in the spring of 1907, the leading men of both factions concluded a two-years' truce, which was faithfully kept on both sides.[2] Again, Pathans who are hereditary enemies may serve together for years in the Indian Army, but, once across the border, revenge is again uppermost in their minds. Under this system of bloody vengeance, murder begets murder, and the greater the bloodshed the greater the probability of the duration of the feud. Unfortunately, the unruly tribesmen fail to realise that, under the disastrous influence of this barbarous custom, many of their noblest families are being brought to the verge of extinction. Blood-feuds are not the sole cause of internecine warfare, for the tribes are also split up into several political and religious factions. The most

[1] *Parl. Papers*, 1901 (Cd. 496), p. 75.
[2] *Kurram Agency Gazetteer*, 1908, p. 13.

important of the former are the *Gar* and *Samil*, which appear to have originated in the Bangash country whence they spread to the Afridis, Orakzais, and Mohmands. Whatever their origin may have been, their existence has undoubtedly complicated the frontier problem and produced a chronic state of internal warfare. West of the *Gar* and *Samil*, the *Spin* (White) and *Tor* (Black) political factions prevail. With the exception of the Turis of Kurram and certain Bangash and Orakzai clans who are Shiahs, the border tribesmen are orthodox Muhammadans of the Sunni sect. The important point to remember is that the religious creed of the Pathans does not affect their political convictions, for a tribe or clan may be *Samil* and Sunni, or *Samil* and Shiah: the combination varies.

No description of these tribes would be complete without some account of their internal administration and of their method of negotiating with the British raj. Even the most lawless community is compelled to recognise the necessity for some sort of government; even the rudest form of customary law needs enforcing. From Chitral to the Kabul River the British are able to deal with important chiefs and rulers, such as the Mehtar of Chitral and the hereditary chiefs of the numerous khanates into which Dir and Bajaur are divided. Farther south, between the Kabul and the Gumal, this is not the case. Here the controlling power is a council of elders or tribal *maliks*, known as the *jirga*, through which agency all negotiations between the tribesmen and British frontier officials are carried out. The more democratic a tribe the larger the *jirga*. For this reason a full *jirga* often means nothing less than a gathering of every adult male. Rarely, if ever, does any *jirga* represent the whole tribe, for there are always unruly members who refuse to recognise any control save their own interests and desires. The tribal council is usually composed of a certain number of influential *maliks* and mullahs who attempt to enforce their decrees by meting out punishment in the form of outlawry, heavy fines, or the destruction of property. For the enforcement of *jirga* decrees, the Mahsuds have an institution known as the *chalweshtis*, or tribal police. No blood-feud can arise because of any death caused by them in the execution of their duties. In ordinary times the *jirga* deals with questions of inter-tribal politics, and, since its functions are political rather than social, it cannot be compared to a caste panchayat.

Because of the close connection between the semi-independent hills and the settled districts, a modified form of the *jirga* system has been introduced into the administered area. This system is in accordance with the Frontier Crimes Regulation of 1901, which superseded the Panjab Frontier Crimes Regulation of 1887. This regulation empowers the deputy-commissioner to make both civil and criminal references to councils of elders, that is, to *jirgas* of three or more persons convened according to tribal custom. Where the deputy-commissioner is con-

vinced that a civil dispute is likely to lead to a blood-feud or to a breach of the peace, especially where a frontier tribesman is a party to the dispute, he is at liberty to refer the case, for investigation and report, to a council of elders of his own nomination. When the decision of the *jirga* is received, he may remand the case for further investigation, refer the enquiry to another *jirga*, or pass a decree in accordance with the finding, provided that not less than three-quarters of the members of the *jirga* have agreed to this decision. Similarly, criminal references may be made to a council of elders, if it is inexpedient that the question of the guilt or innocence of an accused person should be tried in the ordinary criminal courts. Here the deputy-commissioner's power to nominate the *jirga* is limited by the accused person's right to object to any member. The maximum punishment for an offence investigated in this manner is fourteen years' rigorous imprisonment. Under this regulation members of hostile tribes may be debarred from entering British India. Again, where a blood-feud is likely to arise between two families or factions in British territory, the deputy-commissioner may, on the recommendation of a *jirga*, order the parties concerned to execute a bond for their good behaviour, for a period not exceeding three years.

An attempt was made in certain parts of the province to modify this system of trial by *jirga*, and to assimilate it to that in use in the Baluchistan Agency. Instead of appointing small *jirgas* for each case, periodical "*jirga* sessions" were held to which all cases awaiting trial were referred. It was hoped that this arrangement would do away with the corruption inherent in small councils and avoid constant summonses to the members of the *jirga*. But even this system had its drawbacks, for, on account of its size and the large number of cases which came before this *jirga*, the members were precluded from proceeding to the scene of each offence for the purpose of supplementing by their own investigations the facts which had already been brought to their notice.[1]

It was not only in the administration of justice that difficulties were experienced. To-day the land tenures of the settled areas resemble those of the adjoining Panjab districts, but this generalisation was not true of the early days of Panjab rule. When the Pathans overran the frontier zone, between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, they divided the land amongst their various tribes, clans, and septs.[2] Their intensely democratic constitution resulted, with rare exceptions, in a periodical redistribution of lands, known as *vesh* or *khasanne*. The land of each tribal sept was termed a *tappa*, and there was a time when redistribution even of these *tappas* took place. When this ceased, *vesh* still continued within the *tappa*, and involved the transfer of whole villages, not merely of individual holdings within the village itself.

[1] See also *N.-W.F. Province Administration Report*, 1921–2, p. 40.

[2] For Pathan invasions see Kalid-i-Afghani, *Selections from the Tarikh-i-Murass'a* (ed. Plowden), chaps. i–v.

This was the state of affairs when the British took over the frontier tracts from the Sikhs, and *vesh* was recognised in the early settlements. This system gradually disappeared in the settled districts, because it was opposed to the spirit of British revenue procedure, and because the Pathan began to realise the advantages of fixity of tenure. When the Frontier Province was formed, *vesh*, with a few exceptions, was to be found only across the administrative border. The most important exception was the system of *khulla* (mouth) *vesh*, which prevailed, as late as 1904, in certain unirrigated tracts of the Marwat tahsil of Bannu.[1] Under *khulla vesh* fresh shares were allotted to every man, woman, and child. The custom of *vesh* is now obsolete, except in the independent hills of Buner, Dir, Swat, Bajaur, and Utman Khel.

There is, however, one important difference between frontier administrations, like British Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province, and an ordinary province in the heart of British India. Geographical and strategical considerations make the marches of Hindustan a military area, and render the defence of these provinces a matter of vital importance to the Government of India. On the Indian frontier there is necessarily a large excess of expenditure over income, but critics often fail to realise that expenditure on frontier defence is not merely for the protection of the inhabitants of the settled districts from the marauding incursions of the turbulent tribesmen, but is also for the defence of India as a whole.

Lord Curzon knew full well that finality could never be reached on the Indian frontier, and did not claim that his solution of the problem would last for ever. Although, by the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, Russia recognised Afghanistan as outside her sphere of influence, the refusal of the home government to consult the amir only served to add more fuel to the smouldering fires of Habib-ullah's resentment, and his displeasure was reflected, to a certain extent, in the wave of unrest which swept over the Afridi and Mohmand valleys in the year 1908.[2] But, with the exception of short expeditions, no punitive operations took place until the late war. It must not be imagined, however, that this period was devoid of interest, for it was marked by the growth of the arms traffic, which entirely revolutionised the nature of border warfare; by the increase of raiding by well-organised gangs of outlaws from Afghanistan; and by the development of the Mahsud problem which still awaits solution.

The evil effects of gun-running in the Persian Gulf, which flooded the tribal areas with arms of precision, first became apparent during the Tirah campaign, 1897–8, but ten years were to elapse before adequate attempts were made to suppress it. From 1906 onwards there was an alarming increase in the number of rifles imported into Afghanistan, the number increasing from 15,000 in 1907 to 40,000 in 1909. Some idea of the volume of trade may be gained from the fact

[1] *Kohat Settlement Report*, 1907, p. 2.
[2] Gooch and Temperley, *Origins of the War*, 1898–1914, IV, 577.

that whereas, in 1906, the price of a Martini rifle in Tirah was approximately Rs. 500, in 1908 it had dropped to Rs. 130.[1] Although the Chagai caravan route was effectively blocked in 1908, the real result of this precautionary measure was to deflect the traffic to more westerly routes through Persian territory. The necessity for immediate repressive measures becomes apparent from the following report:

> It is estimated that over 16,500 rifles, 352 revolvers and pistols and 1,079,100 rounds as well as 137 boxes of ammunition were landed between the 31st March 1909 and 1st April 1910.[2]

It was not until 1910, when the British established a rigorous blockade of the Gulf, that this pernicious traffic was in any way checked. Unfortunately, these repressive measures came too late, for the powers of resistance of the Pathan tribesmen had already been increased. Indeed, it can be safely asserted that this arming of the border tribes with more modern weapons in place of the old-fashioned jezails has not only greatly aggravated the difficulty of dealing with the frontier problem, but has also radically altered the whole situation.

It is always possible to coerce tribes within the British sphere of influence: it is an entirely different matter when the subjects of a neighbouring power make marauding incursions into the settled districts of India. From 1908 onwards, the peace of the border was seriously disturbed by large raiding gangs from Afghan territory. By 1910 the situation had become so critical that the viceroy was forced to remonstrate with the amir, for it was in this year that the Hindustani fanatics visited Kabul, where they were received with great honour by the anti-British Nasr-ullah Khan.[3] As a result of this remonstrance steps were taken by the Afghan Government to root out the colonies of outlaws living in Khost. The British attempted to solve the problem by the formation of conciliation committees, of prominent persons from the settled districts and chiefs and elders from adjacent tribal territory, for the purpose of making recommendations for the repatriation of outlaws residing in the independent hills.[4] British efforts were remarkably successful, but, owing to the state of anarchy prevailing in Khost, the same cannot be said of the attempts made by the Afghan authorities. The British also introduced a special system of patrolling for the protection of their subjects, but, unfortunately, British subjects resembled sheep exposed to ravening wolves, for, against the almost unanimous opinion of the greatest frontier administrators, they had been disarmed in 1900. Far worse than this, the tribesmen were better armed than either the Border Military Police or the militia, the very forces maintained for the purpose of reprisals. In 1909 the state of the police was so disgraceful that twenty-five out of every hundred sepoys were either unfit or too old for frontier service.[5] Both native officers and the non-commissioned ranks were selected, not for

[1] *Secret Border Report*, 1908–9, p. 5.
[2] *Baluchistan Agency Report*, 1909–10, p. 2.
[3] *Secret Border Report*, 1910–11, p. 1.
[4] *Idem*, pp. 2–3.
[5] *Idem*, 1908–9, p. 17.

military efficiency, but for political reasons, because they happened to be the sons or relatives of influential border landowners. In addition, the rank and file were so badly paid that it was practically impossible for them to make both ends meet, unless they were stationed in close proximity to their native villages. Not only were the border villagers disarmed, the tribesmen well armed, the police inefficient and undisciplined, but the *moral* of the militia was being rapidly undermined by the knowledge that their obsolete weapons could be easily outranged by those of their enemies across the border. Before 1914 these abuses had been remedied as far as possible by the arming of the border villagers and by the creation of a more efficient and better armed Frontier Constabulary to take the place of the Border Military Police.

The outbreak of war, in August, 1914, aroused but little immediate interest amongst the frontier population. Of course undercurrents of disloyalty existed, and a certain lack of confidence was displayed by a run on the savings banks in Peshawar. The entry of Turkey in November created considerable excitement. One of the great dangers on the frontier is the possible attitude of the Afridis, whose lead in war the other tribes are usually prepared to follow. The danger of an Afridi rising, however, was averted, when, on 1 February, 1915, the government decided to double their allowances.[1] Great pressure was brought to bear upon the amir to persuade him to declare war. In fact, all the leading mullahs of Afghanistan preached openly in favour of war, but, fortunately for the peace of the Indian borderland, Habib-ullah, the first years of whose reign had been marked by extensive intrigues on the Indian side of the Durand line, remained faithful to the British alliance. Nevertheless, a wave of unrest necessitated the dispatch of punitive expeditions against the Mohmands and Mahsuds.

The history of British relations with the Mahsud tribes inhabiting the heart of Waziristan has been a history of constant friction. Neither punitive expedition nor stringent blockade has served to curb their lawlessness. After the Mahsud blockade, 1900–2, that pestilential priest, the mullah Powindah, became paramount in the Mahsud council chamber, and several dastardly assassinations of British officers were traced to his direct instigation. His death on the eve of the great war did not make for peace, for, from 1914 to 1917, the history of the Dera Ismail Khan district was one long tale of rapine and outrage, so much so, that it was difficult to understand why British subjects on the borders of Waziristan had not moved *en masse* across the Indus. Eventually, in the hot season of 1917, troops marched into the Mahsud country, but were able to effect only a temporary settlement. British preoccupations elsewhere delayed the day of retribution; and, until quite recently, the wind-swept *raghzas* of Waziristan have witnessed the severest fighting in the blood-stained annals of the Indian frontier.

[1] *Secret Border Report*, 1914–15, p. 11.

CHAPTER XXVI

INDIA AND THE WAR

FOR India, the war possessed—nay, still possesses—a twofold significance. It was, in the first place, a transient if exhausting crisis in the history of the British Commonwealth: a crisis in which India bore herself bravely: contributed substantially to the cause of victory, and vindicated once and for all her attachment to the person of the king. But it was also something far more significant. It was a wind from the West, fanning to a blaze the embers of old Nationalist ambitions, bearing with it the sparks of new fires which readily seized upon combustible elements already heaped together. Strange enthusiasms were kindled: unfamiliar ideals furnished fuel to the flames. A furnace glowed, and into its fires the polity of India passed. That which will at length emerge from the conflagration remains a matter of conjecture.

To describe what India did for the war is to tell a tale as simple as it is inspiring. To estimate what the war did for India is a problem that may perplex the wisest, since the issue is still unknown. Inevitably, therefore, the pages which immediately follow will deal mainly with the former and obvious aspect of war-time India: and will contain only such references to the more fundamental matter as can escape the charge of prophecy or speculation.

From one point of view the outbreak of hostilities saw India better prepared than her sister members of the commonwealth: from another she was far more severely handicapped than they in shouldering her share of the common burden. This apparent contradiction arose from the fact that the Army in India Committee, the majority report of which was accepted by the Government of India in 1913, had specially limited the part she would be called upon to play in any future struggle. It was officially determined that

> while India should provide for her own defence against local aggression, and, if necessary, for an attack on the Indian Empire by a great Power until reinforcements can come from home, she is not called upon to maintain troops for the specific purpose of placing them at the disposal of the Home Government for wars outside the Indian sphere.[1]

Accordingly, while August, 1914, found the Indian Army at war strength, the magazines full, and the equipment complete, the whole measure of this preparedness was based upon a principle of limitation which the home government itself was the first to disregard. Instead of India's task being restricted to the defence of her frontiers and the

[1] *India's Contribution to the Great War* (official document), p. 73.

maintenance of internal order—responsibilities which, be it remembered, had jointly or severally ruined alike the Moghul Empire and its many predecessors—she found herself in no long time obliged to fight for the commonwealth in half a dozen theatres of war. As was only to be expected, the overloaded military machine could not at first cope with strains which its designers had specifically excluded from their calculations.

But if the more prudent might well have harboured doubts as to the capacity of India to undertake the task which fell to her lot, it was impossible to question the spirit in which she assumed her obligations. The great princes of India, true to their martial traditions and tested loyalty, rallied with one accord to the defence of the empire, offering their personal services and the resources of their states for the prosecution of the war. From among the many princes who volunteered for active service, the viceroy, Lord Hardinge, selected the rulers of Bikaner, Jodhpur, Kishengarh, Patiala and Sachin. The veteran Sir Pertab Singh, Regent of Jodhpur, despite his seventy years, would not be denied his right to serve the king: and insisted upon accompanying his sixteen-year-old nephew and ward, the Maharaja of Jodhpur, to the fighting line. The twenty-seven larger states which maintain Imperial Service Troops immediately placed every regiment at the disposal of the Government of India: and the viceroy accepted from twelve states contingents of cavalry, infantry, sappers and transport, besides the famous Camel Corps of Bikaner. From the remoter parts of India, and even from beyond her borders, loyal messages, coupled with generous offers of assistance, came pouring in. The government of Nepal placed the whole of its formidable resources at the disposal of the empire. Even the Dalai Lama of Tibet offered a contingent of a thousand troops, while the innumerable lamas who owed him allegiance chanted prayers for a British victory at the behest of "The Lord of All the Beings in the Snowy Country". Throughout British India a similar spirit prevailed, even if its manifestations were more conventional. Hundreds of letters and telegrams were received by the central and local governments expressing loyalty and service. Private individuals and political associations, monied magnates and poor pensioners, prominent politicians and private citizens—all alike seemed animated by a single purpose—to demonstrate in every possible manner their loyalty to the throne and their attachment to the commonwealth. When the imperial legislative council met on 8 September, 1914, there were witnessed remarkable scenes of enthusiasm: the non-official members vying with one another in expressing whole-hearted devotion to the British cause. Of their own initiative, they expressed a desire that India should share in the heavy financial burden which the war was already imposing upon the United Kingdom.

It is no exaggeration to say that this immense and spontaneous

manifestation of loyal enthusiasm took the Government of India somewhat unawares. No one who knew the country at first hand had attached importance to the confident prophecies of such writers as Count von Reventlow, who preached, for the edification of the German public, that India would flame into formidable revolt whenever trouble overtook Britain. Government was well aware of the fine-spun net of German intrigue so sedulously woven in the years preceding the war: and also knew what its authors failed to realise—the essential futility of the fabric upon which German secret service agents had expended so much money and toil. There were, indeed, terrorist conspiracies: some childish, others formidable. But they were confined to a mere handful of persons, whose worst efforts were powerless to distract government from its task. All this had been foreseen. What took the authorities by surprise was the whole-hearted rally of the country to their side. The history of India, it must be admitted, provided no precedent for the remarkable spectacle now unfolding itself before the eyes of observers. Since the beginning of the connection between India and England, the empire had been at war on many occasions. But with the exception of offers of help from the great princes, the country as a whole had on each occasion given no sign of any deep feeling. In these circumstances, the government cannot fairly be blamed for failing to anticipate the manner in which Britain's entry into the struggle would arouse all the most generous instincts of the Indian people. Here was no war of aggrandisement: no project of imperialist expansion: but a solemn fulfilment of treaty obligations to defend a small nation. The whole of India was filled with enthusiasm. Unfortunately, the Government of India was incapable of turning this enthusiasm to the best account. Imagination is not a prominent characteristic of bureaucratic administrations: and the authorities in India had been accustomed for so long to rule the country with the passive acquiescence of the population, while enduring in the process the pin-prick criticism of an educated class anxious for the privileges and responsibilities of office, that the universal desire to assist and to co-operate became almost a source of embarrassment. To a lesser extent, it may be argued, the governments of all the belligerents experienced a similar difficulty. But elsewhere the enthusiasm of the people, after a period in which it was suffered to run to waste, was canalised into voluntary organisations and subsidiary services, which provided at once an outlet for patriotic energy and a stimulus to further efforts. In India very little was done to this end: the government desired rather to be left alone, and only valued such enthusiasm as could be turned to immediate and direct account for official purposes. The small British community, both men and women, played their part nobly, and devoted themselves wholeheartedly to war work where they could not be spared for active service. Indians, however, were left without much guidance. In

consequence, the astonishing outburst of popular emotion was allowed to exhaust itself almost fruitlessly in proportion to its magnitude: until, at a later date, it had to be artificially revived to meet a domestic danger and to sustain the unprecedented war effort of 1918. The authorities seemed to rest content with the knowledge that India was safe from revolution: it appeared scarcely to occur to them to enlist in the cause of the commonwealth even a proportion of the energy and devotion so freely proffered. Offers of service were courteously acknowledged: some few were accepted, others were pigeon-holed. But no attempt was made to set up any organisation which might be capable of co-ordinating them, encouraging them, and turning them to the best account.

Only in one single respect, it would seem, did the Government of India take full advantage of the remarkable position in which circumstances had placed it. The country was denuded of troops to such an extent that the British garrison for the space of some weeks stood at a figure of 15,000 men. Of the British cavalry establishment in India, seven regiments out of nine were sent overseas: of infantry battalions, only eight were left out of fifty-two: of artillery, forty-three batteries out of fifty-six were dispatched abroad. Instead of the two divisions and one cavalry brigade, which the government had indicated its willingness to send overseas in certain circumstances, India proceeded to provide at once for France two infantry and two cavalry divisions, accompanied by four field artillery brigades in excess of the normal allotment. It is to the abiding glory of the Indian corps that it reached France in the first great crisis of the war. The only trained reinforcements immediately available in any part of the empire arrived in time to stem the German thrust towards Ypres and the Channel ports during the autumn of 1914. They consecrated with their blood the unity of India with the empire: and few indeed are the survivors of that gallant force.[1] But, even in the first few months of the war, the Indian Army was to distinguish itself upon many fronts. In September, 1914, personnel, transport and equipment accompanied the mixed division of troops to East Africa. In October and November, two divisions of Indian infantry and one brigade of cavalry were sent to Egypt. Only when eight divisions had already been mobilised and sent either abroad or to the frontier, was action undertaken in Mesopotamia with the remainder of the forces. On 31 October an Indian brigade seized the mouth of the Shatt-el-Arab: and in three months' time, this force was increased to an army corps of two divisions. Further, a battalion of Indian infantry was sent to Mauritius: another to the Cameroons: while two were dispatched to the Persian Gulf for the protection of the Abadan pipe-line. In all, approximately 80,000 British officers and men and 210,000 Indian officers and men were dispatched overseas in the first few months of the war. To replace

[1] Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, quoted in *India's Contribution to the Great War*, pp. 99–102.

them twenty-nine territorial field batteries and thirty-five territorial battalions were sent from England. For India, the exchange was highly unprofitable, and, indeed, involved considerable risk: since the new arrivals were unfit for employment either upon the frontier or in Mesopotamia until they had been properly armed, duly equipped, and completely trained. The difficulty of these tasks was increased by the fact that, within a few weeks after the outbreak of hostilities, India had supplied England with 70,000,000 rounds of small arm ammunition, 60,000 rifles of the latest type, and more than 550 guns.

The effort made by the administration in the early months of the war showed no signs of diminishing. By the early spring of 1915, India had sent overseas two Indian army corps, seven infantry brigades, two cavalry divisions, two cavalry brigades, and a mixed force including three infantry battalions: together with the necessary accessories of corps, divisional, attached troops, administrative services and reinforcements. Moreover, as the struggle gradually assumed a world-wide character, the area of operations constantly extended. When at length peace came, Indian soldiers had fought in France, Belgium, Gallipoli, Salonika, Palestine, Egypt, the Sudan, Mesopotamia, Aden, Somaliland, the Cameroons, East Africa, North-West Persia, Kurdistan, South Persia, Trans-Caspia, and North China, besides the North-West and North-East frontiers of India.

It was hardly to be expected that the Government of India, despite the best will in the world, would rise at once to the task of discharging in an adequate manner the obligations so suddenly laid upon it. The difficulties it encountered were beyond measure enhanced by its own peculiar characteristics. Of this government it has been remarked by a cynic that its guiding principle would seem to consist in entrusting three men's work to a single individual. In times of peace, such an arrangement is only possible because the backbone of the administration is composed of picked men, thoroughly trained in their duties. But in the early days of the war, such a condition no longer obtained. Many of the best officials managed, on one pretext or another, to place themselves "nearer the fighting": while for those who remained, the tasks now for the first time laid upon them constituted a burden as heavy as it was unfamiliar. After the commencement of the Mesopotamia campaign, India's needs became urgent. The results of her sacrifices at the beginning of the war were soon reaped in disastrous fashion. Her best troops were not available: her supplies were depleted. Owing to shortage of transport, essential munitions were unobtainable. As a natural result, while the civil machinery managed somehow to "carry on", the military machinery came perilously near a break-down. The management of the Mesopotamia campaign became an ugly scandal: official enquiry serving only to confirm some of the worst rumours. Indeed it was painfully obvious to all that the "Frontier War" standard of military preparedness, when exposed to

strain it was never designed to endure, had involved India in a confusion almost as disastrous as any that might have arisen from sheer unreadiness. From the standpoint of the whole commonwealth, it is true, the importance of India's contribution during the early days of the war is difficult to exaggerate: but it was made at a cost to herself which entailed a heavy loss of lives, of reputation, and of efficiency. Fortunately, by the time the Report of the Mesopotamia Commission was published, the Indian headquarters staff had been strengthened, and the administrative machinery had adapted itself to new requirements. Sir Stanley Maude's brilliant campaign, culminating in the capture of Baghdad, and the crushing of the Turkish Army in Iraq, rehabilitated the reputation of India in the eyes of the world. One by one the pressing problems which beset the authorities were faced and overcome: and in a comparatively short space of time, the machinery of war-time administration was running with a smoothness reminiscent of the days of peace.

The first, and most obvious, of these problems was the provision of the personnel required for the various expeditionary forces overseas. At the outbreak of the war, there were in India some 80,000 British officers and men, and some 230,000 Indian ranks, combatant and non-combatant.[1] During the course of hostilities, government recruited, on a voluntary basis, more than 800,000 combatants and over 400,000 non-combatants, giving a grand total of some 1,300,000 men. Prior to the war, the normal rate of recruitment had been about 15,000 men per annum. In the year ending May, 1917, thanks to the efforts of the administration, this figure had risen to 121,000: and in the year ending May, 1918, it stood at 300,000. From that time forward, until the end of the war, it was immensely stimulated by the call for further efforts, as will subsequently be related. Certain provinces and certain communities distinguished themselves from the first. The Panjab, under the energetic guidance of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, furnished 110,000 fighting men in the first two years of the war. Between April, 1917, and March, 1918, it further distinguished itself by raising 114,000 men. Up to the date of the armistice the total recruitment, combatant and non-combatant, rose nearly to half a million. The United Provinces, after 1916, redoubled its efforts, and in the last two years of the struggle, recruited 140,000 men for the fighting services. In the matter of non-combatant recruiting, the United Provinces led the way, providing more than 200,000 men between April, 1917, and November, 1918. Among the particular communities, Panjabi Mussulmans and Sikhs stood out pre-eminent: the former with 136,000 fighting men: the latter with 88,000—an immensely preponderating proportion of their eligible man-power. The Indian states, considering their comparatively small population, bore their share well. Kashmir sent nearly 5000 com-

[1] *India's Contribution to the Great War*, p. 79.

batants to serve overseas: Patiala sent 2700: Gwalior 2600; Bharatpur 1600; Alwar 1500; Mysore 1400; Jodhpur 1300; Jaipur 1200 and Bikaner 1100. Other states sent according to their resources.

Another, and more difficult, aspect of the problem of man-power was the provision of British officers for Indian units. The small British community in India, engaged as it was in government service or in industries of national importance, offered a very limited scope for recruitment. At the same time, the pre-war organisation of the army in India, with its "Frontier Campaign" standard, had made no provision for such a reserve of officers as might have sufficed to replace casualties on a large scale and to fill the junior commissioned ranks of newly raised units. The first step was to augment the Indian Army reserve. The English commercial community made great sacrifices in order to relieve every eligible man. Cadet colleges were opened at Quetta and Wellington: and a large number of officers were transferred, by arrangement with the War Office, from the special reserve or the territorial force, to the Indian Army. Nearly a thousand temporary commissions were given to men in the ranks of British units: the public services were depleted of all their reserves in order that some five hundred officials might join the officers' schools of instruction now established at Ambala, Bangalore and Nasik. The result of the efforts of the authorities in this direction is summed up in the statement that whereas the pre-war establishment of British officers of the Indian Army stood at 2586, the total number of British officers sent overseas from India up to 31 October, 1918, amounted to no less than 23,040.

The provision of specialist personnel was also successfully accomplished. At the outbreak of the war, there were fewer than 300 officers of the Indian Medical Service immediately available in military employ. But by the surrender of officers from civil employ and the grant of temporary commissions to private practitioners, a force of nearly 1400 qualified medical men became available. The establishment of the Indian Medical Department, which stood at 646 before the war, was doubled. In all, 1069 officers of the Indian Medical Service, 360 of the Royal Army Medical Corps, 1200 nursing sisters, 2142 assistant and sub-assistant surgeons, 979 British other ranks, 2674 Indian other ranks, and 26,179 followers were sent to the various theatres of war. Personnel for the various technical directorates overseas presented a difficult problem. At first, since railway training was in great demand, recruitment was done through the agency of the Railway Board. Later, when operations developed, the need arose for skilled staff in connection with other branches: such as military works, inland water transport, irrigation, ordnance labour, and other services. Training schools were accordingly started for railwaymen, mechanical transport personnel, and the like: with the result that in the course of the war years, some 150,000 operatives, skilled and

unskilled were sent overseas. In addition India provided a large number of labour, porter, and syce corps for service in France and Mesopotamia: supply and transport personnel, veterinary personnel, and very considerable quantities of horses, mules, camels, draught bullocks and dairy cattle.

In the matter of material, India's contribution to the allied cause was at least as important as her effort in man-power. From the first she had a great and growing task to perform in equipping her armies overseas, while at the same time placing her immense wealth of raw material at the service of the empire. Her difficulties were increased by the rudimentary condition of her industrial development. At the moment when her sea communications were seriously threatened, she could not produce more than a small fraction of the articles essential for the maintenance of ordinary civilised activities. She made no nails, screws, steel springs, iron chains, wire ropes, steel plates, machine tools, or internal combustion engines. The munition-making resources of the country were first co-ordinated by the Railway Board. Excellent work was done; but as the magnitude of the task became more apparent, it was plain that a special organisation was needed to prevent overlapping purchase, to restrict to the minimum all demands upon the United Kingdom, and to develop local industries and manufactures. The difficulties in the way were great, and to the genius of Sir Thomas Holland is due the eventual triumph over them. The Indian Munitions Board, which was set up in 1917, gathered together the existing fragments of purchasing departments, and welded them into an organised machine for regulating contracts and amalgamating demands. Local resources were utilised and developed. Great Britain and America were relieved of a heavy burden as India became an adequate base of supply for Mesopotamia and other theatres of war. The flourishing cotton and jute industries were placed at the service of the allies; the infant iron and steel industry proved remarkably useful. The wolfram mines of Burma were developed until they produced one-third of the world's output; the Indian deposits of manganese ore became the principal source of supply to the European allies. Mica, saltpetre, rubber, skins, petroleum, tea—the list of supplies forthcoming for the needs of the empire could be lengthened almost indefinitely. In foodstuffs also, India's services, particularly to Great Britain, were remarkable, for she was able to place at the disposal of the Royal Commission on Wheat Supplies a total of some 5,000,000 tons.[1]

From the financial standpoint, the war effort of India is well worthy of commemoration. The country is poor, there are rigid limits to her taxable capacity. Despite these two handicaps, the monetary assistance she rendered to the allied cause was by no means inconsiderable. In the first place must be counted her expenditure upon

[1] *India in 1917–18.*

military services. The cost of expeditions sent outside India does not normally fall upon the Indian exchequer, but in compliance with her own request, she paid the normal cost of maintaining the troops no longer employed within her borders. This cost varied between £20,000,000 and £30,000,000 per annum, at a time when India's central revenues were less than £100,000,000. Further, in September, 1918, the imperial legislative council voted that India should assume, as from the previous April, the cost of an additional 200,000 men, and from the succeeding April, a further 100,000. The cessation of hostilities prevented the scheme from fully developing, but even in its elementary stage it cost the country another £12,000,000. There were also financial contributions of a more direct character. India made a free gift of £100,000,000 to the British Government—a sum which was equivalent to more than a year's income, which added 30 per cent. to her national debt. The greater part of this amount was raised by two war loans which together aggregated nearly £75,000,000 —an immense sum in view of the fact that the largest loan ever raised by an Indian Government before the war realised only £3,000,000. In addition to these services, India found herself obliged to act as banker for Great Britain in purchasing the enormous quantities of foodstuffs and munitions which were factors so essential for the prosecution of the war. Payment for these commodities was, it is true, made in London, but owing to the difficulty of transferring funds, India had to find the money in the first instance. As a result, she became involved in currency difficulties of the most serious nature, which may claim to be ranked among her sacrifices in the cause of victory. In the years 1917 and 1918, her whole currency system was threatened with inconvertibility, the Government of India being compelled to purchase silver from every available quarter—including the United States treasury—for the coining of 700,000,000 rupees. Lastly, mention must be made of generous contributions towards war charities, which, among other causes, bore the burden of Red Cross work. The "Our Day" fund rose to £800,000, the "Imperial Indian Relief" fund to £1,000,000. The various provincial war funds realised large amounts, which were expended upon comforts for the troops and their dependents.[1] Here, as in other directions, the great princes of India played a worthy part. The bare list of their donations fills 200 printed pages. In money, in cars, and in supplies, the aggregate value of these gifts totals many millions. But quite beyond all value is the imagination and the good will which these gifts display. The princes placed their palaces at the disposal of the wives and children of British officers, they entertained whole armies of troops, they equipped and maintained hospital ships, they presented their most magnificent vehicles as ambulances, they subscribed colossal sums to

[1] *India in 1917–18.*

the war loan, and in many cases gave the scrip to the government or arranged for its cancellation.

It is only fair to recall at this time the manifold anxieties of the authorities. The country remained quiet: but the occurrence of revolutionary outbreaks was a contingency which government did not omit from its calculations. There was a small anarchist element among the Sikhs, which came into prominence with the Ghadr conspiracy. In Bengal, the Nihilists, though few in numbers, were extremely active and formidable. In 1915–16 there were sixty-four outrages in this part of India, including the murder of eight police officers. There were also serious movements, directed from beyond the frontier, which had as their object the undermining of the loyalty of the Muhammadan community, already uneasy from the alliance of Turkey with the Central Powers. All possible precautionary measures were taken. The Defence of India Act invested the executive with wide discretionary authority. The establishment of the Indian defence force mobilised the entire British and Anglo-Indian community for the preservation of internal security.

All these anxieties were enhanced by the fact that the peace of the frontier itself hung upon a hair. Much assistance was derived from the friendly attitude of Amir Habib-ullah of Afghanistan, who, despite all difficulties and dangers, kept his turbulent people to strict neutrality and threw the whole of his great influence into the task of tranquillising the border. He displayed remarkable dexterity in countering German and Turkish intrigues with the militant party among his subjects, while at the same time curbing the fanaticism of the mullahs. Even so, there was more or less serious trouble with the Mohmands and the Marris: while in 1917 the persistent hostility of the Mahsuds necessitated the dispatch of a regular expeditionary force into Waziristan. The border was still unquiet when the collapse of Russia enabled the Central Powers to carry their aggressive designs to the very gates of India. German troops overran a large part of South Russia, and crossed into the Caucasus, while Turkish forces invaded Persia. In the last country, precautions had already been taken to offset any damage that might ensue from the failure of the administration to resist attack or to maintain order. Cordons of troops had been established along the boundaries of Eastern and Western Persia; the Nushki railway was extended, and the approaches to India generally safeguarded as much as possible. Baku was also temporarily occupied in order to block the enemy line of advance.

The necessity of meeting a probable German diversion in the direction of India was the signal for a redoubling of war effort throughout the whole country. Since the first great outburst of enthusiasm, of which the government made so little use, the bulk of Indian opinion had relapsed into comparative apathy. Early in 1918, in response to appeals from the prime minister, government for the

first time seriously endeavoured to give a lead to the people. Towards the end of April, a war conference was held at Delhi, attended by ruling princes, political leaders, and representatives of the central and local governments. As a result, all parties agreed to sink their political differences and to co-operate wholeheartedly in the increased effort necessitated by the new danger. Central organisations for controlling recruiting, communications, foodstuffs, voluntary service and war publicity, were either established for the first time or galvanised into new life. The result was immediate. The resources of the country were for the remaining months of the war utilised as never before; and it is no exaggeration to say that when the armistice was declared, India was at the climax of her effort. The significance of the struggle had been brought home in a somewhat highly coloured form even to the masses: recruiting was at its maximum, and the possibility of further sacrifices was clearly envisaged. Accordingly, the country as a whole having just commenced to throw her real strength into the scale, and being newly aroused to the supreme importance of victory, received the news with less relief than expectancy. The spontaneous rejoicings which broke out were not so much a sign that India was relieved from apprehension, as a symptom that she expected the immediate dawn of the Golden Age which she had been newly taught to associate with the victory of the allies.[1] Whence arose many troubles which are discussed in another section of this volume.

So much for the obvious, the external, aspects of India in war time. But what were the real currents of opinion which flowed beneath the calm impenetrability of her people? To the careful observer, a distinct sequence of emotion is perceptible, and this we shall endeavour, in however summary and inadequate a fashion, to trace.

At the time when war broke out, the educated classes of India were uneasy. They had realised that from their own standpoint the Morley-Minto constitution was unsatisfactory. It gave them no power to achieve the various measures upon which they had set their heart—the Indianisation of the higher administrative offices: an accelerated educational programme, some degree of financial control, and co-operation in national defence. It is true that these classes were small in comparison with the mass of their fellow-countrymen. But they were leaders, and their influence counted for much. They were growing impatient. In certain parts of India, anarchism gained ground. There is every reason to believe that if the year 1914 had pursued its anticipated course, an intense campaign of political agitation for constitutional progress would have occurred. Now when war broke out, much of this pent-up energy found release in the channels of loyal enthusiasm. Some leaders there were who adopted the not unnatural course of attempting to bargain with authorities; such and such constitutional advance to be the price of India's assistance. But they found no support with their fellows, and were compelled to rehabilitate them-

[1] *India in 1917–18*; *India in 1919*.

selves as best they could. In effect, it is entirely impossible to doubt that India's war enthusiasm was wholly disinterested and entirely genuine. In this fact, it may be hoped, historians will find excuse for the exaggerated eulogies of India in which British statesmen so lavishly indulged in the early days of the war. These solemn pledges of the empire's gratitude surprised India. Her educated classes, awaking to the fact that the doings of their countrymen had become a "front page feature" of the English press, leaped to the conclusion that the British cabinet was about to give some tangible expression to its gratitude. But as the months drew on, and the prosecution of the war engrossed all the efforts of government both in England and in India, disillusionment set in. Little had been done to guide and enlist the early war enthusiasm, and the educated classes turned back to politics. Rumours of imperial federation were in the air; some readjustment of relations between the mother country and the dominions seemed already in progress.[1] What would India's place be in the new scheme? Would she become an equal member of the commonwealth, or would the dominions, whose treatment of Indian settlers had inflicted such a blow upon her national pride, henceforward share in controlling her destinies? Moreover, as the war proceeded, and the defence of democratic ideals became an acknowledged plank in the allied platform, the scope of Indian Nationalist ambitions became imperceptibly enlarged. Was a struggle waged on behalf of the weak against the strong, on behalf of the peaceful against the aggressive, on behalf of the oppressed against the oppressors, to leave the political status of India unaffected? The heady doctrine of self-determination, with all the catchwords of modern democracy, swept India like a flame. The educated classes determined to assert their right to control their own destinies. They turned eagerly to the home rule movements launched by such leaders as Mrs Besant and the late Bal Gangadhan Tilak. Even educated Islam, which had for so long held itself aloof, joined the congress fold on the assurance of adequate safeguards for the interests of the Muhammadan community. A scheme of constitutional reform was hastily adumbrated, and as hastily accepted as the minimum of India's demand. A whirlwind campaign of political agitation was launched in its support. Government unwittingly added fuel to the flames by arresting and interning Mrs Besant, whose activities were considered inconvenient. This action united in support of the home rule movement many Indians who had previously held aloof from it. The pressure upon the administration became overwhelming, and was only relieved by a dramatic announcement. The home government at length, amidst all the preoccupations of the war, turned their attention to Indian affairs. Mr E. S. Montagu, who had succeeded Mr Austen Chamberlain as secretary of state, declared on August 20, 1917, that the policy of His Majesty's Government was the increasing association of Indians in

[1] *India in 1917–18.*

every branch of the administration, and the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire.

The effect of this announcement was startling. In the first place it dramatically confirmed the hopes of those who aspired for India's equality with the self-governing dominions, thus suddenly enlarging the scope of "legitimate" aspirations. But in the second place it threw the apple of discord into the Nationalist camp. The moderate party, after being temporarily submerged beneath the domination of the left wing, found in the declaration a long-sought battle-cry. The extremists in their turn were heartened by what they regarded as merely the firstfruits of intensive agitation, and prepared to exploit their control over the impressionable youth of the educated classes. Thirdly, the Muhammadan community, already disquieted by the misfortunes of Turkey, saw in the declaration at once a triumph of Hindu ideals, and a threat to themselves. The "political" section lost ground; communal tension grew, and a serious breach between Hindus and Muslims shortly developed. The visit of the secretary of state to India, which called forth a flood of separate memorials and representations, increased the sectional spirit already prevailing.

In the midst of all these currents and cross-currents came the war crisis of 1918. For the moment discord ceased, and the old unanimity of feeling was in some measure restored. But long before the dissensions really healed, the armistice intervened. Peace found India united indeed, so far as the war effort was concerned, but divided on every other ground, and fiercely discussing the merits and demerits of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. The terrible influenza epidemic, which accounted for more victims in India alone than had perished in four years of world war, cast a sombre shadow over the scene of victory. Economic dislocation, now become serious, was causing deep distress to the masses. The educated classes were but little happier. Their political horizon had, indeed, enlarged, but they felt themselves disappointed of their hopes. They were distracted by conflicting programmes, perplexed by divergent ideals. Their country had been set upon the path of dominion status; their representatives had found admission to the innermost councils of the empire in the war cabinet and the imperial conference. The old stigma upon Indian military prowess had been removed by admitting Indian gentlemen to king's commissions in the army. A territorial force and a university training corps were being organised to give the lie to the charge that England had "disarmed and emasculated" India. Yet the millennium had not come to pass. The alien was still master in their country. What was left to them but agitation, agitation and yet more agitation?

As succeeding years were to prove only too plainly, the closing scenes of the world war brought to India, despite all her sacrifices in the cause of victory, not peace, but a sword.