CHAPTER XXXII
NORTH-EASTERN FRONTIER

I. BHUTAN

The first attempt of the British Government of India to establish friendly relations with Bhutan was the result of strained relations between Bhutan and Cooch Behar towards the close of the eighteenth century. In earlier times the relations between Cooch Behar and Bhutan were always very intimate, and Bhutan exercised considerable control over Cooch Behar affairs. "About 1695 the Bhutanese overran Cooch Behar and usurped the government till Santa Narayan Nazir Deo, with the assistance of the Mahomedan Viceroy, expelled them after a long struggle, and placed Rup Narayan on the throne. The Bhutanese, however, continued their control over political affairs in Cooch Behar". In 1772, the Bhutanese invaded Cooch Behar and carried off the Raja with the intention of placing on the throne a ruler of their own choice. The Cooch Behar ruling family solicited British aid. A small British force drove the Bhutanese out of Cooch Behar and captured the fort of Buxa. The Bhutanese then sought the help of Tashi Lama, the Regent of Tibet, who wrote a friendly letter to the Governor-General, Warren Hastings, in 1774. As a result of his intercession a treaty was made between the Government of India and Bhutan on 25th April, 1774. The tribute of five Tangan horses, which had been paid by Bhutan to the Cooch Behar Raja for the province of Falakata, was transferred to the East India Company. This ended all political relations between Bhutan and Cooch Behar. The Bhutanese merchants were allowed the same privileges of trade, free of duty, as formerly, with permission for their caravans to go to Rangpur annually. The Deb Raja, as the ruler of Bhutan was called, agreed to abstain from encouraging incursions into the Company's country and to submit all disputes between Bhutan and the Company's subjects to the decision of the Company's Magistrate. Taking advantage of the friendly attitude of Tashi Lama, Warren Hastings sent a Mission under Bogle to Tibet. The Mission started on 6th May, 1774, and Bogle was successful in gaining the consent of the Deb Raja to the passage of trade, free of duty, through his country. Articles of trade agreement between the two Governments were drawn up, and for a few years trade from Bengal was actually allowed to pass through Bhutan into Tibet.
TWO SMALL MISSIONS UNDER HAMILTON ALMOST IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWED ON THIS IMPORTANT MISSION OF BOGLE. IN 1775 WARREN HASTINGS SENT HAMILTON TO BHUTAN TO EXAMINE INTO THE CLAIMS OF THE DEB RAJA TO FALAKATA AND JULPAISH (NOW IN JALPAIGURI DISTRICT). HAMILTON CAME TO A CONCLUSION IN FAVOUR OF THE DEB RAJA'S RIGHTS. IN 1777 HE WAS SENT AGAIN TO BHUTAN TO CONGRATULATE A NEW DEB RAJA ON HIS SUCCESSION.

IN 1783 WARREN HASTINGS SENT CAPTAIN TURNER AS HIS ENVOY TO THE COURT OF THE INFANT LAMA OF TIBET. TURNER WAS ALSO Charged WITH LETTERS TO THE DEB RAJA REQUESTING HIM TO KEEP HIS ENGAGEMENTS UNDER THE ARTICLES OF TRADE CONCLUDED BY BOGLE. THUS WARREN HASTINGS, BY HIS POLICY OF SENDING MISSIONS TO TIBET AND BHUTAN, SUCCEEDED IN ESTABLISHING FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH THESE TWO COUNTRIES, AND IN OPENING TRADE THROUGH THE ONE COUNTRY TO THE OTHER. BUT IN 1792, WHEN THE GURKHAS OF NEPAL INVADER TIBET AND A CHINESE ARMY DROVE THEM OUT, THE CHINESE SUSPECTED THAT THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT HAD SUPPORTED THE GURKHAS AND, IN CONSEQUENCE, THEY CLOSED ALL THE PASSES OF TIBET TO NATIVES OF INDIA. THIS WAS THE END OF THE POLICY OF ESTABLISHING GOOD RELATIONS WITH TIBET. MEANWHILE THE FRIENDLY RELATIONS OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT WITH BHUTAN ALSO BEGAN TO WANE, DUE TO BORDER DISPUTES. IN 1815, SOME DISPUTES OCCURRED REGARDING THE BHUTAN FRONTIER BOUNDARIES, AND BABU KISHAN KANT BOSE WAS DEPUTED TO THE COURT OF BHUTAN. HE HAS LEFT AN INTERESTING REPORT OF THE COUNTRY AS HE FOUND IT.

form”. Thus economic factors as well as strategic considerations (to have a well-defined frontier marching along the foot of the hills) led to the British control over the Duars. It was after the Anglo-Burmese War of 1825-26 that disputes over the Duars began with the Bhutan Government. The Assam Duars were occupied by the Bhutanese on payment of annual tributes. The British Government of India renewed and confirmed the engagements made with the Bhutanese by the Assamese. These engagements were of a somewhat complicated nature and were well calculated to produce the misunderstanding which at a very early date arose between the two Governments. In the first place, though five Assam Duars were held exclusively by the Bhutanese, two Duars (Guma and Kalling) were held under a very peculiar tenure, for the British Government, like the Ahom rulers, occupied them from July to November each year, while the Bhutanese held them for the remainder of the year. Secondly, as the tribute was payable in kind, disputes arose as to the value of the articles paid by way of tribute. Thus the relations of the Government of India with Bhutan were not placed on a satisfactory basis. To improve these relations a Mission under Captain Pemberton was sent to Bhutan in 1837, but no amicable adjustment took place. Pemberton’s report, however, supplied valuable information about Bhutan. As, on account of internal troubles, Bhutan was remiss in payment of annual tributes, and outrages like plunder and kidnapping continued, Lord Auckland, the Governor-General of India, authorized the annexation of the Assam Duars in 1841 on payment of Rs. 10,000 per annum to the Bhutan Government as compensation.

The Government of India then turned its attention to the unsatisfactory nature of the Bengal Duars frontier. The Bhutias frequently committed outrages on this frontier also, in course of which property was plundered and destroyed, and men were killed and carried into captivity. Consequently, in 1855, when Tongsa Penlop (the most powerful chieftain in Bhutan who was king de facto) assumed a threatening attitude, Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General of India, took up a strong attitude and the Bhutan Government offered a suitable apology. A British cantonment was established on this frontier at Jalpaiguri, in order to restrain the Bhutiyas, but their depredations continued. The long-continued aggressions of the Bhutiyas induced Lord Canning to consider seriously the question of despatching an expedition into Bhutan, but it was postponed on account of the outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857. After peace and order were restored, the attention of the Government of India was again drawn to the Bhutia outrages. As a punitive measure, the
Government withheld the annual payment of two thousand Rupees which they had hitherto been paying on account of the Ambari Falakata Taluk, a Bhutiya territory situated on the west bank of the Tista, within the district of Rangpur, but administered by the British. This annual payment, stopped in 1860, was frequently demanded by the Bhutiyas, who committed further depredations. At the beginning of 1862 the Bhutiyas were reported to have been making military preparations for forcibly occupying Ambari Falakata, and British forces were despatched from Danapur to Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri. This considerably eased the situation and the Government of India decided to send Sir Ashley Eden as an envoy to Bhutan for the amicable adjustment of all matters of dispute and to revise and improve the relations existing between the two Governments. He was specially instructed to demand the surrender of the captives taken and the restoration of the property plundered from British territory, and also that security should be given for the future peace of the frontier. Eden left for Bhutan towards the close of 1863 with an escort of 100 men under the command of Captain Lance. The Bhutanese Government, which was really in the hands of Tongsa Penlop, put all kinds of obstacles in Eden’s way and rejected all his demands. The British “envoy was insulted in open darbar and compelled, as the only means of ensuring the safe return of the Mission, to sign under protest a document for the renunciation of the Bhutan Duars situated in Assam frontier”. Eden and his party, however, managed to escape at night and returned to Darjeeling in April, 1864. After making further futile attempts to induce Bhutan to accept their demands, the Government of India issued a proclamation on 12 November, 1864. After narrating the history of Bhutiya outrages culminating in the insult offered to the British envoy, Sir Ashley Eden, the proclamation continues: “For this insult the Governor-General in Council determined to withhold for ever the annual payments previously made to the Bhutan Government on account of the revenues of the Assam Duars and Ambari Falakata, which had long been in the occupation of the British Government, and annexed those districts permanently to the British territory.”

The British Government also decided to annex the Bengal Duars of Bhutan and so much of the hill territory, including the forts of Dalingkote, Pasaka, and Dewangiri, as might be necessary to command the passes. Accordingly a military force was sent and all the above forts were occupied, without much resistance, by the middle of January, 1865. The Bhutiyas, however, scored two notable successes; they recaptured Dewangiri and occupied Tazigong by
forcing the British to evacuate them. Both these places were afterwards re-taken, and the newly annexed Duars of Bhutan were occupied by a strong military force, cutting off Bhutan from all communication with the plains, both in Assam and Bengal. As the Bhutan Government still refused to treat except upon the basis of the surrender of the annexed territory, the Government of India decided to send an expedition into the interior of Bhutan after the rainy season was over. Before this expedition actually began any operations, overtures were made on the part of the Bhutan Rajas that they were anxious to enter into negotiations for peace, and a treaty was made on 11th November, 1865. The Government of India agreed, in return for the Duars, to pay to the Bhutan Government an annual sum of Rs. 25,000 in the first year, Rs. 35,000 for the second, Rs. 45,000 for the third, and Rs. 50,000 on every succeeding year. The payment of this sum, liable as it was to stoppage in the event of misconduct on the part of the Bhutan Government or its failure to check the aggression of its subjects, was an excellent and powerful guarantee for its good conduct. The Bhutan Government agreed to surrender all British subjects of Sikkim and Cooch Behar detained in Bhutan against their will; to the mutual extradition of criminals; to the maintenance of free trade; and to the arbitration of the Government of India in all disputes between the Bhutan Government and the Chiefs of Cooch Behar and Sikkim. The Bhutanese also agreed to deliver up the two guns which had fallen into the hands of Tongsa Penlop, after the re-capture of Dewangiri.\textsuperscript{3a}

This treaty is an important landmark in the relations between the Bhutan Government and the Government of India. The '18 Duars' was ceded to the Government of India, and this narrow strip of territory, lying at the foot of the hills, was, as stated above, not only very fertile but also possessed strategic importance. The relations with Bhutan have been amicable since the signing of the treaty. Of course, there were minor causes of dispute. Payment of the allowance to the Bhutan Government was temporarily withheld in 1868, as the Bhutan Government stopped intercommunication between Bhutan and Buza and also sent an officer of inferior rank to receive the subsidy in disregard of Article 4 of the treaty. In 1880 the Bhutan Government was again warned that the subsidy would be withheld unless certain raiders in Chunabati, near Buza, were handed over to the Government of India. Eventually, the demands were complied with, the raiders delivered up, and the captives (British subjects who had been carried off) released in July, 1881.

Apart from these two incidents, the relations with Bhutan have been friendly. In 1888, when war broke out between the Govern-
ment of India and Tibet, the ruler of Bhutan refused assistance to the Tibetans. During the Tibet Mission of 1904, the Bhutanese were called upon for open support, and their Government sent a Mission with General Macdonald in his advance on Lhasa.

Up to 1904 the political relations between Bhutan and the Indian Government had been carried on through the medium of the Government of Bengal. On hostilities breaking out with Tibet in that year, these political relations were transferred from Bengal to Colonel Younghusband, who corresponded direct with the Government of India. On the termination of the Mission, these political relations were transferred to the Political Officer of Sikkim, who was also entrusted with the political relations with Tibet. This was a change of great importance, as it brought Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet in direct relationship with the Government of India, and thus avoided the unnecessary tedious delays formerly caused by the correspondence through the local government.

II. NEPAL

Reference has been made above\(^3\) to the Anglo-Gurkha War which broke out in 1814 and was ended by the Treaty of Segowli on 4 March, 1816. Since then the relation between the two States was, generally speaking, friendly, but there were occasional ill feelings, and things even went so far that war between the two countries seemed imminent and was only prevented with great difficulty. By 1839 the war party in Nepal, represented by the senior queen and the Panre family, got control over the administration and ousted the weak and incapable king from any participation in public affairs. In 1840 the senior queen ordered an invasion of the British territory. The Gurkhas occupied nearly a hundred villages in the district of Ramnagar. Hodgson, the British Resident at Katmandu, acted with energy. He demanded the immediate withdrawal of troops, compensation, and an apology. The queen incited the troops in Katmandu to mutiny, but the coup failed. The Government of India sent an ultimatum whereupon the Gurkhas withdrew from Ramnagar, and the Panre Government was replaced by a coalition Government favourable to the British alliance. The death of the queen in 1841 strengthened the peace party. The alliance between the Government of India and Nepal was restored, and the King of Nepal even offered the services of the Nepalese army for use in Burma or in Afghanistan. The British relations with Nepal were still further improved when Jang Bahadur became the Prime Minister in 1846. He was by far the most remarkable Prime Minister of Nepal. He was shrewd enough to understand the importance of maintaining friendly rela-

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tions with his powerful neighbour in the south. In May, 1848, he offered the services of six regiments of Nepalese troops in the event of war breaking out between the English and the Sikhs. The Indian Government declined the offer, but stated that they would accept it, should need arise on any future occasion.

Jang Bahadur tried to increase the influence of Nepal by declaring war on Tibet. The war was ended by the treaty signed at Katmandu on the 24th March, 1856. Nepal gained valuable concessions—the payment of an annual indemnity by the Tibetans of ten thousand Rupees, freedom of trade to Nepalese subjects in Tibet, the abolition of customs duties on all goods entering Tibet, and the appointment of a Nepalese representative at Lhasa to protect the interests of Nepalese subjects in that city.

During the Mutiny Jang Bahadur demonstrated his friendship to the British by despatching a large force to co-operate with the British force operating against Lakhnau, an important stronghold of the revolt. Three thousand Nepalese troops swept on through Awadh as far as Chanda and Sohanpur, thereby preventing any chance of a flank attack on the British troops marching towards Lakhnau. Later, Jang Bahadur took the field in person at the head of 9,000 men. He captured Gorakhpur in January, 1858. Two months later, the Gurkhas took a prominent part in the battle of Lakhnau. Later, when the defeated rebel chiefs fled to Nepal, Jang Bahadur took effective measures to disarm and disperse them. Jang Bahadur not only helped the British Government of India in crushing the rebellion, but also authorized the raising of more Gurkha battalions for the Indian army. As a reward for his services the Government of India restored to Nepal a large part of the former Gurkha possessions in the Terai, which had been ceded to the British in 1816.

From this time onward the relations of Nepal with the Government of India continued to be friendly. Nepal was fortunate in having very able Prime Ministers who not only tried to improve the economic condition of Nepal but also maintained good relations with the Government of India.

III. MANIPUR

1. Political Control of Burma

Manipur, wedged in between Assam and Burma, guarded the north-east frontier of India, and no wonder that India and Burma were rivals for this territory of great strategic importance. Long before the advent of the British in India, Burma had asserted her supremacy over Manipur. It was about the middle of the sixteenth
century that Bayinnaung, the most powerful ruler of the Toungoo dynasty of Burma, reduced Manipur to a tributary State. But subsequently Manipur re-asserted her independence and even made occasional raids into Burma. Thus Gharib Niwaz, the most powerful ruler of Manipur, led several successful expeditions into Burma in 1725, 1735, 1738, 1739 and in 1749. Due to disunity among the successors of Gharib Niwaz, however, Manipur lost her independence and was again subjected to the political control of Burma. “From 1755 A.D. up to the treaty of Yandaboo in 1826 A.D. the history of Manipur is replete with the story of successive Burmese invasions and of how she resisted them and eventually triumphed over them”. The increasing power of Burma alarmed the British Government in India. In 1759 the ruler of Burma destroyed the English settlement in Negrais, an island at the mouth of the Irrawaddy. Shortly after this, Haridas Gossain met Mr. Verelst at Chittagong to secure British help for his master, Jai Singh, to regain the lost territories of Manipur from Burma. The terms of the alliance were settled on 14th September, 1762. This was the first formal agreement between the Government of Manipur and the British Government of India. A British contingent of troops was to be sent to help Jai Singh in recovering the territories wrested from Manipur by Burma. In return, the Government of Manipur agreed to grant for ever to the English rent-free land at a suitable place in Manipur for the establishment of a factory and a fort, and also provide every facility for the promotion of trade with China. The Government of Manipur agreed to pay the expenses of the British contingent of troops and also to compensate the English for the loss suffered by them at the island of Negrais. A clause of offensive and defensive alliance was included in the treaty. The British contingent, however, suffered from rain and disease and had to return without achieving any success. Manipur continued to be under the control of Burma. Jai Singh made many attempts to recover Manipur, but failed in his efforts. Ultimately he came to an understanding with the Burmese ruler and was allowed to rule over Manipur. In the war of succession amongst the sons of Jai Singh, the Burmese ruler espoused the cause of Marjit. In 1812 Marjit occupied the throne of Manipur as a vassal of Burma. But in 1818-1819, when he showed signs of independence, a Burmese army occupied Manipur. Marjit fled from Manipur and, with the help of his brothers, secured Cachar. Govinda Chandra, the deposed ruler of Cachar, finding no hope of getting any help from the British, sought the help of the Burmese. In 1823 a Burmese force invaded Cachar through Manipur. Marjit fled to Sylhet.
Meanwhile, taking advantage of the internal dissensions in Assam, a Burmese force entered the country in 1817 and placed their nominee Chandra Kanta Singh on the throne. When Chandra Kanta Singh showed signs of independence, large Burmese forces under the command of Bandula poured into Assam in 1821 and defeated him. How these incursions ultimately led to the Anglo-Burmese War, has been stated above.

2. Gambhir Singh

The First Anglo-Burmese war broke out in 1824. The British forces drove out the Burmese forces from Cachar. Then the British entered into an agreement with the Manipur princes. In return for help the British agreed to support Gambhir Singh, one of the Manipur princes, to regain the throne of Manipur. The Burmese forces were driven out of Manipur. The war came to a close by the Treaty of Yandabo (24th February, 1826) which recognized Gambhir Singh’s title to the throne of Manipur. But there was some confusion about the nature of his sovereignty. It was stated in Article II. “His Majesty the King of Ava renounced all claims upon and will abstain from all future interference with the principality of Assam and its dependencies and also with the contiguous petty states of Cachar and Jynteeea. With regard to Manipur, it is stipulated that should Gambhir Singh desire to return to that country, he shall be recognized by the King of Ava as Raja thereof.”

It was not clarified whether Gambhir Singh should be treated as the Sovereign ruler of Manipur or as a vassal king under Burma. The British, however, were anxious not to allow Manipur to remain a dependency of Burma, for the Burmese political control over Manipur would expose the Sylhet frontier to the danger which had precipitated the war in 1824. Negotiations with the Burmese led to a happy settlement; the Burmese renounced their sovereignty over Manipur and their incursions extending over sixty years at last came to an end. There was nothing to indicate that Gambhir Singh, who thus became ruler of Manipur, acknowledged the suzerainty of the British, though the Government of India regarded Manipur as a protected state. This question has already been discussed above in Ch. XXVII. For the time being, however, close and intimate friendly relations were established between Manipur and British India, and it was but natural and inevitable that the petty rulers of Manipur would be subservient to their powerful neighbour.

During the military operations of the First Burmese War, Gambhir Singh had occupied the Kuna valley inhabited by the Shans. The Burmese claimed this territory, and Gambhir Singh referred it...
to the decision of the British, who upheld the claims of Burma. Gambhir Singh reluctantly agreed, and the Kho valley was transferred to Burma in 1834. The Government of India, conscious of the just claims of Gambhir Singh which had to be sacrificed for placating Burma, agreed to pay Rs. 500 per month to Manipur State as compensation.

Manipur had been devastated by the successive invasions of Burma for more than sixty years. At the time when Gambhir Singh became the independent ruler of Manipur, its adult male population did not exceed 2000. Reference has been made to Gambhir Singh's unsuccessful effort to get possession of Cachar after the death of its ruler Govinda Chandra. But though weak in resources Manipur had a stable government. The economic and military alliance between Manipur and British Government was established, and its nature was clearly defined by a number of resolutions adopted by both in 1833.

3. Chandrakirti Singh.

Gambhir Singh died in 1834, leaving a son, Chandrakirti, only two years old. So Nar Singh, a great-grandson of Gharib Niwaz and a former Senapati (Commander-in-chief) of Gambhir Singh, became the Regent and carried on the administration with great ability. But Maharani Kumudini Devi, the mother of Chandrakirti, suspected Nar Singh as having designs upon the throne. In 1844 a plot was hatched to murder Nar Singh, but it failed. He suspected the complicity of the Maharani in the attempt on his life and usurped the throne. The Maharani, with Chandrakirti, fled to Cachar and threw themselves under the protection of the British. But the British Government did not like to interfere in the internal affairs of Manipur. On the death of Nar Singh in 1850, Chandrakirti sent a petition to the Government of India for his restoration to the throne, but without waiting for a reply advanced from Cachar and seized the throne, while Devendra Singh, brother and successor of Nar Singh, fled to Cachar.

But troubles continued in Manipur owing to the hostile activities of Debendra Singh's followers and the consequent chaos in internal administration. The Political Agent at Manipur recommended that the British Government should recognize Chandrakirti Singh as the ruler of Manipur. In 1852, the Government of India had authorized the Political Agent to make "a public avowal of the determination of the British Government to uphold the present Raja, and to resist and punish any parties attempting hereafter to dispossess him." Primarily interested in the maintenance of law
and order in this important State on the frontier of India, the Government of India was naturally anxious to maintain the Maharaja in power. The Secretary of State for India, however, took a wider view of the subject, for he felt that this British guarantee would mean that the Maharaja would feel secure even if there was maladministration. The Secretary of State was, therefore, of the view that this guarantee must be accompanied by interference in the internal affairs of the State to ensure good administration to the people. Therefore he issued the following instructions to the Government of India:

"Considering the very unfavourable reports of the Raja's administration hitherto given by Captain McCulloch, we feel considerable doubt of the propriety of having bound yourselves to his support. The position, however, which you have thus assumed of pledged protectors of the Raja imposes on you as a necessary consequence the obligation not only of attempting to guide him by your advice, but, if needful, of protecting his subjects against oppression on his part; otherwise our guarantee of his rule may be the cause of inflicting on them a continuance of reckless tyranny. The obligation thus incurred may be found embarrassing, but it must nevertheless be fulfilled; and while needless interference is of course to be avoided, we shall expect that, as the price of the protection afforded to him, the Raja will submit to our maintaining a sufficient check over the general conduct of his administration, so as to prevent it from being oppressive to the people and discreditable to the Government which gives it support".7 This was, no doubt, the thin end of the wedge by which the British sought to extend its authority over the State of Manipur which never acknowledged the suzerainty of the British nor theoretically regarded itself as a dependent State. No occasion, however, arose for British interference in the internal affairs of Manipur during the reign of Chandrakirtti Singh. He actively helped the British during the outbreak of 1857 and was rewarded by a dress of honour, sword, and belt; eight of his chief officers received Khilat. The Mutiny Medal was presented to one of the military officers who actually fought against the mutineers and captured a number of the mutineers of Chittagong who proceeded towards Manipur. On the other hand, the British alliance stood Chandrakirtti in good stead in suppressing chronic rebellions and outbreaks in his kingdom.


The Manipur State exercised authority over a considerable part of the Naga Hills. But during its period of decadence caused by the
Burmese aggressions (A.D. 1755-1826) Manipur lost whatever influence it had over the interior of Naga Hills. In 1832 Captain Jenkins and Pemberton, escorted by Gambhir Singh and his troops, forced a passage through the hills in order to find a suitable route to Assam. At that time Gambhir Singh re-asserted the authority of Manipur over that area and reduced to submission several villages, including Kohima, the largest of them. In 1833 when the Angami Nagas started giving trouble to the British, Gambhir Singh with his forces again subdued Kohima.

'Geographically there is no lime of demarcation between Manipur and Naga Hills. A vague boundary between the two was laid down in 1842 by Lt. Biggs from the British side and Captain Gordon on the part of the Manipur Government. But the Nagas of that locality never cared for this boundary. At last in 1851 the Government of India, angered by Naga raids, allowed the Manipur Government to extend its authority over the Naga villages on the other side of the Biggs-Gordon line. The British also claimed a part of the Naga Hills and had a Political Agent to administer the area. But his actual authority was confined to Samaguting, his headquarters, and its immediate neighbourhood. The Nagas living in unadministered areas often came into clash with those in administered areas, and in 1877 an expedition was sent to quell a rebellious outbreak in Mozzarella village. James Johnstone, the Political Agent of Manipur, accompanied by a minister of that State, proceeded with an army to the help of the Political Agent of Naga Hills. The Nagas approached Chandrakirti, the ruler of Manipur, for help, but the latter refused and admonished them to surrender, and the rebellion at Mozzarella subsided. In 1878 the Political Agent of Naga Hills removed his headquarters to Kohima, but it was invaded by the Angami Nagas in October. 1879. The rebellion spread like wildfire, and a grave situation arose, calling for immediate succour. Once again Johnstone, the Political Agent of Manipur, advanced to the rescue of Kohima, with the troops of the Residency, accompanied by 2000 Maniour troops under Tikendrajit, the third son of Chandrakirti. The British camp was saved and gradually the rebellion was suppressed. Johnstone has put on record his appreciation of the services rendered by Manipur at this grave crisis. "It is difficult", said he, "to over-estimate our obligation to the Maharaja for his loyal conduct during the insurrection and subsequent troubles. According to his own belief, we had deprived him of territory belonging to him, and which he had been allowed to claim as his own. The Nagas asked him to help them, and promised to become his feudatories, if only he would not act against them. The
temptation must have been strong, to at least serve us as we deserved, by leaving us in the lurch to get out of the mess as best as we could. Instead of this, Chandra Kirti Singh loyally and cheerfully placed his resources at our disposal, and certainly by enabling me to march to its relief, prevented the fall of Kohima, and the disastrous result which would have inevitably followed".10

5. Manipur as a British protectorate.

The death of Chandrakirti in 1886 was followed by internal dissensions, leading to the armed resistance of the Manipur royal family to the British Government in India. This episode and its tragic consequences have been dealt at some length in Chapter XXVII, partly to remove popular misconceptions about what is usually, but wrongly, called the "Manipur Rebellion", and partly to illustrate the practical application of the theory of paramountcy, in respect of independent Hill States on the north-eastern frontier.

As mentioned above, the armed resistance of Manipur was of short duration, and by the end of April, 1891, i.e. within a month, Manipur was occupied by a British force. Senapati Tikendrajit was executed and Maharaja Kulachandra was transported for life to the Andamans. The question of annexing the State or restoring it to some member of the Maharaja's family was thoroughly discussed in the Viceroy's Executive Council. The Chief Commissioner, in his note dated 16th July, 1891, had strongly recommended the annexation of the State. "In the first place I take it as an accepted axiom of our foreign policy in India, that if a Native State wages war against the Queen, that alone (leaving out of consideration for the present the question of expediency) is a sufficient and justifiable ground for annexing the State to British territory. We have had more than one practical instance in recent years of the application of this axiom, the most recent being the annexation to British territory in Burma of the Shan State of Wuntho".11

The Chief Commissioner maintained that as Manipur was not an independent but protected State, and owed its very existence to the protection which the Government of India had afforded to it 'for years past', the Government of India had exercised the right of interfering in the internal affairs of the State to safeguard their interests. "We do not, it is true, ordinarily interfere with the internal affairs of the State, but, in consideration of the protection which we have always given to the Maharaja and our promise to maintain him on the gaddi against all who might seek to dispossess him, we have always insisted on our right to compel him to do, or to abstain from doing, certain things, e. g., he must not obstruct trade between
Manipur and British territory, or exact heavy duties, or create monopoles; he must not supply arms to hill tribes that are hostile to the British Government; he must not disturb the frontier by acts of aggression against hill tribes lying beyond the Manipur boundary; we compel him to maintain the road from the confines of the Cachar district to Manipur; we insist on his supplying labour to us whenever called upon to do so; we insist upon his punishing his officers of State, officers of the Manipur army, and others who are known to have committed acts of atrocity, even though such acts may have been committed within the limits of the State; we will not permit him to oppress his subjects, or to allow his subjects to oppress British subjects; and lastly, he is bound to assist us with the troops if we ever have occasion in an emergency to call upon him for such assistance”.

The policy of annexation was also supported by some members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, but did not find favour with the Viceroy. The Viceroy agreed that the Government had a moral right to annex the State, for it had been guilty of rebellion, but he favoured the policy of inflicting sufficient punishment on the State without annexing it. “I am on principle strongly opposed to needless annexations, and I would have a scrupulous regard for the independence of the Native States in subordinate alliance with us, so long as they remain loyal, and do nothing to forfeit their right to our protection. The onus should, I think, always be upon those who advocate annexation, and it lies with them to show that no other course will satisfy the claims of justice and public policy. I would, therefore, in the contingency which we are supposing, pass sentence of extinction upon the Manipur State in the most solemn manner. I would revoke all existing sanads, and I would re-grant to a new Ruler, whom we shall select, a carefully limited amount of authority under conditions which could for all time render it impossible for any Manipuri to contend, as Mr. Ghose has contended,\textsuperscript{12} that the State is one enjoying sovereign rights, and therefore not owing any allegiance to Her Majesty. The new sanad should, on the contrary, place Manipur in a position of distinct subordination, and any privileges conceded should be made to continue only during the good behaviour of the Ruler, and the pleasure of the Government of India.”\textsuperscript{13}

In pursuance of this principle the Government of India appointed Chura Chand (a minor) as the ruler of Manipur. In the sanad given to him, it was mentioned that “the chiefship of the Manipur State will be hereditary and will descend in the direct line,” provided that in each case the succession was approved of by the Gov-
ernment of India. Chura Chand and his successors were to pay an annual tribute. Further, the “permanence of the grant conveyed by this sanad” was to depend upon the ready fulfilment “of all orders given by the British Government with regard to the administration of your territories, the control of the hill tribes dependent upon Manipur, the composition of the armed forces of the State, and any other matters in which the British Government may be pleased to intervene.” Thus the sanad provided for the complete subordination of the Manipur State. This aspect of the policy was emphasized by the Government of India in their letter (dated 21st September, 1891) addressed to the Chief Commissioner of Assam: “You will observe that it provides for the complete subordination of the Manipur State”.¹⁴ For “the treacherous attack on British Officers”, a fine of Rs. 2,50,000 was imposed. The administration of the State during the minority of the Maharaja was entrusted to a Superintenddent and a Political Agent, who was given full power to introduce any reforms that he considered beneficial, but with instructions to pay due regard to the customs and traditions of the Manipuris and to interfere as little as possible with the existing institutions. Thus, towards the close of the nineteenth century the Government of India tightened its grip over this important State, guarding the north-east frontier of India.

IV. LUSHAI HILLS.

The eastern frontier, bordering on the Sylhet and Cachar Districts, was frequently raided by the savage Lushai and Kuki tribes inhabiting the hills and jungles to the south of the Hailakandi valley, lying mostly between the Dhaleswari and Sonai rivers. After remaining quiet for more than five years, the Lushais under Sukpoilal suddenly invaded Tippera and Sylhet in December, 1868. The Cachar tea gardens were also attacked by the Lushais under Vonpilal. Military expeditions were sent against the villages of these chiefs. But although, on Vonpilal’s death, his villages submitted, the expeditions failed to achieve their main objectives, namely to rescue the captives taken by the tribes and to punish them sufficiently for their outrages. The Government of Bengal proposed the despatch of a fresh expedition, but the Government of India turned down the proposal and, instead, sent Mr. J. W. Edgar, Deputy-Commissioner of Cachar, to the Lushai country to interview the principal chiefs and effect an amicable settlement. He saw the important chiefs, including Sukpoilal who was mainly responsible for the raids committed in December, 1868, and they agreed to maintain friendly relations with the British. But in the cold weather of 1870-71 several raids were made by the Kukis, or Lushais, on a more extensively orga-
nized scale, and of a far more determined character, than any of their previous incursions. The audacity of the raiders in many cases was quite new to the experience of the British Government, showing that they possessed fighting qualities not altogether to be despised, and that they had other tactics to depend on than those of night surprises and rapid flights, which had been supposed to be their only mode of aggression.\textsuperscript{16}

"Several raids occurred in quick succession late in January in the Hylakandi subdivision of Cachar. A tea garden was destroyed, the resident planter, Mr. Winchester, was killed and his little girl carried off. Several other tea gardens and coolie lines were attacked and more or less injured, though gallantly defended by the planters. Even the troops and police sent to the relief of the tea gardens were attacked. On the Sylhet frontier and in Hill Tippera, villages were similarly fired on, and some of them burnt; skirmishes ensued between the police guards and the raiders, with uncertain results."\textsuperscript{16}

These raids proved the failure of the policy of conciliation. "The policy unanimously recommended by the local officers was that raids should be met by condign punishment, in the shape of a military occupation of the raiders' villages during as long a period as possible, the seizure of their crops and stored grain, and the forced submission of their chiefs; after that, by the steady endeavour of the frontier officers to influence them and promote trade; and finally, by a system of frontier posts, combined with a line of road running north and south from the Cachar frontier to that of Chittagong".\textsuperscript{17}

Accordingly, a regular military expedition was sent in 1871-2. It was divided into two columns, one advancing southwards from Cachar, and the other marching northwards from Chittagong Hill Tracts. The various tribes, including the Howlongs and Syloos, submitted and agreed to surrender all captives, live amicably with British subjects and give free right of passage through their country.

The Government of India now again "adhered to the system of exercising political influence only without direct interference or control, coupled with the definition of a precise boundary line beyond which ordinary jurisdiction should on no account extend. The line was to be guarded by a chain of posts, and beyond it only political relations with the tribes were to be cultivated. Careful surveys were made of the frontier lines. A large portion of the Lushai country was brought within the familiar knowledge and political control of our officers, and most of the remainder was explored and mapped by parties who had friendly relations with the tribes. The Lieutenant-
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Governor favoured the policy of maintaining an advanced post to bring political influence to bear upon the Syloos, Howlongs, and other tribes, whose country was more accessible from the Chittagong Hill Tracts than on the Cachar side. The Shindus in the direction of Arracan were more difficult to approach. The Lushai raids ceased entirely. Government passed a Regulation under the Statute 33 and 34 Vic. c. 3, with a view to bringing under more stringent control the commercial relations of our own subjects with the frontier tribes living on the borders of our jurisdiction.¹⁹

As occasional raids continued, the Government adopted in 1891 the policy of controlling the tribes from within. "A portion of the Lushai country was annexed, and a new frontier district, with an area estimated at 24,000 sq. miles was constituted from the 1st April 1891 under the name of the South Lushai Hills, under a Superintendent. The Chittagong Hill Tracts were converted from the 1st November 1891 into a subdivision in charge of an Assistant Commissioner under the direct supervision of the Commissioner of Chittagong. The troops were withdrawn, but a detachment of 200 Gurkhas was left at Fort Tregear about 45 miles distant from Lungleh. The exercise of control over the subjugated hill tribes from within, and the presence of troops at Fort Tregear produced a most salutary effect, so that perfect tranquillity prevailed in the Chittagong Hill Tracts."²⁰ The Chief, Jakopa, who had inflicted a serious reverse upon a British detachment, was defeated; he escaped but his village was destroyed, leading to the final subjugation of the Molienpui tribes. A durbar was held at Lungleh in January, 1892. It was attended by all the chiefs who swore friendship with one another. The boundary was settled between the north and south Lushai hills and the refractory Shindu Chief, Dokola, was captured and deported to Hazaribagh. Serious disturbances occurred in Howlong country in March-April, 1892. There was a sudden flare-up and the whole country rose in arms. The British force was "compelled to entrench in Vansanga's village," but the troubles were put down with the help of a column from Burma. The tribes, though cowed down, were not, however, crushed, and rumours were rife of their attacking Lungleh. A punitive expedition was accordingly sent in December, 1892, and the authority of the Government was re-established throughout the whole tract of country where it had been resisted. The South Lushai Hills was included in Bengal in September, 1895, and later transferred to Assam from 1 April, 1898.²⁰

It was necessary to send an expedition in 1895-6 against Kairuma and his dependent chiefs who had never been completely
brought under control. These chiefs in the South Lushai Hills submitted and agreed to pay tribute and furnish labour.21

V. THE HILL TRIBES ON THE EASTERN FRONTIER

The numerous tribes living in the hills and jungles within and outside the boundary of Chittagong District had always been a source of anxiety to the Government. These tribes, like the Shindus, Kumias, Kukis, etc., were little better than savages and their social and economic conditions made regular raids into the settled country almost a necessity. They had a severe shortage of women and domestic servants, and they had to acquire by force what nature denied to them. So the sheer instinct of self-preservation forced them to raid the villages on the border and carry away men and women to supply their everlasting wants. The nature of the country facilitated their marauding raids. The labyrinth of hills, intersected by precipices and watercourses, and covered with dense jungle, made any immediate pursuit an extremely difficult and hazardous task. As a further measure of safety, these tribes stockaded their villages and strewed the path with caltrops and other devices to hinder the progress of invading troops. The British Government at first tried to control these tribes through a powerful family called the Poangs, whom they helped with money, arms and ammunition. But this neither stopped the occasional raids nor enabled the Government to punish the raiders. Hence the Government adopted a different policy. The hill tracts were separated from the regularly administered area and placed under a Superintendent with Magisterial powers, who, it was hoped, by constant intercourse with the tribes would be in a better position to control their activities.

But the natural impulses for ages, created by necessities of life, could not be easily checked and suppressed. In 1860 the Kukis, living between the Feni and the Karnafuli rivers, issued from the hills and having carried out devastation along the former river suddenly descended on the plains of Tippera. They killed nearly 300 persons and took two hundred captives. The raid caused a great panic and many villages in the neighbourhood were wholly deserted. As a punitive measure a force of 1,250 military police penetrated into the Kuki country and destroyed the village of the ringleader. The Kukis retaliated by another raid, but were repulsed with loss. As a further penal measure the recalcitrant tribes were excluded from the markets of the plains where they used to barter their hill cotton and coarse cloth for rice, salt, hardware, gun-powder and matchlocks. A chain of frontier posts was maintained by the Superin-
tendent, and the Poang Raja and the ruler of Independent Tippera were asked to do the same.\textsuperscript{22}

The Garos, to whom reference has been made above, committed outrages in the Mymensingh district and were severely punished by two forces of military police in 1861.

Troubles were also caused by the Khasias in the Jaintia Hills. The Raja of this country had voluntarily handed over his domains to the British in 1835 in lieu of a pension of Rs. 500 a month. The Khasias resented the imposition of a house-tax in 1858, but after some resistance were forced to yield. The Khasias again rebelled in 1862, and two regiments of soldiers had to be sent to aid the local troops in suppressing the disorder. The causes of the rebellion are said to be the establishment of a Christian Mission and interference with some social practices.

A very serious riot took place at Phulguri in Nowgong (Assam) on 18 October, 1861, in which the Assistant Commissioner was killed by the mob.\textsuperscript{23}

\begin{itemize}
\item 1. J. C. White, \textit{Sikkim and Bhutan}, p. 292.
\item 2. Lahiri, 216 ff.
\item 3. Report of Ashley Eden.
\item 3a. Buckland, I, 178-79, 303-12.
\item 3b. Cf. Vol. VIII.
\item 3c. See pp. 570-71, 587-88.
\item 5. Cf. Chapter V.
\item 6. See pp. 136-7.
\item 7. Political Despatch of the Court of Directors to the Government of India, No. 14, dated 5th May, 1852 (quoted in a note by the Chief Commissioner of Assam on the annexation of Manipur), \textit{Foreign Department Proceedings, Secret—E}, October, 1891, Nos. 123-147.
\item 8. Roy, op. cit., 80.
\item 9. Ibid, 97.
\item 10. Ibid, 99-100.
\item 11. \textit{Foreign Department Proceedings, Secret—E}, October, 1891, Nos. 123-147.
\item 12. See p. 730.
\item 13. Note by the Viceroy on the policy to be pursued with regard to the future of Manipur, dated 10th August, 1891; \textit{Foreign Department Proceedings, Secret—E}, October, 1891, Nos. 123-147.
\item 14. Ibid.
\item 15. Buckland, I. 457-60.
\item 16. Ibid, 460.
\item 17. Ibid, 461-2.
\item 18. Ibid, 504.
\item 19. Ibid, II. 906.
\item 20. Ibid, 907-08.
\item 21. Ibid, 975.
\item 22. Ibid, I. 179-82.
\item 23. Ibid, 182-3.
\end{itemize}
CHAPTER XXXIII

FOREIGN POLICY

I. GENERAL NATURE

The phrase 'foreign policy', applied to India, must be understood with two limitations. In the first place, being a subordinate branch of the Home Government, the Government of India, strictly speaking, could not have any foreign policy of their own, and they had to co-ordinate their foreign relations with those of the British Empire, which really meant that they had merely to carry out the policy formulated by the British Cabinet. But as the interests of India loomed large in the eyes of the Cabinet in shaping their policy with respect to certain European powers, notably Russia, the Government of India had naturally a great voice in those matters which affected them, and exercised no mean influence upon the decision of the authorities at home. Further, on account of the great distance and consequent delay in communication, before the seventies, the initiative had to be taken in an emergency by the Government of India, and in all cases the Home Government could only formulate the policy in broad outline, leaving the execution of it in detail to the almost unfettered discretion of the Government of India. Thus foreign policy or relations with external powers formed a distinct branch of Indian administration, and its importance is indicated by the fact that this Department was always in direct charge of the Governor-General himself.

The second limitation to the meaning of 'foreign policy' arises out of the gradual evolution of British rule in India. Normally speaking, foreign policy would refer to the relations of the Government of India with any political authority, not owing allegiance to it, in or outside India. In this sense the foreign policy of the Government of India would include, at one time or another, its relationship with almost all the Indian powers which is usually regarded as a normal part of the internal history of India. The expression 'foreign policy' is therefore restricted to denote the attitude of India towards political authorities whose domains lay outside the geographical boundaries of India. Taken in this limited sense, the foreign policy of India, properly speaking, could possibly begin only after the consolidation of the British authority in India.

The two foregoing considerations make it clear why the foreign policy of Indian Government took a definite shape only in the nine-
teenth century, about the beginning of the period covered by this volume, and its principal objective from the beginning to end was the security of the natural frontiers of India, by territorial expansions or other means, on the north-west and the north-east. Other objects, particularly commercial advantages, which from time to time influenced the policy, may be regarded as only subordinate or subsidiary.

The keynote of the foreign policy in the north-west was supplied by the rapid advance of Russia towards the east and south. Her conquests in Central Asia brought her dangerously near the frontier of Afghanistan, and her strangle-hold on Persia supplied an alternative route to the heart of the same country. Although the two independent principalities of Sindh and the Punjab intervened between the British territory in India and Afghanistan, still the British regarded advancing Russian power as a serious menace to the security of India. This Russophobia dominated the foreign policy almost throughout the period under review. Direct negotiations with Russia to arrive at an understanding did not produce any immediate result. In order to counteract Russian designs, Great Britain tried to establish her influence in Persia and Afghanistan. She failed in both, and the result was the disastrous Afghan War of 1839, described in Chapter VII.

Britain was ultimately successful in her negotiations with both Persia and Russia, though the settlement arrived at was too late to prevent the Afghan War. In 1844 the visit of Tsar Nicholas to England gave the British Government an opportunity of concluding a definite agreement with Russia. Russia agreed to keep the Khanates of Bokhara, Khiva and Samarkhand as neutral zones, and join with Britain in maintaining the internal peace. This understanding was faithfully observed till the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1854 again strained the relations between the two.

Persia proved less tractable. The Shah was forced to relinquish his design on Herat by the threat of the British, and raise the siege of that city in 1839. But as soon as he heard the news of British disaster in Afghanistan in 1840, he renewed his aggressive plans against Herat. Unfortunately for him, he did not get any encouragement, far less support, from Russia. McNeill threatened to resort to force and was backed by the Russian envoy, Count Medem. The Shah had no option but to yield. Finally, he composed all his differences with the British and even went so far as to “put on record the statement that nothing but benefit could result to Persia from British friendship, and nothing but evil from its loss”.

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But in 1852, 1854, and 1856 Persia renewed her attempts on Herat, and was each time foiled by the passive or active resistance of the British. There were other causes of conflict also, which are beyond the purview of the present work. "The long smouldering feud between Great Britain and Persia broke out into open warfare" in 1856, an "alleged diplomatic discourtesy to the British crown" serving as the *casus belli.* The despatch of O'utram’s expedition had the desired effect and the hostilities were brought to an end by the Treaty of Paris, 1857.

This had important effect upon the Anglo-Afghan relations. Dost Muhammad, the ruler of Kabul, who was defeated, dethroned, exiled in India, and again restored, was naturally in a sullen mood. He gave evidence of his anti-British feelings by sending troops to the aid of the Sikhs in their fight against the English (1848). But the repeated invasions of Herat by Persia brought about conciliation between him and the Government of India. The British authorities wisely left him alone, and did not show any disposition to renew the attempt to dominate over Afghanistan by force. The Government of India therefore tried to secure the safety of the North-West frontier, by the expansion of its frontier up to the natural barrier offered by the impenetrable hills, with only a few passes. The result was the annexation of Sindh and the Punjab. The first was an unprovoked act of aggression, universally condemned as immoral and unjust. The second, though dictated by the same frontier policy, was covered by thinly veiled excuses of self-defence which, however, deceived nobody. In both cases the Government of India took the initiative. The home authorities did not repudiate the action of the Government of India, even though they disapproved of the annexation of the Punjab and strongly condemned the annexation of Sindh. The history of these two annexations has been given in details in Chapters VIII and X.

The conquest of the Punjab and Sindh brought the British authorities face to face with the sturdy hill tribes that peopled the no man’s land between India and Afghanistan and owed allegiance to neither. This constituted a new problem of foreign policy throughout the period covered by this volume, and even beyond it, and has been discussed in Chapter XXXI.

II. RUSSIA AND AFGHANISTAN

The friendship with Afghanistan, definitely restored in A.D. 1855, and further strengthened in 1857, did not continue even for a quarter of a century. Once more Afghanistan fell a victim to the "Russophobia" of English statesmen. To make matters worse, the
relation with Afghanistan soon became a question of party politics, both in India and Britain. In view of the great part played by Russophobia in the foreign policy of the British Government in general and Afghan policy in particular, it is necessary to give a brief outline of Russian advance in this region.³

The same impulse of commercial and territorial gains which lay at the root of British imperialism in India, strengthened by the fear of being forestalled by the British and not an unnatural desire "to keep England in check by the threat of intervention in India,"⁴ induced the Russians to initiate a great forward movement. The Russian advance to the east and south was urged by the same consideration and favoured by similar circumstances by which the British established their political supremacy in India, and the Russian movement followed more or less the same stages till it reached the borders of Afghanistan. Establishment of trade posts, inevitably followed by expeditions against petty States which threatened their security, desire to save the warring tribes by bringing them under Russian supremacy, and, above all, the great humanitarian motive of introducing the benefits of civilization among peoples steeped in ignorance and superstition,—all these served as pretexts for Russian advance, as they did for every other colonizing power in Europe. The most interesting and curious feature in the whole history of Russian advance in Central Asia is the howl of rage and discontent raised by the English who stigmatized it both on moral and political grounds. This can only be appreciated if we concede to the British people the right to a monopoly of the motives which inspired Russia as much as England, and of the tactics adopted by both. It is unnecessary, therefore, to trace, in detail, the circumstances which led the Russians from one stage to another, and it will suffice if the date and general line of their advance are indicated in outline.

In 1842 the Russian dominions did not extend beyond the Aral Sea. By the end of 1847 the Russians advanced to the lower reaches of the Jaxartes or Sir Darya. Within six years they advanced along this river about 280 miles from its mouth. In 1854 they reached the valley of the Ili river which flows into Lake Balkash. The Crimean War (1854-6) for a time arrested the advance, but it was resumed after the war was over. In 1863 the frontier of Russian dominions ran along the Sir Darya, south-east to Chimkent, then running due east it passed below the lake of Issiq Kol to the formidable range of Tien Shan.

Then Russia made a sudden thrust into the territory between the Jaxartes and the Oxus—the Sir Darya and Amu Darya of modern times—famous in ancient and medieval history of the world. This
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was regarded even by the Russians themselves as such a momentous step as to require a public explanation or justification. So Prince Gortchakoff issued his famous memorandum of 1864 holding out the Russian advance as the inevitable outcome of progress and civilization. The huge civilizing machine rolled forward at a high speed. With the establishment of the Russian supremacy in the three important States, namely, Tashkent in 1865, Samarkand in 1868, and Bokhara in 1869, the Russian bear firmly planted its feet on the banks of the Oxus (Amu Darya). Prince Gortchakoff had very rightly pointed out in his memorandum of 1864, that "Russia, in approaching Afghanistan, was influenced by the same imperious law that had led the armies of Great Britain across the plains of Hindustan and the Punjab till they reached the mountains."  

British statesmen, both in England and in India, looked upon the Russian progress as a serious menace to the security of India. But there was a sharp difference of opinion between two schools of thought about the proper course of policy to be adopted. These two schools are generally described as "Forward" and 'Stationary'. The British Russophobia, which may be traced as far back as the thirties, was accelerated by the further advance of Russia towards the Afghan frontier, and formed the common basis of the foreign policy advocated by both. But they differed as to the means best calculated to effect the common purpose of checking the Russian invasion of India, which both took for granted as inevitable. The former advocated the old Palmerstonian policy of anticipating and forestalling Russian designs by establishing control over Afghanistan by friendly measures, if possible, and coercion, if necessary. They even went so far as to suggest the establishment of British posts in Kabul and Hcrat, if not further beyond it. The other school preferred to let the Russians advance through the hills and dales of Afghanistan and to maintain the line of the Sindhu river or the foothills beyond it as the defensive frontier of India. Past experience had convinced them of the danger and risk involved in any attempt to establish political domination in Afghanistan, and they held that even from military point of view the defensive strategy suggested by them was a sound one. For the enemy was sure to be exhausted by the very process of passing through the hills, and not unlikely would have to face the opposition of hostile warlike tribes inhabiting them. In any event, an enemy, thus exhausted and with inhospitable hills between it and its base, would be more vulnerable to a defensive army on the frontier of India having easy communication with its base of operations.
The British policy, as mentioned above, was partially modified by Lawrence in 1867-69, and Mayo gave a definite shape to it by trying to win over the friendship and goodwill of the Amir of Afghanistan without committing any formal defensive alliance with him. The two met at Ambala where the Amir was overwhelmed with the lavish display of magnificence and hospitality by Mayo. Although there was no definite engagement, the Amir returned with better feelings towards the English. Mayo thereupon laid down the key of this new policy in the following words: “Surround India with strong, friendly and independent states, who will have more interest in keeping well with us than with any other power, and we are safe”. “If we can only persuade people,” said he, “that our policy really is non-intervention and peace, that England is at this moment the only non-aggressive power in Asia, we should stand on a pinnacle of power that we have never enjoyed before”.

As against the views of the Forward School, Mayo held that the best security for India consisted in maintaining the frontier States of Afghanistan, Baluchistan and the newly created State of Eastern Turkestan in a position of effective independence. He helped Baluchistan by demarcating the political boundary between Afghani-

Astan and Persia, and by efforts to put an end to the internal dissensions and conflicts among the chiefs. Mayo also maintained friendly relations, without any political entanglement, with Yakub Kush-

begi who, in 1869, had made himself the ruler of the territory be-

tween Pamir and China, which had successfully rebelled against China in 1864.

At Home, the Liberal Party generally sided with the ‘Stationary’, and the Conservatives, with the ‘Forward School’. The view of the former, partially modified by Lawrence in 1867-69, therefore, dominated the foreign policy of India so long as Gladstone was at the head of the Liberal Ministry in Britain and the office of Viceroyalty was filled by Lawrence, Mayo, and Northbrook.

But while Lawrence was disinclined, first to interfere in the affairs of Afghanistan, and later to form a definite alliance with the Amir, he realized the need of coming to an understanding with Russia. He and his School were prepared to concede that though the Russian advance was a serious menace to India, it was “no less inevi-

table and natural than the corresponding advance of British autho-

rity on the other side of Afghanistan”. Lawrence therefore was eager to conclude an amicable settlement with Russia, ‘fixing the limits within which the spheres of the two countries should extend, and the transgression of which by Russia should, in his view, in-

volve her in “war with England” in every part of the world.”

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Home Government took up the idea and began negotiations with the Russian Government, which readily welcomed the proposal of maintaining between the two empires in Asia "a zone to preserve them from contact". No formal agreement was concluded, but an assurance was given to England that the Tsar regarded Afghanistan as "completely outside the sphere within which Russia may be called upon to exercise her influence". The next step was to fix a definite boundary of Afghanistan, and a final agreement was reached in January, 1873, by which the Oxus was accepted as the northern boundary line of Afghanistan. Russia further gave positive assurance to the effect that she had no designs on Khiva, and orders had been issued against any advance in that direction. This evidently satisfied the Liberal Government under Gladstone and explains its refusal to embroil itself with Russia by any definite alliance with Afghanistan against that power, as proposed by Northbrook.

It may be reasonably presumed that Gladstone and his party felt, like Lawrence, that Russia had as much right to extend her power in Central Asia, by pursuing a policy of annexations and protectorates, as the British had already done or tried to do to the south of the Hindu Kush mountains. It was, at least, not for the British, to find fault with either Russia's imperial policy or flagrantly aggressive attitude towards native powers, as they had themselves pursued the same policy, and followed the same tactics in India. Gladstone was, therefore, more tolerant towards Russia and less sensitive to her advance in Central Asia.

But soon after the agreement with Russia, the Liberal Party was defeated in the General Election of 1874. Gladstone resigned, gave up the leadership of the party, and practically retired from political life. Disraeli succeeded him as Prime Minister and Lord Derby and Lord Salisbury became, respectively, the Foreign Secretary and the Secretary for India. This combination gave a new orientation to England's attitude towards Russia and consequently upon the policy towards Afghanistan. It was not merely a revival of the 'Forward Policy' but something more than that. In order to view it in its true perspective, it is necessary to have some idea of the virus of new imperialism which Disraeli injected into British politics, particularly as it had wide repercussion on the administration in India. It is admirably summed up in the following lines:

"For twenty years Disraeli, both as statesman and writer, had been educating his party to the recognition of Great Britain's wider imperial destiny. Having now behind him a compliant House of Commons and a consistently sympathetic House of Lords, he lost no time in putting his ideas into practice. It was his ambition to revive
the spacious days of Elizabeth; Great Britain's influence should be felt to furthest Thule. Without her word nothing should be done in Europe, for he was determined to win for his country the place in Continental politics which Germany under Bismarck was usurping. Still more distinctly, he aspired to make his country, instead of Russia, the imperial mistress of the East".11

The change in the attitude of the Home Government towards the North-Western Frontier Policy in India was immediate and decisive. Sir Bartle Frere, Ex-Governor of Bombay, and now a member of the India Council, drew the attention of Salisbury to the exposition of 'Forward Policy' in Sir Henry Rawlinson's memorandum of 1868, of which a detailed account has been given in Chapter XXV.11a Salisbury accepted, in toto, the policy adumbrated therein, and addressed a despatch to the Viceroy on January 22, 1875, formulating the new policy. This document has been justly described as fateful because it led to the abandonment of the old prudent policy, and the opening of a new era of rash experiment and daring adventure.12

In this fateful despatch Salisbury observed that the information of the Government of India as to what happened in Afghanistan was neither adequate nor reliable, and directed the Viceroy to take steps to establish a political agency, first at Herat and then at Kandahar. Lord Northbrook immediately telegraphed the view of his Government that "the time and circumstances appeared unsuitable for taking the initiative in the matter". He explained later, in a private letter, dated September 30, 1875: "My firm opinion is that to do anything to force him (the Amir) to receive an agent of ours in his country against his will is likely to subject us to the risk of another unnecessary and costly war in Afghanistan before many years are over." These words proved prophetic. But in the meanwhile a regular duel was going on between the Government of India and Salisbury, the former steadily opposing the idea of stationing a British agent at Herat, and the latter as persistently urging the execution of the measure without delay.

But counsels of prudence had no effect upon the Government at Home, where the "forward" party was in full 'hue and cry' and a spirited foreign policy 'was the parole of the day'.13 It had been successfully tried in Europe, and was to be continued in Asia. Disraeli was, of course, in full sympathy with it and he had already given evidence of his imperialist outlook by arranging the visit of the Prince of Wales to India in 1875, and proposing, early next year, the assumption of the title 'Empress of India' by Queen Victoria. Northbrook felt unable to keep in tune with this new policy and resigned.

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Disraeli nominated Lord Lytton to succeed Lord Northbrook as Viceroy. The appointment was as much a surprise to him as to the public. For his gifts were literary, and though he was the British ambassador at Lisbon, he was never interested in high politics. Besides, as he himself said, he was ignorant of Indian affairs. But all this was probably regarded as qualification rather than disqualification. For, as has been aptly observed, “Lord Lytton was not required to have an Indian Policy; one had been prepared for him in advance, and he was merely selected as the likeliest instrument for executing it.”14 Even the first Foreign Secretary of the new Viceroy could not help remarking that he had come to India “more as a Government official than as an oriental ruler.”

Lord Lytton seems to have learnt his lesson in imperialism with the zeal of a neophyte and, in some respects, seems to have far surpassed both Salisbury and Disraeli. He had certain definite views fixed in his mind even before he reached India. These may be formulated in the shape of the following propositions.15

1. It was almost absolutely certain that all the intermediate States between Russia’s Asiatic Empire and that of Britain, including Afghanistan, shall, before long, be absorbed by either Russia or Britain. The line of contact between the two conterminous powers must be a strong military line.

2. The range of the Hindu Kush and its spurs, with such outposts as may be necessary to secure the passes ought to be that boundary line.

3. Herat was the really crucial point and must not be in the hand of any other power, Russia or Persia.

4. To effect the purpose mentioned in 2 and 3 above there were only three possible courses open:

   (i) To bind Amir Sher Ali to a definite engagement to exclude Russian influence permanently and effectually;

   (ii) If the Amir cannot be tempted or coerced to do this, to break up the Afghan kingdom and to put up a new ruler in his place more amenable to British control.

   (iii) To occupy by force a portion of Afghan territory as would, in case of failure of the above two, be absolutely requisite for the maintenance of the north-west frontier, presumably as defined above.

Lord Lytton categorically stated that the above also represented the views of Disraeli, though he did not feel sure whether they were merely his private opinion or represented the considered policy
of his Cabinet. There is no reason to doubt this, for Disraeli's letter to the Queen, dated 22nd July, 1877, quoted later, lends support to it.

But it may be safely presumed that Lord Salisbury did not endorse the views of Lord Lytton to the fullest extent. He did not accept Lytton's contention either that the Russian danger was imminent or that the Amir had definitely aligned himself with Russia against British interest. He definitely repudiated Lytton's proposal of disintegrating Afghanistan with a view to establishing a separate principality, with Herat as centre under British influence. He characterized as "crude excursions of an untutored fancy" Lytton's grandiloquent idea of making Hindu Kush the defence line of India, and for that purpose "to hold Kabul, Ghazni and Jelalabad as our principal bastion, with Quetta as a curtain, and advanced posts at Kandahar, Herat, Balkh etc.". This rebuff wounded the vanity of Lytton and he attributed it to the weakness and vacillation of the British Cabinet. He complained that if the Indian policy was thus dictated by the Secretary and no initiative or liberty of action was left to the Viceroy, Russia would continue to advance.

Salisbury found to his dismay, that in his great proconsul he had unchained a spirit which it was difficult to control. But he somehow managed the difficult task. Fortunately for Lytton, Salisbury became Foreign Secretary and Viscount Cranbrook came to the India Office. Lytton found in him a more pliable instrument for carrying out his designs. Political circumstances also favoured Lytton. The Russian expedition against the Tekke Turcomans and the occupation, though temporary, of Kizil Arvat portended to many that not only Merv but possibly also Herat would pass under Russian authority.

Lytton's bellicose attitude towards Afghanistan was favoured by another stroke of good fortune. Events were now marching at railway speed in Europe which made a war between Britain and Russia not only inevitable but almost imminent. The revolt of certain Turkish provinces in the Balkan Peninsula in 1875 gave Russia an opportunity, as the champion of oppressed Christian people, to coerce Turkey into granting to her political rights and concessions which she ardently desired. On the other hand, Disraeli (who had become Earl of Beaconsfield in 1876), following in the footsteps of Palmerston, was determined "to prevent Russia from using the crisis to realize her ambitions of old standing." Russia declared war against Turkey on 24 April, 1877. In spite of the heroic defence of Plevna for five months, Turkey was beaten on all fronts, and Russia came within the reach of Constantinople. In spite of the strong antipathy against Turkey displayed by a large section of the English
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public, headed by Gladstone, Beaconsfield's Government left no doubt of its intention to actively oppose the Russian advance towards Constantinople. "Disraeli, still hotly pressed by the Queen, who even spoke of abdication, began to concert measures of warlike preparations."¹⁷ The Government announced that it would "move a supplementary estimate, fixed at six millions, for military and naval supplies, the reason being the rapid advance of Russia towards the Turkish capital."¹⁸ "On February 8, 1878, the English fleet was sent up to Constantinople, and on March 27, the Cabinet decided to call up the reserves and to seize a military post such as Cyprus or Alexandretta."¹⁹ When Russia forced Turkey to accept the humiliating Treaty of San Stefano on March 3, 1878, the British Foreign Secretary issued a circular to all the European States demanding that Russia should submit it to a Congress, and Disraeli summoned Indian troops to Malta.²⁰

These events had their repercussion on the Indo-Afghan relations. Russia, baulked of its prey, when it was almost within its grasp, by the open hostility of England, was unable to withhold a European concert and agreed to submit the whole question to a Congress at Berlin. But she was enraged beyond measure at the British machinations, and decided to strike England in Asia. There can be hardly any doubt that this was one of the objects which Russia had deliberately kept in view in her expansionist policy in Asia. England had always stood in the way of the realization of Russian imperial designs, but Russia had no means to strike England in Europe. She, therefore, looked upon a strong military position on the Oxus as a valuable weapon "to keep England in check by the threat of intervention in India".²¹

The practical result of this was seen in the despatch of a Russian mission to Kabul for a political rapprochement—real or apparent—between Russia and Afghanistan. Though it is clear that this Russian attempt to establish an alliance with Afghanistan was rather a tactical move than a deeply laid scheme for invasion of India, it was sufficient to serve as the casus belli in the eyes of Lord Lytton and his masters.²² In view of the importance which has been attached to the so-called Russian intrigue at Kabul, as a justification of British policy, it is necessary to point out that Disraeli thought of adopting the same strategy towards Russia. Describing in a letter to the Queen (July 22nd, 1877) the measures which were to be taken if war broke out with Russia because of her apprehended occupation of Constantinople, the Prime Minister wrote: "It is Lord Beaconsfield's present opinion that in such a case Russia must be attacked from Asia, that troops should be sent to the Persian Gulf,
and that the Empress of India should order her armies to clear Central Asia of the Muscovites, and drive them into the Caspian. We have a good instrument for this purpose in Lord Lytton, and indeed he was placed there with that view."23

The nature of the diplomatic approach of Russia to Afghanistan and its repercussion on the British Government both in India and Britain have been described in Chapter XXV. But when Lord Lytton had precipitated the crisis, the attitude of the Home Government was entirely changed by the Treaty of Berlin (July 13, 1878) Beaconsfield claimed that he had brought peace with honour by an all-round settlement with Russia, both in Asia and Europe. He was therefore disposed to disapprove of Lytton's action which would spoil the good work he had done at Berlin.

His last minute efforts failed to check the ambitious designs he had himself planted in the heart of his great proconsul and sedulously encouraged. The latter, confining his attention to affairs nearer home, rather found that the Treaty of Berlin left the coast clear for the pursuit of his policy to disintegrate Afghanistan or coerce the Amir to abject submission. So he dragged the unwilling Cabinet along with him to his fatal policy as described in Chapter XXV, and the result was another unprovoked war in 1878.

The history of the first Afghan War was repeated. The initial success was followed by disaster, and the British had to quit Afghanistan and accept the new Amir, Abdur Rahman, who forced his way to the throne of Kabul just at this juncture. Gladstone again came into power and decided to forego all the gains of the war and restore the status quo. Though ultimately Quetta, Pishin and Sibi were retained by the British, they maintained the policy of strict non-interference in the affairs of Afghanistan and won over its ruler, the Amir, by subsidies, supply of arms and other friendly measures.

Amir Abdur Rahman remained faithful to his pledges, and the Government of India renewed in 1853 the guarantee of helping Afghanistan in case of any unprovoked aggression. This was dictated by the fear, on both sides, of Russia, whose steady advance towards the frontier of Afghanistan caused alarm to them. In spite of the agreement of 1873, referred to above, Russia was steadily establishing her authority in Southern Turkestan. She suffered a defeat in 1877-78 at Gok Teppa, and her progress was temporarily checked. But the Tekke Turcomans were finally subjugated in 1880-81.24 British diplomacy tried to instigate Persia against Russia by inducing her to claim sovereignty over Merv. But in 1881 Persia concluded a treaty with Russia, fixing boundaries between their respective dominions. Though all the while Russia repeatedly assured Britain that she
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had no intention of occupying Merv or any fresh territory, she occupied in 1884 not only that strategic city, but also Sarakhs, on the Perso-Afghan frontier. The Russian map showed the boundaries of Merv extending southwards as far as the Harirul river near Herat. It is generally believed that Russia was encouraged to renew the aggressive campaign, partly by the pacific disposition of Gladstone ministry and partly by Britain's pre-occupation with the serious situations in Sudan and Ireland. Gladstone began negotiations with Russia for precisely defining the northern boundary of Afghanistan. Russia agreed, but delayed matters considerably under one pretext or another, while a strong force was sent to forestall matters by occupying as much of the disputed area as possible. The position became acute in respect of the fertile tract round the town of Panjdeh which had been hitherto regarded as lying within Afghanistan. Even while the British representative on the Boundary Commission was near the boundary, waiting for his Russian colleague, the Russian force attacked Panjdeh on March 30, 1885, and occupied it, driving the Afghan forces with a loss of 500 lives. This created panic and alarm, and even Gladstone was forced to take a strong attitude. He called up the reserves and moved a vote of credit in the House of Commons for military preparations. Happily, better counsels prevailed on both sides and an agreement was reached by which Russia kept Panjdeh, but the Zulfikar Pass, which was claimed by her, was assigned to Afghanistan. The Boundary Commission now commenced its work in right earnest and the final protocol delimiting the frontier between Russia and Afghanistan was signed in 1887-8. But in 1892 Russia sought to establish her dominion over the whole of the Pamirs and, after protracted discussions, an agreement was signed on March 11, 1895, by which the Afghan boundary between Lake Victoria and the Tagdumbash was settled. Russia secured the territory north of the Panjah, while the part of Darwaz, to the south of the Oxus, belonging to Bokhara, was assigned to Afghanistan.

At the time of the Panjdeh incident, the Amir Abdur Rahman was in India, being invited to a conference with the new Governor-General, Lord Dufferin, at Rawalpindi. As soon as the news of the Russian occupation of Panjdeh reached India, Dufferin promised assistance to the Amir in arms, ammunition, and possibly also money, in case of war between Russia and Afghanistan. On his part the Amir showed calm and moderation in the face of the grave crisis threatening his kingdom, and made public declaration of his good faith and attachment to the British. The Amir was féted and feasted, and received in a special durbar, not as a protégé, but as
an ally, with all the honour due to an independent sovereign. The Amir was highly gratified and remained a faithful ally of the British.

The agreement between the Russian and British Governments on March 11, 1895, regarding the Afghan boundary in the Pamirs region, finally ended the bugbear or menace of Russian invasion of Afghanistan and India. Henceforth Russia turned her attention to expansion towards the Far East and was soon involved in a war with Japan. Whatever might have been its effect upon the British foreign policy, the Government of India remained unaffected.

The elimination of Russian menace and the establishment of friendly relations with the Amir of Afghanistan could be reasonably expected to have brought to an end the problem of the North-Western frontier. But that was not to be. British imperialism did not die with Disraeli, and the long spell of Conservative rule in Britain from 1886 to 1906, had its repercussion on Indian politics. The 'Forward Policy' in India was not buried with Cavagnari, and now reappeared in a new shape. Attention was now turned to the wild military tribes living to the west of that part of the Panjāb and Sindh which was under the direct control and administration of the Government of India. It was now desired to extend the British authority over these tribes. These tribes had been always troublesome to the rulers of the Panjāb whoever they might be, for, partly due to predatory habits, and partly by sheer necessity of a livelihood, these tribes often carried on raids into the more fertile and settled territories on the plains, and punitive expeditions had to be sent against them by the British Government from time to time. But now a definite plan was made to bring these peoples under British authority.

On the alleged ground of removing causes of friction with the Amir, the boundary line between the Afghan and British zones was precisely defined and demarcated by the Durand Commission. This brought within the British sphere of influence a large number of wild and warlike tribes who loved independence above everything else. They were attached to the Amir by common ties of race, language, and religion; but the Amir's pretence of suzerainty over them was more nominal than real. But the removal of even this pretence caused, in Amir's opinion, a loss of his power and prestige among his own kith and kin, and he did not like the idea of delimitation of the boundary. The reasons which induced him to accept it, and his alleged complicity in the tribal risings of 1897-98, have been discussed above. The Government of India were fully convinced of his guilt and they received ample proof of "the universal feeling amongst the tribesmen that they could rely not only
upon the approval and moral support, but also upon the active intervention in their favour of the Amir of Afghanistan.”27 The Government of India accordingly addressed a strong remonstrance to the Amir. The latter denied responsibility for the risings, repudiated all connection with the rebel tribesmen, forbade his own people to join tribal gatherings, and refused shelter to fleeing tribesmen.28

The relations between the Amir and the Government of India, between 1890 and 1895, were often strained to the utmost, almost to the breaking point. The Amir was very anxious to open direct relation with the British Government in London, but was refused. Fortunately both sides showed a great deal of restraint and moderation, and an open rupture was averted. At least outwardly, Amir Abdur Rahman maintained friendly attitude towards the British till his death in 1901.

Habibullah, the son and successor of Abdur Rahman, declared on his accession that he would continue the policy of his father in his relations to the Government of India. But his attitude was considered to be “the reverse of friendly”. It is alleged that “he not only received tribal deputations from British territory, but also commenced intriguing with certain frontier fanatics and freebooters”.29 He also declined an invitation of the Viceroy to visit Calcutta. The Government of India felt somewhat perturbed at the haughty attitude of Amir Habibullah, and the influence exercised upon him by his brother Nasrullah, who was believed to entertain definitely anti-British sentiments. The Amir was even suspected of seeking Russian help.30 So a mission was sent to Kabul in 1904, under Mr. (afterwards Sir) Louis Dane. Although the reception accorded to the mission was not very cordial, a treaty was concluded in March, 1905, which renewed the agreement of 1893.31

But whatever might have been the real attitude of Amir Habibullah, he maintained friendly relations with the Government of India. In 1906-7 he visited India, and in his farewell speech observed that “at no time will Afghanistan pass from the friendship of India”.32 He was true to these words even in the critical days of the First World War.

III. PERSIAN GULF

The East India Company opened a factory at Bushire in 1763. Early in the nineteenth century the British realized the importance of Persian Gulf and the territories adjacent to it, from both political and commercial point of view. Sir John Malcolm was sent as an envoy to Persia in 1808 and the political relations between Persia and Britain since then have been described above.33 The part play-
ed by the British supremacy in the Persian Gulf in the bigger game of imperial rivalry between Russia and Britain has also been noted above.\textsuperscript{34} The history of this supremacy goes back to the year 1820 A.D. At the beginning of the nineteenth century peace in the Persian Gulf was disturbed by piracy and interminable strife between the Chiefs who ruled over the petty States on its coast. The British Government stepped in, "in the interests of its own subjects and traders, and of its legitimate influence in the seas that wash the Indian coasts." After a severe, but short, struggle in 1820, the Chiefs were forced to submit and conclude agreement with the British. A maritime truce was concluded in 1839 and renewed from time to time till 1853, when a Treaty of Perpetual Peace was concluded. It provided that no Chief should fight against another by sea, but in case of aggressive attack by another, should refer the matter to the British Resident in the Persian Gulf. The British Government should maintain the peace of the Gulf and ensure the due observance of the treaty. In spite of occasional disturbance this treaty served its purpose fairly well.\textsuperscript{36}

The status, thus gained by the British, of the self-constituted guardian of inter-tribal peace in the Persian Gulf, shortly paved the way, by gradual stages of political ties, for the British suzerainty over all the Chiefs. The Chiefs, one and all, acknowledged the Government of India as their overlords and protectors; they bound themselves "not to enter into any agreement or correspondence with any other power, not to admit the agent of any other Government, and not to part with any portion of their territories." Thus was written "the most unselfish page in history," which, Lord Curzon declared, "we shall not wipe out". He had the hardihood to address in this strain the Chiefs of the Arab coast, assembled at a Durbar on S. S. Argonaut at Sharjah, in November, 1903. But the climax was reached when he told them: "We saved you from extinction as the hands of your neighbours. We have not seized or held your territory. We have not destroyed your independence, but have preserved it." Obviously the word 'independence' has one meaning to the west of Suez and another to the east of it. Curzon continued like a true imperialist:

"The peace of these waters must still be maintained; your indepen-
dence will continue to be upheld; and the influence of the British Government must remain supreme." He wound up his address by reminding the Chiefs that the British Government would not "approve of one independent Chief attacking another Chief by land, simply because he was not permitted to do it by sea, and thus evading the spirit of his Treaty obligations."\textsuperscript{36}
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IV. NORTH-EAST FRONTIER

The frontier policy in the north-east was dictated less by the problem of security, as in the north-west, and more by a spirit of aggrandisement and desire for territorial expansion, with the commercial advantage which was sure to follow from it. The territory of Burma, fertile and rich in natural resources, was an object of cupidity to British merchants. The way for its conquest was facilitated by the haughty pretensions of its ruler, a medieval oriental despot, unacquainted with the world outside his dominions. Advantage was taken of some petty incidents in Bengal border which could be easily settled, if necessary by local military operations, and a full fledged military expedition was launched against the heart of Burma in A.D. 1824. The result was a foregone conclusion. Burma possessed only two great generals, Winter and Cholera, who inflicted heavy casualties upon the British. Otherwise, save with a few erratic feats of Maha Bandula, the commander of the Burmese force, it was almost a plain sailing. The first Burmese War (1824-26) made the British supreme over the whole of the north-eastern frontier of India and gave them a footing on the Burma soil proper. But the cry of ‘Delenda est Carthago’, perpetually raised by the British imperialist and mercantile interests, led to two more wars in 1852 and 1885, and the whole of Burma formed a part of the growing British empire. The three Burmese Wars have been described in detail in Chapters V and XXVI. Whatever one might think of the immediate causes of these wars, and whatever justification might be pleaded on behalf of the British, the root cause of these wars is very frankly stated and admirably summed up by a British writer in the following lines:

"But it is within the realm of British policy that the causes of the War are to be found. It will be seen that the principle involved was identical with that in the China War of 1857—the unwillingness of oriental monarchs to recognise the Western claim of the right of protection over their natural subjects, and the like unwillingness of the merchants to submit to the laws of the country in which he was domiciled—for the political theory of sovereignty in the East is territorial. Further, there was his inability or unwillingness to accept the low status in native society in which his calling, as an alien merchant, placed him."

Confirmation and illustration of this meet us at every step as we proceed with the detailed narrative of the Burmese wars. There was, however, an additional element involved in the Third Burmese War and the final extinction of Burma as an independent kingdom. This was the danger of peaceful penetration of France in Indo-China and the consequent alarm and nervousness to Britain, which differed in degree, but not in nature, from her reaction to the military aggrandisement of Russia in Central Asia. The position of
Burma offered a close parallel to that of Afghanistan, and the Forward Policy was equally operative in both cases. Fortunately for the British, the Burmese were of less stern stuff than the sturdy Afghans, the natural obstacles to military advance were less formidable, and the striking power of the French, far from their base in Europe, was much less to be dreaded than that of the Russians. This explains the difference in the fate of Afghanistan and Burma. Afghanistan was left as an independent power. But after a nominal war which lasted less than a week, and in which the Burmese troops “scarcely fired a shot,” a laconic proclamation of fifty words issued by Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy of India, on January 1, 1886, informed the world that Burma had ceased to exist as an independent kingdom and formed a part of the British dominions in India.36

It would be a tedious task to refer at length to the controversy over the French designs on Burma. According to the British version the French policy was dictated by a deliberate attempt to bring Burma under French protection, and the Burmese gladly responded to the proposal. Isolated incidents and casual utterances by individuals have been brought forward as evidence of this, but the detailed discussion in Chapter XXVI would indicate that there is no valid ground in support of the British contention. The utmost that can be said is that the French, animated by the same colonial and imperial instinct as guided the British policy in the same region, looked forward to the establishment of their authority in Indo-China, and Burma was not excluded from their purview. But this is very different from the actual pursuit of a definite and secret design of establishing a political control, far less protectorate, over Burma, to which she was a willing partner. There is, however, little doubt that it was the fear of political and commercial rivalry of the French that led Britain to annex Upper Burma, and this course was decided upon before ostensible pretexts were put forward to justify the declaration of war. In this connection, a communication from the Secretary of State for India to the Prime Minister, dated 28 August, 1885, throws interesting light on the British point of view. Lord Randolph Churchill begged Lord Salisbury to warn the French Government that the undue pushing of French commercial ambitions in Burma would “necessitate such prompt and decided measures as may most effectually satisfy the paramount rights of India in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula”.39 These words indicate not only that the annexation of Upper Burma was already thought of, but also that the British now openly claimed a paramount right over the whole of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. It was a worthy counterpart of the ambitious design of establishing British supremacy in Central Asia,
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far beyond the Hindu Kush mountains, which prompted the policy of Dizraeli and Lord Lytton.

This conception of paramount right and interest was necessarily developed further after the conquest of Burma. Siam (now called Thailand) separated Burma from the French possessions in Indo-China, which included Cochin-China, Annam, Cambodia and Tonkin. So the preservation of Siam "as a strong independent State had become of paramount importance for the Indian Empire," particularly, it may be added, as the trade of Siam, "was for the most part in British hands." The frontier between Siam and Burma was demarcated. When France made an unprovoked war of aggression on Siam, the British interference saved Siam from utter extinction, though she had to concede important rights to France and to give up all the territories lying on the left bank of the Mekong river. After this war the negotiations were directly, carried on between France and Britain about their respective spheres of influence in Indo-China, without, of course, any reference to the States concerned. France proposed to make the Mekong river as demarcating the two spheres of influence, but the British did not like to make the British-Indian and French-Indo-Chinese empires conterminous, and preferred to keep a buffer zone between the two. But ultimately, in 1895, Britain conceded the French demand and the Declaration of January 15, 1896, "fixed the Mekong as the boundary between the British and French possessions from the mouth of the Nam Huck northwards so far as the Chinese frontier".

As could be easily anticipated, Siam was practically partitioned between France and Britain. The most valuable part of the country formed the respective spheres of influence of the two great European powers. Salisbury, of course, assured Siam that this arbitrary usurpation need 'not be regarded as throwing doubt upon the title and rights of the Siamese rulers to the remainder of their kingdom,' which, it may be mentioned by the way, was not of any value to either of the two powers. "The only justification advanced on behalf of Great Britain for this invasion of the rights of a small nation was contained in the plea that the territory in question affected 'our interest as a commercial nation', and that it might one day be the site of lines of communication which would be of great importance to neighbouring portions of the British Empire".

V. TIBET

1. Strategic importance

The strategic importance of Tibet is very great, for it is an ideal buffer to India on the north. With the Lhasa Government controlling
the extensive desolate area of the northern plains and governing central and southern Tibet, and the Himalayan border States subordinate to, or in close alliance with, the Government of India, Tibet "forms the best possible barrier to India on the north".43 This strategic aspect of Tibet has been well emphasized by Lovat Fraser: "No one who has gazed upon the mighty peaks of the Himalayas beyond Darjeeling can fail to feel instinctively that they are the natural northern boundary of India. On moonlit nights their majesty is beyond expression. High in the sky above the blue haze, they seem like the tents of the gods. They set a barrier to man's dominion which no ruler of India has ever sought to disregard. Yet they have been no obstacle to human intercourse, for through the narrow passes pilgrims and traders have passed to and fro between Tibet and India from time immemorial".44 In view of what has been said above, about the British imperial policy, it would have been strange indeed if the British did not try to exercise some sort of political control over Tibet, not only to ensure a scientific frontier in the north, but also to exploit the economic resources of Tibet. The wool of Tibet was in great demand in India, while Indian tea could be profitably exported to Tibet. "The saucer-like depressions amid the high places of Western Tibet, produced by glacial action in the days when the mountains towered for eight miles towards the skies, probably contain the richest deposits of placer gold in the world. A pannikin of soil washed anywhere in these cups reveals visible traces of flake gold. Riches beside which the wealth of Klondike would seem meagre lie in the heart of a vast inhospitable emptiness, rarely traversed by man".45 These two factors—military and economic—influenced the policy of the Government of India towards Tibet.

2. Chinese supremacy

In its attempt to increase its trade with Tibet and to safeguard its northern frontier against aggression, the Government of India had to reckon with China who claimed suzerainty over Tibet. There are three important landmarks in the progress of Chinese ascendancy over Tibet:—

(a) In 1718 the Chinese emperor sent an army which entered Lhasa to enthron e the Dalai Lama of his own choice. A garrison of 2,000 at Lhasa and military outposts on the road leading from Lhasa to China enabled China to assert her supremacy over Tibet.

(b) In 1750 the Ambans (Chinese Residents) murdered the Tibetan Regent, while the people of Tibet massacred the Chinese at Lhasa. The Chinese emperor sent a large army which restored Chinese supremacy and increased the power of the Ambans. Thus, in

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the middle of the eighteenth century Tibet virtually passed under the control of China.

(c) Chinese ascendancy was still further strengthened in 1791-1792 when war broke out between Nepal and Tibet, leading to the intervention of China. A Chinese army supported the Tibetans in driving back the Gurkhas from Tibet and advancing within a few miles of the capital of Nepal. After rescuing Tibet from the Gurkhas the Chinese emperor tightened his control over Tibet. The Tibetan officials had to submit all important matters to the Ambans. Even the Dalai and Tashi Lamas had to prefer their requests to the Ambans; they could not communicate direct with the Chinese emperor. The Ambans aided in the selection of the Dalai, the Tashi and other high incarnate Lamas.\textsuperscript{46} Thus, towards the end of the eighteenth century China exercised a considerable measure of control over Tibet. But China soon lost all effective authority over Tibet, which even dealt with foreigners independently as an autonomous State without any reference to China.

3. Early relations between India and Tibet

The East India Company was quite alive to the importance of improving trade relations with Tibet. In 1774 Warren Hastings, (Governor-General of India) sent George Bogle on a mission to Tibet to improve trade relations. Bogle established good relations with Tashi Lama, but failed to secure trade concessions due to obstructionism of Chinese officials. Bogle frankly confessed: “This is a stumbling-block which crosses me in all my paths”.

In 1783 Warren Hastings sent Captain Samuel Turner on a mission to Tibet. He spent a year in Tibet. He, too, failed to secure trade concessions. Nevertheless, as long as Warren Hastings remained in India, trade between India and Tibet flourished.

Shortly afterwards, however, an event happened which ended this happy era of good relations with Tibet. In the war which broke out between Tibet and Nepal in 1792, the Tibetans and Chinese got an impression that the British had encouraged the Gurkhas in their aggressive designs. Henceforth the Tibetans adopted the policy of exclusion—all communication between India and Tibet was stopped and “the approach of strangers, even of Bengal and Hindustan, was utterly prohibited”.\textsuperscript{47} “The door, which Warren Hastings had succeeded in opening a little, was closed more firmly then ever”\textsuperscript{48}

But Tibet was not allowed to lead a secluded life. The Sikh power established by Ranjit Singh cast covetous eyes upon her. Immediately after the death of that ruler, the Sikhs conquered Iskardo from its ruler Ahmad Shah and made an attempt to con-
quer Lhasa. In 1841 Zorawar Singh, the Vazir of Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu and conqueror of Iskardo, proceeded with an army towards Tibet which lay next to Iskardo. After conquering several forts he seized Garo, the head-quarters of the Chinese Governor, and after defeating a Tibetan army got possession of Tuklakote, thereby extending the territories of the Lahore Durbar as far as the Marghil Pass up to the source of the river Sindh. The British did not like this extension of the Sikh power and asked the Lahore Durbar to abandon the newly acquired possessions in Tibet and withdraw to Ladakh by 10 December, 1841. But before Zorawar Singh could retrace his steps he was surrounded by 10,000 Tibetan and 2,000 Chinese soldiers. Zorawar Singh had about 2,500 soldiers, but he died fighting on 12 December, 1841. The rulers of Iskardo and Ladakh now joined the Chinese against the Sikhs. By the end of May, 1842, the Sikh reinforcements reached Leh and imprisoned the ruler of Ladakh and wanted to attack Garo, but were prevented by the British who referred to an agreement with Maharaja Sher Singh of Lahore concluded in October, 1841, to the effect that the Sikhs should not extend their authority beyond Ladakh. It seemed that there was nothing to check the Sikh forces from their onward march over to Lhasa, but in view of the attitude adopted by the British, the Lahore Durbar thought it advisable to conclude peace with the rulers of Lhasa. Accordingly a treaty was concluded on 17 October, 1842. It established alliance between the Chiefs of Jammu and Tibet, accepted the old boundary between Ladakh and Tibet, and stipulated that the contracting parties should confine themselves within their respective boundaries. It was further provided that in conformity with ancient usage, tea and pasham and shawl wool shall be transmitted to India through the Ladakh road. This provision hit hard the commercial interests of the British and was changed after the British had occupied the Panjäb in 1846.\textsuperscript{48a}

In 1855 the Gurkhas of Nepal invaded Tibet and secured important concessions,—the right to establish an agency at Lhasa, an annual payment of ten thousand Rupees by way of indemnity, free trade and extra-territorial rights. The Gurkha Government, on the other hand, agreed to assist Tibet, if invaded by foreign foes.

In 1885 Colman Macaulay, a Secretary of the Government of Bengal, obtained Chinese assent to conduct a mission to Lhasa. But the Tibetan Government would have none of it, as they were opposed to closer intercourse with India. The persistence of foreigners in exploring their country, so long secluded, had made them suspicious. The secret explorations of Saratchandra Das, a Bengali, carried out under the auspices of the Government of India, in particular his
clandestine entry and surreptitious inquiries filled the Tibetans with distrust of the British power in India. Indeed, the Tibetans looked upon the proposal of a British Mission to Lhasa as "the climax of a series of provocations, including the sending of secret agents to explore their country, and the building of a road through Sikkim about 1877 up to the Jelap Pass which led eastwards to the Tibetan valley of Chumbi—a pass which could be referred to by an Englishman as a vital link in 'the future highroad between India and China via Tibet'."

As the Tibetans were opposed to the proposal, it fell through. This shows that though the Chinese advanced a vague claim of suzerainty over Tibet, and the Government of India found it convenient to maintain this fiction in view of the Tibetan policy of refusing to open any communication with them, Tibet was, in reality, no longer amenable to the control of China. It has also been urged that Tibetans' "desire to promote a policy of exclusion and to maintain their own monopoly of trade with India was connived at by the Chinese Resident". In any event, the successful opposition to the Mission of Macaulay increased the arrogance of the Tibetans. In 1886 they sent a small body of militia to occupy Lingtu, which is about twelve or thirteen miles within Sikkim frontier. How the British drove them out will be narrated later. No treaty was concluded with Tibet, but negotiations between Britain and China followed, and a convention between the two powers was signed by the Governor-General of India on 17 March, 1890. It recognized British Protectorate over Sikkim and laid down that the water parting of the Tista should be the boundary between Sikkim and Tibet. But China and Britain counted without the host. The Tibetan officers refused to countenance the delimitation of the Sikkim-Tibet frontier, and when boundary pillars were erected, they were mutilated or destroyed. In accordance with the convention of 1890 a trade treaty was concluded between China and Britain in 1893, by which a trade mart was established at Yatung, eight miles on the Tibetan side of the frontier. "This place was unsuitable for a mart, but, though every attempt was made by the Chinese Amban to induce the Tibetans to substitute Phari for Yatung, it was found impossible to overcome their reluctance". But this was not all. The Tibetans nullified the object of opening the trade mart at Yatung by building a wall to prevent British traders and travellers from going any further into Tibetan territory. Attempts to develop Yatung were thus frustrated by Tibetan obstructiveness.

Bell has drawn two very important, but obvious, conclusions from the events recorded above. In the first place, it was apparent
to him that the Chinese control over Tibet was purely nominal, and the powerlessness of the Chinese suzerainty and the consequent futility to deal with the Amban in Tibetan matters were now recognized by all the British authorities.\(^{54}\) Secondly, Bell found out that the Tibetan Government desired at all costs to keep the British at arm's length, for they feared and distrusted them. What Bell failed to realize was the wisdom and soundness of the Tibetan policy of keeping out the British from their country as the only means of avoiding the fate of so many States in India.\(^{55}\)

4. The Tibetan Expedition of Lord Curzon

With the appointment of Lord Curzon as the Viceroy of India, the Indo-Tibetan relations entered into a new phase. Even the Himalayas could not operate as a barrier or limit to his imperial vision. The 'obdurate' (?) refusal of the Tibetans to accept a treaty, to which they were not a party, served as a good excuse for active intervention in Tibetan affairs.

But Lord Curzon took a realistic view of the political status of Tibet. It was evident to him that the Chinese suzerainty over Tibet was more nominal than real. "The Emperor's suzerainty over Tibet had almost ceased to exist. The Chinese Residents in Lhasa had long lost effective control".\(^{66}\) Consequently Lord Curzon decided to communicate direct with the Tibetans. In 1899 the British Government agreed to Lord Curzon's proposal for direct communication with Tibet. The Viceroy sent a letter to Dalai Lama who returned it unopened. This rebuff, though it wounded the amour propre of the imperialist proconsul, did not appear to be a sufficient excuse for war. So the old stories of Russian influence and intrigue in Tibet came in as a handy excuse, though it was even more flimsy than in the case of Afghanistan. One Dorjieff, a Mongolian Buriat by birth, but a Russian subject, was believed to have some influence upon the Dalai Lama, the High Priest and Ruler of Tibet. Dorjieff visited Russia in 1898, 1900 and 1901 to collect money from the Buddhists in Russia, but as he was received in audience by the Emperor, it was supposed that Dorjieff had a political mission. The Russian Foreign Minister, however, categorically denied that Dorjieff had any political mission. Next, stories were spread that China had ceded to Russia her suzerain rights over Tibet, that a treaty was already drafted to this effect, and that Russian arms had been imported into Lhasa\(^{57}\) But corroboration of none of these has yet been found. A great English statesman had once advised those who were alarmed for India at the rapid advance of Russia that they should use large-scale maps. In the case of Tibet, even a small-scale map
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would show the ridiculous nature of the fear, if any, of Russian advance to India through Tibet.

The fact seems to be that there was no genuine fear of Russia, and Russophobia was merely an excuse for intervention in Tibet. In 1902 Lord Curzon proposed to take active steps to coerce Tibet. But his ardour was checked by the Home authorities. For, the Government of Russia, which now controlled the Pamirs, had declared that a military expedition against Tibet would force it to take proper measures to safeguard its own interest in that region. But Lord Curzon urged upon the Home Government a vigorous policy to counteract Russian influence in Tibet. He told the Home Government that it was "the most extraordinary anachronism of the 20th century that there should exist within less than 300 miles of the borders of British India a state and a government with whom political relations do not so much as exist, and with whom it is impossible even to exchange a written communication". He declared that the Chinese suzerainty over Tibet was "a constitutional fiction—a political affectation which has only been maintained because of its convenience to both parties".

Lord Curzon ultimately persuaded the Home Government to send a mission under Colonel Younghusband, with a small military escort, to Khambajong, to the north of the Sikkim frontier, in order to "oblige the Tibetans to come to an agreement." The mission waited at Khambajong from July to December, 1903, in the hope of meeting the accredited Tibetan envoys, but none came. The mission was thereupon authorized to proceed further, occupy the Chumbi valley, and advance as far as Gyantse. The Tibetans opposed the advance of the British, but they had no modern military arms or training, and in their first encounter at Guru on 31 March, 1904, suffered a casualty of 600 in killed and wounded. The mission, which had been joined by fresh troops and thus became a military expedition, reached Gyantse and occupied it on 12 April, 1904. But as the Tibetans were still hostile, and in no mood to negotiate, the British force advanced as far as Lhasa, which they occupied on 3 August, 1904, practically without any opposition. The Dalai Lama fled with his entourage to Mongolia, and the Tibetans were forced to sign a treaty on 7 September, 1904. Its main provisions were:

(i) Two new trade marts were opened—at Gyantse and Gartok.
(ii) The Tibetans abolished all dues on trade to and from India.
(iii) An indemnity of half a million pounds was to be paid by the Tibetan Government in 75 instalments.
(iv) The Chumbi valley was to remain in British occupation until the payment was completed.

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(v) No Foreign Power was to be allowed to intervene in Tibetan affairs or to send Agents to Tibet. Without British consent, no Tibetan territory was to be ceded, leased, etc., to any Foreign Power. No concession for roads, mines, etc. were to be given to any Foreign Power. No Tibetan revenues were to be pledged to a Foreign Power or to any of its subjects.

(vi) The Tibetans agreed to respect the frontiers of Sikkim violated by them. 60

The Russian Government held the view that the establishment of British supremacy at Lhasa would force it to change its Central Asian policy. The British Government was at that time very anxious to come to an understanding with Russia on Central Asian questions. The British Foreign Secretary, therefore, gave an assurance to the Russian Government on June 2, 1904, that so long as no other European power intervened, “Great Britain would neither annex Tibet, nor establish a protectorate over it, nor attempt to control its internal affairs.”

According to the terms of the treaty with Tibet, the British would retain possession of the Chumbi valley until the indemnity of £500,000 were paid off in 75 instalments of one lakh of Rupees each. This proviso virtually meant a permanent control over Tibet. So the Home Government, to honour the pledge given to Russia, were opposed to a heavy indemnity and the occupation of Chumbi valley for a long period. Colonel Younghusband justified the convention because he held that the Chumbi valley “is the key to Tibet. It is a tongue of land thrust into India, on the Indian side of the divide”. He declared it to be “the only strategical point of value on the northern frontier between Burma and Kashmir”. 61 The Home Government, however, reduced the indemnity to twenty-five lakhs of Rupees. The evacuation of the Chumbi valley was rendered possible after three years, provided the Tibetans paid the indemnity and observed the convention. Not only did the British Government modify the treaty negotiated by Colonel Younghusband in these two important respects, but they also vetoed the Indian Government’s proposal for an Agent at Lhasa. They also vetoed Colonel Younghusband’s Agreement with the Tibetans by which the new British Agent at Gyantse might visit Lhasa to settle commercial matters which could not be settled at Gyantse. Thus, practically the British Government’s policy of modifying the Lhasa convention and vetoing Government of India’s proposal for an Agent at Lhasa undid Lord Curzon’s work in Tibet.
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In a speech in London, on July 20, 1904, Lord Curzon defended his military expedition against Tibet in the following words:

"We felt that we could not afford any longer, with due regard to our interests and prestige on that section of the frontier, to acquiesce in a policy of unprovoked insults, endured with almost unexampled patience, at the hands of the Tibetan Government ever since they, and not we—please remember this, ever since they, and not we—assumed the aggressive, and first invaded British territory eighteen years ago. And still less could we acquiesce in this treatment at the very time when the young and perverse ruler of Tibet, who it seems to me has shown himself to be the evil genius of his people, while refusing to hold any communication with us, or even to receive letter from the representative of the British Sovereign, was conducting communications with another great Power, situated not at his doors, but at a great distance away, and was courting its protection."62

Thus the casus belli was Tibetan aggression against British India, which obviously refers to the Tibetan invasion of Sikkim in 1885-6. As the Tibetan aggression was admitted to have occurred eighteen years before, the invasion of Tibet by Lord Curzon on that score admirably illustrates the fable of the wolf and the lamb. The reference to Dalai Lama was a gratuitous insult—a string of allegations unsupported by any reliable testimony. The net result of this unnecessary and costly expedition was practically nil. Thus the foreign military expedition which was last in point of time produced the least result. The most unfortunate result of this policy was that it helped to revive Chinese suzerainty in Tibet. To quote Lovat Fraser:

"China is the one Power which has reaped solid advantages from the Tibet Mission. The Peking authorities were astute enough to perceive at once that the march on Lhasa would bring about the rehabilitation of their suzerainty, and they remained quiescent while British troops were in Tibet. They have now reaped their reward, for the Dalai Lama, after a brief return to his capital, is a fugitive in India, and Chinese suzerainty is being developed into practical sovereignty. Having agreed to recognise the validity of Chinese claims, we have no alternative but to leave the unfortunate Tibetans to their not too tender mercies. We have not extended our trade as we had hoped, and we have raised up for ourselves a new and disturbing situation on the north-eastern frontier of India".63

VI. SIKKIM

The dynasty of the present Maharaja of Sikkim established its rule there in 1641, and the only important event after that seems to be a Nepalese invasion in 1791. Two years later, during the Sino-Nepalese war, the Nepalese firmly established themselves in the Sikkim territory, lying to the south and west of the river Tista.

British relations with Sikkim began at the outbreak of the war
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with Nepal in 1814, after the conclusion of which the Government of India, by a treaty concluded in 1817, restored to the Raja of Sikkim the territory that had been wrested from him by the Nepalese. Some time about 1825 a boundary dispute arose between Nepal and Sikkim, in connection with which two British officers were despatched to the Sikkim frontier. These officers recommended to their Government the acquisition of Darjeeling. This was effected about a decade later in February, 1835, when the Raja of Sikkim was induced to cede unconditionally the Darjeeling tract under a Deed of Grant.

In 1841, the Government of India granted an allowance of Rs. 3,000 to the Raja as compensation for the cession of Darjeeling, and in 1846 increased this sum to Rs. 6,000 a year.

Dr. Archibald Campbell was appointed the first Superintendent of Darjeeling, and was also designated as "in-charge of political relations with Sikkim." From the beginning trouble arose between the Raja of Sikkim and the Superintendent on the question of slaves. Dr. Campbell complained that the Raja was kidnapping people from Darjeeling and enslaving them, while the Raja's complaints were that his slaves were running away to Darjeeling and were not being restored to him.64

In 1849 Dr. Hooker and Dr. Campbell went to Sikkim for a friendly tour. Dr. Hooker was an eminent Botanist and was sent to India by the British Government to investigate the vegetable products of certain portions of India, particularly the mountainous region of the Himalayas. Both of them were arrested and imprisoned by the Sikkim authorities. It appears from the available documents that the immediate cause of their arrest was their intrusion into Tibet, and the actual circumstances leading to it may be briefly described as follows:

Hooker and Campbell, after a day's march, passed a 14,000 ft. ridge and crossed into the Tibetan frontier. Hooker stopped for taking some observations, and Campbell proceeded. Some time later, when Hooker started to overtake his companion, he was surrounded by Sikkim soldiers, one of whom actually seized him. Hooker threw him off, and pointing to some Chinese soldiers said that he was in Chinese territory and not in Sikkim, when the soldiers desisted. Hooker then proceeded and found Campbell sitting near ninety Chinese soldiers under an officer; the officer told them that they could camp there but proceed no further; but as their camp equipments had still not arrived they had to retreat without further delay. When Hooker and Campbell began their retreat, the conduct of some Sikkim soldiers became unbearable and Campbell turned
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on them. He “said he was in Cheen, and under the Cheen officer, and ordered them off; they grew violent and Campbell was obliged to use his cane, one drawing a knife and another presenting the iron spike of his bow at our breasts. We had no arms. Campbell hereon called up the Cheen guard, who promptly interfered, and after a scuffle threw the whole Sikkim guard over the frontier most ignominiously and brought us on.” At their first halt they were arrested.

Though both were arrested, Hooker was told soon after that he was not a prisoner, and no restriction was put upon his movement. Campbell, however, was kept in a dirty little hut, with all his servants and coolies. Hooker elected to share Campbell’s misfortune voluntarily. Thus they marched under escort to Tumloong, the capital of Sikkim, where they arrived on November 10. Their Sikkim coolies were bound hand and foot and kept without food. Later Campbell was paraded in a village tied to the tail of a mule.64a

After imprisoning Campbell and Hooker, the Raja of Sikkim addressed a letter to the Governor-General on November 11, 1849. He states in this letter that though at the time of ceding Darjeeling he was given to understand that the Indian Government will give him no trouble, Dr. Campbell, soon after his arrival, began to settle Nepalese on the Sikkim side of frontier. To the Raja’s protest he replied that he was acting on the Governor-General’s order, and suppressed the Raja’s letter to the Governor-General. Other charges included turning out the Raja’s vakil from Darjeeling, stopping the entry of some merchandise from Sikkim into Darjeeling, and withholding his annual subsidy for two years. Then the Raja states that he permitted Dr. Hooker to visit Sikkim on the express condition that he should not cross into Tibet or Bhutan, but Dr. Campbell not only ignored his orders but threatened him that any obstruction on his part would lead to a war with India, and actually thrashed some of the Raja’s men. Therefore, the Raja wanted the Governor-General to punish Dr. Campbell severely, send a better man in his place, and restore his slaves who had run away to Darjeeling. Till this was done he was detaining Drs. Hooker and Campbell.64b

These charges were never investigated. The Government of India informed the Raja of Sikkim, that if he had grounds for complaint against Campbell, he should have made representations, if necessary, through some other channel than Dr. Campbell, and the Government of India would possibly have afforded him proper satisfaction. But now that the Raja had committed the grievous offence of imprisoning not only Dr. Hooker but also Dr. Campbell, a British
representative, no complaint could be entertained till they were freed.\textsuperscript{64c}

There cannot be possibly any doubt that Hooker and Campbell did actually enter into Tibetan territory. There is equally little doubt that it was the main cause of the whole trouble. Dr. Campbell, of course, denied this,\textsuperscript{64d} but Captain Byng, who succeeded Campbell as Superintendent of Darjeeling, wrote in a letter that “the Tibetan trespass was the effectful cause of the evil (i.e. arrest).”\textsuperscript{64e}

That Campbell was guilty of some high-handedness is indicated by the following extract from a letter he wrote from Sikkim to a friend on December 3, 1849: “The lever by which I worked was the Cheboo Lama, (whose) influence at the Durbar was, up to the time of my departure, sufficient for my purposes. . . . . . . but he lost his influence before I came thus far, and all his opponents united in a cry of ‘traitor’ against him, and my penetration into the land further than anyone ever had been before gave an additional occasion for charges against him; he was overthrown.”\textsuperscript{64f}

But although the charges against Campbell and Hooker were true, the Raja of Sikkim had to pay dearly for arresting them. Captain Byng, immediately on taking charge of his office as Superintendent of Darjeeling on 19 November, wrote to the Raja demanding the immediate release of the two prisoners, promising at the same time to forward the Raja’s letters to the Governor-General.\textsuperscript{64g} Soon afterwards, the rigours of their imprisonment were partially removed, and they were allowed to write letters.

As noted above,\textsuperscript{64h} Lord Dalhousie took very strong measures against the Raja and annexed the hill tracts of Darjeeling west of the Tistā and the Murung (Terai) district. The Raja’s allowance was also stopped.

In March, 1860, some relations of the Diwan of Sikkim kidnapped a few British subjects from British territory. As the Sikkim Government refused to deliver them, Campbell was authorized to occupy a part of Sikkim lying to the west of Ranjit river. On 1st November, 1860, Campbell, with a body of Sebundy Sappers under Captain Murray, established his outpost at Ringchingpong. They were attacked on November 27 by a mixed force of Tibetan and Sikkim Bhutias under the direction of the Diwan and forced to retreat. “The Sebundy Sappers, who hardly knew how to use their guns, disappeared in all direction. Dr. Campbell, Captain Murray, and Lt. Bevan, 73rd N.I., made their way to Darjeeling with only two attendants.”\textsuperscript{64i} Others came later, but one Havildar and nine-
teen sepoys were captured by the Sikkim army, and all the arms and ammunition of Campbell's force fell into their hands.  

This minor disaster was due to Campbell's folly in exposing his untrained levy to an organized attack. Later on he tried to make out that he was treacherously attacked, but the Viceroy rightly remarked, that though the attack was genuine, he failed to see any treachery in it. \(^{64b}\) As a matter of fact, Campbell knew of the impending attack by November 21, but seems to have taken no steps to protect his troops in his particularly ill chosen ground. \(^{641}\)

Campbell's retreat was followed by insolent threatening and, in some instances, by transgressions of Indian frontier on the part of hostile bands of Sikkimes. To stop this, and to retrieve British prestige, a force was sent under Lt. Col. Gawler, who made their way through the unknown country, where the terrain alone made the task of their advance quite difficult. But the Sikkim people hardly put up any fight, though Gawler on his way found many arrangements for obstructing him. Thus, practically without any fighting, the force reached Tumloong, the capital of Sikkim, early in March, 1861. The Diwan fled and the Sikkim Government accepted all the terms dictated by the Governor-General. On 28 March, 1861, a new treaty was concluded with the heir apparent, Sidkhyong Nam Gyal, as his father, Maharaja Chug-Phui-Nam Gyal, who had taken refuge at Chumbi in Tibet, being afraid to come over, abdicated in favour of his son.

According to the terms of this treaty, \(^{64m}\) all former treaties were abrogated, and provision was made for the future good conduct of Sikkim Government, which meant that Sikkim was practically reduced to vassalage. The Raja was fined Rs. 7,000, to be paid in three instalments; ex-Diwan Namgay and all his blood relations were expelled from Sikkim and were not to enter the country again. Regarding slavery it was stipulated that "inasmuch as many of the late misunderstandings have had their foundation in the custom which exists in Sikkim of dealing in slaves, the Government of Sikkim binds itself, from this date, to punish severely any person trafficking in human beings, or seizing persons for the purpose of using them as slaves."

The treaty further stipulated that full compensation should be made to those British subjects "who had either been kidnapped or pillaged by the Raja's people; it provided for full indemnification for public losses sustained in Dr. Campbell's retreat; it guaranteed the opening out of the country to trade, and the removal of all restrictions on travellers and merchants; it fixed the maximum rate of transit duties to be levied on goods between India and Tibet; it
provided for the construction of roads, and the security of those who traversed them”. For facilitating trade a good road was constructed by the Indian Government from Darjeeling to the Tisṭā during their occupation of Sikkim.

Chug-Phui-Nam Gyal died in 1863 and was succeeded by his son Sidkyong Nam Gyal, to whom the annual allowance of Rs. 6,000, forfeited in 1860, was restored as an act of grace. In 1868 it was increased to Rs. 9,000, and in 1873 to Rs. 12,000. In 1867 the ruler of Sikkim was granted a permanent salute of 15 guns.

The trade-route between India and Tibet lay through Sikkim, and the question of promoting commercial intercourse with Tibet involved the Indian Government into complications in its relations with Sikkim. The Tibetans invaded Sikkim in 1886, as mentioned above, and not only occupied Lingtu on the top of a high peak crossed by the trade-route through Jeylap pass, but also built a stone fort there, about 12,600 ft. above the sea level, commanding the road between India and Tibet. This event placed the British in a great dilemma. The leaders and people of Sikkim were mostly pro-Tibetan, and as they did not ask for British help, nor desired it, there was no ostensible ground for interference by the British. At the same time they could not contemplate with equanimity the very probable contingency that Sikkim would become once for all a province of Tibet. For this “would react most formidably on the security of life and property” in the great European settlement of Darjeeling. This hill-station, dotted with European tea-plantations covering the slopes which face Sikkim, and the summer residence of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, was almost within a stone-throw of the stream which formed the boundary between British India and Sikkim. A large number of outlying tea-gardens were “absolutely at the mercy of possible raiders from Sikkim”, and many British subjects, including Tibetans settled in Darjeeling, Lepchas, and Nepalese had large transactions, and interests in Sikkim. The strong hold maintained over Sikkim by the British during the preceding twenty-five years removed all difficulties as Sikkim was virtually treated as a protectorate; but all this would cease if Sikkim were allowed to become a part of Tibet. Urged by these considerations the British Government decided to send a military expedition to force Tibet to quit Sikkim. The justification of this measure has thus been put forth by a high British official.

“Enough has perhaps been said to show that the obligation of driving the Tibetans out of Sikkim was imposed on us by the essential conditions of our policy towards the east Himalayan States; that this policy is a just and reasonable one; and that it involves the assumption on our part of no more authority than is necessary if we are to keep the peace in this particular corner of the Indies.
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Empire. To maintain this policy by the cheapest and most effective means was the sole object of the military operations commenced in March 1888, and terminated by the engagement of the 24th September of that year. For the better understanding of the principles on which this little war was conducted, a further glance at the conformation of the country will be needed. Lingtu is a peak about 12 miles to the Sikhim side of the frontier, over the top of which our road runs to the Jeylap pass. The sides of this peak are very precipitous, and the road could not have been taken along them except at great expense. A force holding Lingtu can therefore block the road, and can also command the steep downs below the Jeylap, where Tibetan herdsmen pasture their sheep and cattle during the summer months. Both points probably counted for something with the Tibetans.\textsuperscript{65}

Although the Tibetans had not fled at the approach of the British force, as many fondly hoped, but offered a stubborn resistance, their medieval system of warfare could hardly resist for long the advance of the British troops. But the British played a waiting game in order to exhaust the resources of the Tibetans in the difficult terrain. The Tibetans showed a great deal of daring and skill in occupying the Tukola ridge, 13,550 ft. above the seal-level, and building a stone wall, two miles long, all along the crest of the ridge. But “notwithstanding this marvellous piece of impromptu engineering” the Tibetan army, about 11,000 strong, was driven away from this new position, losing nearly a tenth of their number in killed and wounded. It was a veritable rout and practically terminated the war which came to an end with the Anglo-Chinese agreement of 1890. It provided for “the boundary between Tibet and Sikhim being settled in accordance with our contentions; for the recognition of the British Protectorate over Sikhim, with exclusive control over its internal administration and its foreign relations; and in the future, for trade facilities, which have been systematically evaded. So far as Sikhim is concerned, the effect has been admirable; the country is progressing peaceably and rapidly, untroubled by Tibetan aggressiveness”.\textsuperscript{66} The net results of the war have been thus summed up by the same British official:

“Be the treaty never so meagre, we anyhow remain in possession of the disputed tract, while the roads and bridges made during the campaign ensure us the command of the passes against Tibetan inroads. Our influence is predominant in Sikhim; it has been vigorously asserted by the introduction of essential reforms in the government of the State, and we need not fear that it will be permitted to decline”.\textsuperscript{67}

“The reforms above mentioned were—the appointment of a Political Agent (Mr. J. C. White of the Public Works Department) at Guntok to assist the Maharaja in Council with his advice in the administration of affairs, the establishment of a Council for the conduct of ordinary civil, criminal and revenue work, the settlement of unoccupied waste land and land occupied by monasteries, and the
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preservation of sal forests by bringing them under the direct control of the darbar.”68

1. CHBFP, II. 209.
2. Ibid, 614.
3. This is based on W. K. Fraser Tytler, Afghanistan (1950), pp. 126 ff.
4. CHI, VI. 408.
8. Ibid, 133.
9. CHBFP, II. 72–74.
10. Ibid, 74.
11a. See p. 676.
12. CHBFP, 78.
13. Ibid, 80.
15. Letter from Lord Lytton to Cranbrook, dated 3 August, 1878. Quoted in
16. PHE, XII. 283.
18. PHE, XII. 287.
20. Ibid. PHE, XII. 283–91.
21. CHI, VI. 408. See above, p. 683.
23. Buckle, Life of Benjamin Disraeli, VI. 155 (quoted in CHBFP, III. 82, f.n., 1).
27. Davies, 164.
29. Davies, 166.
30. CHI, VI. 429.
31. Davies, 168.
32. Ibid.
33. See p. 163.
34. See p. 170.
37. CHBFP, II. 412.
38. CHI, VI. 439; CHBFP, III. 195.
39. CHBFP, III. 194.
40. Ibid, 196.
41. Ibid, 199.
42. Ibid, 200.
43. Sir Charles Bell, Tibet, Past and Present (1924), p. 9.
44. Lovat Fraser, India under Curzon and after (1911), p. 135.
45. Ibid, 136.
46. Bell, op. cit., 44.
47. Sir Francis Younghusband, India and Tibet (1910), p. 31.
48a. This para is based upon M. L. Ahluwalia’s article in PIHRC, XXX Part II,
pp. 1–8.
48b. Bell, op. cit., 59.
48c. IHQ, XXXI. 32.
48d. Buckland (II. 842) assigns a different reason. He says: “While it (Mission)
was waiting to start, negotiations commenced with China concerning the
north-eastern frontier of Upper Burma, then recently annexed, and in de-
ference to Chinese susceptibilities the Government of India consented to
forego their intention of despatching a Mission to Lhasa”. As the Mission
was arranged with the full consent of China, it is not easy to understand
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why her susceptibilities would be wounded by it, save on the supposition that China did not like to do anything by force against the wish of Tibet. In any case, the views expressed by Bell and others that the Tibetan obstinacy was the cause of cancelling the Mission seems to be the only valid conclusion.

49. Buckland, II. 943.
50. See p. 1071.
51. Bell, op. cit., 61. "Towards the close of 1894-5, a Commission, consisting of British, Chinese and Tibetan representatives, was appointed for the delimitation of the boundary between Sikkim and Tibet as defined in the Convention of 1890, but the Tibetans refused to supply transport for their party and the Chinese representative declared himself unable to move. Three pillars which were put up at 3 passes where there was no dispute about the boundary were knocked down. After waiting for some time in the expectation that orders from Peking might overcome Tibetan recusancy, the Commission was broken up in August 1895, and further proceedings abandoned for the time; but it was in contemplation to renew the demarcation in the following year" (Buckland, II. 211).

52. Buckland, II. 910.
53. Bell, op. cit., 61-2; Buckland, II. 910.
55. Cf. the exclamations of a Sindhi, quoted on p. 203.
56. Lovat Fraser, op. cit., 138.
57. Encycl. Brit. (s. v. Tibet); Lovat Fraser, op. cit., 138.
58. Tish-Tseng Li, The Historical Status of Tibet (1958), p. 82. It was evidently a great crime in the eye of Lord Curzon that an Oriental State should not open its doors wide to western imperialism.

59. Ibid, 83.
60. Bell, op. cit., 284 ff.
61. Lovat Fraser, op. cit., 143.
62. Raleigh, op. cit., 44.
63. Lovat Fraser, op. cit., 145-6.
64. Aitchison states: "The settlement of Darjeeling advanced rapidly, chiefly by immigration from the neighbouring States of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, in all of which slavery was prevalent. The increased importance of Darjeeling, under free institutions, was a source of early and constant jealousy and annoyance to the Diwan Namgay, who was himself the monopolist of all trade in Sikkim, and this feeling was shared by the Lamas and other principal people in the country, who lost their rights over slaves settling as British subjects in British territory...." Aitchison, XII. 52.

Aitchison does not give any reference for his statements. About the Diwan, it may be noted that he was the prime mover in the arrest of Campbell and Hooker, and, according to their accounts, was responsible for their plight. As will be shown later, one of the conditions of the treaty was that the Diwan should be expelled from Sikkim. It is possible, therefore, that the Diwan had a greater interest in Darjeeling than others.

64a. Extracts from Dr. Hooker's letters to a friend at Darjeeling No. 230, 29th December, 1849, Poll. and Foreign Depts. Letter from Dr. Campbell to a friend at Darjeeling dated Tumloong, December 2nd. Foreign. Poll. Cons. 29th December, 1849, No. 287.

It is difficult to ascertain the effect of these letters on the policy of the Government of India, for the dates of their receipt are not given.

64b. Translation of a Kharta from the Raja of Sikkim to the most Noble the Governor-General of India, dated Bengalee 27 Kartick, 1258, November, 11th, 1849, O.C. No. 197, 29th December, 1849, Foreign & Political Dept.

It is interesting to find the Raja of Sikkim using the Bengali Calendar. In this connection the Vakeel of the Raja wrote to Captain Byng, officiating Superintendent of Darjeeling, on November 20, 1849: "Messrs. Campbell and Hooker were allowed to see all my country. But I told them I could not let them cross the frontier. They would not mind what I said, but contrary to my orders went from a place called Phare....upon the Sahib's crossing the frontiers the Chinese were very angry, and said I have entered into friendship with the English for the purpose of taking their country." Extracts from the Raja's Vakeel's letter to Captain Byng, dated November 20, 1849, O.C. No. 267-9, 29th December, 1849, Foreign Political Department.

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64d. Letter from Dr. Campbell to a friend at Darjeeling, dated Tumloong, December 2nd, Foreign Poll. Cons., 29th December, 1849, No. 287.
64e. Letter from the Officiating Superintendent of Darjeeling to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Dept., dated Darjeeling, 9th December, 1849. O.C. No. 267-9, 29th December, 1849. Foreign and Poll. Depts. No. 374 of 1849 para. 5. It should be noted that Byng was superseded on December 11 by C. H. Lushington. See Lushington's letter to the Raja of Sikkim dated 11th December, 1849, Foreign Dept. Poll. Cons. 29th December, 1849, Nos. 270-73.
64f. Letter from Dr. Campbell to a friend at Darjeeling dated Tumloong, December 2nd-3rd, Foreign Dept. Poll. Cons. 29th December, 1849, No. 287. Italics mine.
64g. Foreign Pol. 29th December, 1849. No. 196A.
64h. See p. 89.
64j. Ibid, p. 10. Among the arms captured by the Sikkimese was a 3 pounder gun. Why Campbell took this piece of artillery when he does not seem to have any man fit to use it is nowhere explained.
64k. Letter dated 28th December, 1860, to the Hon'ble Ashley Eden. For. Part A. February 1861, No. 147-149 para. 4. This letter is published in Gawler's Sikkim, Appendix. p. 89.
64l. Gawler, op. cit.
64m. For details of this treaty, cf. Aitchison, op. cit.
64n. See p. 1061.
65. Buckland, II. 847.
67. Ibid, 852.
68. Ibid, 853.