Chapter VIII

CONCLUSION
Ever since the dawn of human history in Asia, India, its subcontinent, had a well-known geographical frontier. The land south of the high snow-clad peaks of the Himalayas were within its geographical limits. The vast tract was sparsely inhabited by several independent tribes with their peculiar dialects, customs and traditions. Almost similar was the case on the other side of the Himalayas. Beyond which came to be established the celestial Empire. On both sides the boundaries were mostly between the tribal possessions. Whenever the Empire came to be established in India and China, they attempted to extend their suzerainty up to the high peaks of the Himalayas separating the two vast plains of Asia. Direct administration of these empires over their adjoining tracts on the two sides of the Himalayas was hardly ever established.

During the heyday of India's cultural glory Buddhist religion and culture crossed the high Himalayas and spread beyond it in Central Asia, Sinkiang, Tibet and China. In fact the civilization of Tibet is traced back to this period. The Chinese influence however at no period of history ever crossed the snowy peaks of the Himalayas. At a later stage when Hinduism had fully crystallized, Badrinath, Gangotri, Jamnotri, Mount Kailash and the holy lake of Mansarowar became centres of pilgrimage for the Indian
people and their names have gone into the tradition, religion and culture of India. Gradually the early tribal population of India was politically organised. The country in the Sixth Century B.C. was divided into fourteen great Janpads (autonomous units). Bimbisara and Ajatsatru had made the beginning of larger political unification, which was followed by Mahapadmanand, the great historical monarch of ancient India. During his reign the country had attained the highest degree of prosperity. This wealth and prosperity was looked upon by Persians and Macedonians with greedy eyes. Cyrus, Darius and Alexander had made attacks on India, and were successful to some extent. But soon Chandragupta Maurya, who rose to power from humble origin, expelled the invaders beyond the natural border of the country and laid the foundation of the Great Mauryan Empire. Asoka completed the unfinished task of his grandfather and rose to a great glory, which remained unsurpassed in Indian history. The edicts of Asoka, found at different places, tell us of the extent of his empire and the wealth and the prosperity the country had acquired during his reign. Mauryan glory had attracted the attention of the Kushanas. But so long as the Kushanas remained aliens, they could not establish their hold over the country. It was only after they came under the influence of Hindu and Buddhist religions and were naturalised in India, that they could establish an empire. Kanishka the great Kushan emperor had his sway over Central Asian Provinces of Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan. After Kanishka the Kushan power declined and was replaced by the Gupta empire. Samudragupta the greatest of the Gupta kings,
subdued all petty principalities and laid the foundation of a great empire. The Kushanas and the Sakas had acknowledged the suzerainty of the Gupta Empire, which comprised Assam, Bengal, Nepal, Rohilkhand, Kumaun and Garhwal. The Gupta power remained intact only upto A.D. 467. The Gupta glory was gone in sixth century and India was divided once again into several small kingdoms, as in sixth century B.C. Though Harsha established the kingdom of Thaneshwar and Kanauj in A.D. 606, but it remained only for four decades so long as Harsha was alive.

As a matter of fact the neighbouring regions of India in ancient times were ruled by the people who went out of this country. Khotan was ruled by some descendants of the Mauryas. (1) The first King of Tibet was also an Indian. (2) Therefore, there was one big family which was ruling the country within and beyond the Himalayas. Perhaps that was the reason of complete homogeneity in the rulers and the ruled alike upto A.D. 647. The fall of powerful kingdom of Harsha had removed the strong central authority in India. The birth of Islam in A.D. 613 close to India had introduced a new force in the region. In China the weak Han regime was replaced by the T'ang Dynasty in A.D. 618. Tibet had acquired new dimensions with the accession of Song-tsen-Gam-Po in A.D. 618. Therefore the clash of these diverse forces was inevitable. Tibet in a great sweep overran the border regions of India and reached Sinkiang in seventh

(1) H.C. Seth, "The Kingdom of Khotan under Mauryas", Indian Historical Quarterly (Calcutta, 1939), vol. XV, pp. 389-402.
century. T'sang dynasty in China after preliminary consolidation at home reached Sinkiang and joined hands with Arabian Caliph Harun Al Rashid. The combination of the Chinese and the Arabs compelled the Tibetans to retrace their steps and retired to their own country in the ninth century.

In India, in the absence of strong central authority, several small kingdoms began to grow rapidly on the frontiers. The petty states were wholly unconnected with one another. This was one of the fundamental reasons that the hill chiefs could not afford any noticeable resistance to the Tibetans, when they tried to overrun the territory in second half of the seventh century. Withdrawal of Tibetan authority was followed by the systematic growth of Gilgit with its dependencies of Hunza and Nagar, Baltistan, Ladakh, Spiti, Bashahr, Garhwal and Kumaun.

Gilgit in ancient Sanskrit literature was probably known by Gahalata. Later it was called Sargin and Gilit. After the Sikh Dogra conquest the name was changed into Gilgit. The area was ruled by Hindu kings under a title of Ra. Unfortunately the names of Hindu Ras have been lost, with the sole exception of the last of their number, Shri Buddutt. The principalities of Hunza, Nagar, Darel, Chilas, Astor, Haremosh, Guras, Yassin and Chitral were under the control of Shri Buddutt. An adventurer named Azor was induced by the people, who were suffering under Buddutt to kill him. After the assassination of Buddutt, Azor married his daughter and established himself as a ruler of Gilgit. Gradually
the kingdom was broken up into a number of small independent states, which commenced to make periodical wars with one another. Hunza and Nagar were traditionally inimical to each other. These states were ruled by twins of Mayroo Khan who had divided the kingdom. In course of time, the hostile attitude of the rulers of the area with each other, led to the occupation of the territory by Sikhs and Dogras.

Baltistan for many years was bound up with Ladakh. At the time when Azor established himself in Gilgit, a Mohammedan adventurer Ibrahim Shah had usurped the sovereignty of Baltistan. The introduction of Islam in Baltistan had alienated the Baltis from their Ladakhi neighbours. The Makpons dynasty founded by Ibrahim Shah continued to rule Baltistan till it was conquered by Zorawar Singh in 1840.

Ladakh was a part of ancient Indian empire up to the time of Harsha. After the death of Harsha it was overrun by Tibetans. When Tibetans withdrew, the first Ladakhi dynasty was founded by Skyid-Lde (Nima-mgon). Skyid-Lde-mi-ma-mgon, the third in the dynasty was a great king. The kingdom of Ladakh in his times extended from northern mountain ranges up to Raduk, Guge (south east of Raduk and west of Mansarowar) and the modern districts of Lahul and Spiti. He had three sons among whom he divided his vast kingdom of Ladakh before his death. To the eldest he gave Ladakh proper, to the second Purang and Guge were assigned, and the third was made the ruler of Zanskar and Spiti. The eldest was suzerain over his younger
brothers. Ladakh used to send tributes to Kashmir only when the ruler of Kashmir happened to be strong, otherwise it remained independent. Likewise, when there was a powerful ruler in Ladakh, the ruler of Guge and Purang was obliged to obey the suzerain, otherwise he remained independent of Ladakh. In fourteenth century Kashmir was invaded by Ladakh and the ruler Sahadeva was overthrown. But soon Islam appeared in Kashmir in A.D. 1339 and the successors of Shah Mir subdued Ladakh several times. When the attention of Kashmiris was diverted towards the attack of the Mughals, Ladakh became free. Akbar annexed Kashmir in A.D. 1587 but did not go to Ladakh. In the meantime Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal came to power in Ladakh in A.D. 1590. In the course of forty-five years of his rule he restored the shattered kingdom of Ladakh to its glory. In the east he subdued Guge, Rudak, including Kailash upto Central Tibet. Zanskar and Spiti were restored. But when he turned towards Baltistan, he was met with an army of Balti in alliance with Mughals. He was defeated, and promised to send suitable tribute to Mughal Court. During his lifetime Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal never paid any tribute, but his successors had to pay 1000 Asarfis and 2,000 rupees with many gifts to the Mughals. When Ladakh was involved in a war with Tibet in 1681-84, Fida Khan with huge army went in aid of Ladakh. After the war a treaty was signed through the intervention of the patron Lama of Ladakh - Hbrug-pa-pham-obam-po. This treaty confirmed the division of Ladakh in the tenth century and fixed the boundary at Lari stream. Guge and Purang was ceded to Tibet. The revenue of which was to be spent for religious
purposes at Lhasa. Except a small village of Mensar the entire area near Kailash and Mansarowar went to Tibet in 1684.

Spiti in early times was ruled by Sen Kings. One of the earliest known ruler was Samudra Sen. The fortunes of Spiti declined during the reign of Chet Sen and in seventh century it was annexed by Ladakh. Subsequent to the annexation, the fate of Spiti was determined along with the fate of Ladakh. In the tenth century Spiti was assigned to the youngest son of Skyid-Lde-mi-ma-mgon and since then it remained subordinate to Ladakh.

Bashahr, Garhwal and Kumaun all were ruled by the Katurias in early times. In course of time these principalities were separated and occupied by different Rajput clans. These Rajput rulers, at times were at war with each other, but generally remained content with their possessions.

Decline of Harsha's power in India marks the beginning of the weak central authority. From the times of Pritiharas till the rise of Mughals the central authority in India was practically non-existent. Several rulers came and went but the extent of their possessions was very limited. For most of the time the rulers in plains fought amongst themselves. This led to the rise of powerful hill states and attracted the attention of Muslim adventurers of the time. For the most part rulers in the plains remained busy in resisting Muslim invasions. Muslims on their part remained busy in the loot of the rich and fertile plains of India. None except one Bakhtyar, ever tried to cross the natural frontiers of India. His attempt proved a complete failure, and his army was destroyed
in the high hills. Mohammed Bin Tugluk once tried without success to subdue the hill chiefs of Himachal. Consequently the hill chiefs remained outside the arms of Muslim invaders for a long time. It was only after the establishment of Mughal authority in India, that Akbar looked towards the hill chiefs. Kashmir was annexed in A.D. 1587 to Mughal empire. From Akbar to Aurangzeb all the hill chiefs had accepted the Mughal overlordship. Mughal emperors themselves remained content with the nominal allegiance and tributes from the hill chiefs. They never tried to impose the administrative control in the hills. Consequently the paramount power and the dependant both were happy. The fall of the Mughal empire once again let loose the constituents of the empire, and the hill chiefs became free. Gradually the Mughal empire gave way to the rising British empire which became paramount power in India, in course of nearly a century.

II

As the British Government in India was an alien government, so was the Chinese rule in Sinkiang and Tibet. It would be wrong to think of continuous sway of Chinese power beyond the Himalayas in Sinkiang and Tibet. Sinkiang was originally populated by an Aryan Race. It came under the control of Chinese in A.D. 94 during the Han Dynasty, for a short period. After about six hundred years the Tang Emperors sent expeditions in Central Asia. The sway of the Chinese rulers lasted only for a while till Islam appeared in A.D. 712. The Muslim rule flourished in Sinkiang for nearly five hundred years. It was only in the thirteenth century that Chingiz Khan made his appearance in Sinkiang. In A.D. 1220 Sinkiang became
a part of the Mongol Empire. Chingiz Khan, his son Chagatai Khan and his descendants continued to rule the country up to about A.D. 1678. Jungars, the inhabitants of the area who took over from Mongols ruled the country for about 78 years, after which the Chinese became the masters of the area in about 1756. In essence the history of Sinkiang from the fifteenth century to the eighteenth affords an unbroken record of civil wars between two religious parties which paved the path for Chinese occupation. But the Chinese rule was always threatened. Well within a century of the Chinese occupation, Jehangir Khan, a native of Sinkiang, rose in an open rebellion in 1825. His revolt was so successful that he was practically the master of Kashgar for a while. The effect of this revolt was so profound that it created a sensation throughout Asia. It was soon followed by the revolt of Khoja Yasuf in 1830, and that of the rebellion of seven Khojas headed by Katta-Turma. The descendants of the dispossessed rulers of the country made repeated attempts to recover their lost patrimony from the alien Chinese masters. The last of such efforts was that by Vali Khan Turra in 1857. He was able to rule Kashgar for a few months. In July 1864, a band of Turgaus came from Urumchi to foment risings against the Manchu rulers. This revolt was so widespread that it embraced the western provinces of China, Zungaria and Yarkand. One after the other, Kuchu, Yarkand, Khotan, and Kashgar fell to the Khojas. The Chinese garrison was cut to pieces. Kuchu and Yarkand were held by Rashid-ud-deen, Khotan elected Haji Habibulla as its ruler. In the meantime Bazurga Khan arrived from Khokand with a force of 500 men under the able command of Yakub Beg Kushbegi.
After a number of successes against the Chinese, Yakub arrested his incapable master and then set about extending his own sway. His possessions extended as far as Manas and Urumchi on the north east and to Khotan to the south. By 1869 Yakub Beg had made himself the absolute ruler of Sinkiang. From 1869 to 1878 the Chinese rule in Sinkiang was non-existent. It was only after the death of Yakub Beg, when the war of succession in Sinkiang was on, that the Chinese tried to recapture it, and by the end of 1877 they were successful. The Chinese success did not rule out the Muslim revolts in Sinkiang. They were continued as usual. In the twentieth century, after the breach between Chiang-Kai-shek and Mao-se-Tung, Sinkiang, though ruled by Chinese, remained outside the Peking control. It was under the sphere of influence of Soviet Russia. It was only after the Communist triumph in China that the area came under firm control of China.

Tibet was ruled by a King of Indian origin in early times. In about A.D. 618 Tibetan power became so strong that Song-tsen Gam-po married a Chinese princess. For the next two centuries the Tibetan power was felt both in China upto Sinkiang and in India. Although it remained under the Chinese influence for a long time, it was free from Chinese rule. It was only occasionally that the might of the Chinese arms were felt in Tibet. (3) It was only in the Manchu regime that Tibet was successfully attacked by China in A.D. 1720. The Chinese hold was established in Tibet and it was

regarded as Chinese Protectorate from 1720 to 1792. But with the conquest of Sinkiang by Chinese in 1758, the Protectorate status of Tibet began to decline. It was only on the occasion of Gorkha invasion of Tibet in 1792, that a Chinese army was despatched to protect Tibet but never after that. In the beginning of the nineteenth century the Chinese authority in Tibet was non-existent. This fact was noted by both William Moorcroft who went to Mansarowar and Kailash in 1812, and James Baillie Fraser who after Gorkha War of 1814-15 had toured the area between Sutlej and Kali rivers. When the Dogra General Zorawar Singh attacked Tibet in 1841, the Chinese failed to extend the protection. Similarly no Chinese protection was offered at the time of Nepalese attack in 1856, or at the time of the British expedition under Francis Younghusband in 1904. Not only the Chinese failed to protect Tibet, but their orders were never respected in Tibet, during the same period. Explorer Prejewalski and Colman Macaulay were refused permission to enter Tibet. Apart from this factual position, the Chinese themselves have denied their power in Tibet on several occasions to the British Government specially at the time of Chefoo Convention in 1876. As a matter of fact the Chinese would have been happy, if somehow the exclusiveness of Lamas would have been abolished. The appointment of Chinese Amban (Resident) at Lhasa was part of a reciprocal arrangement under which Lhasa used to send certain Lamas to reside at Peking nominally to worship for the Imperial family. The Chinese Ambans used to write memorials and despatches on the affairs of Tibet in such a style, that it gave the reader, the impression that they were the masters of the
situation in Lhasa. In essence the position of the Chinese Ambans in Lhasa was just as that of the British Resident at Kathmandu. Both were having no powers of interference in the affairs of the state where they were stationed. The chief reason for the perpetuation of this fallacy of Chinese sovereignty over Tibet lay in the writings of the modern writers who derive their information exclusively from the Chinese sources. Whenever the Tibetans gave out to the world that they were under Chinese rule, the sole function was to avoid dealings with foreigners and to maintain their exclusiveness.

III

The decline of the Mughal Empire was marked by the establishment of the British Empire in India. The twofold process was a long drawn one. After the battle of Plassey the British firmly established themselves in Bengal, and thereafter they moved westwards fairly fast. A treaty of friendship and alliance was concluded with Nawab Shuja-ud-Daula of Awadh in 1765. The British troops were stationed in the forts of Chunar and Allahabad in 1772. The possession of Raja Chait Singh of Banaras were ceded to the East India Company by Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula in 1775. The succeeding Nawab Saadat Ali Khan brought the British to the Banks of Jamuna by ceding the lands in Ganga Jamuna Doab and the whole of Rohilkhand in 1801. Therefore by the beginning of the nineteenth century the British East India Company came to a region where several powers were contending for territorial gains at the cost of Kumaun and Garhwal. After a clash with the Gorkha power of Nepal, which had
occupied the border regions of India, the Company took the possession of Jamuna Sutlej tract in 1815.

Beyond the Sutlej, Ranjit Singh, along with his generals Gulab Singh and Zorawar Singh, was busy in the consolidation of the Sikh Kingdom. In 1819 the Abdalis were expelled from Kashmir. Ladakh and Baltistan were subdued in 1834 and 1840. In the meantime Ranjit Singh died in 1839. Zorawar Singh with his triumphant force went to Tibet in 1841, and tried to annex the Kailash Mansarovar region which was ceded in 1684 to Tibet, to the Dogra Kingdom of Jammu. The attempt was a dismal failure and he was killed in action on 14 December 1841. After the death of Zorawar Singh, Tibetan forces advanced towards Ladakh. Gulab Singh though sad after the death of his gifted general, sent an enforcement under Dewan Harichand and Wazir Ratnu to meet the Tibetan menace. Several battles were fought in which Tibetans were defeated, and the commander Surkhang was captured. Soon after a treaty was signed on 24 September 1842. It recognised the Dogra rule in Ladakh and restored the boundaries of the State, which were fixed in tenth century and reaffirmed in the treaty of 1684.

The British Government in India, though engaged in other theatres was not unmindful of the activities of Ranjit Singh and his Dogra Generals. A close watch was maintained. William Moorcroft was sent to Leh in 1819, and in 1835 G.T. Vigne went to Skardo and Ladakh. In the meantime Captain C.H. Wade, Political Agent at Ludhiana was maintaining regular correspondence with Ahmad Shah the King of Baltistan. When Ranjit Singh was dead the
British Government looked towards Sikh Kingdom of Lahore with the positive intentions of its annexation. Therefore when Zorawar Singh marched into Tibet, the British Government was in no mood to take chance, specially after a disaster at Kabul, which might have affected the negotiations with China after the first Opium War. Hence Lord Auckland, immediately wrote to Maharaja Sher Singh for the withdrawal of Zorawar Singh from Tibet. Dhian Singh, the wise prime minister delayed the matter, but impatient Auckland could not wait for the outcome of his representation to Lahore Darbar. He asked J.D. Cunningham to proceed to the borders, and fixed 10 December, a dead line for the withdrawal of Zorawar Singh from Tibet. Before he could positively interfere, Zorawar Singh was dead and a treaty of peace was signed.

After the death of Ranjit Singh, the Kingdom of Lahore was in the state of utter confusion. The military anarchy of the Sikhs led to the British suspicion, distrust and territorial ambition. Lord Ellenborough took the necessary precautions and kept the home government informed about the affairs at Lahore. But his successor Sir Henry Hardinge could not wait for a long time and on 11 December 1845 a war was declared. After several battles, the victors entered Lahore on 20 February 1846. The treaty of Lahore which was signed after elaborate negotiations on 9 March 1846, gave a death blow to the sovereignty and prestige of the Sikh Kingdom. The Kingdom was dismembered and out of its ruins a new sovereign state of Jammu and Kashmir was created. As a matter of fact the treaty of Amritsar of 16 March recognised Maharaja Gulab
Singh as sovereign ruler of Jammu and Kashmir State, but not without booty. This recognition amounted to Rupees seventy five lakhs. After the treaty of Amritsar the limits of the British and that of Gulab Singh were ascertained by James Abbott. A separate boundary Commission comprising Vans Agnew and Alexander Cunningham was appointed in 1846 to ascertain the territories of Gulab Singh towards Tibet. Although this Commission could not achieve anything, yet it pointed out the boundary which was running along the river Pare at Spiti border and was proceeding upwards by the south of Tso Morari lake and Hanle monastery to river Indus, meeting the river below the village of Demchok. From Indus it went along the ridge and crossed Pangong lake approximately in the middle and continued on the top of the ridge to Lanka La. From Lanka La it went along the ridge beyond Shyok river, turning westward along the mountain range and passed over Nagar and Hunza principalities.

Hardinge was not satisfied with this definition, and was in no mood to sacrifice the rich Tibetan trade. Consequently he appointed another boundary Commission comprising Alexander Cunningham, John Strachey and Thomas Thomson in 1847. In the meantime he wrote to Vazir of Lhasa for the revision of treaty of 1842 and sought his cooperation. Failing in his efforts of opening up of Tibet, he wrote to John Davis, the British Commissioner of Hong Kong for opening negotiations with Peking Government. John Davis made several efforts with Keying, the Chinese High Imperial Commission, but could not succeed. He was told that the boundaries of Tibet were known from ancient times and needed no further definition.
Both the Peking and Gulab Singh's Commissioners failed to meet the British Boundary Commission at appointed place. Several independent endeavours of the British Commissioners also failed to achieve anything from Tibetans. The net result of the Commission of 1847 was a complete disappointment. This was perhaps the first occasion when China was asked by the British Government in matter of Tibet.

Henry Hardinge sailed for England on 16 January 1848. After his departure his frontier policy was abandoned. The succeeding Governor General Lord Dalhousie centred his attention on the internal affairs of the Indian states. He fought wars with Punjab and Burma and annexed Punjab and Pegu. The doctrine of lapse brought to the British fold the States of Satara, Nagpur, Jhansi, Sambalpur and Tanjore. The Nizam of Hyderabad was deprived of the province of Berar. Thus the map of India became red leading to the eventful years of 1857-58. The succeeding Governor General and later Viceroy Viscount Canning was engaged in suppression of the revolt and maintenance of law and order.

In the second half of the nineteenth century the power pattern among the three empires - British, Chinese and Russian - in Central Asia was seriously threatened. The authority of Manchu's in China was seriously menaced from internal revolts and external aggressions. While Central Provinces of China were in revolt in "T'ai Ping" and Nien 'Fei" she had to face an external enemy in Lorcha War of 1856. In Sinkiang there were series of Mohammedan
risings ending into the establishment of an Independent Kingdom under Yakub Beg in 1866. Russia, whose expansion in Europe was checked after Crimean War 1854-56 began to expand in Central Asia. The menacing march of Russia in the power vacuum created in Central Asia alarmed the British in India, who, after the annexation of Punjab in 1849 and suppression of the rising of 1857-58 were seriously in search of security. The wild cry of the Punjab officials regarding commercial prosperity with Sinkiang made an impact on the mind of Sir Lawrence. He, in the first instance, appointed Dr. Henry Cayley as Trade Agent at Leh in 1867 for a year. Subsequent to this, the appointment was renewed yearly in utter disregard of the wishes of the Maharaja of Kashmir. For opening up of the Châng-Chêmno route to Yarkand a commercial treaty was signed with Kashmir Darbar which lay open the entire eastern section of the State for the British survey and observations. Several missions were exchanged with Yarkand but excepting a commercial treaty with Yakub Beg, nothing more could be achieved. The fate of this treaty was that it could never be ratified. Yakub Beg was done to death and the Chinese power returned to Sinkiang in 1878. The British and Russian efforts towards creating an independent kingdom of Yakub Beg as a buffer had failed.

In the meantime Russian threat in Afghanistan was ever increasing. Lord Lytton, the then Viceroy of India, was conscious of it and met Maharaja Ranbir Singh of Kashmir at Madhopur on 17 and 18 November 1876 and proposed the establishment of the British Agency at Gilgit. A weak Indian State had to yield to the
British pressures. John Biddulph was posted at Gilgit in 1877. His stay at an isolated post for three years made no impact either on the population of the area or on the rulers. The Maharaja deliberately frustrated the British schemes. In the meantime the second Afghan War was over in September 1880. The Gilgit Agency was withdrawn in 1881. The Centre of the British activities was shifted from Gilgit to Jammu where the ailing Maharaja was counting his days. The British intrigues and interference in the State administration became the order of the day. The Maharaja who had been resisting the appointment of a British Resident died on the evening of 12 September 1885. Sir Oliver St. John was, upon the death of the Maharaja became Resident, reached Jammu on 15 September 1885. He demanded radical administrative reforms from the new Maharaja. In spite of best intentions Pertap Singh could not make changes in the administration of the State. Oliver St. John was replaced by Sir Chichele Plowden who made the ground fertile for the deposition of Pertap Singh. Colonel R. Parry Nisbet who succeeded Plowden as Resident in Kashmir, discovered some fictitious letters supposed to be written by the Maharaja. He intrigued with Prince Amar Singh and other ministers of the State and forced into the room of the Maharaja and got the resignation signed by him. Helpless Pertap Singh was deposed from power on 8 March 1889. None of his pleadings could make impact on Lansdowne. Reaction to the deposition in the State was very sharp. Dogras submitted a Memorandum to Mr. C. Bradlaugh M.P. who raised the issue in the House of Commons, but without any results. On the periphery of the State, both Tibet and Sinkiang sealed their
borders for Europeans and the entire local trade was affected. The British efforts towards opening of Tibet and the installation of trade Consul at Kashgar failed miserably.

Soon after the deposition of Pertap Singh a second Gilgit Agency was established in July 1889. Captain A.G.A. Durand in spite of best endeavours failed to control the tribal people. He had to resort to an expedition in Hunza in 1891 and four years later to Chitral. Thus by the close of the nineteenth century the British power reached the Hindu Kush.

While the British Government was active in subduing Kashmir, they were by no means unmindful of the boundaries of the State towards Sinkiang. W.H. Johnson who crossed into Khotan in 1864 reported that the boundary was along the Kuen Lun range. But this factual assertion of Johnson was not accepted. As a matter of fact the British Government was in search of strategically sound boundary. Forsyth who led two missions to Yakub Beg suggested a boundary in 1874-75 which was running mid-way between Kuen Lun and Mustang Karakoram range. Ney Elias in 1878 advocated an Indus watershed boundary on the following considerations: (1) that the line should follow on the whole of the natural waterparting between the two countries; (2) that it should place a natural barrier between the people and the possible enemy; (3) that it should be near the base of supplies; and (4) that it should be easy to demarcate. A decade after Captain H.L. Ramsay, the British Joint Commissioner at Leh advocated for the Kum Lun boundary. In the meantime Hunza made an attack on Shahidulla Kirgiz and the British Government seized the opportunity and deputed Captain F. Younghusband
for ascertaining the strategically sound boundary. The Maharaja of Kashmir and the Kashmir Darbar were advised not to occupy the fort at Shahidulla. Upon the report of Younghusband a boundary line was decided upon. In 1890 Younghusband was deputed to Yarkand and was charged to induce the Chinese to occupy the Kuen Lun Mustang Karakoram tract. After his meeting with P'an Ta-Jein on 5 September 1890, the Chinese activities were noticed in the area. Mortimer Durand was of the fixed opinion that one of those days the Chinese rule in Sinkiang would collapse and would be replaced by the Russian. In such contingencies it was thought fit to have a strategically sound defensible boundary and a weak neighbour. But Macartney was of the opinion that the fact of the boundary should be brought to the notice of the Chinese and then they should be allowed to occupy only on the condition that so long as they were the master of Sinkiang no objection would be raised for their occupation of Kun Lun Mustang Karakoram tract. But in the event of Sinkiang being occupied by any other power the region would be declared as a Neutral Zone. This scheme also failed to make any impact on the Government. John Ardagh, the Director of Military Intelligence, pleaded for boundary of Kashmir State along the Kun Lun range. He advocated that in general sense it formed an acceptable defensible line, because it was easy to define, difficult to pass and fairly dividing the population. All these pleadings by the different people were finally rejected by Elgin, and instead he suggested to bargain the MacDonald Line of 1899 with the Chinese. His condition was that China should remove the fiction of sovereignty over Hunza, and then the British Government would not
press for the legal claims of Hunza over Raskam and Tagdumbash Pamir. In spite of the insistence of the British Government, no reply was received from Peking.

In the meantime the internal condition of China deteriorated. Younghusband led an expedition to Lhasa and dictated the terms there. The Britain and Russia patched their differences in Anglo-Russian Agreement in 1907. The Russians stopped instigating China against the British. Lord Curzon who succeeded Elgin believed in Ardagh line. Minto II and Hardinge of Penhurst had hardly anything to do with boundary. Hunza began the cultivation of Raskam lands from 1914. It appears that in 1926 the British Government once again tried to withdraw Hunza's claims from Raskam and Pamirs, but the Maharaja of Kashmir asserted that the dominions of Kashmir were bounded to the north by the northern watershed of Kun Lun ranges. The area remained under the control of Kashmir State, upto the eve of Indian Independence in 1947.

IV

India was always a geographical unit. Culturally it has always been one. At times it was a political unit, but more often it was divided into several small units. Those who have established their empire in India, could only control a portion of it. But this does not mean that beyond their sway India was non-existent. We are familiar with three different names by which this subcontinent was known. Bharatwarsh, Hindustan and India all denote the same land mass which is in existence from time immemorial. The different
empires at different times are called by names such as Mauryan India, Gupta India, Mughal India and the British India. This indicates that the different empires had certain territory of India under their control. Upto the sixth century A.D. there was hardly any point of dispute between India and her neighbours, Tibet and Sinkiang. It was only after the disappearance of strong central authority and the arrival of the Muslims, that a gulf gradually began to grow between India and its neighbours. The country itself was divided into several small principalities which, in course of time, acquired their own territorial limits. At no time any of the principalities was subordinate to either Peking or Lhasa. They never thought and considered themselves outside India. When strong authority of the Mughals was established in India, all the principalities in course of time became subordinate and tributary to it, and the boundaries of the States such as Hunza, Baltistan, Ladakh, Bashahr, Garhwal and Kumaun became the boundary of Mughal India. The Mughals on their part never tried to interfere with the States, nor ever tried to effect their administrative control.

The British Government in India gradually began to grab the territories of the Indian rulers. Its policy of acquisition, specially of the frontier States was determined by two main considerations, trade and security. As regards Tibet the British aimed at it opening up for trade, whereas in regard to Sinkiang the British policy varied according to the appearance or otherwise of the Russian threat to the empire. A weak China, which was humbled by the British was considered a good neighbour than powerful
Russia. In determining the boundary with Tibet the British Government invited China in Tibet in 1846-47 and ever since then upheld that bogie of Chinese suzerainty in Tibet. This Chinese authority in Tibet remained so long as it suited the needs of the Empire. But when it became a threat to the empire it was thrown to the winds. Younghusband in 1903-4 marched into Tibet without the consent of China. No amount of hue and cry made any impact on the confident Curzon. In determining the boundary with Sinkiang, the British Government decided to part a portion of land to China, whose sovereignty they were able to humble or uphold, as per needs of the empire. Not willing to uphold the territories between Kun Lun and Mustang Karakoram - rather a liability than an asset - the British Government gave it out that the land belonged to no one in particular and therefore was a no man's land. In fact the territory up to Kun Lun belonged to Hunza and Ladakh before the Dogra rule, and later was a legitimate part of the successor state of Jammu and Kashmir. But the Chinese Government was induced and invited to occupy the territory, in spite of claims and protests of the Maharaja of Kashmir and the Mir of Hunza. True, no one in particular was living in the area, but the claims to the territory were never surrendered. The Chinese on the other hand never considered any portion of land below Kun Lun and Sanju Kilian passes as a part of their empire. Macartney-MacDonald proposal of 1899, though failed to achieve any result, yet it parted the legitimate land of Kashmir to the tune of approximately 4,800 square miles to China. When a State is taken by another power, it is taken in its
totality, not that the assets are taken and the liabilities are parted. Unfortunately the British Government in India had taken the former and parted the latter.

V

When India became free in 1947 it inherited from the British this legacy on the frontiers. Being busy with refugee exodus due to partition of the country, and the Qabaili aggression in Kashmir it could not give a proper thought to the boundaries. Republican regime in China was replaced by the Communist regime. Chiang-Kai-shek was forced to flee giving place to Mao-tse-tung. The Chinese liberation army quickly took the positions on the frontiers. The Government of India hurriedly revised the treaties with Sikkim and Bhutan in 1949-50. China in her triumph of victory marched into Tibet and got Seventeen Point Agreement signed on 23 May 1951. (4) This agreement sealed the fate of Tibetan independence. India quickly accorded the recognition of China over Tibet in Sino-Indian Agreement of 29 May 1954. (5) The spirit of Bandung prevailed for a while. Very soon China completed the road connecting Sinkiang and Tibet in September 1957. Claims were quickly laid by China on Barahoti on 17 July 1954. An Indian

(4) Richardson, n. 3, pp. 275-78, Appendix.

Patrol party was stopped by the Chinese at Damzan near Niti pass on 15 September 1955. On 28 April 1956 a party of twelve Chinese soldiers was detected at place Milang. A party of ten Chinese Army personnel entered Shipki pass on 1 September 1956. After these reconnaissance visits Chinese started cartographical aggression and air intrusion on the Indian territory. Protest notes were sent and received without any positive results. Prime Ministers of both the countries met at New Delhi from 19 to 25 April 1960, and had decided for the scrutiny of the historical materials on the boundary. Accordingly officials of India and China met at Peking, Delhi and Rangoon between June and November 1960, and had scrutinized the relevant materials without reaching any agreement. The situation began to deteriorate rapidly on India-China border. Indian Trade Agencies in Tibet were withdrawn and compensation for the loss of traders was demanded from China in September 1962. The Trade Agreement of 1954 lapsed, (6) and an armed conflict started on 20 October 1962. On 24 October 1962, the Chinese Government issued a statement narrating the causes of the conflict and proposed three conditions for cessation of hostilities. Several clarifications were sought by India on the proposals and were replied by China. No settlement was in sight when China suddenly announced the cessation of hostility. The firing was stopped at 00.00 hours on 22 November 1962. (7)

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Chinese forces withdrew 20 kilometers from the line of actual control in December 1962. Both the combatants suffered heavy loss in men and material. Solution of India-China boundary is still not in sight. Unless both parties to the dispute are willing to settle, it seems difficult to have peace and normalcy in the area.