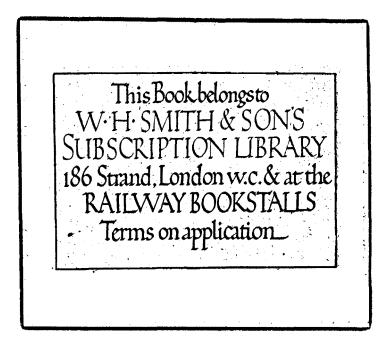
THE FORWARD POLICY AND ITS RESULTS BRUCE

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THE FORWARD POLICY



Photo, Percival



THE FORWARD POLICY

AND ITS RESULTS

OR

THIRTY-FIVE YEARS' WORK AMONGST THE TRIBES ON OUR NORTH-WESTERN FRONTIER OF INDIA

BX

RICHARD ISAAC BRUCE, C.I.E.

FORMERLY POLITICAL AGENT, BELUCHISTAN LATE COMMISSIONER AND SUPERINTENDENT, DERAJAT DIVISION PUNJAB, INDIA

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND A MAP

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1900

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AND IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE

то

LADY SANDEMAN

BY THE AUTHOR

MEMORANDUM

IT was my intention to publish these Memoirs long since, but frequent and serious illnesses after I retired from the Service prevented my completing them earlier. The delay may not, however, I hope, weaken my cause, as the question of the best means of remedying the defects in our relations with the border tribes is one that is ever present with us. It may slumber for a time, but will inevitably crop up again, and even now tokens are not wanting to show that the time may not be far distant when the problem of the merits or demerits of the Forward Policy will be again prominently to the front.

RICHARD I. BRUCE.

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CHAPTER XIV

OPENING OF THE TOCHI, 1895 TO 1896.

On December 18 the Expedition, in three columns, advances-The headquarters, commanded by Sir William Lockhart in person, from Jandola to Margaband-The second from Edwardsabad, the objective being Makin; and the third, the Wana column, commanded by General Turner, to Khaisera-Friendly reception by Khaisera Maliks -Destroy fortified village of Tor-Wam-No organised opposition met with by any of the columns-Mullah Powindah's village of Marobi burned down, also towers belonging to hostile factions of Shabi-Khels and Abdallis at Makin destroyed-Friendly reception by Derwesh-Khels of Tochi-Sir William Lockhart's plan of campaign-On Christmas morning we march up the Baddar Valley-Destroy fortified hamlets of Abdulrehman-Khels, causing them loss to extent of some 6,000 rs.-Hamlets of those not implicated in Wana attack not injured-Friendly Maliks perform good and useful service by pointing out hamlets and property of those hostile-Surrender to Mr. King and myself of Government rifles, horses, and other property-Heavy snow and severe cold at Kanigoram-No enemy being found to fight with, Sir William Lockhart orders concentration of troops at Jandola-Accidental death of Lieutenant Lockhart-Regrettable incident-Sir William Lockhart's famous Waziri durbar at Kundiwam, January 19-Announces to Waziris final terms of Government, and that grace will be given them to March 1 to comply-Derwesh-Khel Maliks of Shakai surrender five men accused of Zhob and Gweleri murders-Petition of Shakai Maliks-Am deputed by Sir William Lockhart to remain at Kundiwam to secure fulfilment of the terms, and afterwards to join him in the Tochi-Have as escort a brigade of troops under General Symons-Mr. Anderson and Mr. King deputed on demarcation duty-Mahsuds petition that rather than Government should occupy the Shahur route by itself, they should take the entire Mahsud country under protection and control, as had

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been done with Wana-Reasonableness of the petition-One of those very opportunities Sir Robert Sandeman would have eagerly seized on for settlement of country-Maliks having committed themselves on our side makes it incumbent on Government to follow out the Sandeman Policy-Complete compliance with Government terms secured before the end of January-Gratified by receiving telegram from Sir William Lockhart congratulating me on success of my proceedings-Friendly attitude of Derwesh-Khels and Dawaris of the Tochi-Sir William Lockhart visits the Tochi-I start for Tochi to arrange with tribes for opening and settlement of country-Sir William Lockhart leaves Waziristan-I meet him at Edwardsabad. March 18-Under orders of Government of India, I revert to my former position of Chief Political Officer in Waziristan-March through Tochi Valley-Meet Mr. Anderson at Datta-Khel—Interesting account by Mr. Anderson of highly favoured tract of beautiful country lying between Wana and Sheranni-Orders to withdraw the troops from the Tochi cancelled at my request-Mr. Anderson and Mr. King congratulated by Governments of India and Punjab on successful completion of the demarcation of their sections of the boundary line-Mr. Anderson testifies to friendly feeling displayed from first to last by Derwesh-Khels and Dawaris-My Indian service extended by a year to enable me to conclude tribal settlements-I return to Mahsud country-Gratitude to General Symons for his cordial co-operation-Settlements made with Mahsuds, and reorganisation of their service allowances. posts, &c .-- Complimentary notices of settlement by Governments of India and Punjab-Sarwekai occupied as military post at request of Mahsud Maliks-It occupies a grand position, especially for protection of Shahur route-March to Wana-Settlement with Maliks in regard to occupation and safety of lines of communication-Inclusion of Badar and Shakai in Wana arrangements-Construction of permanent military post at Wana commenced-Mr. A. J. Grant appointed Political Officer-Satisfaction on seeing everything on such a permanently satisfactory basis in Wana before I leave-March to Sheikhbudin-Trial of the five Shakai prisoners-The Council of Elders find them guilty-I sentence them each to undergo seven years' imprisonment-Received the acknowledgments of the Governor-General in Council for successful management of the affair-The notorious Zarriband shot by a Mahsud-Story of a daring robbery by Waziri rifle thieves-Important question of protection of loyal Maliks and levies from retaliation for acts done in execution of their duty to Government-Submit scheme to Government for the opening and pacification of the Tochi-Tribal expenditure not excessive, when results are considered, and when compared with cost of military and other factors employed in the great scheme of Imperial Frontier defence-Value of Forward Policy as opening grand recruiting field for Indian army-Opinion of General Chesney-Comments on subject in ' Civil and Military Gazette '-Opinions of Sir James Lyall and Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick-I enlist a number of Mahsuds for service in

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24th Beluchistan Regiment—They promise to turn out efficient soldiers —One of our sons is now in the regiment—Mentioned in Military Despatches for work connected with Mahsud Expedition—Commended favourably on same by Viceroy—Received thanks of Government of India—I take three months' privilege leave to England, August 20, 1896 —Before starting receive the satisfactory intelligence that her Majesty's Government had sanctioned the establishment of permanent military posts at Wana and in the Tochi—Mr. Anderson officiates as Chief Political Officer in Waziristan during my absence—I return and resume charge November 20

CHAPTER XV

LORD ROBERTS'S SPEECH, 1898

Latest valuable testimony in favour of the Forward Policy, Lord Roberts's speech in the House of Lords, March 7, 1898-His lordship, in describing the great work accomplished by Sir Robert Sandeman through his policy of 'peace and goodwill,' alludes to him as 'the very embodiment of the Forward Policy'-The Earl of Onslow, Under-Secretary of State for India, does not seriously contest the fundamental principles advocated by Lord Roberts, and, while extolling Sir Robert Sandeman and his work, upholds the present policy of her Majesty's Government of slumbering or waiting on events-Lord Northbrook expresses acquiescence in present attitude of Government-Must be considered his lordship is himself one of the chief pioneers of the Forward Policy-Lord Lansdowne. Secretary for War, in his usual clear, unanswerable way, expresses his concurrence in the views of Lord Roberts-They are probably the two greatest living authorities on the subject-His lordship did much to clear the ground by drawing attention to the true meaning of the 'influence' or 'friendly influence' over the tribes so universally advocated; and in dispelling the mischievous delusion of their independence-Our two greatest statesmen, Lord Salisbury, the Prime Minister, and the Duke of Devonshire, express general agreement in views of Lord Roberts and Secretary for War-Danger of leaving a screen or purdah in the tribal regions-True meaning and results of tribal independence-Letter from Hon. George (now Lord) Curzon to 'Times,' advocating retention of Chitral-His warm testimony to Sir Robert Sandeman's work, and success of his Forward Policy, 'as far as the Zhob valley and Gomal Pass '-Still stronger reasons exist for 'carrying on' the work in Waziristan-Sir Robert Sandeman's opinion that there is no radical difference between Waziris and tribes in Beluchistan-In tribal management we must either be progressing or retrograding-We cannot successfully mark time, and attempting to do so is tantamount to suspending the education of our frontier officers, with risk of drifting into complications necessitating costly punitive military measures . .

CHAPTER XVI

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

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ecommends, as sine oud non, that the entire North-West Frontier should be taken under its direct control by the Government of India -That there should be either a Frontier Province under one Chief Commissioner, in rank 'only beneath that of a Lieutenant-Governor,' or, what may be more convenient, that Peshawar and northern frontiers should be constituted into a second Frontier Chief Commissionership, on the same footing as Beluchistan-That the appointments of Chief Commissioner as well as those of officers holding such political posts as Wana, Tochi, Kurram, Khyber, Samana, and Malakand, should, as in Beluchistan, be merged in the graded Indian Political Service-Essential that Government should recognise that tribal management, like settlement work, requires special training, experience and knowledge, and that consequently every inducement should be held out to men to adopt a frontier career-These inducements do not at present exist, and the system is prejudicial to our prestige and rule on the frontier-That honours and decorations should as a rule be bestowed on civil officers for successful tribal management by peaceful methods, and not, as at present, for services connected with punitive expeditions-Of those decorations bestowed on civil officers during last twenty-five years few, if any, were for successful tribal management pure and simple-They were mostly either for services rendered in connection with punitive military measures, or for some special and temporary duty-Such a system is demoralising, as it affords a premium for bad management-The Sandeman Policy is a more laborious one than the Punitive Expedition Policy, and so long as the latter pays best so long will officers be inclined to put coercion in the forefront of their measures-Suggestion of the 'Pioneer' that the whole of the Trans-Indus tract should not be transferred to the Government of India condemned-Such a compromise as that suggested would emasculate the whole scheme-This will be made evident if the positions of the divided tribes is studied on the map-Moreover, the powerful tribes concerned would resent being considered apart from the frontier-Universal condemnation of system of punitive expeditions-How injuriously it acts on the interests of recruiting-Reason why we are so frequently obliged to resort to punitive expeditions is, that tribal management by peaceful means, and on lines that would obviate the necessity for them, has never received from Government the attention and encouragement which it deserves-Lord Elgin, at a durbar he held at Quetta on November 6, 1894, urges, as a means of honouring Sir Robert Sandeman, that we should carry on the work-Government should not have difficulty in finding an officer competent to do so amongst the many able men brought up in his school-Considerations

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