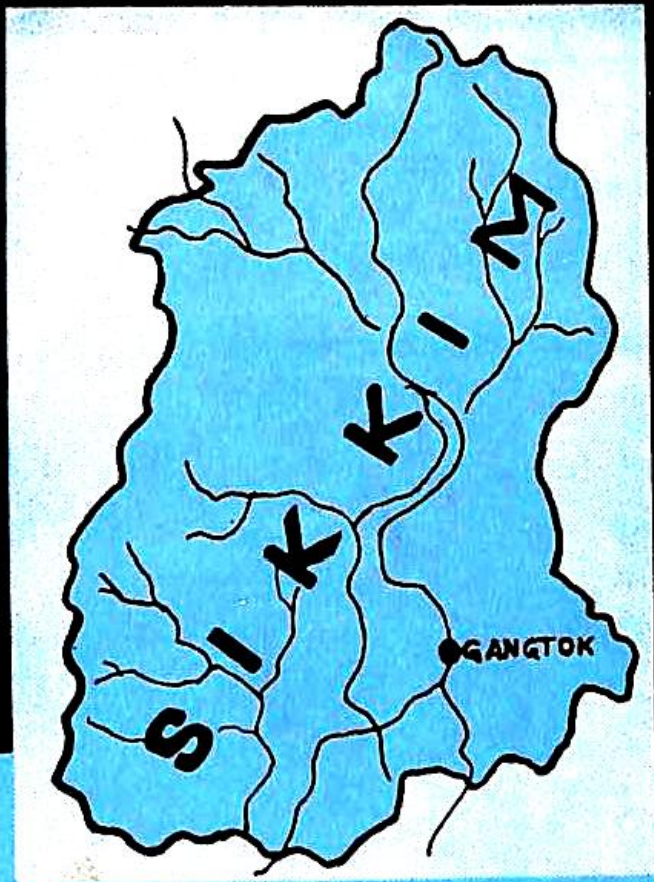


HISTORY OF SIKKIM

(1817-1904)

DR. P. K. JHA



ANALYSIS OF BRITISH POLICY AND ACTIVITIES



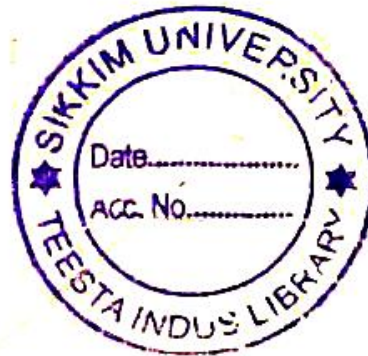
HISTORY OF SIKKIM

(1817-1904)

Analysis of British Policy
and Activities

Prof. A. C. Sinha

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M A P

Map showing approximate race distribution in Sikkim, 1892

P R E F A C E

Sikkim became a constituent unit of India in 1975. But her political involvement with India started in early 1817 when the Treaty of Titalya was signed between Sikkim and the East India Company and Sikkim's political entity was decided by the Lhasa Convention of 1904 between Great Britain and Tibet which had settled affairs of Sikkim as affairs of India. Her merger with India was simply a matter of time.

The British Government in India wanted to open trade route to Tibet and China and Sikkim offered the shortest route. The East India Company lured and bullied Sikkim to achieve success, but failed. In 1861 British Protectorate was established over Sikkim. But trade route could not be opened. The British were shrewd enough to realize that the problem could not be totally solved at the point of the gun because Sikkim was ethnologically a Tibet which was again tributary to China. So they adopted the novel policy of de-Tibetanizing Sikkim very systematically.

This volume is an analysis of the British policy and activities in Sikkim between 1817 and 1904 and is a revised version of the thesis submitted by me to the Jadavpur University, Calcutta in 1981 for the Ph. D. Degree.

I had worked on the basis of the records in the National Archives of India, West Bengal State Archives, India Office Library and Records (Xerox copies procured through the Postal Department) and the family papers of Late Motichand Pradhan of Kalimpong. Regarding the Secondary and published sources I consulted the books, periodical and journals in the National Library, Calcutta, the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, West Bengal Secretariat Library, Calcutta and the collection of Sri Parasmani Pradhan of Kalimpong. The Map showing *Approximate Race Distribution in Sikkim, 1892* has been taken from "Gazetteer of Sikkim (1894)" and all the illustrations in this book are by courtesy of Late Motichand Pradhan.

I am fortunate to carry on my research under the supervision of

Professor Dr. Amalendu De of the Jadavpur University who guided me to complete the work. I am indebted to Sri Benoy Bhusan Roy, Librarian of the Department of Anthropology of the Calcutta University, who gave me a great deal of time and read the whole manuscripts with care and offered valuable suggestions. I am grateful to Sri Parasmani Pradban and Late Motichand Pradban for helping me in different ways. I am also thankful to Sri J. Samajpati Mazumdar of West Bengal State Archives and Sri A. Patra and Sri P. Chanda of National Library for unfailing cooperation which I received from them. I also thank Sri Jampel Kalden, teacher of Kumudini Homes of Kalimpong, for translating into English the documents in Tibetan language which I procured.

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Pallisree, Calcutta-60.

Pranab Kumar Jha

INTRODUCTION

Sikkim, at present, is located within 28° 07' 48" and 27° 4' 46" north latitude and 88° 00' 58" and 88° 55' 25" east longitude and is bound by Tibet on the north, Tibet and Bhutan on the east, Darjeeling district of West Bengal on the south and Nepal on the west¹. It is the twenty-second state of the Indian Union. It occupies a place of immense strategic importance in the present frontier history of India and may be considered as one of the factors obstructing the process of normalization of India-China relations.

Sikkim once was quite a big kingdom. She had Limbuan (now in Nepal), Choombi valley in Tibet and part of the Western Bhutan included in her kingdom while in the south her territory was extended upto Titalya on the Bengal-Bihar border with Darjeeling being her part. But due to pressures and conquests by the neighbours and the British Government in India, Sikkim has been reduced to the present position of a mountain-locked kingdom.

Tibet, whose tributary Sikkim once was, had traditional relationship with India due to Buddhism which was born in India and the Tibetan alphabets, as G. A. Grierson stated, have been adopted from India.² Besides, there was trade relation between the two countries which attracted the notice of the British. The British colonial authorities of India were prompted by their desire to penetrate through Sikkim into Tibet and then to China to develop trade with them.

Sikkim, before the establishment of the British suzerainty there, was, by race, religion, language as well as politically a part of Tibet. She had also good trade with Tibet and through Sikkim passed the best route from Bengal to Lhasa. So to be friendly with the Sikkim

1 Duttagupta, J., *Comp. Census of India, 1961, vol. 16, West Bengal and Sikkim, Pt. 1a, Book-2, P. 81.*

2 Grierson, G. A. *Linguistic Survey of India, vol. III, Pt. 1, 1967. P. 22.*

authorities was very important thing to the British and the Gurkha War of 1814 brought to the British the desired opportunity and with the Treaty of Titalya (1817) the affairs of Sikkim got new dimension. Since then the British Government in India lured and bullied Sikkim Maharaja in different ways and converted Sikkim into India's protectorate. But it was observed that conversion of Sikkim's political status would not serve the British purpose due to her traditional Tibetan connection.

Phuntsog Namgyal who became the first ruler of Sikkim in 1642 A. D. with the title of Chogyal or Dharma Raja belonged to the Red Hat sect of Buddhism which had to leave Tibet as a result of conflict with the Yellow Hat sect during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They migrated to Sikkim and due to the docile nature of the Lepchas or Rong, the oldest inhabitants of Sikkim, the number of the Tibetan immigrants known as Bhotias increased unopposed. The Lepchas were tackled very diplomatically. The Lepcha chieftains were managed with the help of matrimonial relations or by offering important administrative positions. Besides, the Lepchas and the Bhotias were made perpetual friends by an intricate system of blood brotherhood. The Tibetan Lamas or monks preached Buddhism among the Lepchas. But the Lepchas were nature worshippers and even those who accepted Buddhism continued to practise their old rituals³.

These Bhotias considered Sikkim as part of Tibet. They followed Tibetan religious and oracular books and code of conduct and considered Dalai Lama as their religious head. The Dalai Lama also reciprocated it in similar manner and when Phuntsog Namgyal became the Maharaja he was accepted by the Dalai Lama as a canonised Buddhist saint and was honoured with "a most friendly and complimentary letter recognizing as the ruler of the sacred land of the southern slopes, and accompanying the letter with the silk scarf of congratulation, bearing the Dalai Lama's seal, the mitre of Guru Rimpoche extracted from a hidden store (gtor) as well as the

³ History of Sikkim, Pp. 21-38.

Phurpa (devil dagger) and the most precious sand of Guru as present. These kind and friendly greetings bound the new ruler to the head of the Tibetan Government with feelings of gratefulness. And since then whenever this state suffered from aggression, from the neighbouring states, it always looked to the Tibetan Government for protection and aid'.⁴ Thus Sikkim became a vassal of Tibet which was a tributary to China. Naturally Sikkim looked to Tibet for help and guidance as and when required.

Though Bhutan, a neighbouring kingdom of Sikkim, was also a vassal of Tibet, Sikkim's relation with her was never friendly and Bhutan gave Sikkim maximum trouble in 1700 A. D. on the question of succession to throne. Sikkim Maharaja Tensung Namgyal was succeeded by his son Chador Namgyal. But Bhutan's army invaded Sikkim supporting the claim of Chador Namgyal's half sister Pedit Wangmo. Chador fled to Tibet and was granted two fiefs in Tibet. However, at the mediation of the Tibet Government, Chador returned to Sikkim. But Sikkim lost permanently to Bhutan her eastern part comprising of the modern Kalimpong and the adjoining territories⁵ and the Bhutanese raided inside Sikkim's territory from time to time.

Tibet could be arbiter between Sikkim and Bhutan because both the fighting kingdoms were her vassals and, at least, they had one common cause of unity—Buddhism. But Sikkim's agony was aggravated with the rise of the Gurkha power under Prithvi Narayan Shah in Nepal in the west Sikkim. In 1789 A. D., the Gurkhas conquered the whole of Sikkim west of the river Teesta. Sikkim's condition could have been more precarious had the Gurkhas not invaded Tibet in 1791 A. D., and thereby invited the Chinese force in Tibet's defence.

The Gurkhas were defeated and forced to accept the suzerainty of China and to agree to pay some tribute to the Chinese Emperor every five years. China had become more powerful in Tibet than

4 Ibid., Pp. 43-45.

5 Ibid., Pp. 48-52.

they were before.⁶ But at the time of signing the treaty Sikkim's cause was neglected, though she suffered most, on the plea that she was not represented in the treaty. Consequently, territories conquered by Nepal remained unrestored ; Sikkim lost Choombi valley to Tibet and the two fiefs which were granted to Chador Namgyal by Tibetan authorities were also taken back.⁷

At this critical moment of Sikkim's history, the Sikkim authorities came in contact with the British Government in India who promised to the Sikkim ruler the restoration of territories, which Sikkim lost to her neighbours from time to time, in lieu of Sikkim's help to the British in the Gurkha War of 1814. In fact, it was rumoured that Nepal and Bhutan were allying together against the British and so to be friendly with Sikkim, who was still suffering from the burn of Nepalese and Bhutanese onslaught, was the diplomatic necessity of the British.

The British motive was trade with Tibet and then with China through Sikkim. China was a controlling factor in Tibet's trade. She, with the help of the Tibetan monasteries, made good business, with her vassal states in the Himalayas, particularly in tea. Naturally she kept close watch on the movement of the British in the Himalayas. So before the British entering into alliance with Sikkim, the Chinese *Amban* in Tibet had written a number of letters to the Sikkim *Durbar* desiring to place troops at Gyantse and Phari for the "convenience of making enquiries into the movement of Feringis (Europeans) and that the Sikkim *Durbar* need not entertain any fear on that score...".⁸

Thus Sikkim was sandwiched between China and the British Government in India. Her immediate necessity was restoration of her lost territories. She restored her territories ; but ultimately she had to lose everything and it was inevitable result of the British process of de-Tibetanisation of Sikkim.

6 Ibid., Pp. 52-91.

Lamb, A., *Britain and Chinese Central Asia*, Pp. 24-25.

7 Basnet, L.B., *Sikkim, A Short Political History*, P. 27.

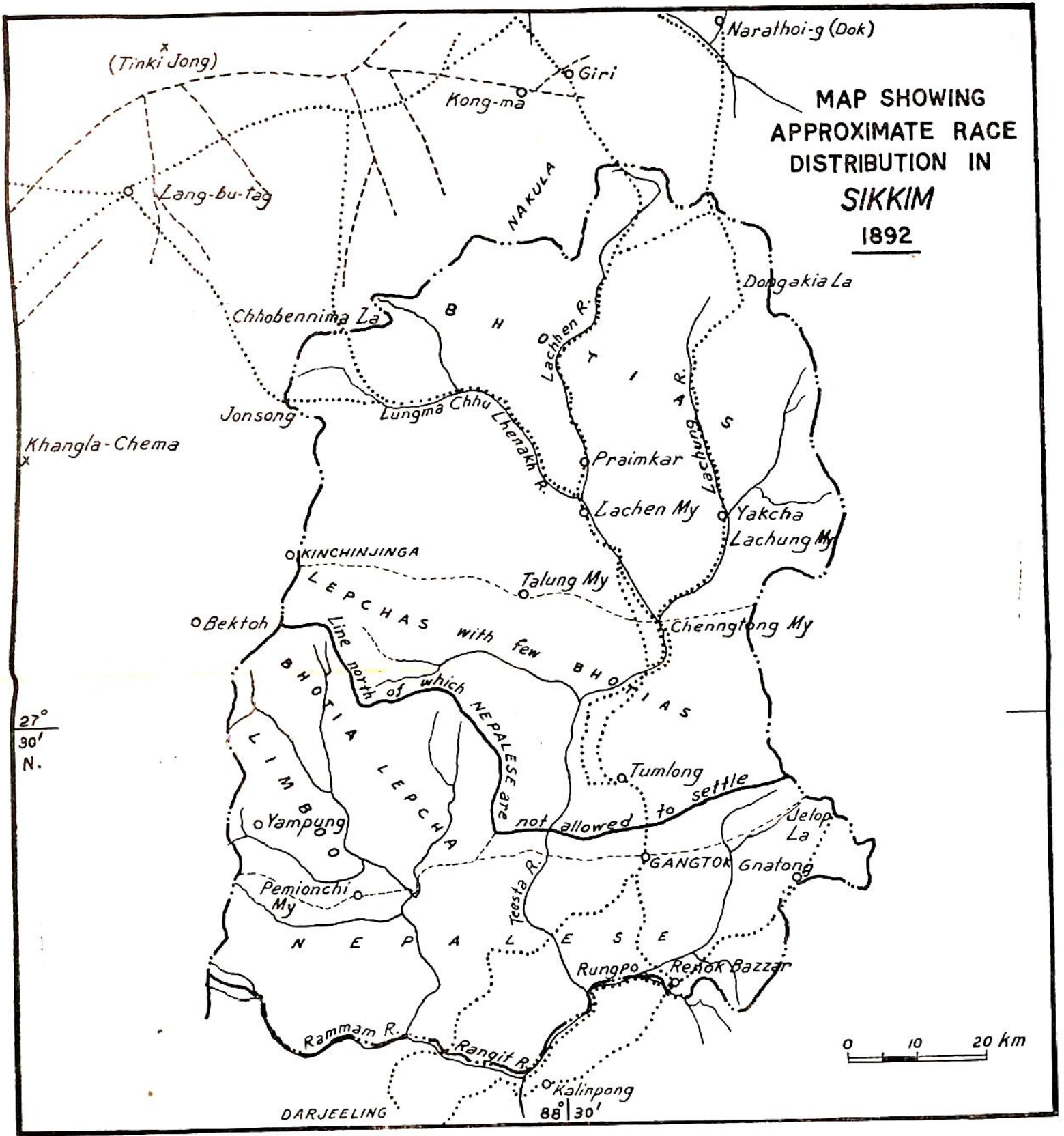
8 History of Sikkim, P. 107.

Sikkim, without any regular police or military force and with poor finance could be no match to militarily strong and commercially aggressive British authorities in India. Buddhist monks with prayer wheels and the kings taking recourse to prayers and tears were bound to lose finally. Tibet whose tributary was Sikkim was militarily very weak to protect her vassal or even herself ; while China whose tributary was Tibet, by the Chefoo Convention (1876), allowed the British to proceed across the Indian frontier to Tibet. Consequently Sikkim was an easy prey of the British colonialism and in 1904 the process of establishing British suzerainty in Sikkim was complete in every respect.

ABBREVIATIONS

- F.P.A. —Foreign Department. Political Proceedings. 'A' Category.
- F.P.C. —Foreign Political Consultation.
- F.S.C. —Foreign Secret Consultation.
- F.S.E. —Foreign Department, Secret Proceedings, 'E' Branch.
- L.G.P.P. (G) A.—Lieutenant Governor's Proceedings, Political (General), 'A' Category.
- L.G.P.P. (J) A. —Lieutenant Governor's Proceedings, Political (Judicial), 'A' Category.
- L.G.P.P.A. —Lieutenant Governor's Proceedings, Political 'A' Category.
- C.P.F. —Government of Bengal, Political Confidential File.
- G.B.P.P. (H. C.)—Great Britain Parliamentary Papers (House of Commons).
- J.A.S.B. —Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
History of Sikkim stands for the History of Sikkim compiled by the Maharaja Thutob Namgyal and Maharani Yeshey Dolma of Sikkim.

MAP SHOWING
APPROXIMATE RACE
DISTRIBUTION IN
SIKKIM
1892



CHAPTER I

ESTABLISHMENT OF BRITISH SUZERAINTY OVER SIKKIM

The English were aware of some commercial possibilities with Tibet since setting foot on India. They came to know of the traditional trade between Nepal under the Newars and Tibet which had its terminus at Patna. The desire to secure Tibetan gold was the reason of Kinlock's expedition of 1767 in response to an appeal by the Newar chiefs to the British power in India for help.¹ But with Kinlock's failure to penetrate into the hills, hope of trade with Tibet through Nepal came to an end for some time.

Warren Hastings made the first serious attempt to establish diplomatic and commercial relations with Tibet, and, in 1772, when war broke out between Bhutan and Cooch Behar, he sent troops to help Cooch Behar who sought British help. Bhutan being Tibet's vassal, Tashi Lama communicated Hastings and Hastings, in response to Tashi Lama's letter to him to treat the Bhutanese leniently, decided to send a friendly mission to Tashi Lama.² In May 1774 a mission under George Bogle was sent to "open a mutual and equal

¹ Sarkar, S. C., Some Notes on the Intercourse of Bengal with the Northern Countries in the Second half of the Eighteenth Century, in proceedings of the Indian History Records Commission, Vol. XIII, 1930, P. 99.

² Frontier and Overseas Expedition from India, compiled by the Intelligence Branch, Division of the Chief of Staff, Army H. Q. India, Vol. IV, P. 128.

communication of trade".³ But this mission did little to open up the trade route through Bhutan. In 1783 the second mission was sent under Samuel Turner.⁴ But the little promise which was secured by Turner's diplomacy could not be utilized due to departure of Hastings for England and Lord Cornwallis's policy of non-involvement in the trans-Himalayan trade.

Thus Bhutan being closed to Indian merchants, attention was again directed towards Nepal. But, in spite of placing resident at Katmandu in 1800,⁵ no trade was opened and the relations between the Company and the Gurkhas had become so strained that in 1814 Lord Moira, the Governor-General of India, went to war with Nepal. This war gave the English an excellent opportunity to contact with Sikkim which was under Gurkhas since 1775 and with whom Bhutan's relation also was not cordial.⁶ The rumour of the Gurkhas and the Bhutanese intriguing together against the British made the opening of relations with Sikkim a political and military necessity. In the spring of 1815 Captain Barre Latter induced Raja Tsugphud Namgyal to help the British and promised to help the Raja to recover his territories lost to Nepal.⁷ After the end of the Gurkha War, to establish friendly relations between British India and Sikkim, the Treaty of Titalya was signed on 10 October 1817.

*Treaty of Titalya and the Cession of the
Morung-Company's relation with Sikkim opened.*

The East India Company ceded, transferred and handed over "in full sovereignty to the Sikkimputte Rajah, his heirs and successors, all the hilly or mountainous country situated to the eastward of the Mechi River and to the westward of the Teesta River, formerly

3 Markham, C. D., Narratives of Mission of George Bogle to Tibet and the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa, P. 202.

4 Turner, S., An Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama in Tibet, Pp. 419-33.

5 Northley, W. B., The Land of the Gurkhas, Pp. 43-44,

6 History of Sikkim, Pp. 86-87.

7. Lamb, Op. Cit., P 41 ; Rao, P. R., India and Sikkim, Pp. 1-2.

possessed and occupied by the Rajah of Nepaul, but ceded to the Honourable East India Company by the peace signed at Segoulee" (in December, 1815 by the Company and Nepal) (Art. I) and guaranteed the possession (Art. IX) under certain conditions that the Sikkim Raja and his successors would not commit any act of aggression on the Gurkhas or any other state and would refer to the arbitration of the Company any disputes arising with Nepal or any other neighbouring state (Art. II & III). Sikkim would render military assistance to the Company in case of war in the hills (Art. IV); would not permit any European or American to reside in Sikkim Raja's territory without the Company's permission; would deliver up any dacoits or criminals from British India taking refuge in Sikkim and would afford no protection to the revenue defaulters or other delinquents from British India (Art. VI & VII). Sikkim authorities would afford protection to merchants and traders from the Company's provinces and would levy no transit duties on their merchandise (Art. VIII).⁸

This treaty gave a blow to the Nepalese ambition towards east and the possibilities of Nepal and Bhutan intriguing together against the British came to an end. But Sikkim Raja's freedom of action was drastically curtailed. The Company got right to trade upto the Tibetan frontier under the protection of the Sikkim authorities with whom Tibet had political, commercial and ecclesiastical relations and whose princes were closely connected with Tibet by matrimonial relations. But the treaty was completely silent regarding criminals from Sikkim taking shelter in the Company's territory and this gave rise to problems in future.

On 7, April 1817, the Governor-General Lord Moira by a Sunud granted to the Sikkim Raja "all that portions of lowland situated Eastward of the Meitchie River, and Westward of the Mahanudee, formerly possessed by the Rajah of Nepaul, but ceded to the Honourable East India Company by the Treaty of Segoulee, to be held by the Sikkimputtee Rajah as a feudatory, or as acknowledging the

⁸ Aitchison, C. U., A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads relating to India and Neighbouring countries, Vol. XII, Pp. 58-59.

supremacy of the British Government over the said lands".⁹ The object behind giving these lands was to make Sikkim stronger as a buffer state and to enable the Sikkim Raja to "subsist the garrisons he must maintain for the protection of the passes", between Sikkim and Nepal.¹⁰ The condition of granting this land known as Morung was that the provisions of the Treaty of Tilalya would be in force in the Morung also with the addition that the Company's police would be allowed to arrest the criminals and all public defaulters even inside the Morung ; and that, if required, the Governor-General in Council might transmit to the local authorities in the Morung and this should be immediately obeyed and carried into execution in the same manner as was done in case of that coming from the Sikkim Raja.¹¹ Thus the Company's grip in Sikkim was further strengthened and the Raja of Sikkim who was feeling unsafe being sandwiched between Nepal and Bhutan had his territories restored ; but under the British control and protection.

The cession of Darjeeling and compensation for the cession

Between 1817 and 1826 no important transaction took place between Sikkim and the Company. In 1826, a quarrel between the Raja Tsugphud Namgyal and his Lepcha *Dewan* Buljeet Karjee resulted in latter's assassination. Buljeet's cousin with his eight hundred followers took shelter in Nepal and the Sikkim Raja, in spite of efforts even by Tibet and China, failed to get their return.¹² Both the parties applied for the Company's help. In 1828 Captain G. W. Llyod and G. W. Grant were deputed to investigate and settle the dispute. During their visit to Sikkim they noted the importance of Darjeeling as a place of health resort and in 1829 they again visited Sikkim accompanied by a surveyor, Captain J. D.

9 Ibid.

10 Melville Memo, No. 4 (Rao's op. cit., P. 5).

11 Aitchison, op. cit., P. 60.

12 History of Sikkim, Pp. 114-115.

Herbert. They emphasised on Darjeeling's importance as health resort as well as on her importance from political and commercial point of view. In a letter of 18th June 1829 Llyod said: "As to the resources none can be depended on at first, but should a sanatorium established it must become a resort of people from all parts of the hills and even from Tartary, and I have no doubt be a place of great trade".¹³ Grant also expressed similar views.¹⁴

Thus Darjeeling came to the notice of the Governor-General. But the Company had to wait till 1833 when the Lepcha refugees from Nepal made incursion in Sikkim. Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General proposed to his Council to send Llyod to open negotiation with the Sikkim Maharaja for transfer of Darjeeling to the British Government "in return for the equivalent in land or money".¹⁵ Bentinck also wrote to the Raja that the object of possessing Darjeeling was not pecuniary, but "solely on account of the climate".¹⁶ But the Raja annexed two conditions to the proposal for cession of Darjeeling: (1) grant of Debgong to Sikkim in exchange for Darjeeling and (2) arrest of one Kummoo Pradhan against whom the Raja advanced claim for the revenues of the Morung for three years. But the claims appeared to Bentinck to be impracticable.¹⁷ In fact, Debgong, though settled in perpetuity with the Raja of Jalpaiguri in 1828, belonged to Sikkim before being ceded to the Company by Nepal in 1815¹⁸ and Kummoo Pradhan, though an agent of the Sikkim Raja in the Morung, was appointed on the recommendation of D. Scott, the Magistrate of Rangpur.¹⁹

Though the Raja was intimated that the climate was the only factor for wanting the transfer of Darjeeling, Llyod wrote to W. H.

13 Bayley, H. V., *Dorje-ling*, P. 40.

14 *Ibid.*, Pp. Appendix. AA i-iv;

History of Sikkim, P. 121, ;

Bengal District Gazetteers, Darjeeling (1947) P. 37.

15 *F. P. C.*, 23 January 1835, No. 1.

16 *Ibid.*, 11 February 1835, No. 111.

17 *Ibid.*, 6 April 1835, No. 104.

18 *Ibid.*, 14 August 1834, No. 51.

19 *Ibid.*, 6 April 1835, No. 100.

1835
 Machaughton, Secretary to the Government of India that the cession of Darjeeling should not consist of the spot alone, but should also include part of the mountains over which the road to Darjeeling must be made. Llyod thought that with the cultivation of tea Darjeeling would be a better place than Assam and wanted the settlement of Indian merchants from plains to maintain a native *bazar* there.²⁰ However, on 3rd October 1835, Llyod wrote to Machaughton that in August last the grant of Darjeeling had been made by the Sikkim Raja²¹ and again on 5th January 1836 Llyod further wrote that the Raja had made the grant freely and without any condition whatever.²²

Darjeeling was ceded to the Company ; but the Sikkim Raja did not consider the cession to be unconditional. In November 1839, he wrote a letter to Dr. A. Campbell, the Superintendent of Darjeeling : "Llyod promised that whatever money I should desire in return should be granted, that my territory should be extended west to the Tambar River ; that Kummoo Pradhan and his brother should be delivered over to me ; and that the deficit in my revenue in their hands should be made good".²³ But Campbell replied : "I did not know that you desired more in return for it than the satisfaction of having not the wishes of my Government".²⁴ Campbell expressed that the Raja had mistaken because Llyod was not authorized to offer any land. Campbell further brought to the notice of the Governor-General that the Raja had resisted his people from visiting the British territory for the purpose of service and trade. Campbell, however, proposed to express the gratitude of the British to the Raja for being allowed to use Darjeeling as a sanatarium.²⁵ The Raja wrote to the Governor-General also mentioning of Llyod's promise.²⁶ Government of India instructed

20 Ibid., No. 103.

21 Ibid., 9 November 1835, No. 55.

22 Ibid., 8 February 1836, No. 85.

23 Ibid., 12 February 1840, No. 102.

24 Ibid., No 104.

25 Ibid., 7 September 1840, No 98

26 Ibid., 12 February 1840, No. 103.

Campbell to inform the Raja that he would be compensated by Rs. 1,000/- annually if he did agree to "free intercourse between Darjeeling and interior of Sikkim".²⁷ The Raja was suspicious of the British promise.²⁸ Ultimately in September 1841 the Sikkim Raja accepted Rs. 3,000/- per annum as compensation for Darjeeling.²⁹ though the Raja had to wait till June 1847 to get the arrears of compensation since 1835.³⁰ 1841

Increased ill-feeling between the Sikkim authorities and the British and annexation of the Morung.

In spite of the Darjeeling settlement, the relations between Sikkim and the Company were not friendly. Problems cropped up on the question of surrender of slaves from Sikkim who took refuge in Darjeeling as well as the criminals taking refuge to Sikkim from British India. Both the sides refused to co-operate each other in apprehending the slaves or criminals.³¹ The Sikkim Raja was also annoyed with the British because of the loss of Ontoo Hill in 1839 to Nepal by the arbitration of Campbell centering which a dispute continued between Sikkim and Nepal since 1827.³² Campbell charged the Raja of (1) causing "vexations, delays and regular money exactions from people of Nepal, Tibet and Sikkim trading with Darjeeling"; (2) failing to comply with demand for surrendering criminals from India; (3) objecting to accept new road from Besar Batti to Siliguri as boundary on ground that by ceding Darjeeling the Raja had given no lands other than the mountain lands; (4) preventing his people from coming to Darjeeling for labour and trade; (5) prohibiting the people of Bhutan from coming and settling at Darjeeling; (6) refusing to sell Sikkim's lime deposits to

27 Ibid., 2 March 1840, No. 101.

28 Ibid., 26 October 1840, No. 121.

29 Ibid., 27 September 1831, No 100.

30 Ibid., 26 June 1847, No. 102.

31 Bengal District Gazetteers, Darjeeling (1947), P. 39; History of Sikkim, P. 129.

32 F. P. C., 30 March 1847, No. 87.

✓ the British ; (7) applying frequently for surrender of slaves settling in Darjeeling and Campbell threatened the Raja of depriving of his possession in the Morung for his "unfriendly course".³³ Campbell's bullying tactics paid dividends, and in August 1846 the Raja sent his Dewan Illam Sing to Darjeeling to settle the disputes. Campbell was informed that duties were levied on the Tibetan traders "according to their means and after due enquiry" ; but Illam Sing denied all the other charges.³⁴ The Raja also granted the use of the lime deposits at Singmare in Sikkim.³⁵ Government of India decided to increase the Raja's allowance from Rs. 3000/- to Rs. 6,000/-³⁶

1846
1847
CLVSPDew
The Sikkim Raja was not happy with Campbell for the latter's overlording him. But the Government of India refused to comply with the Raja's request for the replacement of Campbell.³⁷ This ill-feeling deepened further with the death of Illam Sing in 1847 when internal disorder broke out due to rivalry between Tokhang Donyar Namgyal, better known as Fagla Dewan who succeeded Illam and who led the Bhotia factions of Sikkim and the Lepcha factions led by Chebu Lama who was pro-British. This disorder was further aggravated due to the Raja's retirement to the religious life resulting in rivalry on the question of succession to throne.³⁸ The ill feeling increased in 1848 when the Sikkim authorities flatly refused the Governor-General's expectation that Dr. Joseph Hooker, an English naturalist, would be allowed to prosecute his researches in Sikkim on the plea that no foreigner could be allowed to travel in Sikkim. Campbell presumed that the refusal was due to influence

33 Ibid., 22 August 1846, No. 21.

34 Ibid., 21 November 1846, No. 320.

35 Ibid.

With the increase of population in Darjeeling, lime, an important material for house construction, was very much required there. As it was brought from plains it was very costly and time consuming. Sikkim had good lime deposits. But the British had no access to it which they resented. Ultimately the problem was solved in November 1846.

36 F. P. C., 23 October 1847, No. 24.

37 Ibid., 20 March 1847, No. 93.

38 F. P. C., 15 December 1849, No. 140.

of Pagla Dewan who had monopoly of Sikkim's trade with Tibet.³⁹ After a prolonged wrangle Hooker was allowed to visit Sikkim. Raja's discontent against the British culminated in 1849, during the second visit of Hooker accompanied by Campbell, when they reached the Tibetan border to investigate the possible trade routes, in spite of protests from the Sikkim officials and appeals from the Tibetan border guards to return back. On their way back they were arrested and escorted back to Tumlong, the then Capital of Sikkim and were eventually released unconditionally. The Raja was so offended with Campbell that he wanted the Governor-General to replace him and till this was done and his slaves were restored to him, the Raja was wanting to detain Hooker and Campbell.⁴⁰ Besides, the Sikkim Maharaja feared that the Chinese would be annoyed at the Europeans visiting the frontiers. The *Vakeel* of Sikkim wrote to Captain Byng, officiating Superintendent of Darjeeling that the Chinese were angry due to "the *Sahibs* crossing the frontiers".⁴¹

The Government of India under Lord Dalhousie took serious offence at the Raja's activities and in 1850 sent up a force under Campbell and attached all the Terai and all the lands lying below the Raman in the north, and the Ranjeet and Teesta in the east, and the Nepal-Sikkim frontier in the west, and stopped the annual allowance of Rs. 6,000/- for Darjeeling. This meant, besides the loss of allowance for Darjeeling, a loss of Rs. 46,000/- approximately in cash and in kind which constituted almost the Sikkim Raja's entire income.⁴²

*The British Expedition to Sikkim and the Treaty of 1861—
Establishment of Protectorate over Sikkim*

Thus the Morung was lost and Sikkim became a hill-locked kingdom. The Maharaja had no alternative but to beg for mercy of

39 Ibid., No. 138.

40 Ibid., 29 December 1849, No. 197.

41 F. P. C., 29 November 1849, Nos. 267-09.

42 Jackson, W. B., Report on Darjeeling (Selection from the records of the Bengal Government, No XVI: I, 1854), P. 3.

the Company. The Raja who was then at Choombi, the Raja's summer residence in Tibet, informed through Chebu Lama, his *Vakeel* that he had dismissed *Dewan* Namguay or Pagla *Dewan* and prayed to meet Campbell at Darjeeling.⁴³ But as his request was turned down he again made similar request.⁴⁴ In the meantime Campbell came to know of *Dewan* Namguay's return to the Sikkim *Durbar* with normal power.⁴⁵ In March 1859 the *Dewan* Namguay sent a deputation to the authorities in Bengal for receiving Rs. 12,000/- which they said to have been promised by Campbell to be paid to the Sikkim Raja annually for "throwing open the whole country of Sikkim and making it completely available for trading and travelling, if the Government would give a gratuity of Rupees 12,000/- per annum"; and in case of non-compliance they demanded the restoration of the territory confiscated in 1850. Campbell informed the Government of Bengal that they got up the report that Campbell and Chebu Lama had regularly appropriated the gratuity which had long ago been granted by the Government to the Raja.⁴⁶ Situation worsened further due to some incidents of kidnapping of British subjects from Darjeeling in May 1860 and in spite of writing to the Sikkim Raja, then at Choombi, Campbell failed to restore them. So Campbell wanted to apply force and the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal solicited the orders of the Governor-General regarding the course of action to be pursued.⁴⁷ The Governor-General approved Campbell's proposal to apply force and instructed the Lieutenant Governor to demand: "(1) the restoration of the kidnapped British subjects. (2) Compensation to those who have been plundered. (3) the surrender of the plunderers. (4) payment of the cost of occupation. (5) security against future aggression from Sikkim". The Governor-General thought that the best security would be the residence of a *Vakeel* from Sikkim at Darjeeling and wanted to fix

43 F. P. C., 13 December 1850, No. 140.

44 Ibid., 21 February 1851, No. 282.

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid., 27 May 1859, No 51.

47 L. G. P. P (G). A., July 1860, No. 47

1860

certain time for the compliance of the British demands.⁴⁸ Campbell accordingly made the demands to the Raja on 1 October 1860 and, in case of non-compliance within one month from the date, threatened to occupy the Raja's territory lying to the west of the Great Rungeet and to the north Raman river with the Singalelah range as its western boundary and the snowy range as the northern boundary.⁴⁹ But as the Raja failed to comply with, Campbell decided to occupy the above said territory.⁵⁰ After making successful inroad upto Rinchinpong, due to sudden attack at night by the Sikkim forces under *Dewan* Namguay, Campbell had to retreat back to Darjeeling.⁵¹ Sikkim *Amlas* wrote a letter to the Governor-General on December 1860, that due to adoption of forcible measures by Campbell against the Raja, Sikkim's relation with Tibet had been disturbed and the Raja wanted the restoration of the lands and *ryots* which had been forcibly possessed by Campbell and the withdrawal of the British from Sikkim to avoid fight with Sikkim.⁵² Campbell had an idea that the Sikkim ruler was "unpopular and aggressive" and that the Sikkim people would cooperate with the British everywhere in Sikkim and the Lieutenant Governor rebuked him for his scanty knowledge regarding the people of Sikkim.⁵³

The Governor-General lost confidence on Campbell. He also did not recommend the occupation of whole Sikkim but only the southwestern portion of the country. He desired Ashley Eden, Joint Secretary to the Board of Revenue, to be entrusted with the responsibility of negotiation in place of Campbell.⁵⁴ Eden was accordingly selected as Envoy and Special Commissioner in Sikkim. It was made clear to Eden that the Government of India did not want to annex any portion of Sikkim because the existence of an

48 Ibid., September 1860, No 11.

49 Ibid., October 1860, No 20.

50 Ibid., November 1860, No. 21.

51 History of Sikkim, P, 133.

52 L. G. P, P(G). A., December 1860, No. 100.

53 Ibid., January 1861, No. 37,

54 Ibid., No. 44.

independent state between India and the Chinese territory was desirable and asked Eden to be careful to create no such feeling in the mind of the Sikkim people that the British rule would be planted permanently in any part of Sikkim.⁵⁵ Besides, annexation of Sikkim, the British might have feared, would antagonize China and hamper the prospect of trade with Tibet via Sikkim.

Eden observed that there was a second *Dewan* in Sikkim and he was opponent of *Dewan* Namguay. Eden wanted to contact the Raja through him and planned to play the Lepcha faction against the Bhotias to catch the *Dewan* Namguay.⁵⁶ Eden demanded from the Raja : (1) Compliance with all the demands made time to time by Campbell ; (2) pecuniary compensation to the British subjects injured by the Raja's subjects ; (3) surrender of *Dewan* Namguay to Eden and appointment of new *Dewan* to be approved by Eden ; (4) immediate return to Eden's camp of all prisoners, stores, arms and ammunitions taken during attack on Campbell's camp at Rinchinpong ; (5) apology from Raja for his past misconduct. Eden wanted the Raja or his authorized officers to meet Eden to enter into engagement with him for the future good conduct of the Raja and to settle future condition of relations between the Sikkim State and the British Government.⁵⁷

British force left for Sikkim on 1st February 1861 and proceeded almost unopposed. *Dewan* Namguay escaped to Tibet. Lieutenant Governor wanted Eden to insist on having free permission for the British subjects to travel and live in Sikkim and to make roads through Sikkim "especially on the track into Thibet". But the Government of India was opposed to the second proposal because it would be of little value if not given with the good will of the Sikkim Government and the people ; and it could not be claimed without placing Sikkim into subjection to or dependence upon the British Government, to which the Governor-General-in-Council was

55 Ibid., No. 45.

56 Ibid., No 167.

57 Ibid. February 1861, No. 5.

58 Ibid., No. 11.

opposed.⁵⁹ A Treaty was signed on 28 March 1861 at Tumlong by Eden and Sidkeong Namgyal, the Raja's son, as the Raja desired his son to be treated as the Maharaja due to his old age.⁶⁰ Eden hoped the treaty to place relations with Sikkim on a satisfactory footing and to promote trade with Tibet.⁶¹ Eden claimed that by making no territorial possession in Sikkim the British had done the wise thing as Sikkim and Bhutan were tributary to Tibet which was again tributary to China and they would have opposed any annexation.⁶² But the Tibetan Government was not happy with British action due to *Dewan* Namguay's representation to the Tibetan authorities.⁶³ The British were also happy to secure the appointment of Chebu Lama, pro-British leader of the Lepcha faction, as the *Dewan* of Sikkim.⁶⁴

By this Treaty of 1861 was cancelled all the former treaties between the British Government and Sikkim. The Sikkim Raja regained all the territories of Sikkim possessed by the Government of India and undertook to restore all the properties abandoned during Campbell's retreat and to pay indemnity. The complications regarding delivery of wanted British subjects and freedom of movement of Sikkim's subjects were removed. *Dewan* Namguay or his blood relations were debarred from coming to Sikkim or holding any office under the Maharaja. The British secured valuable rights relating to trade (discussed in Chapter V) and the rights to conduct geographical or topographical survey in Sikkim. The relations of Sikkim with her neighbours became the subject of the British control. The Maharaja, by this treaty, was not permitted to live in Tibet for more than three months in a year and a *Vakeel* was to be accredited by the Government of Sikkim to reside permanently at Darjeeling.⁶⁵ Thus Sikkim became a defacto protectorate of British

59 Ibid., March 1861, No. 53.

60 Ibid., Nos. 88 & 111.

61 Ibid., April 1861, No 30.

62 Ibid., No 48.

63 Ibid., 58.

64 History of Sikkim, P. 134.

65 Aitchison, op. cit., Pp, 61-65

India, though the *de jure* status of Sikkim remained undefined to create future complications. Expulsion of *Dewan* Namgyal and his blood relations was the early step of wiping out Tibetan influence in Sikkim and this policy was pursued very vigorously in due course.

*Succession of Maharaja Sidkeong Namgyal, 1862
and increase of allowance.*

In 1862 Maharaja Tsugphud Namgyal abdicated the throne in favour of his eldest son Sidkeong Namgyal, whose succession was supported by the pro-British faction of Sikkim led by Chebu Lama and the annual allowance of Rs. 6,000/- which was stopped in 1850 was restored. In March 1863 the Maharaja informed the Government of Bengal of his distressed financial condition and of debt of Rs. 35,000/- incurred since the confiscation of the Morung. The Government of Bengal solicited to the Government of India for the sanction of Rs. 20,000/- to the Maharaja to enable him to give assistance to his officers who might be engaged in making roads to Tibet⁶⁶ and the Government of India sanctioned Rs. 20,000/- to the Maharaja.⁶⁷

In June 1873 the Maharaja, during his meeting with the Lieutenant Governor at Darjeeling, applied for the increase of his allowance to Rs. 12,000/- which had already been increased to Rs. 9,000/- in 1869 and discussed the questions of Chinese opposition to British trade with Tibet via Sikkim as well as the problems of Nepalese immigration to Sikkim.⁶⁸ The Government of Bengal recommended to the Government of India to increase the allowance to Rs. 12,000/- considering the prospect of making Sikkim the "thoroughfare of a great trade" with Tibet and an active ally⁶⁹

66 L. G. P. P. (G). A., April 1863, No. 29

67 Ibid., August 1863, No 15.

68 L. G. P. P. (J). A., July 1873, No 45.

69 Ibid., No 46

and in September 1873 approved the increase in allowance on condition that the Sikkim *Durbar* would render assistance to open and expand the trade with Tibet.⁷⁰

The Mission of J. Ware Edger.

Though Eden gave a very promising view regarding prospect of trade with Tibet through Sikkim, the attempts of Captain E. Smyth of Bengal Army in 1863 and of T. T. Cooper, an Englishman, in 1867 and 1869, to enter Tibet and the attempt of the Government of India to communicate the Lhasa authorities through the Sikkim Maharaja failed. In April 1873 the Mercantile Community of England under the name "Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce" placed a Memorandum to the Duke of Argyu, Secretary of state for India, for improving trade through the Sikkim route.⁷¹ Besides, the trade was often stopped by the Tibetan officials on the Sikkim-Tibet frontier and there was lack of good roads. So it was decided to depute J. W. Edgar, Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling to visit Sikkim to be acquainted with the state of affairs in Sikkim and opening and development of trade with Tibet as well as the opening out of the best line of road to Tibet and "in short all matters connected with the development of friendly and commercial intercourse with Sikkim and the countries beyond".⁷² Edgar failed to cross the Sikkim-Tibet boundary and to meet the Sikkim Maharaja who was then at Choombi, his summer residence in Tibet, due to the opposition of the Chinese *Amban* or viceroy at Lhasa who held the Maharaja responsible for the British making roads through Sikkim and threatened him of bad consequence.⁷³

Edgar, however, had discussion, regarding opening of Tibet, with the Phari *Jongpen* and the ex-Dewan Namguay and he was told that

70 Ibid., October 1873, No 1.

71 F. P. A., October 1873, No. 134.

72 Edgar, J. W., Report on a visit to the Sikkim and Thibetan Frontier. Pp. 6-8.

73 Ibid., Pp. 16-17.

to witness any change in Tibetan policy of isolation the best way would be to move to Peking.⁷⁴

On return to Darjeeling in December 1873, Edgar, to improve relations with Tibet, proposed : (1) to obtain a declaration from the Chinese authorities that the exclusion of the British subjects in Tibet were not authorized by the Chinese Government ; (2) to cultivate friendly relations with the Tibetan frontier officers by meeting between the Indian and the Tibetan officials on the Sikkim side of the boundary without creating suspicion in their mind that the British might annex any part of their country ; (3) to establish frontier mart which would depend on its site and the way of its starting and to establish an annual or half-yearly trade fair at Gnatong or some other place to attract Indian as well as Tibetan traders. Edgar preferred Dumsong to Gangtok as site, though the Sikkimese had suggested it in place of Gnatong in the uplands of of Sikkim for mart due to easy access to it. Edgar also proposed the construction of a road to Tibet through Sikkim because the mart would be of little significance without it.⁷⁵

Sir Richard Temple, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal endorsed Edgar's proposal for the construction of a road to Tibet and wanted its completion within three or four years.⁷⁶ But the Government of India disagreed because it felt that the road should not be constructed until the Chinese and Tibetan obstacles were removed.⁷⁷

In spite of non-acceptance by the Government of India, Edgar's mission was not a failure. Edgar was deputed to survey the prospect of India's trade with Tibet and the Government of India wanted the Sikkim Maharaja to be instrumental in it.⁷⁸ The Maharaja supported Edgar's proposal regarding establishment of mart and construction of road and agreed to co-operate in the latter work. Maharaja's allowance was increased.

74 Ibid., Pp. 18-23.

75 Ibid., Pp. 76-79.

76 F. P. A., January 1875, No. 31.

77 Ibid., February 1875, No. 24-37.

78 L. G. P. P. (J). A., October 1874, No. 10.

In April 1874, Maharaja Sidkeong Namgyal died. His half-brother Thutob Namgyal succeeded him with the patronage of the British,⁷⁹ though he received presents and letters during the installation ceremonies from Tibetan authorities as well as from the Chinese *Amban*.⁸⁰

In October 1874, during an interview, the Lieutenant Governor pointed out to the Maharaja the advantage that would accrue to Sikkim in case of establishment of friendly relations between the British Government and Tibet and expressed the intention to improve the existing tract between Pheydong and the Darjeeling district; and the Lieutenant Governor was assured of Sikkim's co-operation.⁸¹

In 1881, the Government of Bengal rejected the Sikkim Maharaja's request for increase of his allowance on the grounds that Maharaja violated the Treaty of 1861 by (1) residing at Choombi for more than three months in a year; (2) not appointing any officer to work on his behalf during his absence from Sikkim; and (3) failing to "attend to the injunctions of Government regarding the admission into Sikkim and the settlement there of Nepalese ryots".⁸²

Mission of Colman Macaulay.

Some secret explorations by Sarat Chandra Das, Headmaster of Bhotia School at Darjeeling, who was deputed by the Government of India, in 1879 and again in 1881 made the Tibetan authorities very suspicious and trade on Sikkim-Tibet frontier was stopped. So the Government of Bengal, according to the advice of the Government of India, deputed its Finance Secretary, Colman Macaulay to visit Sikkim and the Tibetan frontier in 1884 to (i) discuss with the Maharaja questions regarding the administration of Sikkim and his relations to the British Government; (ii) to visit the Lachen valley to examine its potentiality as trade route towards

79 Risley, H. H., ed., *The Gazetteer of Sikkim* (1894), P. VI.

80 *History of Sikkim*, Pp. 139-141.

81 L. G. P. P. (J). A., November 1875, No. 32.

82 *Ibid.*, July 1882, No. 27.

the province of Tsang in Tibet ; and (iii) to endeavour to establish friendly relations with the Tibetan authorities of the districts adjacent to Sikkim on the north.⁸³

Phodang Lama and Khangsa Dewan, to Pro-British officials of Sikkim, advised Macaulay to persuade the Maharaja to reside in Sikkim permanently and not to go to Choombi as they hoped that this would promote the British views regarding development of trade and friendly relations with Tibet. They wanted Macaulay to make assistance to construction of Raja's new house and increase of allowance conditional on his agreeing not to leave Sikkim.⁸⁴ The Maharaja was asked by Macaulay to stay at Tumlong, to carry on administration from there and, if cooler place was required, the Maharaja was advised to go to some place like Lachen and Lachung. He was also asked to supply porters for the road work.⁸⁵ The Raja promised to do his utmost to secure the withdrawal of stoppage of trade by the Tibetan authorities and pointed out that the trade was continuing in spite of efforts of the Tibetan authorities to stop it. He agreed to keep up the Lachen route under the treaty, and to continue to keep up the Jelap road. The Raja's increase of allowance was made conditional to his measure to improve Sikkim's administration, promote trade and friendly relations with Tibet.⁸⁶ About this time trouble broke out between Tibet and Bhutan and the Maharaja was allowed to go to Choombi to find out the reason behind the trouble and to use his influence to open the trade, by entrusting a responsible officer to look after the affairs in Sikkim.⁸⁷

Macaulay came to know from the *Jongpen* of Khamba that the monks of the monasteries at Lhasa-Sera, Depung, Gaden Mulu were rigorously maintaining the policy of isolation towards the British because they fear to lose their trade monopoly and that the construction of road would be of no use while the present policy of

⁸³ Macaulay, Colman, Report of a Mission to Sikkim and the Tibetan Frontier, with a Memorandum on Relations with Tibet., P. i.

⁸⁴ Ibid., P. 11.

⁸⁵ History of Sikkim, Pp. 168-169.

⁸⁶ Macaulay's Report, Pp. 14-15.

⁸⁷ History of Sikkim, P. 170.

isolation was maintained by Tibet. The *Jongpen* advised Macaulay to secure the consent of China on their side to open Tibet for trade free from all restrictions.⁸⁸

Macaulay attached too much importance to the opinion of the *Jongpen* and advocated for the despatch of a mission to China to plead the British case for a mission to Tibet to the Chinese Government to confer with the *Amban* and the Government officials of Tibet for free admission of Indian traders to Tibet without any obstruction through Sikkim-Darjeeling route.⁸⁹ Macaulay's proposals, though made the Bengal Government very enthusiastic, was received by the Government of India with coolness. However, Macaulay could convince Lord Randolph Churchill the Secretary of State for India, the need of the mission and Macaulay was permitted to go to China to arrange for the passports to go to Tibet. By this time, by the Chefoo Convention of September 1876, the British got the right to send a mission to Lhasa.⁹⁰ After some opposition passports were granted to Macaulay in November 1885. The mission was organized and assembled under Macaulay at Darjeeling in early 1886. The Tibetans were alarmed at the news of the mission and they warned that it would be resisted.

The Lieutenant Governor who wanted to utilize the service of the Sikkim Maharaja who was then at Choombi asked the Maharaja to stay there until arrival of Macaulay. Macaulay sent letters to the Tibetan frontier officer through the Maharaja expressing the peaceful intention of the projected mission. But the Sikkim frontier officer wrote to the Maharaja of the Tibetan authorities' resolution to permit no Englishman to cross the boundary and asked the Maharaja to resist the British mission from crossing the frontier even by force,

88 Macaulay's Report, Pp. 43-45.

89 Ibid., Pp. 104-105.

90 The Chefoo Convention was signed between Britain and China on 13 September 1876 and ratified in its entirety in 1886. Taking advantage of the murder of a British Official, A. R. Margary, in Yunnan this convention was imposed upon the Chinese. This convention allowed the British to enter Tibet from China as well as from India. (Lamb., op. cit., Pp. 145-147).

if required.⁹¹ Thus the Tibetan opposition was determined and the Macaulay Mission had to withdraw.

The Macaulay Mission might not have failed if the Indian Government supported the Mission whole-heartedly. The Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, wanted to avoid any complications with China because his hands were full with the affairs in Afghanistan and Burma. The relation with the Afghans were still critical in 1886 and the British army was still tied down in Burma and any application of force by the British would have alarming result. In 1884 the Government of India campaigned against the king Thibaw of Ava in upper Burma and annexed it to the British empire in 1885. Burma had traditional relationship to the Chinese Empire and the Burmese had been accustomed to send presents to Peking at regular intervals. It was therefore decided to ignore the Tibetan question for the time being in exchange of the Chinese recognition of the British position in Burma.⁹²

The Anglo-Chinese convention of 1890 and Trade Regulations of 1893.

Immediately after the withdrawal of the Macaulay's Mission Tibetans advanced thirteen miles inside northern Sikkim across Jelap pass and occupied Lingtu. Disputes arose regarding the jurisdiction on the lands above and below the Jelap pass. The Tibetan authorities disagreed to accept the British allegation that the Tibetans had no right on the lands below the Jelap. They took the Sikkimese to task for failing to defend their own territories and their officers acting as guide to the British and working as *Coolies* in opening roads upto the frontier. Tibetans even threatened to take back the disputed lands which they had transferred to Sikkim. The Maharaja could not deny the truthfulness of Tibetan complains and admitted that Sikkim land had been considered as included within Chinese territory since the days of the first Sikkim Maharaja Phuntsog

91 History of Sikkim, Pp. 171-175.

92 Lamb. op. cit. Pp. 170-173.

Namgyal.⁹³ In fact, the Maharaja had entered into a secret treaty with Tibet in 1886 promising to prevent persons from crossing the Sikkim-Tibet boundary and agreeing that Sikkim was subject only to Tibet and China.⁹⁴ This was a violation of the Treaty of 1861 and the Maharaja was asked to return to Sikkim or his allowance would be stopped. But the Maharaja declined to return due to the opposition of the Tibetan authorities and informed that the Tibetans had constructed a fort at Lingtu and stopped trade.⁹⁵

The Government of Bengal suggested to expel the Tibetans from Lingtu by force, a proposal which was opposed by the Government of India.⁹⁶ So the Government of Bengal made some further suggestions that (i) the Maharaja should be invited to Darjeeling and the weakness of the Treaty of 1861 should be corrected; (ii) the Tibetan authorities should be intimidated through the Sikkim Maharaja to leave Lingtu by 15 October 1887 and (iii) be asked to send representatives to demarcate the boundary between Sikkim and Tibet.⁹⁷ The Government of India accepted the first two suggestions, but disagreed to the third one.⁹⁸ The Government of Bengal several times invited the Maharaja to visit Darjeeling and even threatened to pass over the responsibilities of Sikkim's administration to Khangsa Dewan and Phodang Lama. The Maharaja informed the Government of Bengal of his inability to return due to his treaty obligation to China and Tibet and demanded the restoration of his annual allowance which was suspended since 1886.⁹⁹

Thus fearing the decline of British influence in Sikkim, Stuart Bayley, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, wanted to adopt some steady measures.¹⁰⁰ The inactivity of the Government of India was also

93 Ibid., Pp. 177-180.

94 Risley., op. cit., P. VIII.

95 History of Sikkim, P. 184.

96 F. S. E., February 1887, No. 297.

97 Ibid., June 1887, No. 280.

98 Ibid., No. 289.

99 Ibid., January 1888, No. 2.

100 Ibid., No. 1.

subject to criticism in England by the Chambers of Commerce and by the tea planters in Darjeeling and Dooars.¹⁰¹

So in October 1887, Lord Dufferin made up his mind to expel the Tibetans from Lingtu without further delay. The British expelled the Tibetans from Lingtu and reached Choombi in September 1888.¹⁰² The Maharaja was arrested at Choombi and on his return was instructed never to go to Choombi in future. He was further asked to act according to the council of Phodang Lama and Khangsa Dewan, leaders of the pro-British faction in Sikkim and the Maharaja's close associates were ill-treated.¹⁰³

The defeat of the Tibetans alarmed the Chinese and fearing to lose influence over Tibet, they began negotiation with the British. After a prolonged exchange of views, an Anglo-Chinese Convention was signed at Calcutta on 17 March 1890.¹⁰⁴

This convention defined the boundary between Sikkim and Tibet at the watershed of the Tista river under the joint Anglo-Chinese guarantee, admitted the British Government's direct and exclusive control over the internal and external affairs of Sikkim and denied to Sikkim authorities any right to have relations with the ruler or officers of any other country without the permission of the British Government.¹⁰⁵

By this convention three matters remained unsettled—pasturage, communications and trade, of which the matter relating to trade was very complicated due to problems regarding the location of mart and the importation of Indian tea into Tibet. However, after prolonged negotiations, Yatung was selected as trade mart temporarily and it was agreed that after five years of the signing of the trade agreement Indian tea might be imported into Tibet at the same rate of duty which was imposed on the Chinese tea into England.¹⁰⁶

101 Lamb., op. cit., P. 182 ; Risley, op. cit., Pp. XV-XVI.

102 Frontier and Overseas Expedition from India, op. cit., P. 55.

103 History of Sikkim, P. 199.

104 Frontier and Overseas Expedition from India, op. cit., P. 61.

105 Aitchison, op. cit., Pp. 66-67.

106 G. B. P. P. (H. C.) 1904 (CMD 1920), Vol. 67, Pp. 804-805.

Thus on 5 December 1893 the Regulations regarding trade, communications and pasturage was signed between India and China.¹⁰⁷

Sikkim placed under British Administration.

While negotiations were going on with the Chinese *Amban* regarding the Anglo-Chinese Convention, *Amban* initially was found to disagree to change the official relation between Tibet and Sikkim. So Edger suggested to the Government of Bengal for the arrangements for the future administration of Sikkim and proposed Sikkim to be administered by a British officer.¹⁰⁸ Accordingly J. C. White was appointed as Political Officer of Sikkim to look after her administration with the help of a Council consisting of important pro-British faction leaders like Phodang Lama, Khangsa Dewan and Shew Dewan and others.¹⁰⁹ But the Raja and Rani, due to their pro-Tibetan sympathies, declined to take part in this administration.¹¹⁰

The Maharaja was asked by A. W. Paul, Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling, and White to bring from Tibet his eldest son, Tchoda Namgyal who was at Tibet for education. He was also asked to stop sending customary gifts and presents to the Dalai Lama or the Chinese *Amban* at Lhasa. Maharaja was allowed to return to Gangtok on condition that he would send for the *Kumar* as soon as the roads became safe. In 1889, Sir Stuart Bayley forbade him to visit Choombi or to communicate with the Tibetan officials. As to the second instruction the Maharaja wanted to be favoured by a joint order from the Government of India, China and Tibet. Maharaja's appeal for increase of his allowance and permission to be allowed to go to Lachen or Lachung in place of Choombi was made conditional by the Lieutenant Governor to the return of his eldest son from Tibet and final settlement of the Anglo-Chinese negotiations.¹¹¹

107 Ibid., Pp. 806-807.

108 C. P. F. 8 of 1889 (Notes and orders) P. 1.

109 History of Sikkim, P. 206.

110 C. P. F. 8 of 1889, (Notes and orders) Pp. 3-5.

111 History of Sikkim, Pp. 210-217.

After repeated request the Maharaja was allowed to go and stay at Rabdenche near Pemionchi temporarily while the Maharani, who was expecting, was allowed to go to Choombi.¹¹² The Raja secluded himself at Pemionchi and refused to come to Gangtok or bring over his eldest son to Sikkim. The Maharaja was feared to be under the influence of Yangtang Kazi and the Pemionchi *Lamas* whose influence was prejudicial to the British interest.¹¹³

Though due to pressure from White the Maharaja returned to Gangtok but disagreed to bring his son from Tibet. So White suggested to the Government of India to stop the allowance to the Maharaja and to educate his second son Sidkeong Namgyal, the incarnated *Lama* of the Phodang Monastery, for serving the British interest.¹¹⁴

The disgusted Maharaja with his family members, a group of *Lamas* and attendants, tried to escape to Tibet. He failed and was interned in a Monastery at Darjeeling. The second prince was brought to Darjeeling for education and Maharaja's allowance was drastically reduced to Rs. 150/6/6 per month and Rs. 95/- for eleven servants per month. His followers were humiliated and punished. Every efforts were made to make the Raja agree to bring his eldest son from Tibet and the Raja was even lured that he would be allowed to retire to Choombi if he agreed.¹¹⁵ But all efforts having failed, P. Nolan, Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division, proposed to depose the Raja temporarily and to keep him under house arrest. The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal accepted the proposal and suggested to depose the Raja for three years and after three years to instal him or his second son in the throne.¹¹⁶ Government of India, accordingly deposed the Maharaja for three years effecting from July 1892 without making any formal announcement to avoid "excitement".¹¹⁷

112 C. P. F. 9 of 1890. No. 2.

113 C. P. F. 7 of 1891, No. 4.

114 F. S. E., June 1892, No. 149.

115 History of Sikkim, Pp. 227-231.

116 F. S. E., August 1892, No. 64.

117 Ibid., No. 70.

The Maharaja with his family was shifted to Karseong. The helpless Maharaja, in an interview with Nolan in January 1894, requested to be allowed to return to Sikkim and, being advised by Nolan, made up his mind to submit an apology to the Government of India through Nolan.¹¹⁸ The Sikkim Council under the influence of White opposed the restoration of Thutob Namgyal to the throne, but failed.¹¹⁹ Sir Charles Elliot, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, proposed to restore the Maharaja on condition that he would write to his eldest son to come back to Sikkim and would accept the new constitution provided for Sikkim. Raja agreed to both the conditions. On 17 October 1895 Maharaja was asked by Nolan to return to Gangtok and to preside over the Council meetings and to carry on state's administration with some limitations and after 2 or 3 years he might be restored to full power if he succeeded in getting friendly interchange of commerce between the British and the Tibetans. Thus in November 1895 the Maharaja was restored to his throne as a titular head of Sikkim, the actual power being vested on the Political Officer.¹²⁰ Repeated efforts to bring the eldest prince from Tibet having failed, the Governor-General-in-Council decided to recognise the second prince Sidkeong Namgyal as successor designate,¹²¹ in spite of Maharaja's disapproval to it¹²² (discussed in chapter II).

Meanwhile, Yatung did not appear to the British a properly chosen trade mart.¹²³ With it was added the question of demarcation of boundary, as per Convention of 1890. White found that some places inside the Sikkim territory, as per Convention of 1890, had been occupied by the Tibetans. Government of Bengal recommended that White alone should proceed to demarcate the boundary, if the Chinese and the Tibetans did fail to join him. But

118 History of Sikkim. Pp. 234-236.

119 F. S. E., October 1895, No. 462.

120 History of Sikkim. Pp. 241-243.

121 C. P. F. 23 of 1899, No. 1.

122 Ibid. 31 of 1899, No. 3.

123 G. B. P. P. (H. C.) 1904 (CMD 1920), op. cit., Pp. 814-815.

Government of India opposed the move as the demarcation was not provided for in the Treaty of 1893 and it was creating no "serious practical inconvenience".¹²⁴ However, after some correspondence with the Chinese *Amban* by Lord Elgin, Viceroy of India, White was asked to arrange for erection of demarcation pillars at the passes approachable from Sikkim side, with the Chinese and Tibetan officials.¹²⁵ In May and June 1895 White erected some pillars at the Jelap pass and Donchuk which the Tibetans destroyed within a few days of the erection. But Lieutenant Governor's suggestion for stern action against the Tibetans was disapproved by Lord Elgin.¹²⁶ The Chinese *Amban*, as the Tibetan Monasteries were insisting to retain the ancient boundary, suggested to postpone the demarcation for five years when the treaty was to be revised.¹²⁷ So the Lieutenant Governor wanted the Government of India to warn the Tibetans that, in case of their failure to co-operate in the demarcation, Choombi would be held by the British "in pawn either temporarily or permanently."¹²⁸ But Government of India refused to accept the suggestion.¹²⁹ In November 1895, while visiting Yatung, Nolan observed that Tibetans did not think themselves bound by the Anglo-Chinese Convention as Tibet was not a party to it and the Tibetan monks feared that if the British entered Tibet their influence would reduce in Tibet.¹³⁰ So he suggested to drive the Tibetans back from the boundary which they claimed as well as Giaogong of Sikkim. The Government of Bengal supported Nolan's view,¹³¹ but the Viceroy turned it down because Government of India attached more importance to the development of trade than to the demarcation of boundary and thought that "the Tibetans probably possess claims" to territory near Giaogong.¹³² He proposed to

124 Ibid., Pp. 810-811.

125 Ibid., P. 820.

126 Ibid., P. 826.

127 Ibid., P. 834.

128 Ibid., P. Pp. 830-31.

129 Ibid., Pp. 828-29.

130 Ibid., Pp. 840-42.

131 Ibid., P. 843.

132 Ibid., P. 844.

Amban for a joint local enquiry for actual demarcation of the boundary.¹³³ Nothing fruitful happened.

As the Tibetans were attaching so much importance to *Giaogong*, so White wanted the Government of India to insist on the trade mart from *Yatung* to be shifted at *Phari*, which White thought would be a better mart.¹³⁴ Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, supported White's proposal,¹³⁵ though Nolan was doubtful of its benefit due to Tibet's policy of isolation.¹³⁶

Younghusband Mission—British suzerainty over Sikkim accepted.

With the arrival of Lord Curzon as Viceroy of India in January 1899 Elgin's policy of peaceful persuasion took a sharp change. Curzon was in favour of strong and vigorous policy towards Tibet. He preferred direct Communication with Lhasa, because, he observed, China was nothing more than a *de jure* suzerain in Tibet. He also got information that a party of Russians had visited Lhasa in January, 1899.¹³⁷ This news alarmed Curzon very much and he wrote to the Secretary of State for India in England of his desire to open direct communication with Lhasa.¹³⁸ In June 1899 the Home Government approved his policy.¹³⁹

To open direct communication with Tibet was a very difficult task. The Government of Bengal came to know from *Ugyen Kazi* that the Tibetans would never agree to open *Phari* to Indian traders except under compulsion.¹⁴⁰ *Ugyen Kazi's* letters to *Dalai Lama*, in this respect, failed to receive favourable response. Then Curzon

133 Ibid., Pp. 844-846.

134 Ibid., Pp. 881-883.

135 C. P. F., 24 of 1899, No. 4.

136 Ibid., No. 7.

137 Ibid., 39 of 1899, No. 1.

138 Ibid., No. 4.

139 Ibid.,

140 Ibid., No. 8.

made two abortive attempts to communicate Dalai Lama personally.¹⁴¹ So as next step White suggested to occupy Choombi Valley or to stop all Tibetan trade with India. But the second suggestion meant hardship to the British India's traders also and the Tibetan trade was likely to be diversified to Nepal.¹⁴² The policy of isolation pursued by the Tibetans spoke on the imperialistic ego of the British and they were no more ready to tolerate it. Lord Curzon wrote to Lord Hamilton : "...It is, indeed, 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. Such a situation cannot in any case be last..."¹⁴³ on 11 April 1902 Hamilton permitted the expulsion of Tibetans from Giaogong without crossing the border¹⁴⁴ and the Tibetans were expelled accordingly.

In the meantime there came the news of a reported existence of a secret treaty among Russia, China and Tibet. Curzon became very restive to take direct action in Tibet without taking China into account because he felt that the *Amban* was nothing more than a Chinese ambassador in Tibet in reality. So on 8 January 1903, Curzon suggested to Hamilton for negotiating with Tibet alone and if a new treaty was concluded the Tibetan representatives also should be signatory to it. The negotiations should cover the questions of Sikkim-Tibet frontier as well as the future relations with Tibet and should culminate in appointing permanent British representative to reside at Lhasa. Curzon proposed that a mission should be despatched to Lhasa with an armed escort and the Tibetan and Chinese Governments should be assured that the mission would be exclusively of commercial character without any political design.¹⁴⁵

141 G. B. P. P. (H. C.) 1904 (CMD) 1920), op. cit., P. 916.

142 Ibid., Pp. 911-913.

143 Ibid.,

144 Ibid., P. 916.

145 Ibid., Pp. 936-942.

Colonel Younghusband was placed as the head of the Mission. The Mission crossed Jelap pass on 3rd December 1903 and after some skirmish and remarkable casualties on the Tibetan side, it entered Lhasa on 4 August 1904. The Dalai Lama fled to Mongolia. A Convention between the Great Britain and Tibet, known as Lhasa Convention, was signed on 7 September 1904. By the Article one of this convention, the Government of Tibet engaged to respect the Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1890 and to recognize the frontier between Sikkim and Tibet as defined in the said convention and to erect boundary pillars accordingly.¹⁴⁶ Thus the authority which the British secured in Sikkim in 1890 became final with the recognition of it from Tibet. Once the British suzerainty over Sikkim being finally settled, the affairs of Sikkim became affairs of India.

From 1817 to 1889 the British Government in India did not interfere in the affairs of Sikkim directly, though Sikkim became a protectorate in 1861. The British tried to achieve their goal by keeping the internal affairs of Sikkim undisturbed. They thought that this policy would keep the Tibetan authorities in humour and their purpose would be served. But after receiving the news of the Secret Treaty of 1886 and the *Amban* not agreeing to change official relations between Tibet and Sikkim, it was decided to arrange the administration of Sikkim according to the need of the British. White was accordingly appointed as the Political Officer of Sikkim to look after and rearrange the administration of Sikkim. To rearrange the political set up and to consolidate the British position there the following measures were taken :—(a) change in superstructure in Sikkim ; (b) change in equilibrium of population ; (c) reorientation of land revenue system ; (d) actions relating to promotion of trade through Sikkim.

146 G. B. P. P. (H. C.) 1903 (CMD 2370) P. 91.

CHAPTER II

CHANGE IN SUPER-STRUCTURE

The Treaty of 1861 made Sikkim a British protectorate. But in place of appointing any officer to be posted in Sikkim to control the affairs there, the officer incharge of Darjeeling was entrusted with the responsibility to look after the matter. This policy was pursued until 1889 when a Political Officer was placed there. By the Treaty of Titalya the British fetched important concession from the Sikkim Raja in exchange of assurance to protect their possession and taking the opportunity of quarrel between the Lepcha and the Bhotia factions in Sikkim, they, in 1835, took the possession of Darjeeling. These factional conflicts were blessings to the British. The British favoured the Lepchas because the Sikkim Rajas had sympathies with the Bhotias due to the Tibetan origin of the Royal family well as matrimonial relations with Tibet. During the reign of Tsugphud Namgyal, the Bhotia faction led by Dewan Namguay, became very powerful due to the Raja's retirement to a life of religious contemplation. Namguay always pursued the anti-British policy. The British, however, got permanent exile of Namguay or his blood relations from Sikkim by the Treaty of 1861 and by this treaty Sikkim became the defacto protectorate of the Government of India (discussed in previous chapter). But the relations between Sikkim and Tibet and China were not severed. In 1874, Maharaja Thutob Namgyal

got large presents and letters during his installation ceremonies from the Tibetan authorities and the Chinese *Amban*.¹ In spite of the treaty obligation the Maharaja used to stay in Tibet for more than three months in a year and this was one of the reasons of the India Government's refusal to increase the Maharaja's allowance in 1881. But all the steps of the Government of India added with the Maharaja's financial dependance on it did not serve the British purpose. In 1886, during his mission, Macaulay was told by the Maharaja that he was being given an annual grain subsidy of one thousand measure for guarding the Sikkim-Tibet boundary and no Englishmen should be permitted to cross it.² Matters became further complicated when the Tibetans claimed that the land below the Jelap pass belonged to them and it had been given to Sikkim as *Jagir* and they even claimed that the Sikkim territories belonged to China. The Sikkim Maharaja did not deny the truthfulness of the claim.³ The repeated efforts to bring the Maharaja from Choombi failed and the report came of the Secret Treaty between the Maharaja and the Tibetan authorities. So in November 1887 the Government of Bengal sent A. W. Paul, Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling, to Gangtok, the new capital of Sikkim and Paul reported the existence of pro-British and pro-Tibetan faction in Sikkim Court.⁴

In December 1887, on his return from Choombi, the Maharaja was asked not to go to Tibet in future and to act according to the counsel of Phodang Lama and Khangsa Dewan, two pro-British officials and not to keep *Tatsang Lamas*, the Barmiok Kazi, the Yangthang Kazi, the Living and Dalam Kazis, who were in attendance of the Maharaja. The Maharaja was kept in financial distress and was deprived of power to collect taxes or rents from his subjects.⁵

1 History of Sikkim, Pp. 120-141.

2 Ibid., Pp. 172-173.

3 Ibid., Pp. 177-179.

4 F. S. E., February 1888, No. 188C.

5 History of Sikkim, Pp. 199-200.

Appointment of Political Officer-Maharaja's power curtailed.

Thus the news of the secret treaty, Tibet's claim of suzerainty over Sikkim and the Maharaja's pro-Tibetan attitude frightened the British. Edgar telegraphed from Gnatong to the Government of Bengal on 9 January 1889: "After some communication with Tibetans, Ampa has evidently made up his mind to refuse any terms which do not comprise maintenance of unchanged official relations between Tibet and Sikkim. This includes presents and letter couched in humble language to chief civil authorities at Lassa. In other words it means homage to Tibet. ...I think that it is necessary, if we are to avoid complete relapse, that state should for the present be administered by British officer with the help of Deputy Commissioner. He should be paid from suspended subsidy. If Lieutenant Governor agrees, I would get sanction to retain White, who has very special qualifications and would settle whole thing on way down. Raja is at Pedong and should I think be kept out of Sikkim for some time..."⁶ Accordingly Raja was removed to Kalimpong and J. C. White was appointed the Political Officer of Sikkim to look after the administration there.

Lieutenant Governor advised Paul to encourage the Maharaja in every way to continue at Gangtok and to take active part in the administration. Until this was done, a Council was to be formed of the leading monks and laymen of Sikkim, to be presided over by the Raja when he was present at Gangtok. But during Raja's absence all the decisions of the Council were to be submitted to him. In case of difference of opinion between the Raja and the Council, the case was to be referred to the Political Officer and if he agreed with the Raja the Council would be bound to yield. In all other cases the decision of the Council was to be carried out in the joint names of the Raja and the body, until such time as it might seem expedient to allow the Raja to secure undivided authority. Until the Raja's restoration to power, the revenue was to be collected by

⁶ C. P. F. 8 of 1889, (Notes and orders) P. 1.

the Council and White was to ascertain what was the minimum amount absolutely required for administration, what was the balance and what amount was to be made over to the Raja.⁷

The Governor-General approved the instructions given by the Lieutenant Governor to Paul. But as the Raja was still inclined to cling to his Tibetan connection, he wanted the Raja's power to be limited to avoid giving the Raja opportunities to thwart the British policy.⁸

During an interview with the Lieutenant Governor on 10 November 1889 at Gangtok, the Khangsa Dewan and the Phodang Lama strongly urged to separate the Raja entirely from the Tenun Dewan and the Living Kazi, who were relations of the Late Dewan Namguay, in accordance with the Treaty of 1861, with an idea to avoid Tibetan influence on the Raja. They wanted a proclamation made that only the orders of the Council were to be obeyed in Sikkim and wanted to prevent the Raja from going to Lachen-Lachung as it would place the Raja practically in the hands of the Tibetans. They cautioned the Lieutenant Governor against the design of the *Lamas* who were plotting and collecting weapons to drive out the English from Sikkim.⁹

The first task of White as Political Officer was to appoint a Council to manage the affairs of Sikkim and the appointed Council members were : The Raja, the Phodang Lama and Dorje Lopen to represent the *Lamas*, the Khangsa Dewan, Purboo Dewan, Gangtok Kazi, Tashiding Kazi to represent the lay interest, Sheu Dingpon as the writer and White. The Council's function was to collect revenue, listen to appeals and to manage the ordinary affairs of the state.¹⁰

In spite of hardship the Maharaja was showing disinterest in the public affairs of Sikkim even in May 1891 and White opined that this was due to the influence of the Maharani who was "altogether

7 Ibid., No. 1.

8 Ibid., No. 2.

9 Ibid., 5 of 1890, No. 1. (Notes and orders)

10 Ibid., 5 of 1890, No. 1.

Tibetan in her sympathies and ideas" and feared that until the settlement of the Chinese-Tibetan question the Maharaja would not alter his attitude towards the British.¹¹

In fact the Sikkim Raja thought that the sovereignty over Sikkim was undivided and that India, China and Tibet should come to a clear understanding as to who should be regarded the actual sovereign power.¹² With this was added the British pressure for bringing the eldest prince from Tibet. After some resistance the Maharaja had to surrender to the British pressure (discussed later on).

In early 1895 P. Nolan and the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal came to Karseong. The Maharaja prayed to the Lieutenant Governor to be allowed to go back to Sikkim and asked Nolan what should be the language of his letter to his eldest son in Tibet. He wrote to his eldest son asking him to come back according to advice of Nolan. In October 1895, the Maharaja was advised by Nolan to go to Gangtok and to preside over the Council meetings and to carry on state's administrative duties under conditions laid down in a new document of ten clauses. He was assured to be restored to full power in two or three years if he acted according to those ten clauses. The ten clauses were:—

"(1) The present members of the Council are to remain so ; additions might be made in future as necessity demands. The place of meetings to settle the questions of revenue collections, trial of cases, civil and criminal must be at Gangtok. And the Maharaja and the Council will regulate their works according to the clauses given below."

"(2) The Maharaja will always live at Gangtok and take a keen interest in the administrative duties in which he will be assisted and guided by the Political Officer. Should the Maharaja wish to leave Gangtok for a few days, he will inform the Political Officer of his wish, and if the Political Officer disapproved, of it, the matter will be referred to the Commissioner at Darjeeling.

11 Ibid., 8 of 1891, No. 1.

12 History of Sikkim, Pp. 230-231.

“(3) The Maharaja shall preside as the President of the Council meetings. If His Highness should not be present during the meetings convened for doing some work, the Council will submit the proceedings of the meeting in writing to Maharaja for his perusal.”

“(4) Should the Maharaja not agree with the Council on any matters the difference will be submitted to the Political Officer for the decision. If he agrees with the Maharaja, their decision will be held by the Council as the right one. And all business done by the Maharaja and the Council will be signed in their joint names.”

“(5) The above arrangements will hold good as long as the Government sees it proper to restore absolute power to Maharaja.”

“(6) Whatever has been done by the Political Officer and the Council since the year 1889 (Tibetan : Langlo) will not be changed by the Maharaja without obtaining the counsel of the Political Officer.”

“(7) The Maharaja will be given an allowance of Rs. 1,000/- (one thousand) and he must manage with that so as to suffice for his own as well as that of the members of the family in all respects. His Highness will not raise any sort of cash or kind contributions from his raiyats. His Highness has promised to abstain from taking anything from the raiyats without payment.”

“(8) The Maharaja also promised to pay his household servants in cash.”

“(9) An allowance as usual will be made to His Highness's sister from the Sikkim state fund, and a similar allowance will be made to the Middle Kumar while he is studying; as soon as he gets older, the Council will fix a proper allowance from the Sikkim state money.”

“(10) Any repairs necessary for the palace will be done out of the Sikkim state money...”¹³

The Maharaja agreed to the ten clauses and was restored to the throne as a titular head without even power to undo the things done by the Political Officer in the Council.

Once restored to power, the Maharaja took part in the works

13 Ibid., 238-243.

assigned to him and requested to be allowed to try certain cases of semi-judicial character without the intervention of the Political Officer. This matter was settled satisfactorily under the orders of the Government of Bengal.¹⁴ But inspite of getting some power, the Maharaja was mentally upset because of not being entrusted with important duties and for having no hand in the administrative work, all works being done by White along with one or two among the Kazis.¹⁵

In March 1900, The Maharaja applied to the Lieutenant Governor that his power to be restored because Nolan had promised to restore him to power gradually. He also intended to meet with some of his relatives in Tibet and prayed for the increase of his allowance.¹⁶ But his requests were turned down because still he showed the pro-Tibetan inclination.¹⁷

Thus the Maharaja was under the complete control of the British Government in India. In November 1901 the Maharaja had an interview with the Lieutenant Governor at Gangtok and the Maharaja pointed out to his economic distress due to his curtailed allowance and to his limited power which had made him formal but not real ruler of Sikkim in the eyes of the Sikkim people. The Lieutenant Governor replied that since 1900 his power had increased considerably and the Government of India had no intention to impose its views arbitrarily on Sikkim but to guide her in the right direction.¹⁸ In fact the Sikkim royal family was completely into the grip of the British, with real power vested into the hand of the Political Officer and all the British efforts were guided to communicate with Tibet with the help of the Sikkim royal family (discussed in chapter V).

British interference in question of succession.

Side by side with taming the Maharaja Thutob Namgyal, equally

14 C. P. F. 22 of 1897, No. 1.

15 History of Sikkim, P. 252.

16 L. G. P. P. A. of June 1900, No. 12.

17 Ibid., No. 13.

18 L. G. P. P. A. of December 1901, No. 12.

vital to the British was the question of succession to the Sikkim's throne and the British Government in India endeavoured assiduously to see the Sikkim throne being decorated by kings possessing the British sentiment.

When White became the Political Officer, the eldest prince of Sikkim was at Tibet for education. So side by side with electing the council, he became very worried to bring the eldest prince Tchoda Namgyal from Tibet where he was growing under Tibetan influence "before his sympathies become entirely Tibetan." But the Maharaja was completely opposed to it and White suggested to stop or curtail the Maharaja's allowance as the only means to pressurize him. The Council members supported White's proposal.¹⁹ The Government of Bengal approved White's suggestion and advised the Commissioner of Rajshahi to forbid the pro-Tibetan Kazis from approaching the Maharaja in future.²⁰ White, Paul and Raja Tenduk, the Manager of the Kalimpong Government Estate, asked the Maharaja to bring his eldest son from Tibet to be educated in Indian school. Sheu Dewan, a member of the Council, threatened the Maharaja that in future the British might annex Sikkim if the princes did not behave properly. But the Maharaja refused to comply with until the prince did finish his education there.²¹

Naturally the British authorities turned towards the second son of the Raja, Sidkeong Namgyal. In March 1892 when the Maharaja was detained at Darjeeling, it was proposed to bring the second prince at Darjeeling for education under Raja Tenduk. This proposal was approved by the Lieutenant Governor Sir Charles Elliot. But the Maharaja objected to the education of his second son in English as he was an incarnation of the *Lama* of Pemionchi.²² But the Maharaja was told that his request would only be considered when the eldest prince was brought to Darjeeling.²³ The Maharaja wrote

19 C. P. F. 7 of 1891, No. 4.

20 Ibid., No. 5.

21 History of Sikkim, Pp. 230-231.

22 Pemionchi Monastery was designed for the monks of pure Tibetan race. (Risley, op. cit., P, 259)

23 C. P. F. 26 of 1898, No. 2.

to the Commissioner that the eldest prince was being educated in Tibet and it was better for him to learn his own language. In a subsequent interview with the Commissioner also the Maharaja told that the teacher of his eldest son required to keep him for a few days more in Tibet for education.²⁴ Naturally the Government of India was annoyed. On 11 July 1892 the Government of Bengal recommended to the Government of India the deposition of the Maharaja for three years and thereafter to decide the question of restoration of the Maharaja or installation of the second prince. The Maharaja was deposed accordingly in July 1892. After deposition the Sikkim Council wrote to the eldest prince Tchoda Namgyal to return to Sikkim or he might forfeit his right on throne. But the prince expressed his inability to return until completion of his education. In November 1892 the Sikkim Council proposed to the Commissioner to appoint the second prince at least "as a temporary measure". The Council further explained through the Phodang Lama, that the second son could marry or reign, as he had not yet taken the final vows.²⁵

In fact, succession to throne or marriage of a celibate *Lama* was not something unprecedented in Sikkim. Sidkeong Namgyal who succeeded to throne in 1862 was also a celibate *Lama*. His succession, though opposed by Dewan Namguay, could not be stopped due to Chebu Lama who, in 1848, successfully persuaded the Dalai Lama to dispense with the vows of celibacy of Sidkeong Namgyal and arranged his marriage.²⁶ This was a nice case in support of the British and they did not forget to utilize it.

In April 1895, during visit to Gangtok, the Lieutenant Governor had an informal *Durbar* with the members of the Sikkim Council and the Council deprecated the restoration of the Maharaja and pleaded for the installation of the second prince. So the Lieutenant Governor thought it prudent to make better arrangement for the education of the second prince.²⁷

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid.

26 F. P. C., 15 December 1849, No. 140.

27 C. P. F. 26 of 1898, No. 2.

In 1895, when the Maharaja agreed to come to terms to be restored to the *Guddi*, Nolan advised him to write to his eldest son to come to Sikkim and the Maharaja wrote accordingly. But the prince expressed his inability to return due to an injury from which he was suffering and said that he would return after recovery.²⁸

The Government of India advised the Commissioner to Communicate to the eldest prince intimating him to return to Gangtok by 1 April 1896 or his claim to his father's throne would be forfeited and the Commissioner wrote accordingly. In August 1896 the prince informed Nolan and the Maharaja that he could not return because the passages were closed due to trouble between India and Tibet and prayed for reasonable time to return.²⁹ Both Nolan and White took it as a lost case. Nolan objected to the succession of the eldest prince as he was ignorant of any Indian Language or English to communicate to Nepalese, the majority of Sikkim's population as well as the Europeans and consequently unfit to "aid in the introduction of improvements in the internal administration". Nolan found in the second prince a promising youngman with the only problem that he was an *Avatar*.³⁰ But Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal thought that it was better to keep the question in abeyance until the king's death or approach of death and to proceed with the education of the second prince. The Government of India accepted this view.³¹

Nolan put emphasis on the fact that, being educated in Tibet, the eldest son's feeling and sentiment would be Tibetan and consequently unfriendly to the British and he advocated the succession of the second prince who had no Tibetan influence on him and was unlikely to be disloyal to the British Government.³²

The Lieutenant Governor discussed the matter with Nolan and White. White expressed that the leading men in Sikkim would be

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid.

satisfied to get the second prince as the future king, though the Maharaja's inclination towards the first son was natural. Besides, both White and Nolan believed that the Pemionchi monastery would willingly grant dispensation to free the second prince from his character as an *Avatar* of the founder of the Phodang monastery and this grant would have influence over other monasteries.³³

Thus though the Government of India preferred to keep the question of succession in abeyance, Nolan and White became restive to come to a quick decision.

The second prince was getting education under Raja Tenduk and the military surgeon at Gangtok. But when the prince reached nineteen years of age, White became worried not to keep the question of succession in suspense any more. If the second prince was not to be installed, White wanted that he should proceed sincerely in monastic studies to be head of the Phodang monastery. With the question of succession White added the question of marriage of the second prince. White found that the problem was in selecting a bride. The system in Sikkim royal family was to find a bride in Tibet and the Maharaja would not like his son's marriage with any of the Kazi's daughter. But the prince could not be allowed to marry in Tibet because the experience with the present Rani was that she was "very discontented with her lot in Sikkim and most Tibetan in all her leanings" White was totally opposed to marriage with any girl of Tibetan sentiment and even suggested to look for a girl in Bhutan and in support of his suggestion referred to the precedent of marriage of Raja Tensung Namgyal in Bhutan in 1670. White wanted the question of marriage to be taken seriously because the prince was already getting mixed up with the women in palace and it was only the very strong hand of the Maharani which kept the prince in check.³⁴

Nolan opined that as the eldest prince failed to return to Sikkim within the specified date his right on throne ceased and the second prince was natural successor. Besides, an important thing to consider

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid., 18 of 1898, No. 1. (Administration Report of Sikkim, 1897-9)

was that the British had already given the second prince education "Calculated to make him a good Raja but a bad monk, while the eldest prince, having spent most of his life in exile in Tibet, knew nothing that the Raja of Sikkim should know and his political ideas were inconsistent with the present administration of Sikkim."³⁵

Thus it was high time for the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal to take a decision. If the eldest prince was allowed to succeed, it would mean that the orders of the Government of 1895 had been condoned. Again, if he could hear that the second prince had gone to monastery, he would not return until his father's death which would give him the "sovereignty of Sikkim", and he would assume he had successfully defied the direct orders of the Government of India, because the warning of 1895 had never been withdrawn. But the prince was minor in 1895. And as the prince was twenty one years old now, in January 1899, the Lieutenant Governor proposed to the Government of India to give the eldest prince another warning to return within two months to Sikkim or his right on throne would be forfeited and the second prince would be the next king of Sikkim. He also proposed that the Political Officer should make final enquiry as to necessity for a dispensation from his *Avatarship* and, take action, if required, to obtain such dispensation from one of the monasteries of Sikkim.³⁶

The Government of India did not accept the proposal of the Government of Bengal, because to make such an offer again would be injurious to the "dignity and self-respect of the Government", as the case was already decided. The eldest prince lost his moral right on the throne and it was not politically expedient to make any offer to him. So on 21 February 1899, the Governor-General-in-Council decided that the second prince Sidkeong Namgyal should be recognized the successor-designate, subject to the reservation that he continued to conduct himself with propriety and was accep-

35 Ibid., 26 of 1893, No. 1.

36 Ibid., No. 2.

table to "the notables and people of Sikkim" and the eldest prince was prohibited from entering Sikkim.³⁷

The reactions of the Sikkim Maharaja and the Maharani to the decision of the Government of India was not favourable. The Maharaja wrote to the Political Officer that the eldest prince's failure to return was not due to his wilful disregard to the orders of the Government of India, but due to the objection of the British Government. The Raja further wrote that the second son, according to usage and custom of Sikkim, could not be a king and, if approved by the British and the Tibetan Governments, the *Avatar* prince might be sent to Tibet in place of the eldest prince who must succeed to the *Guddi*. Besides, the second prince, as a *Lama*, was bound to live a celibate and austere life in a monastery, failing which a *Lama* was liable to be punished and banished. Moreover, the Raja said that the succession of the eldest son was the wish of the whole nation.³⁸ The Maharaja and the Maharani also made personal representation to White.³⁹

The Council was divided on the question of succession ; Lari Lama, head of the Pemionchi monastery, shared the sentiment of the Raja while pro-British members like Sheu Dewan was indifferent. The officiating Political Officer, Captain E. LeMesurier thought that the Maharaja's resentment was reasonable but not of "great political importance" and that the second prince was more desirable as heir apparent. He strongly recommended for the increase of the prince's allowance to enable him to live in a more becoming manner in his position in the eyes of the *Kazis* and people of Sikkim. He also recommended to make every endeavour for his marriage to put an end to the Raja's objection because he thought : "His marriage being an accomplished fact, the morals of neither Lamas nor laymen in Sikkim will prevent their accepting him as their future ruler, or recognising his children as successors to

37 Ibid., 23 of 1899, No. 1.

38 Ibid., 31 of 1899, No. 1.

39 Ibid., Extract from White's dairy in No. 1.

the Guddi".⁴⁰ Le Mesurier suggested that a short tour to India should be arranged for the second prince to broaden his ideas.⁴¹ The Government of India decided that no modification should be made regarding supersession of the eldest prince and approved the proposal to increase the allowance of the second prince.⁴²

The Maharaja reconciled to the order of the Government of India, though the Maharani took some time. The Political Officer proposed to remove the second prince to Darjeeling, for a period, to remove him from the influences which might tend towards his education as *Lama* and to shake off Lamaistic traditions to which the second prince had all his life been subjected from the *Durbar*.⁴³

In the winter of 1900-01, the second prince, accompanied by white was sent on a tour to different parts of India. On return, he started helping the British in the work of road construction for the Tibet mission and rendered immense service to the British in the Young-husband Mission.⁴⁴ Thus the British were successful to prevent the entry of the eldest prince who might have intrigued with the Tibetans and to get a Maharaja-designate subscribing to the British cause. Sidkeong Namgyel became the Maharaja of Sikkim on 11 February 1914 ; but died unmarried on 5 December 1914.

Establishment of Boarding School in Sikkim.

While trying to tame the Maharaja and to get Maharaja-designate upto their requirement, the British also required to get the future nobility to represent the British interest. So the British wanted to educate the sons of influential *Lamas* and *Kazis* of Sikkim in British way side by side with deciding the question of succession.

40 Ibid., No. 1.

41 Ibid.

42 Ibid., No. 3.

43 Ibid., 48 of 1900, No. 1 (Administrative Report of Sikkim, 1899-1900).

44 Ibid., 37 of 1903, No. 1.

In May 1895 the Government of Bengal requested the Director of Public Instruction to further suggestion of establishing a boarding house in Sikkim for the education of the sons of influential *Lamas* and *Kazis* of Sikkim, in connection with the education of the Maharaja's second son who was then at Darjeeling.⁴⁵ But Nolan was doubtful as to the result of opening a school at Gangtok to teach English and, from the statement prepared by White regarding the financial support to be expected from private sources (Appendix I), he found that the expenses would be greater than at Darjeeling. The support from private sources was expected to be Rs. 27 only against the estimated expenditure of Rs. 400 a month.⁴⁶

Nolan found that, if an English school was opened at Gangtok, the expense of a boarding-house there would be same as at Darjeeling, while that of tuition would be far greater. Besides, Nolan had doubt if any scholar would attend the school to learn English. Nolan observed: "The inducement which exists in Bengal is wanting in that State, where those who know English have not a monopoly of the more attractive careers in life, and the natural bent of the people is towards monastic training, for which abundant opportunities are afforded."⁴⁷

Nolan suggested that the best would be to grant stipend of eight rupees a month to four boys of the rank for studying in Darjeeling which would not be a strange place to them as many of their countrymen were settled there and even some of them were educated in English. If this measure resulted in success, then only the funds of Sikkim should be utilized to erect a boarding house at Gangtok.⁴⁸

In fact, due to traditional, social, political and religious relations between Tibet and Sikkim, Nolan's anticipation might not be unjustified. In Sikkim as well as in Tibet monastic training was the system of the education prevailing and for this abundant

45 L. G. P. P(J). A. of August, 1896, No. 1.

46 Ibid, No. 3.

47 Ibid.

48 Ibid.

opportunities were afforded. The Sikkim students had to go to Tibet for higher order of this monastic training.

The Government of Bengal did not accept Nolan's suggestion and disagreed with Nolan regarding the expense of the boarding-house because Sir Alfred Croft, the Director of Public Instruction suggested and White declared it to be feasible that the food of the boarders would be sent from their homes. Lieutenant Governor wanted Nolan to instruct White to draw up a complete estimate showing :— (a) the cost of building a school and accomodation for twenty students and two masters at Gangtok ; (b) the cost of tuition ; (c) the cost of cooking, firing, servants and contingencies, on the understanding that the boys would have their food supplied from home. Lieutenant Governor considered that the salary proposed to be given to the English teacher was higher than the Sikkim State could afford if it was debited to the school alone. So he recommended that it might be partly charged to the school and partly to the education of the second prince, as was suggested by the Director of Public Instruction.⁴⁹

In November 1895, the Government of Bengal sanctioned the construction of a school at Gangtok, a boarding house for twenty students and quarters for two masters at an aggregate cost of Rs. 656, and to the annual expenditure of Rs. 3,500 for the maintenance of the school and boarding-house, including the pay of two teachers, according to the estimates submitted by White, and the charges were to be met from Sikkim's revenue.⁵⁰

*Reformation of Judicial system in Sikkim And
Organisation of Police Force.*

While appointing White as Political officer of Sikkim, the Government of Bengal pointed out to the Deputy Commissioner of

49 Ibid., No. 5.

50 Ibid., No. 7.

Darjeeling that one of the principal questions of administration of Sikkim was arrangement "for the settlement of disputes, punishment of crime and protection of life and property generally".⁵¹

There was no code or regular procedure and fixed punishment; the trial was done by ordeal and the case was decided by custom. A Tibetan code was in existence and sometimes it was consulted. The *Kazis* had some territorial jurisdiction and they were not trustworthy.⁵²

Edgar came to know the opinion of the Sikkim people who wanted that all serious offences should be tried at Gangtok by the Raja and the Council while the petty cases should be dealt with by the local officials or by *Panchayats*. The Lieutenant Governor wanted this principle to be followed and the Political Officer was advised to confine his efforts to reintroduce the system prevailing in old days and not to introduce any parts of the complicated and difficult British legal system.⁵³

White insisted, in some cases, on record of evidence being done and himself tried cases at Gangtok, sometimes singly and sometimes with the help of the Council. The Maharaja also sometimes tried cases, but adopted the old procedure. As there was no proper jail in Sikkim, usual punishment were flogging and fines.⁵⁴

In the Council meeting of 29 March 1900, White asked the members to discontinue trial by ordeal and to abolish it.⁵⁵ C. R. Marindin, Commissioner of Rajshahi Division, made some proposals to improve the administration of justice in Sikkim. He proposed that the Council with the help of the political officer should draw a simple code of offences and penalties; simplest cases of cattle trespass and petty assault should be made over to the *Kazis* and for trial with the help of a *Panchayat* and all other cases should be

51 C. P. F. 8 of 1889, No. 1.

52 Ibid., 52 of 1900, No. 1.

53 Ibid., 8 of 1889, No. 1.

54 Ibid., 52 of 1900, No. 1.

55 Ibid., 48 of 1900, No. 1.

referred for trial to Gangtok. He also emphasized that the *Kazis* should not have any power of whipping.⁵⁶ White proposed some members of the Council to be associated with him for his assistance in trying cases as well as for the members' education. So Marindin proposed the composition of tribunals at Gangtok as follows :

- “(1) The Political Officer sitting singly ;
- “(2) The Political Officer sitting with one or more members of the Sikkim Council ;
- “(3) A member or members of the Council to whom the Political Officer may make over a case.
- “(4) The Maharaja with his Council or a Committee of the Council. The Political Officer should have a seat and voice in this Council. This will prevent the Maharaja from deciding case without having evidence.”⁵⁷

Marindin also proposed to stop the barbarous form of punishment and to confine them to fine, imprisonment, whipping, stocks, and for murder, a death sentence.⁵⁸

The Government of Bengal thought that Sikkim did not require “an organisation so elaborate and rules so precise” as those proposed by Marindin and that Marindin should impress upon the Maharaja and his Council a few leading principles for their guidance. In civil and criminal cases witness should be examined and cross examination should be allowed, summery of evidence should be recorded and in criminal cases punishment should not be cruel. *Kazis* might be

56 Whipping was very old punishment for crimes in Sikkim. In spite of recommendation of Marindin the *Kazis*' power of whipping was not discontinued. In June 1907 the Political Officer, by a Circular No. 3004 to all *Kazis*, Thikadars and Lamas, simply instructed that before whipping an offender, the medical officer should certify his fitness or the authorities concerned should think if the offender was fit to undergo such punishment. It was not before November 1922 that it was stopped when the Sikkim Durbar by a notice No. 2030 J. Withdrew the power of whipping of the *Kazis*, Thikadars and Lamas. (Family papers of Motichand Pradhan).

57 C. P. F. 52 of 1900, No. 1. (Memo by Marindin).

58 Ibid.

allowed to try petty cases but their power should not be extended. The Lieutenant Governor did not prefer interference into the existing practice, but considered that all cases except those of little importance should be tried at Gangtok either by the Maharaja or Political Officer or by either in association with some members of the Council. Lieutenant Governor wanted that there should be system of appeal to be heard by the Maharaja sitting with one or more members of the Council or by a Committee of the Council.⁵⁹

As discussed above, Sikkim had no proper jail or police force for the punishment of criminals. With the increase of population in Sikkim which was of heterogenous description, White thought that crime would be more prevalent and thought it necessary to raise a police force of semi-litery character. He wanted to raise the the force only with the Lepchas and the Gurungs and not the Bhotias whom White thought "stupid and untrainable". White thought that this force would suffice on the withdrawal of Indian troops from Gnatong to keep a guard at that place, to watch British property and, to render assistance in the maintenance of order in the upland. White considered that the force would be required to be increased further on the withdrawal of the troops from Gangtok. He hoped that after raising of the Sikkim police force, the thirteen constables from Darjeeling sanctioned under the Darjeeling Superintendent for use of Sikkim might be withdrawn and so the extra expenditure would not be very high.⁶⁰

In fact, though Sikkim had no regular police or military force, there were numerous religious agencies placed by the monasteries at the disposal of the Maharaja to supply him with men when required. These monastic people did not appear to be trustworthy to the British who feared of their Tibetan connection and sentiment. Nolan expressed his distrust by saying : "under existing circumstances the monks can hardly be counted on to give much assistance, and recourse must be had to the usual means of maintaining order". But as the force would also be available for the frontier purposes, Nolan

59 Ibid., No. 2.

60 L. G. P. P. (J). A. of May 1893, No. 30.

thought it fair that the British Government should pay half the cost.⁶¹

While supplying the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling with the cost of maintaining the police force, White gave account of the function of the police force as follows :

- (a) Collection of rent ;
- (b) Treasure guard ;
- (c) Arrest and conveyance of offenders ;
- (d) Carrying out orders of *Durbar* ;
- (e) Maintenance of order in troublesome villages.

White also said that this force would be required on the withdrawal of the British troops from Gnatong.⁶²

The Government of Bengal recommended and sanctioned the appointment of a police force consisting of one *Jamadar* and eight Constables with order that the charge would be met from the revenue of the Sikkim State.⁶³

In September 1899, two additional policemen were employed to guard the Bank opened in Sikkim by Messrs. Jetmull & Bhojraj, a banking house of Darjeeling. White said that the bank was required for the convenience of Sikkim but during the Younghusband Mission it came to good service of the British.⁶⁴

Thus since appointing the Political Officer in Sikkim, the British observed that to promote their interest, best thing would be to wipe out the pro-Tibetan institutions in Sikkim. So they compelled the then Maharaja to come to terms and, by pressure, made the Maharaja accept a Maharaja designate of their liking. But the Government of India also observed that the stronghold of the Tibetan influence was the Buddhist monasteries whose headquarters were at Tibet. Direct interference there might hurt the people's sentiment and close the door of Tibet for ever. These monasteries organised education, and supplied substitute of regular police force. So the

61 Ibid.

62 Ibid., No. 32.

63 Ibid., No. 35.

64 C. P. F. 48 of 1900, No. 1. (Administrative Report of Sikkim, 1899-1900).

British thought it wise to organize these in their own way as well as to reform the judicial system where the Tibetan code was of importance. The *Kazis* and *Lamas* were indigenous aristocrats of Sikkim. By bringing up their sons in English education the British wanted to create a section of pro-British aristocrats. Similarly, as the Bhotias had some Tibetan connection, it was made a policy to include no Bhotia in Sikkim's police force.

CHAPTER III

CHANGE IN EQUILIBRIUM OF POPULATION

The British efforts to nominate a king of their choice and to mould the future Sikkim aristocracy in their own way have been discussed in the previous chapter- But side by side with it they left no stone unturned to upset the population balance of Sikkim and to arrange it upto their requirement.

Inhabitants of Sikkim

The population of Sikkim during the period of under discussion were composed mainly of the Lepchas, Bhotias and Nepalese. The Lepchas and the Tsongs or Limbus were the oldest inhabitants of Sikkim. During the reign of Gyurmed Namgyal who became the Raja in 1717, the Tsongs being disgusted with the bad treatment of the Sikkim authorities left the country in a body and retired to a place called Limbuana which was finally seperated from Sikkim and became part of Nepal ¹

The Lepchas are the oldest race Sikkim. Ethnologists think that they are members of Mongolian race. No authentic traditional records are available about their origin, They were nature wor shipper. The name of the first Lepcha king available was Turv

¹ History of Sikkim, Pp. 69-70.

who reigned about the third decade of the 15th Century. After him three successive rulers of his line ruled Sikkim till the power was usurped by the Tibetans, known as Bhotias in Sikkim. With the capture of Sikkim by the Bhotias, the Lepchas lost their language and religion to the Bhotias who imposed Buddhism and Bhotia language on them.²

The Bhotias were next to Lepchas to settle in Sikkim. According to the tradition, three monks of the *Dukpa* or red-hat sect of the Tibetan Buddhism, to escape from the persecution set on foot by the reforming *Gelukpa* or yellow-hat sect in Tibet, escaped to Sikkim. They installed Phuntso Namgyal as the first Tibetan ruler of Sikkim in 1642. By an intricate system of blood brotherhood the Lepchas and the Bhotias were made perpetual friends.³ Phuntso married a Lepcha girl. The Lepchas soon came under the control of the Bhotias and those Lepchas who proved themselves trustworthy were appointed in the household establishment of the Raja while those who failed to gain chief's confidence or favour were employed for outdoor job. Besides, they had to contribute summer *Nazzars* in the shape of newly gathered crops, grains and fruits and had to carry grains etc. to any market for trade and barter. Phuntso became king with the title *Chogyal* or *Dharmaraja* with two fold powers, spiritual as well as temporal. He selected twelve *Kazis* from among the Bhotias and twelve *Jongpens* from among the twelve chief Lepcha families in Sikkim.⁴

The second Maharaja Tansung Namgyal who ascended the throne in 1670 married the daughter of a Limbu chief ruling in the Arun Valley in West Sikkim and some of his highest *Kazis* and ministers also married Limbu girls.⁵ Thus by matrimonial relations the Sikkim Rajas tried to keep control in Sikkim.

Though the ancestors of the Sikkim Rajas left Tibet due to religious differences, Dalai Lama was regarded in Sikkim as the religious

2 Mainwaring, G. B., A Grammar of the Lepcha Language, Pp. XI-XV.

3 History of Sikkim, P. 21.

4 Ibid., Pp. 30-38.

5 Ibid., P. 47.

head and whenever Sikkim required, the Tibetan Government gave them protection and aid.⁶

The Nepalese were the last of the principal groups of people to settle in Sikkim. The Nepalese Colonization was the result of the expansion of the Gurkha power in Sikkim during the later part of the eighteenth century as well as the British favour to them. The Nepalese immigrants moved to Sikkim as a result of the over-exploitation of cultivable land in their original home in eastern Nepal as well as owing to the pressure of the increasing population.⁷ The difference between the Nepalese and the Tibetans were sharp as they were Hindus and polygamous while the Bhotias were Buddhists and polyandrous.⁸

No population figure of Sikkim was available before 1891 when first census operation was done there, though a sort of census was conducted in Sikkim in 1747 when the Tibetan authorities deputed one Rabden Sarpa as Regent in Sikkim. Rabden observed that salt was a rare thing in Sikkim and so whenever anybody came to him he offered him a plateful of salt. He had all the names of the recipients of salt *Bakshish* noted down in a roll. Thus a crude type of census was compiled and on this was based his assessment of first land revenue of Sikkim.⁹ In 1840 Dr. Campbell estimated the Lepcha and Bhotia population of Sikkim at 3,000 and 2,000 respectively.¹⁰

Lepcha-Bhotia rivalry and the role of the British

Though by the process of blood brotherhood and matrimonial arrangements as well as by offering good offices to the Lepchas, the Bhotias established themselves in Sikkim, the Bhotias' attitude

6 Ibid., Pp. 44-45.

7 Nakane, Chie,—A Plural Society in Sikkim (In Caste and Kin in Nepal, India and Ceylon), P. 250.

8 Ibid., Pp. 257-258.

9 History of Sikkim, P. 77.

10 Rislav, The Gazetteers of Sikkim (1894), P. 259.

towards the Lepchas were not always docile. The Bhotias were held in the highest esteem while the Lepchas in the lowest in Sikkim.¹¹ The Bhotias destroyed the Lepcha literature, containing their traditions and creed and translated into Lepcha language their own mythological works and preached it to the Lepchas as gospels. This resulted in a section of Lepchas taking shelter in Ilam on the eastern front of Nepal.¹² This highhandedness of the Bhotias might not have any immediate effect, but in due course it affected the kingdom of Sikkim as a whole. Offering of important administrative position and matrimonial relations, side by side with consolidating the Raja's position, created a Lepcha faction in the Sikkim Court as well as rivalry between the Lepcha and the Bhotia section of the Sikkim population. As a result of the Lepcha-Bhotia quarrel, Raja's Lepcha *Dewan* Buljeet Karjee was murdered in 1826 by Tungyik Menchoo, father of *Dewan* Namguay leader of the Bhotia faction. The Raja supported the Bhotia group.¹³ This quarrel gave the British opportunity to interfere and they in 1835 got possession of Darjeeling (discussed in Chapter I).

The British wanted to utilize the aggrieved Lepchas against the Bhotias who had pro-Tibetan sentiment, to promote their interest in Tibet via Sikkim. Among the Lepcha Councillors they got a good friend in Chebu Lama, the leader of the Lepcha faction against *Dewan* Namguay, the leader of the pro-Tibetan faction. Due to Raja Tsugphud Namgyal's retirement to religious life, these two factions were involved in serious rivalry on the question of succession.¹⁴ *Dewan* Namguay having personal trade with Tibet disliked the British efforts to trade with Tibet very much and opposed the British in every way. After Campbell's failure to bring the Tibetan faction in proper sense, Ashley Eden was sent as Envoy and Special Commissioner with troops to bring the Raja and his pro-Tibetan

11 Some further particulars of the Country of Sikkim, and of its inhabitants, the Lepchas and Bhotiahs, (Gleanings in Science, 1830, Vol. II. P. 180.

12 Mainwaring, Op. Cit., P. XI.

13 History of Sikkim, Pp. 114-115.

14 F. S. C. of 15 December, 1849, No. 140.

officials in proper sense. Eden planned to play the Lepchas against the Bhotias and to catch the *Dewan* Namguay.¹⁵ Ultimately by the Treaty of 1861, Dewan Namguay with his blood relations were banished from Sikkim for ever and the British managed to get Chebu Lama as *Dewan* of Sikkim.¹⁶ Chebu Lama's candidate Sidkeong Namgyal became the Maharaja of Sikkim in 1862. The British were so scared of the influence of *Dewan* Namguay that, in November 1868, when the Sikkim Maharaja wanted permission for the return of Namguay on the Maharaja's own responsibility, the Lieutenant Governor turned down the request.¹⁷ In April 1974, on the death of the Maharaja Sidkeong Namgyal, the Government of India again became worried to prevent the *ex-Dewan* Namguay from obtaining any position or influence in Sikkim. The British feared that the Maharaja's illegitimate half-brother Tinley Namgyal might succeed to throne with the help of Namguay in place of the legitimate half brother Thutob Namgyal. Tinley's sister was married to Namguay. However, the Government of India succeeded in nominating its own candidate as ruler.¹⁸

Settlement of Nepalese upto 1889.

It might be that after the Treaty of 1861, having acquired de facto suzerainty over Sikkim, the British found that the Lepchas and the Bhotias were not numerically enough to serve the British object of opening up Tibet. Besides, the Bhotias were Tibetan in sentiment and the Lepchas were no match to the Bhotias without the British help. The Gurkhas were good peasants, soldiers and hard-working people. So their settlement was encouraged by the British to counter the Bhotias. The Nepalese were detested most by the Sikkim authorities due to repeated Gurkha invasion in Sikkim. Tsugphud Namgyal, during whose reign the Treaty of Titalya was signed, often

15 L. G. P. P. (G). A. of January 1861, No. 167.

16 History of Sikkim, P. 134.

17 L. G. P. P. (G). A. of January 1869, Nos. 52-54.

18 L. G. P. P. (J). A. of October, 1874, Nos. 13-18.

advised his ministers, *Lamas* and *Kazis* including *Chebu Dewan* not to settle a single man from Nepal and Bhutan at Sikkim. The next Maharaja Sidkeong Namgyal and his sister Dolma also gave similar advice to the ministers in 1871.¹⁹ But the paradox is that during his reign in 1867, a formal grant of lease was accorded to Luchmidas Pradhan, a Nepalese Newar, for some lands, by the Sikkim authorities (Appendix II).²⁰

The results of these settlements were sometimes riots and in 1872 a trouble broke out between Luchmidas Pradhan, the head of the Nepalese and Lasso Kazi, the Sikkim *Vakeel*; but it smoothed for the time.²¹ In June 1873, in an interview with the Lieutenant Governor, Sidkeong Namgyal represented very strongly the apprehension of trouble from Nepal due to large number of immigration from Nepal to Sikkim. But the Lieutenant Governor, who was sympathetic towards the Nepalese settlement, appreciated the Nepalese as agriculturist and assured the Maharaja that there was no problem from the Nepalese as long as the British force was at Darjeeling.²²

Some of the Sikkim Councillors also had some interest in settling the Nepalese immigrants as they wanted to accrue some benefits from it. The leader of the anti-Tibetan faction, Chebu Lama defied the orders of the Maharaja and allowed the Nepalese settlement in the lands of Chakung, Rishi and Ramman river and his action was followed by the other important officials.²³ In 1874 (Sumbat 1931) the Khangsa Dewan and the Phodang Lama leased out to Luchmidas Pradhan, Chandrabir, Jitman and Lambodar an estate at Sadam in perpetuity on condition of paying Rs. 500 annually to the Maharaja and Rs. 700 annually to the Khangsa Dewan and the Phodang Lama. The Nepalese leasees were empowered to investigate and fine all crimes except murder according to the Nepalese custom in their territorial jurisdiction. (Appen-

19 History of Sikkim, Pp. 143-144.

20 Luchmidas Pradhan to Edgar, 24 October, 1889 (Family papers of Motichand Pradhan of Kalimpong).

21 C. P. F. 5 of 1890, No. 1. (Administrative Report of Sikkim, 1889-90),

22 L. G. P. P. (J). A. of July 1873, No. 45.

23 History of Sikkim, Pp. 143-144.

dix III).²⁴ They settled large number of Nepalese in their lands. This Luchmidas Pradhan's family became very influential in Sikkim in course of time. They got lease of a number of copper mines in Sikkim and in 1883 got the right to mint coin in Sikkim on behalf of the Maharaja. (Appendix IV).²⁵ All these resulted in large influx of Nepalese to work in lands, mines, mints and forests.

The Bhotias disliked the Nepalese very much due to religious reasons also. Nepalese, being Hindus sacrificed animals during religious functions and this was anti-Buddhist practice. Naturally there were frequent clashes between them. At the order of the Maharaja the Nepalese were repeatedly expelled from the bank of the Rungpo rivers, Sinchuthang and Namchi ; but they were always re-settled encouraged by the pro-immigration leaders like the Khangsa Dewan and the Phodang Lama who were further encouraged when one Subah Norden of Kalimpong broached the question of allowing the Nepalese settlers at Rhenok alleging that he had orders of Edgar, then Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling. The Khangsa Dewan and the Phodang Lama even ventured to apply for the grant of the Namchiland under the Lasso *Kazi* to the Luchmidas brothers and arranged for the settlement. The *Tatsang Lama* and the natives living below the Teesta were angry and reminded the Maharaja of the former constitution drawn up resolving that "(a) no foreigner should be allowed to settle in Sikkim ; (b) that no partiality or party feeling should be allowed amongst Bhutias and Lepchas, Lamas and laymen or high and low ; (c) no sacrifices of animals in Pujah should be permitted because such would be only imitating the usages of the anti-Buddhistic Tirthikas and Bonpos ; (d) to enforce the observances of the Durbur's orders passed in the the Meji year, 1876 -viz that of expelling the Newar trader brothers as the realization of the bond above mentioned". The Phodang Lama was also approached and requested for permission to eject the *Newars* and failing to get compliance from him, the Lieutenant Governor was

24 Deed of lease (Family papers of Motichand Pradhan).

25 Deeds of lease of mining, minting and others. (Family papers of Motichand Pradhan).

approached to at Darjeeling. They sought for an order from the Lieutenant Governor prohibiting new settlers from gaining footing in Sikkim and prayed for the restoration of the land of Lasso Athing which had been attached by the order of the Khangsa Dewan and transferred to Luchmidas and his brothers. Consequently the Maharaja Thutob Namgyal and the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling were called to meet the Lieutenant Governor at Kalimpong. The Lieutenant Governor Ashley Eden ordered that the Nepalese might be allowed to settle to populate the waste lands, but they should never be allowed to become headmen or to obtain any power as officers.²⁶

This agreement brought temporary lull. The Phodang Lama and the Khangsa Dewan filled the Rhenok land with the Nepalese settlers and riot broke out between the pro-immigration and anti-immigration factions at Rhenok in 1880 causing death of a *Lama*. The Bengal Government deputed A. W. Paul to arrange a settlement and the affair was settled in favour of the Nepalese settlers due to duplicity of the Khangsa Dewan and the Phodang Lama. Ashley Eden, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, taking pity wrote to the Maharaja that the Nepalese should not be entrusted with the proprietorship of lands and headmanship of the ryots.²⁷ Thus the Nepalese settlement was carried on in full swing by the pro-British officials of Sikkim until 1889 when White became the Political officer to conduct it under personal control.

Nepalese settlement under direct British patronage

After appointment of White as the Political Officer, the Government of Bengal accepted it as a principle to allow the Nepalese settlers in the wastelands in Sikkim without injuring the original Tibetan settlers and the Lepchas, and A. W. Paul, the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling, commented that the settlement of the Nepalese by White was not a revolution as it was formally allowed

26 History of Sikkim, Pp. 144-153.

27 Ibid., Pp. 154-163.

by the Sikkim Maharaja in 1878 at Kalimpong conference with the Late Lieutenant Governor Ashley Eden and again in 1881 it was affirmed at Tumlong.²⁸ To make the Nepalese settlement further consolidated Edgar, chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, proposed to the Lieutenant Governor to ratify the lease of land which Luchmidas had possessed from the Phodang Lama and the Raja for last twenty years.²⁹

At a Council meeting of February 1889 under the presidency of White it was resolved to allow the Nepalese to settle on the wastelands in Sikkim under certain restrictions that the upper waters of the Great Rungeet be entirely closed against the Nepalese as well as that portion of the Teesta valley north of the rivers Rangchang-chu and the Rungeet which joined the Teesta just below Samdong bridge. This included the valley of the Bockcha-chu and Dikchu. On those lands the Lepchas were to be encouraged to settle.³⁰ As a result four hundred Nepalese settlers with families came to Sikkim in 1889-90.³¹

This policy of settling the Nepalese began to give good dividend and in the census of 1891, the first census taken by the British in Sikkim, the following figures were obtained.³²

<i>Description of Population :</i>	<i>Total number of Population :</i>
Lepchas	5,762
Bhotias	4,894
Paharias or Nepalese	19,560
Others	242
	30,458

(Lepchas = 18.9% ; Bhotias = 16.1% ; Paharias = 64.2% ;
Others = 0.8%)

28 C. P. F. 8 of 1889, No. 1.

29 Ibid., No. 4.

30 Ibid., 5 of 1890, No. 1.

31 Ibid., No. 2.

32 Risley, Op. Cit., P. 27.

- 507 of 1891 / Confidential Political file

With the Nepalese becoming the absolute majority of the population, the influence of the pro-Tibetan faction was going to be drastically reduced and it was a boon to the British. H. H. Risley in *The Gazetteers of Sikkim* (1894) rejoiced :

“Most of all will our position be strengthened by the change which is in sensibly but steadily taking place in the composition of the population in Sikkim. The Lepchas, as has been stated, are rapidly dying out ; while from the west, the industrious newars and Goorkhas of Nepal are pressing forward to clear and cultivate the large areas of unoccupied land on which the European tea planters of Darjeeling have already cast longing eyes. The influx of these hereditary enemies of Tibet is our surest guarantee against a revival of Tibetan influence. Here also religion would take a leading part. In Sikkim, as in India, Hinduism is assuredly cast out Buddhism, and the praying wheel of the Lama will give place to the sacrificial implements of the Brahman. The land will follow the creed ; the Tibetan proprietors will gradually be dispossessed and will betake themselves to the pretty trade for which they have an undeniable aptitude.

“Thus race and religion, the prime-movers of the Asiatic world, will settle the Sikkim difficulty for us, in their own way. We have only to look on and see that the operation of these causes is not artificially hindered by the interference of Tibet or Nepal”.³³

Thus in the year 1896-97 the Nepalese already comprised the three-fourth of Sikkim population and White during that year proposed to place a Nepalese member in the Council, though failed due to the opposition of the Maharaja and the members of the Council.³⁴ Due to heavy influx of the Nepalese, during the said year White was thinking of opening the tract along the Teesta, which was closed to the Nepalese for the protection of the Lepchas, to them.³⁵ Next year White again failed to include a Nepalese member in the Sikkim Council and wanted to modify the proposal

33 Ibid., P. xxi.

34 C. P. F. 22 of 1897, No. 1. (Administrative Report of Sikkim, 1896-97).

35 Ibid.

with one by which the Nepalese were only to be called in when a question might arise affecting the Nepalese custom. Besides, White again advocated to open up the tracts lying on the both side of the Teesta to the Nepalese and recommended the survey of the Lepcha and Bhotia holdings and to settle the Nepalese on the remainder. White also wanted to make a rule that the Lepcha holdings once measured should not be allowed to pass into the hands of the Nepalese without sanction of White and the Council.³⁶ Thus miserable financial plight and diminishing population of the Lepchas alarmed White, though he thought that the diminishing of the Lepcha population was due to intermarriage.³⁷

In November 1896, while visiting Sikkim, at Song Nolan got complaints from the Barmjok Kazi and some *sardars* that the old tenants of Temi were being ousted directly by the Nepalese *Thikadar's* men from Nepal and the *Thikadars* were evicting not only the Lepchas, but also the Bhotias and even the old Nepalese settlers. They supplied the following statement in support of their complaints³⁸ :

<i>Years</i> (<i>Tibetan Era</i>)	<i>Corresponding</i> <i>English year</i>	<i>No. of</i> <i>Houses of</i> <i>Bhotias</i>	<i>No. of</i> <i>Houses of</i> <i>Lepchas</i>
49	1892	42	8
50	1893	31	12
51	1894	28	12
52	1895	26	10
53	1896	23	5

(current era)

The Maharaja, some influential persons and the Temi *ryots* expressed that adequate protection had not been given to the Lepchas and the Bhotias. Nolan could not deny the complaints. He thought that the Nepalese did pay better revenue and the Lepchas and the Bhotias had abandoned their lands due to heavy pressure of

36 Ibid, 18 of 1898, No. 1. (Administrative Report of Sikkim, 1857-98).

37 Ibid.

38 L. G. P. P(J). A. of July 1898, No. 25.

revenue.³⁹ But he also viewed that these Nepalese were the sources of weakness to the Raja's influence and owing to it he and the monasteries had no longer the control over the "fighting power of the State".⁴⁰ To protect the Lepchas from the competition of the Nepalese, Nolan, however, suggested to take some measures because the Lepchas were the old inhabitants of Sikkim and the people with many "amiable qualities"; but remained silent regarding the protection of the Bhotias.⁴¹

The plight of the Lepchas and the Bhotias remained unchanged. E. LeMesurier, the Acting Political Officer, attributed it to the passing of the cultivable lands into the hands of the Nepalese *Newars* from the hands of the former Sikkim *Kazis* and referred to mutual ill feeling and dislike between the Lepcha-Bhotias and the Nepalese. The Maharaja repeatedly brought it to the notice of the Political Agent and urged for the protection of the Lepcha-Bhotias from the exaction of the Nepalese *Thikadars*.⁴² But nothing concrete was done except forbidding the sale, mortgage or sublet of the lands of the Lepchas and Bhotias to anyone except the Lepchas or the Bhotias without sanction of the Government.⁴³

In 1900 the Maharaja pointed out to the Lieutenant Governor about the gradual dwindling of the Lepcha-Bhotia population and prayed that the Government should take some measures to give effect to the words of Late Sir Ashley Eden who opined that the Nepalese should never be created the headmen. But his prayer to the Lieutenant Governor and subsequent discussion with White yielded no result.⁴⁴

White gave no importance to the Maharaja's apprehension and thought that the Nepalese could be advantageously settled on the wastelands up the Teesta in a manner not allowing the Nepalese

39 Ibid., No. 26.

40 Ibid., No. 25.

41 Ibid., No. 28.

42 C. P. F. 27 of 1899, No. I. (Administrative Report of Sikkim, 1898-99).

43 Report of the Committee of Land Reform, 1975 (Government of Sikkim), P. 63.

44 History of Sikkim, Pp. 253-254.

and the Lepchas to crowd each other and that this would benefit the Lepchas.⁴⁵ W. R. Macdonald of Kalimpong who accompanied by White had a tour in Sikkim in December 1900 opined that the Lachung Valley which was a Lepcha reserve was larger than necessary for "wants of the people".⁴⁶

In 1901 the Maharaja, during the Lieutentant Governor's visit to Gangtok, drew latter's notice that the Khangsa Dewan and the Phodang Lama had even distributed the lands under the Maharaja's direct control to the Nepalese. He complained that the Nepalese were very litigious and scheming without any proper respect for law and notion of loyalty and regard and as a result the native Bhotias and Lepchas were getting demoralized.⁴⁷

Thus between 1891 and 1901 the Lepcha-Bhotia population increased less than proportion, though the population of Sikkim increased considerably, as appears from the census of Sikkim of 1901. The Lepcha and the Bhotia population increased from 5,762 and 4,894 in 1891 to 7,982 and 8,184 respectively in 1901. Thus the increase in the Lepcha and the Bhotia population was by 38.5 and 67.2 percent. The total population increased from 30,458 in 1891 to 59,014 in 1901 and the increase was by 93.7 percent. Of the total population of 1901, 22,720 or 38.5 percent had immigrated from Nepal. Though there was no figure available of the total population of the Nepalese in 1901, if the immigrant population from Nepal is added with the Nepalese population of 1891, assuming that the number of birthrate and deathrate was the same, the total Nepalese population would be 42,280 or an increase by 116.2 percent compared to the population of 1891. The total of principal Nepalese castes, as shown in the census of 1901 was, 36,573. Of course, the enumeration of 1891 was admittedly incomplete, as it was done soon after the introduction of the British methods of administration in Sikkim.⁴⁸ Thus the Lepcha-Bhotias were completely cornered

45 C. P. F. 37 of 1901, No. 1. (Administrative Report of Sikkim, 1900-01).

46 Ibid.

47 History of Sikkim, P. 255.

48 Census of India, 1901, Vol. VI, Pt. I. Pp. 69-70.

by the Nepalese by being reduced to 13.5% and 13.9 percent respectively of the total population while the Nepalese formed the 71.6 percent of it.

1901 → With the efforts of the British to open negotiations with Tibet and to make trade route, there were requirement of large force of *Coolies*. For these jobs the Nepalese appeared to the British to be more capable than the Lepcha-Bhotias. So White was very eager to allow the settlement of the Nepalese along the Teesta, north of the line drawn from Penlongla and he procured the favour of the *Kazis* and the Maharajkumar. The admission of the Nepalese to this tract, White hoped, "would certainly help the state and make it very much easier to obtain labour and supplies up the Teesta, where both are now very difficult to obtain".⁴⁹

Thus the Nepalese were required as the beast of burden. The Nepalese *Thikadars*, Lambodar Pradhan and Tulsidas Pradhan rendered immense service to the British in the Younghusband Mission to Tibet by supplying with *coolies* for road construction and transport work and special credit was given to Lambodar Pradhan whose father Luchmidas Pradhan had also helped the British in the expedition of 1888-89.⁵⁰ The Nepalese labours' engagement with the work of expedition hampered the work of cultivation in a bad way and to escape the numerous demands for labour in connection with transport and road work, some emigration took place towards Assam and Bhutan.⁵¹

In fact, the Nepalese participation in the work of expedition was not spontaneous, except in cases of some *Thikadars* who did not have to pay labour. So the British who disapproved the system of flogging as punishment (discussed in previous chapter), took recourse to it to procure *coolies*, as is evident from White's following handwritten notice in English and Hindi dated 8 December 1903 (Appendix V) :—

"All the Bustiwallas under Babu Lambodar Pradhan are hereby

49 C. P. F. 37 of 1903, No. 1. (Administrative Report of Sikkim, 1902-1903).

50 C. P. F. 79 of 1904, No. 1. (Administrative Report of Sikkim, 1903-1904).

51 C. P. F. 68 of 1905, No. 1. (Administrative Report of Sikkim, 1904-1905).

warned that if they failed to carry out order of Babu Lambodar Pradban, when they are required to do so for state work, they will get severe punishment and 1 dozen of lashes with a cane for their behaviour'.⁵²

The state work was the work in expedition. C. A. Bell, Settlement Officer of Kalimpong, made the rent system of Sikkim responsible for the emigration. But White disagreed with Bell and remarked that the demand for extra work in roads was the reason.⁵³ With White's view view might be added the fear to be flogged for failing to comply with the demand for state work.

Settlement of businessmen from plains of India

Side by side with settling the Nepalese in Sikkim, the British had some Marwaris and other Indian shopkeepers settled there for the purpose of trade under their protection since the expedition of 1888.⁵⁴ Thus in September 1899, Messrs Jetmull & Bhojraj, Bankers of Darjeeling, opened a bank at Gangtok and the guards of the bank were paid from Sikkim treasury.⁵⁵ When the British Government in India was trying to get a trade mart at Phari for the native Indian traders, under the British protection, they were thinking of the Marwaris who had considerable trade in their hands at Kalimpong.⁵⁶ During the Younghusband Expedition, the bank established by the Jethmull Bhojraj came to the service of the British Government when White was instructed to borrow money from the bank to meet the expenditure of the transport.⁵⁷

These Marwaris, doing the money lending business, were charging exorbitant interest from the Sikkim people and the Maharaja complained against them in the Council meeting of 12 February 1900.

52 Notice by White (Family papers of Motichand Pradhan).

53 L. G. P. P., March 1904, 57 (Notes by Bell).

54 White, J. C., *Sikkim and Bhutan*, P. 9.

55 C. P. F. 48 of 1900, No. 1. (Administrative Report of Sikkim, 1899—1900)

56 G. B. P. P. (H. C.), (c md 1920) Vol. 67, P. 874.

57 Ibid., P. 924.

Sikkim state had to borrow Rs. 3,000 from a Marwari at higher interest and in the said Council meeting it was decided not to allow more than 12 percent per annum as interest.⁵⁸

Thus the dwindling of the Lepcha-Bhotia population, increase in the number of the Nepalese and settlement of the businessmen from the plains of India under the British patronage disturbed the population equilibrium of Sikkim. In this connection it should be noted that the religion also had played important role. The Bhotias being polyandrous could not increase as rapidly as the polygamous Nepalese.⁵⁹ Polyandry was a socially endorsed practice in Tibet due to economic reason and the Bhotias inherited this practice. Nepalese *Thikadars* became the substitute of the *Kazis* and there appeared the Indian traders in the stage. By money lending business they caused widespread indebtedness in Sikkim in 1912-13; but this was not possible in 1888,⁶⁰ before the advent of the Indian traders and money lenders there. The Nepalese became the most important factor in Sikkim, as would be found in the latter part of Sikkimese history.⁶¹ Lambodar Pradhan became the biggest landlord in Sikkim. Nepalese language became the *Lingua Franca* of Sikkim. And all these were the legacies of the British policy.

58 C. P. F. 48 of 1900, No. 1. (Administrative Report of Sikkim, 1899—1900)

59 Nakane, Chie, op. cit., Pp. 228—232.

60 Administrative Report of Sikkim, 1912—13, P. 3.

61 C. P. F. 165 of 1909, P. 1.

CHAPTER IV

REORGANISATION OF REVENUE SYSTEM

In Sikkim all lands belonged to the king and the individual had no proprietary right in any of his acquisitions as against the chief. The acquisition was made by way of loan and the conception of private property did not exist among the "ruder" tribes of the North East frontier before contact with the Bengal traders.¹ In fact, the population was scanty in Sikkim compared to its vast areas and the method of cultivation was *Jhum* cultivation. This crude slash and burn technique resulted in low productivity of land and as the farmers did not continue in a place for long, the question of permanent holding did not arise.²

Revenue system before advent of the British

There was also no regular collection of revenue in Sikkim till 1740 when Maharaja Phuntso Namgyal was taken over to Bhutan and the Tibetan Government deputed one Rabden Sharpa to act as Regent in Sikkim. Rabden Sharpa made the first assessment of taxes in Sikkim and collection of annual revenue began. A regular source of income to the ruler called Zolung meaning a sort of tax

1 Edgar, J. W., *Report on a visit to Sikkim and the Tibetan Frontier*, P. 63.

2 Hooker, J. D., *Himalayan Journal*, Vol. I. P. 36.

was fixed and the *ryots* paid the revenue annually in grains, wine and duty on trade was also fixed, though no information was available regarding the rate of the revenue.³ In 1825, of course, a correspondant of "Gleanings in Science" observed that a ryot had to pay a basket of rice and a rupee annually and, in case of war or any extra-ordinary demand, the exortion from them was as much as they could.⁴

All the lands were divided into several tracts and were brought under the jurisdiction of the *Kazis* or landlords who were named after the localities they controlled. These *Kazis*, though had not any proprietary right, had hereditary title to their Office.⁵ The *Kazis* assessed and collected the revenue and the revenue charged was not oppressive as the *ryots* kept the greater portion for themselves paying over to the Raja a certain fixed contribution.⁶

Beside these *Kazis* and *ryots*, there were *Goombas* which had important control on lands in Sikkim. These *Goombas* were situated at the highest point of a valley and were the pivot of the Lepcha-Bhotia community life in Sikkim whose households were clustered around the *Goombas* and the lands further below the household were for cultivation. The *Goombas* own land by gift or donation by the villagers and the *Kazis* were also big patron of the *Goombas*. Naturally, in course of time these *Goombas* became very big land-owner. As the *Lamas* of these *Goombas* belonged mostly to the *Duk-pa* or red-hat Sect and not the *Gelukpa* or yellow-hat sect of Tibet which practised celibacy, they had wives and children

3 *History of Sikkim*, Pp. 77-87.

4 *Some further particulars of the country of Siccim, Gleanings of Science (1830)*, Vol. II, p. 181.

5 *Kazis* were a kind of officials in India during the Muslim rule and were equivalent to magistrate. Sikkim borrowed the term from the Muslim rulers and Sikkim landlords were designed by the title of Kazi. (Das, S. C., *Autobiography in Indian Studies—Past & Present* (March 1969), P. 13.) No Nepalese could hold the position of Kazi in Sikkim. The *Kazis* exercised some civit, administrative power as well as power to try some criminal cases. (Edgar, op. cit., P. 62).

6 Edgar. Op. cit. P. 62.

and they were engaged in cultivation. The *Goombas* in Sikkim were branch of the major monasteries in Tibet and they had tremendous influence on the day-to-day life of the Sikkim people. On every occasion like birth, death, marriage, illness, agricultural rites, education affairs and others the *Goombas* performed a numbers of rituals and even a single day without a contact with the *Goombas* was unthinkable in Sikkim.⁷ Consequently, the sacerdotal class in Sikkim with immense influence on the socio-economic life of Sikkim and close links with their counterparts in Tibet occupied an important position in Sikkim along with the *Kazis* and the *ryots* and the British had to take special care of them while making land reformation (discussed latter on).

As there was no permanent holding of land and a cultivator could occupy any land without going through any formality, so none other than the Raja could eject them. The Raja could turn him out any time and the cultivator would not have any lien upon the land. It was a kind of tenant right. If the cultivator had terraced a piece of land, he was allowed to sell the right of using the terraces and not the land. There was no assessment of land for revenue, but the assessment was on the revenue payer personally. At the time of assessment no reference was made to the amount of land occupied by the *ryots*, but value of their wives and children, slaves, cattle &c., were taken into account. Besides, the *ryots* had to pay labour to the Raja. But the *Lamas* in Sikkim were exempt from paying any dues to the Raja or to labour for him.⁸

Besides land revenue, there was another kind of revenue for cattle grazing in Sikkim, realized from the herdsmen who during the summer months lived in Tibet and in winter lived in Sikkim. They paid revenue to both the Sikkim and Tibet Government in kind-in butter and cheese-to the value of rupees six annually to each Government. They had to meet some other demands also and had to furnish porters to the Sikkim *Durbar* without pay

7 Nakane. Chie, Op. cit, Pp. 220-227.

8 Edgar, Op. Cit., Pp. 62-64.

whenever called upon.⁹ The transportation duties were taken by Raja during his annual visit to choombi. The *ryots* on the crown land had to help in carrying on the King's effect and others throughout Sikkim and had to pay Rupees two per house except in cases of great poverty.¹⁰

No exact report is available of the total volume of Sikkim revenue until passing of the Sikkim administration under the British control, though it is known that the appropriation of the *Morung* tract by the British resulted in acute financial loss of the Sikkim State. In 1847 the Sikkim State earned Rupees 19590/12/- from the *Morung* as land revenue, cattle tax, timber royalty, pig tax, ferry duties on the goods and income from law suits in estate properties and in 1849, due to trouble, this earning fell to Rupees 15876/12/6. Loss of the *Morung* meant a loss of equivalent to six *Kazis'* area and the Raja was in grave financial crisis.¹¹

The British Government could not deny the great loss in Sikkim revenue and W. B. Jackson of the Judicial service of India, while reporting on Darjeeling admitted that the appropriation of the *Morung* tract had deprived Sikkim of about Rupees 30,000 annually, which constituted almost Sikkim's entire income.¹² The British Government was making good income from this *Morung* and the earning was as follows :—

At the time of annexation ...	Rupees 22,904-6-9
Three years' settlement since annexation concluded ...	23,549-5-0
In 1853-54 ...	30,784-4-0

9 Ibid., P. 4 ;

Hooker, Op. cit., P. 59 ;

Campbell, A., *Diary of a Journey through Sikkim to the Frontier of Tibet* in

Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXI, 1852, Pp. 479-480, 571-572 ;

L. G. P. P (G). A., February 1861, No. 75.

10 Macaulay, Colman, *Report of a Mission to Sikkim and Tibetan Frontier*, Pp. 15-16.

11 *History of Sikkim*, Pp. 128-133.

12 Jackson, W. B., *Report on Darjeeling*. P. 3.

and it was expected that after a professional survey the earning could increase to Rupees 1,00,000.¹³ In 1873 the rent derived from the *Morung* amounted to Rs. 59,747¹⁴ and, as it along with Darjeeling once belonged to Sikkim, the Government of India increased the Maharaja's allowance to Rs. 12,000 annually out of generosity.¹⁵ 1873

Thus the Sikkim Maharaja was entirely dependent on the British subsidy and in 1889, when White was appointed as the Political Officer of Sikkim, he found from the Raja's book that the revenue of Sikkim excluding fines, *nazzars* etc., was as follows¹⁶ :

	Rupees
Rent paid in Cash	5,320
-do- in kind	2,474
-do- on Copper mine	250
-do- on lime quarries	200
-do- on Timber	200
Total	8,444

Re-Organisation of system by White

When White took the charge of Sikkim's administration, the most important questions before the administration were :

"(a) A definition and record of the holdings actually possessed by all classes in Sikkim, and the arrangements required for the collection of the revenue from various sources."

"(b) The settlement of unoccupied wastelands not under valuable forests; and closely connected with these are the measures to be taken to protect the Lepcha and Bhutia nobility of the country from the encroachments of Nepalese settlers, of which they profess themselves to be in dread."

13 L. G. P. P (G). A, April 1863, No. 17.

14 L. G. P. P (J). A., July 1873, No. 46.

15 Ibid., October 1873. No. 1

16 C. P. F. 8 of 1889, (Notes and orders).

“(c) The measures to be taken for the preservation and utilization of valuable forests and chumps of good trees situated among the cultivated lands or in the midst of forests of less value.”¹⁷

White observed that the condition of the Sikkim *ryots* were miserable under the Maharaja due to uncertainty of demands for money and produce and particularly for forced labour by the Raja and others under him and so he wanted the rate of rent to be fixed at a very liberal rate as well as to fix the amount of forced labour at a very liberal rate. He thought it necessary to make a rough survey of the existing holdings so as to secure the original inhabitants in full possession and employment of their ancestral rights.¹⁸

But White did not think it necessary to delay the settlement of the Nepalese until the survey was done because he thought that the settlement of the newcomers would be beneficial to Sikkim as they had done vast improvement in the Rhenok and Pachekhiani tracts where they had settled under the Newar *thikadars*. From the beginning of February to the middle of April 1889, Rs. 6,177 had been received as earnest money with petitions asking for land for cultivation and the lands had been given out in the vicinity of Pakhyong and Pathing after inspection and approval of the *Kazis* concerned.¹⁹ White proposed to begin survey with the *Mondal's* blocks notifying to him what the revenue for the block was, and leaving to him to divide the revenue among the *ryots* in the block to make it easy to survey plots within any *mondalship* or to survey any particular *ryot's* holding where there was complaint of injustice or if required, to survey any particular old holdings in a new *mondal's* block as the survey of the main block was progressing. Before commencing the survey it was proposed to visit the lower part of Sikkim and to demarcate the boundary of the *Kaziships* or estates of the monasteries. For this job of survey White proposed to employ a couple of native Surveyors.²⁰

17 Ibid., No. 1.

18 Ibid., No. 1. (White's notes)

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

To protect the interest of the original settlers, White proposed to mark off the lands which they had formerly cultivated and to charge lower rate of revenue from them than the newcomers and not to allow the sale of fields of the old Lepcha and Bhotia cultivators to the newcomers. White was opposed to the settlement of any non-Buddhist newcomers in the lands north of Bokchachu, Dekchu and Ronghphopchu affluents of the Teesta. If possible, White preferred the *ryots* to pay rents through the territorial *mondals* while Edgar, Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, favoured the collection of rents through the race settlers.²¹

White did not want to change the existing relations between the *Mondals* and their superior officials, the *Kazis* or *Shengnas* (Tibetan *Kazis* of same stock as the Raja). He proposed that the *Mondals* and *Kazis* should get their farms tax-free and, in consideration of their responsibility relating to revenues and others, should get 5 and 15 percent of their revenue collection respectively while the remaining 80 per cent would be received by the *Durbar*. *Durbar* would also get seven days' free labour annually from the adult male and female inhabitants, to be utilized in road making, state tour etc.²²

Regarding the scattered estates owned by the *Goombas* or monasteries and which were rent free White recommended that they should be given estates round the monasteries and to treat the detached fields as ordinary fields to be placed under the jurisdiction of the *Kazis*. The monasteries should be allowed to retain the greater portion of the profits, paying a small quit rent to the state.²³

Sikkim's valuable forests were being destroyed indiscriminately by the contractors and Edgar noticed it in 1876. The contractors earned approximately Rupees 60,000 annually while the State earned only Rupees two hundred from it and some labours expended on the Gangtok palace. White wanted to bring it under the

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid.

complete control of the *Durbar* and that in future only trees that had been marked by the competent officer should be cut down after payment of suitable fees. The *Pemionchi Lamas* and other old grantees who might claim right in certain forests might be granted a portion of fees realized from their forests and timber for their use free of charge. He also proposed to open out the minerals of Sikkim which had been sparsely exploited due to the Tibetan superstition to bring in a considerable amount of revenue to Sikkim. Besides, White proposed to put a heavy restrictive duty on liquor by allowing its sale only at fixed places subject to a monthly fee to be determined by public auction. Entire revenue should be placed under the control of the *Durbar*.²⁴

To these proposals of White, Paul added that, pending survey, poll tax should be introduced in Sikkim to increase the revenue as well as to assure the inhabitants that their settlement was being recognised.²⁵

Lieutenant Governor accepted the proposals made by White and Paul. He suggested a rough survey and settlement similar to that made in Kalimpong (Appendix-VI) which would enable every *ryot* to know what should be his contribution to the state in produce or in labour, and the collection should be made by the old and recognized territorial officials who should get a percentage of their collection and would be entitled to demand no more. He also advised to avoid, as far as possible, mixed villages, by placing the Nepalese exclusively in Nepali villages under Nepalese *Mondals* while the Lepchas and the Bhotias should be placed in the Lepcha and the Bhotia villages under the Lepcha and the Bhotia *Mondals*. He suggested to make careful enquiry regarding the estates of the monasteries or its vested rights while settling the strangers and to follow the existing ideas and customs of the Sikkim people without introducing any new or foreign notion.²⁶

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid. No. 1. (Paul's Notes)

26 Ibid., No. 1.

The Government of India, while approving the proposals, advised not to give the Maharaja too much power or opportunities because of his inclination to cling to his Tibetan connection.²⁷

With reference to the advice of the Bengal Government, White wanted to make survey of Rhenok, situated near the eastern boundary of Sikkim and which was thinly populated. He opined that unless wanted by the older inhabitants to get their holdings demarcated, only the demarcation of the boundaries of different *Mondals'* areas would suffice. White thought that the rent should not exceed eight annas per acre.²⁸

The Government of Bengal sanctioned the employment of two Bhotia surveyors, as required by White, on a monthly salary of Rupees 30 each to be debited to the Sikkim State.²⁹

Immediately after assuming the responsibilities, White engaged himself in the settlement of *ryots* with the help of the Council, the Maharaja being confined in Kalimpong. Regarding settlement, the original inhabitants were given the first preference while the remainder was divided amongst the other applicants and, to avoid disputes among the Lepchas, Bhotias and the Nepalese, the whole of wasteland between the Rahui, Tuksamchu and the Rungpo rivers were reclaimed to the new settlers. The maximum rate charged to the new settlers for the first five years was eight annas per acre and after completion of survey the settlers were to receive *Pattah* stating the approximate acreage and the rent they were to pay.³⁰ Survey could not be commenced till November 1889. White did not intend to make any connected survey, but simply to plot each *Kazi's* land into 10 *Mondals'* subdivision on separate sheets. Regarding the monastery lands, White settled according to the advice of the Government of Bengal with the help of the Phodang Lama and White claimed this arrangement to give the Lamas an incentive to encourage the settlement of newcomers. The monastery

27 Ibid., No. 2.

28 Ibid., No. 3.

29 Ibid., No. 4.

30 C. P. F. 5 of 1890, No. 1.

lands were given rent free but still they demanded for seven days' free labour given to the State by all *ryots* in Sikkim.³¹

After the collection of unpaid rents, the Council under guidance of White, as means of increasing revenue, decided to impose a tax or ground rent on land with a maximum of eight annas per acre ; (b) to impose excise tax ; (c) to bring the forest under the direct control of the *Durbar* ; and (d) to collect revenue accruing from timber and charcoal.³²

During the year 1890, there was satisfactory progress in the revenue collection. The whole valley of Rungpo had been surveyed and *pattahs* were given for most of the plots, the rent being calculated on an average of 4 annas per acre. The left bank of the Rongli and the greater part of Sadam and Namthang had also been surveyed. The settlement of monastery lands with the exception of Pemionchi was done according to White's proposal of April 1889 and the Pemionchi *Lamas* were censured for mismanagement of the trust placed in them. Income from Excise duty and forests increased and the land revenue was more than doubled in 1890 compared to that of 1889.³³

Nearly whole of the revenues of Sikkim except the tax on graziers were paid in cash. The revenue increased almost every year though there were variations in earning year to year.

From the year 1896-97 and onward the revenue increased considerably due to a new system of accounting, according to which the money value of the seven days' labour, which the members were bound to render gratuitously, was entered as a receipt, and was again debited to different works. A new system of excise duty collection also resulted in rise of the revenue. Excise tax was imposed at the rate of Rs. 2 per house on all house holders including the Brahmins and the Khatryias who did not drink Marwa. But in 1896-97 there was fall in collection of receipts from loans due to some *Kazis* being in arrears.³⁴

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid.

33 C. P. F. 8 of 1891. No. 1.

34 Ibid., 22 of 1897. No. 1.

Drawbacks of Revenue System and Nolan's Observation

The Maharaja, who returned to Gangtok in November 1895 was dissatisfied with the settlement work and condemned the influential officers like the Phodang Lama, the Khangsa Dewan and Sieu Dewan of taking bribes, favouring partisans and giving lands to the *Newars*, new Nepalese settlers and those Lepchas and Bhotias who formerly possessed no land at all. These new settlers were made *Thikadars* and even the plainsmen were created *Thikadars*. The Maharaja thought that the settlement might enhance the State's income but was in total disregard to the claims of some who had original claims on it.³⁵

White did not think it practicable to make a cadastral survey of Sikkim and surveyed the boundaries of the *Kazis*' and *Thikadars*' land and mapped, with the exception of tracts north of Dik-chu and along the banks of the Teesta north of Sampong.³⁶

During Nolan's tour in Sikkim in November 1896, he received complaints from *Kazis*, *Pepon* and some villagers at Temi that the *Thikadar* was increasing the land revenue and ejecting the ryots. They complained :

(i) the ejection of old tenants directly or by over assessment to make room for *Thikadars*' men from Nepal.

(ii) Some fields of the *Kazi* were taken and the *Kazi* had to abandon his house.

(iii) The revenue increased in proportion to the number of houses as the following statement showed :

Year (Sikkim Era)	Corresponding English Year	Bhotias		Lepchas		Remarks
		Houses	Rent	Houses	Rent	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
			Rs.		Rs.	
49	1892	42	189	8	64	* Increased due
50	1893	31	199	*12	60	to more accurate
51	1894	28	221	12	113	examination.
52	1895	26	156	10	55	
53	1896	23	164	5	not	Seven days'
					assessed.	Labour system
						introduced.

35 History of Sikkim. Pp. 212-213.

36 C. P. F. 22 of 1897, No. 1.

(iv) The new house-tax of Rs. 2 per house or Marwa excise was being realized from even the Brahmins and Khatriyas who did not drink Marwa. *Thikadars* were taking illegal levies, viz. one maund of *Bhutta* per house for Re. 1, all butters were to be sold to them, failing which the *ryots* had to pay a fine of Rs. 15; *ryots* worked on road without wages in excess of the seven days; forced labour were exacted to build *Thikadar's* house; they had to pay every fourth maund of paddy on land to which they made water channels and four annas for each orange tree. The *Thikadars* took Rs. 100 from White for making the channel but did not make it and the tenants made it themselves.

(v) The *ryots* had to pay double cattle tax, one to the *Thikadar* who should let them have grass and the other to the Raja, on whose land they grazed. *Thikadar* turned the *ryots'* cows from local pasture to graze his own cattle.

The petitioners prayed that the powers of the *Thikadars* should be confined among the *ryots* he had settled himself and preferred the old arrangement to be continued for themselves.³⁷

Nolan observed that there was no usual revenue arrangements for the protection of the *ryots* from extortion and opined that a cadastral survey showing exactly what each cultivator had to pay in money, kind or labour would afford complete protection. Nolan found that the settlement was made of revenue only without any attempt to ascertain, note or secure adherence to any rent or rate of rent. From the assessment proceedings it was not possible to know the area of cultivated land at the time of survey, or how much was occupied by the old tenants or trace of any individual holdings. The members of the Sikkim Council had overlooked the suggestion made by Nolan in 1892 that the rent should be ascertained and recorded. Thus the *Kazis* and the *Thikadars* had been left to fix for themselves what they could realize, and no one knew how they exercised this power. Nolan suggested to appoint an officer, preferably one with knowledge of Kalimpong, whose

37 L. G. P. P(J), A. July 1898, No. 25.

record of rent was prescribed by the Government of Bengal as suitable model for Sikkim.³⁸

Nolan pointed out to an error committed in the settlement record where *Kazis* and *Thikadars* had been recorded as "proprietors" and opined that they might be entered into the record as "settlement holders."

The form of lease for the *Kazis*, appeared to Nolan, was adopted under the impression that it was prescribed by the Government. But it was prescribed by the Government only for the Nepalese settled on new land with the original purpose of securing their privileges to those who reclaim primeval waste. Besides, it was unsuitable as a deed, it having no clause binding the officials or even the Zamindars to treat the ryots fairly or to do their work. So Nolan wanted it to be renewed at the time of renewal of the deed.³⁹

To protect the old inhabitants of Sikkim, Nolan felt that the original policy of the Government was required to be followed, that was (i) to ascertain and record what lands were cultivated by the old tenants; (ii) to declare that no stranger could acquire a title on these, whether from the settlement holder or from the tenants, whether by purchase, sub-lease, or in any other way;

(iii) to penalize a *Kazi* in case a stranger was found cultivating the reserved lands, sufficient to reverse the direction in which his pecuniary interest told. Nolan wanted that the collection from the old *ryots* should be done by the hereditary officials and not by professional middlemen and they should not be placed under *Thikadars* but their *Kazis* or some other officers and this would be in accordance with the orders of the Government.⁴⁰

Regarding the demands of the settlement holders that the produce be sold to them at the rate fixed by them selves, to help them to trade in them at a profit, Nolan proposed to take care to stop it as it was not authorised. As to the complaint of obligatory labour

38 Ibid., No. 26.

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid.

by the old subject, besides the state demand strictly confined to seven days and permission to *Kazis* to get three days, Nolan suggested that what was the general practice be made universal rule, the money equivalent being taken for the labour. As the right of the *Kazis* seemed to rest on no very solid foundation, Nolan wanted it to be abolished altogether because to regulate it was not possible.⁴¹

Nolan observed that loans from the public money were made at White's discretion and for any purpose and suggested that the loans should be made only when the Council was satisfied and should be used for the improvement of the land.⁴²

The Bengal Government's proposal to White

The Government of Bengal, on having Nolan's views, requested Nolan to obtain a full report from White in this matter and to submit it to the Government with remarks. The Government wanted White to discuss the matter fully with the Maharaja in Council and to report it with White's own opinion. White was to give full account of the present land revenue system in Sikkim and its effect on people. White was to submit an estimate of the cost of (1) a settlement of the whole cultivated area, and (2) a settlement of only the lands hold by Bhotias and Lepchas, and the time which each settlement would occupy, giving full reasons of his conclusions, and how to facilitate the development of Sikkim by the Nepalese and other immigrants who were ousting the original inhabitants. White was also to supply with his own opinion as well as that of the Maharaja in Council regarding (1) the Commutation of the State demand for unpaid labour for equivalent money payment, (2) the right of *Kazis'* to three days' labour for themselves, free of charge, from the tenants, and (3) the grant of loans by the State for other than agricultural improvement.⁴³

41 Ibid.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid., No. 27.

White's Report on Revenue System in Sikkim.

White, accordingly, got the opinion of the Maharaja in the Council. They said that since the earliest times the *Kazis* and the *mondals* gave a portion of their produce of the land to the Maharaja. But the British, after taking the management of the state, charged the rent at Rs. 5 a house and, after the lands were being measured, charged at a rate per acre according to the nature and situation of the ground. They were opposed to the proposed survey because the State could not afford the outlay of such an undertaking and it would be injurious to the status of the *Kazis*. So White advocated the survey of only the Lepcha-Bhotia holdings in the tracts beyond Penlong-La and the valley of the Teesta beyond Samdong where no Nepalese was allowed to settle, by showing the outside boundaries of each village and not each individual holding and then to allow the Nepalese to settle there, strictly in all the waste lands outside such boundary to protect the Lepchas and the Bhotias and this would benefit the State and the *Kazis*. The cost of such survey would be between Rs. 20,000 to 25,000 which could be provided for by the State. White explained to the *Kazis* that the survey would not interfere with their status, as they would still have the privilege to place the Nepalese in the waste land.⁴⁴

After examining a number of accounts White found that the system of assessing the Lepcha-Bhotia *ryots* and collecting from them were based on (1) the area of land on which one *patti* of *bhutta* could be sown and rent was charged at the rate of eight annas per *patti* of seed sown ; (2) *Koot* was realized on all irrigated paddy at 25 per cent of the crop ; (3) cattles belonging to villages lying outside the *Kazi's* boundary were charged eight annas per head ; (4) every house contributed two days' labour to the *Kazis* and five days' to the *mondal* and in case of house building or large work in progress each house was expected to contribute five days' labour ; (5) each house was given half seer of salt in the spring and four *patties* of *bhutta* were taken in the autumn.⁴⁵

44 Ibid., No. 28.

45 Ibid.

The Raja and the Council had the opinion that some uniform rate should be adopted for the collection of the rents and made the following proposals, as these were in force amongst the Nepalese as well as the Lepchas and Bhotias who were in contact with the Nepalese :

- "I. The area of land on which can be sown one patti (four seer) of bhutta to be charged at fourteen annas per patti of seed sown.
- "II. Koot to be realized on all irrigated paddy at the rate of 25 per cent of the crops produced.
- "III. Village cattle, four annas to be charged for each milking cows. Cattle belonging to the villagers outside the Kazi's boundary to be charged for at the rate of eight annas per head.
- "IV. The mondals to realize five days' labour from each house themselves."⁴⁶

All fields, except the irrigated paddy fields, were assessed by the standard of *bhutta*, though any crop could be sown on a field.⁴⁷

After consulting with the Maharaja in Council White proposed that the forced labour should be collected as far as possible in money and only in special cases should be collected in kind. The right of the *Kazis* to fix labour had been shown to be an ancient custom. So, White wanted it to be settled according to the lease in force, *Kazis* receiving no forced labour. Loans should be made for other than agricultural improvement, but after taking care that the security was good.⁴⁸

Nolan's views on White's proposals.

White's report could not satisfy Nolan who observed that White gave a statement of the rates supposed to be in force, as reported by the settlement holders and without any reference to how they were observed and not replied to the other points specified by the Government. On his way back from Sikkim in 1897 he made an enquiry into the rates of rent prevailing at Rhenok, the largest settlement in Sikkim. As it was immediate to Indian

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

frontier, deviations at Rhenok would be lesser than elsewhere. Nolan made the following observation :—⁴⁹

Head of assessment	Rates reported by Political Officer in Sikkim, Generally by		Remarks
	Paharias*	Lepchas	
1	2	3	4
Unirrigated villages	14 annas per patti.	about 8 annas per patti.	In the case examined by me, that of the Rhenok Kazi, the evidence was that no patti system existed: the rent was founded on an estimate of what the tenant could pay.
Irrigated land	25 percent of the crop.	25 percent of the crop.	At Rhenok such land is rent free for three years and then pays 20 percent of the crop. This applies to Paharias and Lepchas, the latter having been placed by the Kazi under a Paharia Ticcadar.
Grazing dues	4 annas per milking cow kept by the villagers, 8 annas per cattle coming from outside the jurisdiction of the Kazi.	8 annas per head per cattle coming from outside the jurisdiction of the Kazi.	No entry in the Rhenok accounts as to a charge for outside on grazing grounds.
Forced labour	To the settlement holders 2 days per house. To the Mundle 5 days per house.	To the Mundle 5 days per house.	The Kazi takes 5 days in every case. The Kazi admits no right in the Mundle to any labour, and says they do not take it: other says they do. I believe the matter is contested in each case, and that the result varies.
Loans	To each house $\frac{1}{2}$ seer of salt is given in the spring, 4 pattis of bhoota are taken in the autumn.	...	Rice has fallen in price in recent years, while bhutta has risen.

* Paharia means Nepalese.

Nolan commented that the increase of rent from 8 annas to 14 annas or an addition of 75 per cent to the rent rate where there were many Nepalese was a very drastic measure. He thought that the members of the Council, the *Kazis* and *Thikadars* had concealed their collection in their own interest. Nolan concluded that (1) the Raja and the Political Officer desired to substitute the old rate of rent by higher rates introduced by the middlemen from Nepal ; (2) the Political Officer did not know what the old rates were ; (3) it was not known to what extent the change had been effected in some place ; (4) the increased rate accompanied by a new house-tax was subject of bitter complaint on the part of the Lepchas. So, to protect the Lepchas from destruction, Nolan suggested to depute a Settlement Officer who would ascertain and record existing rates in the different *Kazis'* jurisdiction and then would demarcate the Lepcha and the Nepalese lands, so far as might be practicable.⁵⁰

Bengal Government's views on White's proposals.

The Lieutenant Governor disapproved Nolan's as well White's proposal regarding survey and assumed that the Lepchas were learning the activity and prudence which were their only "real safeguard". He considered that "fuller information" relating to the existing state of things should be collected, like preparing nominal lists of the Lepcha and the Bhotia households in each village, to enable the State before long to possess a definite information upon the movements of the population.⁵¹

The Lieutenant Governor thought that White's proposal regarding the rate to be levied was to cause alarm and that the *Kazis* should not be encouraged or allowed to raise the rates payable by the Lepchas for unirrigated lands or to levy grazing dues on their cattle which they had grazed free from time immemorial. There should be different rent rates for the Lepchas and Nepalese, where they lived together, that was, in lower Sikkim. Again the Nepalese

50 Ibid.

51 Ibid., No. 29.

should not be allowed to settle in the upper Sikkim, reserved for the Lepchas and the Bhotias, because this would expose the Lepcha-Bhotias to competition. The Lieutenant Governor agreed to the proposal of White regarding commutation of forced labour, but could not understand why the *Mondals* would continue to enjoy the privilege of taking five days' labour. Regarding making of loan also White's proposal was approved.⁵²

Some modifications in Revenue System.

In the Council meeting of 5 September 1898, the orders of the Government of Bengal were discussed and it was decided that in those lands where the Lepchas, the Bhotias and the Nepalese were settled together (a) a preference rate of 8 annas per *patti* of seed sown should be charged to the Lepchas and the Bhotias while the Nepalese would be charged 14 annas per *patti* and (b) all the Lepchas and the Bhotias should be allowed to graze three cows free of charge and the remainder be taxed. The motive behind the second order was to prevent the milkmen buying the cattle and claiming exemption of rent from them. In the Council meeting of 31 December 1898 the question of cattle tax was further discussed and the Raja stated that it had always been the custom in Sikkim to determine the number of cattles a man possessed before his rent was assessed and this formed the basis of taxation. Hence the supposition of the Government of Bengal that from the time immemorial cattles were grazed free was not the fact.⁵³

Condition of old cultivators unchanged.

In spite of all these, the plight of the Lepchas and the Bhotias did not improve. In southern and more fertile part of Sikkim there was a marked tendency among the Nepalese to supplant the Lepcha and the Bhotia cultivators and the quasi-proprietary settle-

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ C. P. F. 27 of 1899. No. 1 (Administrative Report, Pt. IV).

ment rights, formerly held by Sikkim *Kazis*, passed into the hands of the Nepalese *Newars* leading to the rapid disappearance of the old cultivators. There were frequent complaints from the Lepchas and the Bhotias regarding the ill treatment of the Nepalese *Thikadars* and the Maharaja on several occasions urged that some steps should be taken to protect the old tenants. But it was difficult to ascertain the truth due to absence of any title-deed or register of holdings. So E. Le Mesurier, acting in place of White, suggested, as a remedy, to follow some simple system of registering the holding of cultivators as first step and to employ a *munshi* with some experience to do this because Sikkim could not afford an elaborate cadastral survey. The lands under the Nepalese *Thikadars* might be taken in hand first, and a nominal list of the Lepcha and the Bhotia families in each village might be prepared with a rough description and sketch of the lands they occupied.⁵⁴ But White thought that the Lepchas could not be helped unless they would help themselves and recommended that the restriction on settling the Nepalese beyond a certain line be withdrawn. White thought that the Bhotias were capable to maintain themselves and the only reason of their discontent was that they were now obliged to pay regular rents whereas formerly they had practically paid nothing. White pointed out that the rents were mostly due from the Lepchas and the Bhotias and not from the Nepalese. He thought that the differentiation in assessment was a mistake, especially in the case of the Bhotias and this should be abolished.⁵⁵ White reported that, as required by the Government of Bengal, registration of holdings had been completed and the lists of all the Lepchas and the Bhotias had been made showing the rents paid by them during the last five years.⁵⁶

On 25 January 1900, the Government of Bengal instructed that the Maharaja and the Council should procure from the Monasteries, *Kazis* and *Mondals* statement of rent rates and demands realized

54 Ibid., Para IX.

55 Ibid., 48 of 1900, No. 1.

56 Ibid.

by them from their tenants and that the Maharaja and his Council should take steps to ensure the strict observance of the preferential rate of 8 annas fixed by themselves for the Lepchas and the Bhotias.⁵⁷

Marindin proposed on the spot Enquiry.

In November 1900 C. R. Marindin, the Commissioner of the Rajshahi Division, visited Sikkim. He found that no papers of rent collection was kept by the Monasteries, *Kazis*, *Thikadars* or *mondals* and White informed that it was difficult to obtain any such accounts from them, though he did not agree to the complaints of the Maharaja and the Maharani to Marindin that the *Thikadars* were exacting more than they should do from the *ryots*. So after discussion with White Marindin concluded that the only way to obtain accurate information of the rate of rents and the other demands collected by the landlords in the lower Sikkim was to enquire on the spot. Marindin wanted the deputation of an officer whose function would not be the readjustment of rents, but merely to ascertain the actual facts. After obtaining the statements he would verify it by enquiry from certain number of *ryots* and might also measure a few fields to ascertain what area a *patti* of grain generally represented. This would help White to establish a rough system of rates of rent and to carry out the order of the Government of 25 January 1900. As the Government was averse to introduce an officer from the plains, both Marindin and White thought of appointing Kumar Polden, Raja Tenduk's son, for this job as he had been trained in this work, worked as Assistant Manager of the Kalimpong estate and was Lepcha by birth. There was another reason for Marindin's advocating an enquiry. The Government of India wanted the commission granted to the *Kazis* to be curtailed and it was impossible until more accurate information relating to the collection by the *Kazis* were obtained.⁵⁸

57 L. G. P. P.(J). A., January 1900, No. 48.

58 L. G. P. P. A., February 1901, No. 17.

Marindin was satisfied with the rent system in Upper Sikkim, in the Lepcha reserve, and the Lachen and Lachung Valleys peopled by the Bhotias, though there were no sort of rates there. There the villages were annually assessed by a *Panchayat* framed by the villagers themselves and the assessment was based on the quantity of land they cultivated, the number of cattle, Yaks, ponies and mules they kept and Marindin observed that the assessment was moderate and fairly distributed.⁵⁹

The Government of Bengal accepted Marindin's proposal and required him to lay the scheme formally before the Maharaja and the Council.⁶⁰

Enquiry Report confirmed oppression by Kazis.

Polden's enquiry report was forwarded to the Government of Bengal in August 1902. The report dilated on the fact that the *Kazis* took more from the *ryots* than they were entitled to, though White said that the rent was fairly assessed. But the report did not show at what rate the commission was taken and the basis of the calculation. As the Government of India was thinking that the *Kazis* were taking extra ordinarily high commission, the Government of Bengal wanted White to submit a report on his own on the subject, as soon as possible, stating (1) the number of villages in the lower Sikkim, (2) the number of villages in which enquiry had been carried out, and (3) the rate of rent ascertained in each village, &c.⁶¹

59 Ibid.

In Lachung the villagers redistributed the lands among themselves every three years by lottery, only the house and household descending on the family. The richer people were to get the bigger plots and the poorer got the smaller plots and the grazing lands were divided in the same way. In the lower parts of the valley, however, there was exception and fields descended from father to son. (Notes on Sikkim tour by W. R. Macdonald of Kalimpong in C. P. F. 37 of 1901-Administrative Report of Sikkim 1900-01).

60 L. G. P. P. A., February 1901, No. 18.

61 Ibid., October 1902, No. 8.

In the meantime, in 1903, "road cess" was introduced in Sikkim and it was the outcome of the investigation into the system of collection of rents and the other demands made on the *ryots* by the landlords. By this tax the landlords were to contribute one day's labour out of the five days, which they were allowed to take from the villagers, to maintain communication within the district and this could be paid in money or labour.⁶²

White's report epitomised results of Polden's enquiry.

White could not complete his report even in early February 1903, but sent some notes on the subject which epitomised the results obtained by the investigation of Kumar Polden. On 3 February 1903 he sent the following notes to Marindin :—

(1) No accurate information on land rent collected by the landlords as compared with the rent paid to the state was obtainable, as in most of cases no accounts were kept, particularly by the old landlords (Bhotias and Lepchas) who were only ones receiving commission on the rents paid to the state.

(2) House-tax for excise and labour was collected by the landlords for the State and, in few cases it was ascertained that they collected more than they should.

(3) The landlords and the *Mondals*, in most cases, were exacting more free labour than they were entitled to even by the old customs. The landlords were practically living on the free labour and making profit from the produce of the field so cultivated. This free labour was also used by the landlords for domestic purposes, the *Kazis* having practically no private expenses beyond the purchase of clothing and ornaments. Free labour was not taken by the Nepalese landlords.

(4) No grazing fees were charged from the *ryots*, but small fees were charged from outsiders.

(5) A fee of Re. 1 by the landlords and anna 1—3 by the *mondals* were taken when petitions were presented to them and

62 C. P. F. 37 of 1903, No. 1.

there was no doubt that a good income was derived from fines levied for the most trivial offences from both the petitioners and those petitioned against it. Besides, *Salamis* of grain, cloth and cattle were often presented by petitioners in the hope of getting favour, though the extent to which it was practised and the money value of it was very difficult to ascertain.⁶³

On 20 February 1903, White sent the report, as desired by the Government of Bengal, accompanied by two statements in which the following informations were given :

(1) the number of villages in lower Sikkim ; (2) the number of villages in which enquiry was carried out ; (3) the rates of rent ascertained in each village ; (4) the rents collected by the landlords ; (5) the rent paid to the State ; (6) number of houses under each landlord ; (7) Excise and labour taxes, grazing fees and other collections by the landlords ; (8) method of assessment and collection of rents and taxes. (Appendix—VII).⁶⁴

Due to lack of reliable records, White had to give approximate figures of the rent collected and this probably showed less than the actual collection. The commission charged by the *Kazis* was 30 percent of the rents paid to the state and not of the actual collection of rent, though a few received less than that. The rate was fixed by White when he first took the charge of Sikkim, in consultation with the Council. But since then the number of *ryots* had increased, waste land had been brought under cultivation and the values of their properties increased proportionately resulting in proportionate increase of the rents payable to the State, the average rate per acre being just 4 annas. The rate of assessment had increased slightly, but still it was very low. Polden investigated that an acre of land would contain approximately 4 *pattis* of seed, and assessment of a *patti* of seed being 14 annas for the Nepalese and 8 annas for the Lepchas and the Bhotias, and due to predominance of the Nepalese, the average would be 12 annas and assessment per acre would be at Rs. 3. Thus White concluded that if a

63 L. G. P. P. A., March 1904, No. 56.

64 Ibid.

landlord held, 24,000 acres of land, he would pay to the State Rs. 6,000 at 4 annas per acre and if half of this was cultivated he would realize Rs. 9,000 of which he would get Rs. 3,240 as commission at the rate of 30 percent in addition to what he would realize from the other sources, especially free labour. White, however, thought that the *Kazis'* commission should be reduced to 20 or 15 percent, especially in cases of bigger landlords.⁶⁵

Method of assessment was not the same in the unirrigated and the irrigated fields. In the former case the assessment was on the number of *pattis* of *Bhutta* which could be sown in the field. This system was introduced in Sikkim by the Nepalese settlers and was becoming general practice as it had the sanction from the Maharaja, the Council and the Government of India. But in many estates the old system was followed :

Assessment of a tenant according to the number of cattle he possessed, number of adult members of the family who helped him to cultivate his fields and his general state of prosperity. The average rent assessed in this manner was Rs. 5 per annum. But in case of irrigated fields the rent was paid in kind at the rate of 25 per cent of the produce, though no rent was charged for the first three years for the newly irrigated land. The assessment was not on actual weighment but was based on the yield of a *patti* of seed in average year. This was also a purely Nepalese custom as land was not irrigated in Sikkim before the advent of the Nepalese.⁶⁶

The number of houses under a *mondal* ranged from 3 to 30, but for the purpose of the assessment of the State taxes for labour and excise a *mondal* was taken as containing twenty houses of *ryots*. *Mondals* collected the rents generally in cash and paid it to the landlords. It was collected usually after harvest time. White maintained that the complaint was not generally against the free labour taken by the landlords and *mondals* and the rule limiting the number of days to ten had given both the *Kazis* and the *mondals* general satisfaction.⁶⁷

65 Ibid.

66 Ibid.

67 Ibid.

Marindin disagreed with White.

Marindin could not accept White's opinion that the rate of rent in Sikkim was still very low and expressed that the enquiry had sufficiently established the fact that the landlords made large and in some cases excessive profits, that the assessment varied from estate to estate and that the rate of 8 annas to 14 annas per *patti* was high. The landlords were allowed a drawback of 30 per cent as commission from the certain fixed payment of revenue to State besides the whole of rents they collected from the *ryots*. He could not find any authority under which the landlords were allowed a drawback of 30 per cent. On the contrary, Edgar, in his note of 12 June 1889, intended that the *Kazis* and the *mondals* should get 15 and 5 percent respectively of the revenues they collected and pay the whole of their collection into the State treasury. Marindin, after going through the typical cases of profits gained by the landlords as shown by White, found that White had committed a mistake in his calculation and the landlords' profit would be 530 percent of what they paid to the state, as shown below.

Rent collected on	$\frac{24,000}{2}$	acres at Rs. 3 an	
		acre	Rs. 36,000
Commission at 30 per cent on revenue			
of Rs. 6,000			Rs. 1,800
	Gross profits		Rs. 37,800
Deduction of revenue paid to the State			Rs. 6,000
	Net profit		Rs. 31,800

(Inclusive of cost of collection)

After examining the Statement Marindin found that the net profits made by the landlords ranged from 35 to 185 percent.⁶⁸

Marindin observed that the rent under the *patti* system was very high compared to even the enhanced highest rate proposed by the settlement officer in the Kalimpong Government Estate, as the enhanced rate proposed there was 5 annas and 9 pies an acre. The

⁶⁸ Ibid.

rate under the *patti* system was also higher than the rate under the old system in Sikkim. In his enclosed statement No. II, White showed that in Kitam and others the rent under the *patti* system was Rs. 20,000 whereas under the old system the rent would have been Rs. 8,460. Marindin criticized that the whole revenue system was under chaos and based on wrong method and the Political Officer was rebuked for his failure to ascertain even after enquiry what rents the landlords actually did collect. So like Nolan he also recommended a cadastral survey. He recommended that the the *Kazis'* commission should be stopped altogether because they were allowed to hold their grants on the payment of a fixed sum to the state and to pocket the rent they did collect.⁶⁹

Bell's Opinion on Rent system in Sikkim.

C. A. Bell, Settlement Officer of Kalimpong, after going through the papers on the "System of rent in Sikkim", observed that in spite of repeated orders, Kumar Polden found during the enquiry that unpaid labour upto thirty days a year was taken by the *Kazis* at a time when the *ryots* had lot of work in their own fields in addition to seven days labour to Government which was usually commuted to money at Re. 1—12 As. This was confirmed by White when he said that the landlords were practically living on the labours of the *ryots*. Similarly, he condemned the cardamom monopoly granted to a Newar and a Marwari merchant, Babu Ram Chandra Mintri of Kalimpong as a thoroughly vicious system. The *ryots* had to sell the Cardamoms to the particular persons at a fixed price and they also had to pay rents to the landlords who exacted more than their authority. White denied this charge and said that these contractors only made profits by advances and nothing else. Bell, from Polden's report, pointed out that some landlords were taking Rs. 2 per maund as rent on cardamon in place of Re. 1-8 and the *ryots* were in unprotected condition. Bell concluded that the *Sikkim ryots* were overtaxed in rent, in labour and by means of

⁶⁹ Ibid.

Cardamom monopoly and described the rent system in Sikkim as "rack-rent system."⁷⁰

Findings of the Government of Bengal.

The Government of Bengal observed that out of the three classes of landlords in Sikkim, the *Kazis*, the Monasteries and the *Thikadars*, the *Kazis* only drew commission. They were original landlords of Sikkim, but the Government did not know what their actual remuneration was when the Maharaja managed the State. Rai Sahib Haridas Pradhan, son of Luchmidas Pradhan, the biggest Nepalese landlord or *Thikadar* in Sikkim, stated that the *Kazis* used to receive no commission before White took charge of Sikkim. Besides, the *Kazis* exacted more free labour than they were entitled to get while the Nepalese *Thikadars* exacted no free labour. The *Thikadars* also realized what they could out of their grants, but they received no commission on what they paid to the state.⁷¹

The Government of Bengal thought that owing to some misconception the *Kazis* were allowed commission and this commission increased from 15 to 30 percent without order of the Government, though there was no justification of paying the *Kazis* any commission. But as it was continuing for many years, there was likelihood of serious discontent which the Government wanted to avoid as they were engaged in the Mission to Tibet. So the Government of Bengal proposed to the Government of India that the commission should be entirely stopped either immediately or gradually as circumstances required, when the matter could be safely taken up.⁷²

Thus though the policy as pursued by the British increased the State's revenue, it neglected the people with original claim as pointed out by the Maharaja. With the influx of large number of Nepalese who were better agriculturists than the Lepchas and the Bhotias and adoption of the Nepalese system of rent, the Lepchas

70 Ibid. No. 57 (Bell's notes on "System of rent in Sikkim").

71 Ibid. (Notes and Orders).

72 Ibid.

and the Bhotias were pushed into corner. The British took the Lepchas as effete. The only problem was the Bhotias on whom the British could not rely due to the latter's ethnological relations with Tibet. So the British emphasised more on the Nepalese system of assessment of rent than the system practised before the advent of the British. Edgar, in his report commented that the rent was not oppressive, though White, after taking the charge of the Sikkim administration, found the condition of the *ryots* very miserable under the Maharaja. But Marindin after examining the Statement No. II produced by White found that the rent under the old system was more liberal and even the rent-system of the Kalimpong Government estate which was thought to be a model system for Sikkim was less oppressive than that of Sikkim. Similarly *Kazis* who had been getting no commission before White took charge of Sikkim were allowed commission of 15 percent of their revenue collection by the Government of Bengal. But, it appears, White became overzealous in his duty and went some steps further than the Government's instruction to increase the commission to 30 percent. The Government of Bengal allowed 15 percent as commission to the *Kazis* owing to some misconception, as it claimed. Probably the British wanted to appease the *Kazis* and to make them pro-British by allowing the commission without investigation side by side with encouraging the prosperity of the *Thikadars*. But once everything was settled they wanted to stop it and to wait only until the conclusion of the Mission to Tibet to avoid discontent among the *Kazis*. The *Thikadars* were getting no commission or forced labour. But these *Thikadars* were the main instrument of the British in securing forced labour for the work of the Mission to Tibet. Thus with large increase in the Nepalese population added with prosperity of the Nepalese *Thikadars* and the introduction of the Nepalese system of revenue collection under the patronage of the British led to the distress of the Lepchas and the Bhotias and these were part of the British policy of de-Tibetanisation.

CHAPTER V

BRITISH TRADE ACTIVITIES THROUGH SIKKIM

It has already been discussed that the prime motive behind the British policy in Sikkim was to convert it to a thoroughfare for trade with Tibet. So side by side with changing the internal affair of Sikkim they zealously worked for construction of roads through Sikkim and utilized the Sikkim Maharaja to open communication with Tibet.

Activities relating to trade upto 1861.

Initially by the Treaty of Titalya they got the concession for their merchants and traders to move through Sikkim under Sikkim's protection and without any transit duties on their merchandise. But Sikkim's trade with Bengal, though very old, was not very encouraging, annual import from Bengal to Sikkim being approximately Rs. 10,800.¹ Naturally it was trade with Tibet through Sikkim and not with Sikkim which became the British target.

This motive acted behind the cession of Darjeeling to British and both Captain Lloyd and Grant pointed to its potentiality in improving trade with Tibet and China. Grant expressed that even if a road passable by cattles could be made from Darjeeling through

1 *Some further particulars of the country of Sikkim in Gleanings in Science* (1830, Vol. II) Pp. 181-183.

Sikkim, this would help in communicating between Bengal and Chinese Tartary.² With this was added the prospect of better tea plantation in Darjeeling than in Assam. The compensation paid to the Sikkim Raja was also conditional to his help in promoting trade.

In spite of the cession of Darjeeling, no trade could develop between India and Tibet, due to the presence of a strong pro-Tibetan faction in Sikkim, under the leadership of *Dewan* Namguay, which guarded the British free passage in Sikkim out of fear to lose their own trade monopoly. Besides, in violation of the treaty obligation the Sikkim State imposed transit duties on the merchandise (discussed in chapter I). Naturally the British had to remain mere spectator of the trade which the Tibetans were doing in the British territory. During his trip to Sikkim in December 1848 Campbell found a party of Tibetan traders on their way to Darjeeling and Titalya fair and their merchandise in musk, chowrees, woollen blankets, turquoise, stipped woollens and salt from the lakes of Tibet and this salt was the principal article.³

With the cession of Darjeeling and the loss of the Morung the Maharaja was in financial distress which the British Government in India wanted to use commercially. In July 1853 the Governor-General wanted to know in detail from Campbell regarding the trade between Tibet and Sikkim and which might be attainable at the price of an allowance of money to the Raja. Campbell accordingly procured a list of the articles ordinarily imported from Tibet to Sikkim and Darjeeling with a valuation of them and probable amount per annum was found to be Rs. 50,000 in wool, woollen cloths, musk, salt, yak tails, gold, silver etc. Campbell commented: "It is not however for this amount of trade alone that I would advocate the attention and encouragement of the Government so much as for the prospective, and sure increase of it under such a removal of restrictions and obstructions as we could now so easily

2 Bayley, H. V., op. cit., P. 40.

3 F. P. C., 15 December, 1849, No. 140.

and cheaply procure for it through the Sikkim Raja by making him a small allowance in his reduced circumstances".⁴

The value of exports from Darjeeling and Sikkim to Tibet was less than the imports and Campbell hoped that once the freedom for the trade was procured it would increase largely, particularly in goods of English and Indian manufacture, broad cloths, chintzes, coral, long cloths, cutlery, copper, iron, indigo, sugar, rice etc. Campbell was confident that the route between Bengal and Lhasa through Sikkim would in time become the principal trade route and route through Nepal would lose its commercial importance. The trade between Bengal and Tibet was mainly in the hands of the Kashmiris who had business house in Lhasa as well as in Dacca, Calcutta, Patna, Kathmandoo and other places and whole trade from Bengal passed from Patna through Kathmandoo. The distance from Lhasa to Calcutta through Sikkim was not more than one half of the Nepal route. Darjeeling being well connected with the plains of Bengal, Campbell believed that the British could secure better route through Sikkim. But Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General, could not accept Campbell's suggestion because he thought that the money payment to the Raja would encourage the trade for Raja's own pecuniary interest.⁶

In the meantime the finest quality of Tibetan wool came to the notice of the British and they hoped that if the Tibetan wool could be imported to India, It would be a good source of profit to the British speculators and manufacturers. The British had a notion that the Tibetans were well disposed towards them, but the Chinese officials at Lhasa were opposed to them. The nearest road from Bengal to Lhasa passed through Darjeeling by the Choombi Valley and the distance was about 500 miles, of which 70 miles were in Sikkim as far as Choombi. Each state trading with Tibet had her own consul in Tibet to act as medium of communication and to settle affairs there without reference to the home government.

4 Ibid., 21 October 1853. No. 39.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid., No. 40.

So the British Government also desired to establish a consul at Lhasa for their own trade interest by overcoming the opposition of the Chinese.⁷ In 1854 W. B. Jackson of Bengal Judicial Service also expressed that the principal staple of trade from Tibet would be Tibetan wool if the roads from Darjeeling through Sikkim to Tibet were improved.⁸ Hodgson, the former Resident at Kathmandoo also had the similar view. Naturally, to make road to Tibet through Sikkim became the prime motive of the British Government. But the British had to wait until 1861 to take some positive steps in this direction.

*Trade activities between Treaty of 1861 to
Edgar Mission of 1873.*

The Treaty of 1861 gave the British valuable concession relating to promotion of trade with Tibet through Sikkim. Sikkim agreed to (1) abolish all restrictions on travellers and monopolies in trade between the British territories and Sikkim ; (2) demand no duty or fees on export or import of British goods ; (3) protect merchants and traders of all countries residing, trading or passing through Sikkim ; (4) impose duties at the rate of 5 percent ad valorem on goods imported from or exported to Tibet, Bhutan and Nepal ; (5) purchase any goods at the value affixed on them by the owners with an idea to prevent fraud ; and (6) allow the Government of India to construct road through Sikkim and to keep in repair the road constructed by the British and to erect and maintain travellers rest house throughout the route.⁹ Besides, the reduction of the pro-Tibetan faction's influence in Sikkim was also an important gain regarding promotion of trade.

While forwarding the Treaty of 1861 to the Viceroy for ratification, Eden commented that the only concession which could be obtained from Sikkim was the opening out of the country to traders and travellers from India as easy means of transit for the

7 *Darjeeling guide* in *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXVIII, Pp. 216-217.

8 Jackson, W. B., *op. cit.*, P. 25.

9 Aitchison, C. U., *op. cit.*, Pp. 61-65.

trade between India and Tibet. Eden thought that the Raja and his advisers would understand that Sikkim would achieve by becoming "the highroad for this traffic" and by attracting trade through Sikkim by offering "good roads, effective protection, and moderate fixed duties" and a flourishing trade would spring up between Tibet and Darjeeling within a few years, Tibetans exchanging their gold dust, musk, borax, wool and salt for English cloth, tobacco, drill etc. The Sikkim people would gain from this trade as carriers of the goods and Sikkim Government would raise considerable transit duties from these traders.¹⁰ But until the trade was fairly established, Eden proposed to hold an annual fair in Darjeeling in November or April with idea to enable the merchants of both countries to meet and trade there.¹¹ During the British occupation of Sikkim in 1861 a good road was constructed between Darjeeling and the Teesta.

The Tibetans began to bring their merchandise to the British territory and H. C. Wake, Superintendent of Darjeeling, felt the need of an annual fair as was proposed by Eden. In February 1863 he proposed to open out a good road through Sikkim to Tibet. During Eden's mission two roads were made from Tumlong and they joined the Teesta. Of these two, the road starting from the bridge across the Rumman river was the shortest and the bridge erected on it in 1860 was good even in February 1863.¹² The President in Council directed the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal to arrange for a preliminary survey of Sikkim to ascertain the cost of road construction.¹³ It was decided to adopt the line along the Teesta Valley and Wake suggested that the road should enter Sikkim at or near the bridge over the Great Runjeet river because Chebu Lama, the pro-British Dewan of Sikkim had offered the land at Goke at Wake's disposal as a place suitable for fair. Wake suggested that while making preliminary survey of the tract of

10 L. G. P. P. (G). A., April 1861, No. 30.

11 Ibid., No. 48.

12 Ibid., March 1863, No. 25.

13 Ibid., August 1863, No. 15.

land suitable for the fair, its proximity to Darjeeling should be kept in mind.¹⁴ But the survey discontinued due to trouble with Bhutan.

Trade with Tibet and Sikkim began to increase gradually since Eden's mission. So to promote it further the Lieutenant Governor directed to assign a suitable place for the proper accommodation to the traders as well as for their cattles and, for this, a site was selected at the Government reserved land at the end of the Lebong sput at Darjeeling and steps were taken to induce the Marwaris and other merchants of Rungpore and Cooch Behar to engage in this trade. Besides, Tibet being one of the greatest tea consuming countries in the world, the tea planters of Darjeeling were advised to pay attention to the requirement of the Tibetan and Sikkimese in this matter.¹⁵ Accordingly some sheds were erected at Lebong. But the result of all the endeavours made in 1864 was far from satisfactory, though no measures were taken to obtain trade statistics. The reasons were trifling local demand, expensive transport system from Darjeeling to the plains of Bengal and lack of encouragement for local capitalists to buy the merchandise from foreign merchants. So B. T. Reid, Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling, opined that if every facilities for storing commodities were extended to the traders from the neighbouring states and communication between Darjeeling and the larger trading towns in the plains was improved, a very extensive and important trade would spring up, especially with Tibet and Sikkim.¹⁶ So the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal recommended to the Eastern Bengal Railway Company for the extension of their line from Koostea to the valley of Teesta.¹⁷

In March 1870, the Government of India permitted Colonel J. C. Haughton, Commissioner of the Cooch Behar to open commu-

14 Ibid., February 1865, No. 5.

15 *Annual Report of the Administration of the Bengal Presidency, 1864-65*, Pp. 178-180.

16 F. P. C(A).. July 1865, No. 109.

17 Ibid. No. 108.

nication of friendly nature with the *Lamas* of Tibet through the Sikkim Maharaja Sidkeong Namgyal or other suitable channel. In July 1870, Haughton proposed, with a view to remove the existing barrier of free trade with Tibet, to take move with the Government of China and to ask the Maharaja of Sikkim to obtain authentic information from the Tibetan authorities regarding duties levied on articles imported into Tibet and whether any prohibition existed as to the importance of any partioular article. He hoped that the removal of barrier would increase trade with Tibet, particularly in Darjeeling tea. Haughton also proposed to send a letter to the *Jongpen* of Phari, Tibetan frontier official, through the Sikkim Maharaja for transmission to the authorities in Lhasa. Acting on Haughton's suggestion a letter was sent, but the *Jongpen* refused to receive it.¹⁸

On 1 June 1873, the Sikkim Maharaja had an interview with the Lieutenant Governor at Darjeeling and the Lieutenant Governor was told that Hindustani and Bengali traders were not allowed free access to the Tibetan mart due solely to the orders of the Court of Peking. The Lieutenant Governor hoped that if the permission from the Chinese and the Tibetan authorities was obtained, with the extension of railway upto the Teesta valley, trade through Sikkim would get immense impetus. The Maharaja expressed his readiness to render active assistance in construction of road through Sikkim.¹⁹ The Lieutenant Governor proposed to depute J. W. Edgar, Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling to visit Sikkim to be acquainted with the condition and prospect of trade with Sikkim, best possible line of communication with Tibet and advisibility of opening out one (discussed in chapter I). The Government of India approved this proposal as well as the proposal to increase the Maharaja's allowance from Rs. 9,000/- to Rs. 12,000/- under conditions that no reference should be made to the increased value of Darjeeling and that the Sikkim *Durbar* would give real assistance

18 *Annal Report of the Administration of the Bengal Presidency, 1871-72*, Pp. 10-12.

19 L. G. P. P. (J). A., July 1873, No. 45.

to open and expand trade with Tibet, supply with full information of all events beyond the frontier and should carry on wishes of the Government of India to their best power.²⁰ Duke of Argyll, Secretary of State for India, approved the increase of allowance under the conditions proposed by the Government of India.²¹ Edgar failed to cross the Sikkim-Tibet boundary. But he explained to the *Jongpen* of Phati that the object of his visit was to inquire into the question relating to promotion of trade between India and Tibet and to recommend the construction of a road through Sikkim. He pointed out to the *Jongpen* that while the Tibetan traders were allowed to come and trade in the British territories under the British protection, Indian traders were not allowed to enter Tibet and this exclusion seemed more indefensible since the traders from Kashmir, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan were fully admitted.²²

Edgar saw that the chief articles of import from Bhutan and Darjeeling into Tibet were rice, goor, sugar, dried fruits, tobacco, sticklac, madder, indigo, sandalwood, ivory, rhinoceros-horns, peacocks' tails, and red and white endi cloth. Exports from Tibet to Darjeeling and Bhutan were tea, salt, blankets, silk piece goods, ponies, mules, cows, sheep, yaks' tails, musk, turquoise, coral and gold. Edgar thought that import of tea from Tibet was due to something wrong in the policy pursued by the Indian tea planters. Price of imported Tibetan rock salt was cheaper than the sea born salt of the plains of India and Edgar hoped that with the construction of a good road from one of the passes to a point on the North Bengal Railway, it might become a question if the Tibetan salt could be allowed to come in duty-free. Like Turner and Campbell he also spoke highly of the Tibetan wool. To promote trade with Tibet Edgar recommended the construction of a bridge across the Teesta and making of a road through Sikkim to the Chola range.²³

On return to Darjeeling in December 1873, Edgar made some

20 Ibid., October 1873, No. 1.

21 Ibid., October, 1874, No. 10.

22 Edgar, J. W. op. cit., Pp. 18-19.

23 Ibid., Pp. 48-50.

proposals including the proposal to open a frontier mart at Dumsang (discussed in chapter I). But he considered the question of opening a mart of smaller importance than making a road through Sikkim to the frontier and that it should have been constructed immediately after the Treaty of 1861. He suggested to adopt and improve to the utmost one of the existing routes, even though they would entail many needless ascents and descents which the line along the Teesta would avoid, because the Teesta route was required to be surveyed and the Tibetans preferred a road over the hills to one along the valleys.²⁴

While commenting on the report of Edgar, W. J. Herschel, the Commissioner of Cooch Behar Division, said that the tea produced in India were of the finest quality and the planters in Darjeeling should "look for the cheap tea suited to Asiatic Tastes."²⁵

While placing Edgar's report before the Government of India, the Government of Bengal put emphasis on the construction and maintenance of a road through Sikkim within three or four years and completion of the Railway as early as possible to gain the facilities of communication, easy access to hill sanatorium and development especially of the tea industry in the Darjeeling Terai and concluded that it would be a negligence of "parmanent duty" if the Government failed to give effect to those provisions of the Treaty of 1861 which authorized the construction of road through Sikkim. The Lieutenant Governor, Sir Richard Temple favoured Edgar's proposal to establish a mart at Dumsang which, being with the British territory, would secure British protection and supervision. But until the question of construction of road was settled, the Lieutenant Governor, to familiarize the people of the place,

24 Ibid., Pp. 79-80.

25 L. G. P. P(J). A., September 1874, Nos. 26/27. The tea consumed by the Tibetans was the tea of the poorest quality. It was made in China of leaves and bits of stalk mixed with clay and pressed to form bricks with dimensions of about 9 by 7 by 3 inches. Due to being long accustomed, the people of Tibet and even Sikkim and Bhutan preferred the brick tea to Indian tea which was prohibited in Tibet. (Lamb, A., op. cit. Pp. 150-151 .

wanted to hold an annual fair at Dumsang and this place would eventually become a permanent mart. The Lieutenant Governor hoped that once the Indian tea was introduced in Tibet, this would supplant the Chinese tea both in quality and in price and this was the reason for the Chinese prohibition. He accepted Edgar's view regarding the import of the Tibetan salt.²⁶

The Government of India did not react favourably to Edgar's proposal and the Government of India did not think it necessary to utilize the Imperial revenue to improve the trade routes as the probabilities of trade with Tibet were not sufficient enough.²⁷

The Lieutenant Governor approved the survey of route from Darjeeling to the Jelap pass as, he came to know, it was the best route to Tibet.²⁸

Trade activities upto 1889.

In April 1878 the Northern Bengal Railway lines was opened and in April 1879 the trainway from the Siliguri terminus of the Northern Bengal State Railway to Darjeeling was commenced. During 1881-82 the trainway was completed.²⁹

The Government of Bengal did not expect any large expansion of commerce with Sikkim to spring up with the opening of the Darjeeling Railway, but expected that the facilities which were offered by Sikkim would effect large development of trade with Tibet, if no trouble arose. The Tibetan tea market drew every attention. The Tibetan brick tea had good market even in Darjeeling. The attention of the Darjeeling tea planters was drawn towards the tea market at Lhasa and the neighbouring markets, which were only three weeks' journey from Darjeeling while they were three months' journey from Ta-t sien-lu, the Chinese tea producing

26 L. G. P. P. (J). A., September 1874, No. 28.

27 Ibid., December 1875, No. 78.

28 Ibid., May 1878, No. 24.

29 *Annual Report on the Administration of Bengal Presidency for 1878-79, 1879-80, 1881-82*, Pp. 275, 349, 247.

centre.³⁰ L. Liotard of the Department of Revenue and Agriculture of the Government of India suggested that the tea for the Tibetan market should be manufactured according to the Tibetan taste and habit because the Chinese brick tea which was consumed in Tibet was completely different from the tea consumed by the other people, in the method of preparation and taste. He did not consider the tea trade in Tibet to be a monopoly, in the strict sense, of either the Chinese or the Tibetan Government. He thought it attributable to the fact which repeated itself everywhere that a large capitalist did more business than a small one. The Chinese or the *Lamas* were strongly averse to the introduction of the Indian tea into Tibet, because they would make less material profit from the Indian tea and not because they were anxious to prevent the Tibetan people from coming to India and to fall in degrees under the protection of the British. He proposed to push tea manufactured in Tibetan fashion, if not in Tibet, at least and at first among the Tibetan people who were subject to British rule and influence the people of Bhutan, Sikkim, Kumaon, Garwal, Lahul, Spiti, Ladak etc. from where it would find its way to Tibet proper.³¹

The Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling procured some samples of tea manufactured in the Chinese method by Messrs. Cresswell & Company in India and the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal directed to facilitate its sale in those markets frequented by the Tibetan traders and Rs. 100 was allotted as the commission of the shopkeeper who might be entrusted with the sale of this tea. The Lieutenant Governor expected important trade with Tibet could be opened up through Sikkim if no obstruction was made and proper facilities offered.³²

Due to secret explorations of Sarat Chandra Das in Tibet, trade on the Sikkim-Tibet frontier was completely stopped and the Government of Bengal deputed its Finance Secretary Colman Macaulay to

30 *Report on the External Trade of Bengal with Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan for the year 1881-82* P. 11.

31 Liotard L., *Note (Supplementary) of Tea Trade with Tibet*, Pp. 1-3.

32 *Report on the External Trade of Bengal with Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan for 1882-83*, Pp. 11-13.

visit Sikkim in October 1884 with the object to investigate the causes of trade stoppage, to study some questions of trade promotion and some other issues. (discussed in Chapter I).

Macaulay was to study if a trade route could be opened up in the direction of the Lachen valley in Sikkim with the province of Tsang in Tibet. Phodang Lama told Macaulay that the route through Lachen valley would increase trade, though Sikkim would gain nothing from it. He, however, assured of Sikkim *Durbar's* assistance, in case of route through Lachen valley being opened, and of its best effort to put forward the British Government's views to the Tibetan authorities to improve relation with Tibet. Macaulay preferred the Lachen route as it ran through the heart of Sikkim and wanted to visit to the head of the Lachen to take opportunity of conversing with the Khambajong authorities.³³

The Maharaja also assured Macaulay of his utmost efforts to have the stoppage removed and agreed to keep up the Lachen route under the treaty as well as to continue to keep up the Lachen road. Macaulay tried to lure the Maharaja and the increase of the Maharaja's allowance was made conditional to his efforts to promote trade and friendly relations with Tibet (discussed in Chapter I). Macaulay observed that the Lachen people carried on good trade between Darjeeling and Tibet through Sikkim and people of this region preferred Chinese brick tea whose supplier to Sikkim was the *ex-Dewan* Namguay. He came to know from the Sikkim Raja's officer at Lachen and the *Khamba Jongpen* that the construction of road through Lachen would promote trade.³⁴

Macaulay, however, failed to estimate the growth of trade that would follow the removal of the obstruction to the Indian merchants by the Tibetan authorities or exact amount of existing trade through Darjeeling and made proposal for the change of registration system as the work of registration at Phedong and Rungeet was not perfect. Macaulay emphasised, side by side with a mission to Tibet with China's approval (discussed in Chapter I), on opening road through Sikkim by the head of the Lachen Valley. The object of the mission

33 Macaulay, Colman, op. cit. Pp. 11-13.

34 Ibid., Pp. 79-105.

would be to confer with the Chinese Residents and the Lhasa Government on the admission of native Indian traders to Tibet and removal of obstruction on the route through Sikkim and Darjeeling.³⁵

After a lot of trouble Macaulay was granted passport to go to Tibet. But his mission was abandoned due to the Tibetan opposition and it was followed by the Tibetan advance inside Sikkim and occupation of Lingtu. The Sikkim Maharaja supported the Tibetans and news came of his secret treaty with Tibet in 1886. There was uneasiness among the business circle in England as well as among the tea-planters of Darjeeling and Dooars in India who were fearing "for their considerable investment in territory the title to which might soon be in dispute".³⁶ Ultimately the Tibetans were driven from Lingtu in 1888. The Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1890 and the Trade Regulations of 1893 were signed giving the British trade mart at Yatung and other trade rights in Tibet (discussed in Chapter I).

Trade Activities in Sikkim since 1889.

The news of the secret treaty between the Sikkim Maharaja and the Tibetan authorities made it clear to the British that the Sikkim authorities were not as docile as they thought and they appointed J. C. White as the Political Officer of Sikkim. Now the British Government began to utilize its fullest power in Sikkim to promote trade with Tibet and the construction of roads became one of the main question of their internal administration. Since June 1885 Rhenok and Kalimpong had become trade registering station in place of Phedong. Edgar, who by then became the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, thought that the new road from Phedong through Rhenok and Gangtok to Tumlong would be very useful. The greater portion of it had already been constructed by the British Government for military purpose. But its maintenance would be something of a strain on the limited resources of Sikkim. So Edgar wanted no new project to be taken until Sikkim's coffer did become richer.³⁷

35 Ibid., Pp. 79-105.

36 Lamb, op. c t., P. 182.

37 C. P. F., 8 of 1889 (Notes and orders), Pp. 3-5.

The Regulations of 1893 prohibited the import of Tibetan tea and salt and this created inconvenience to the Sikkimese. The Sikkim *Kazis* and *Lamas* including the Council members applied to the Political Officer to arrange for import of tea and salt as before.³⁸ In fact, the Government of India wanted to change the habit of the Sikkim people to promote trade with Tibet. The Government of India wrote to the Government of Bengal on 11 December 1894 that if the Sikkim people could be induced to take Darjeeling tea, it would help to develop tea trade with Tibet when the prohibition was withdrawn. Similarly, the principal markets of Tibet salt in Sikkim were its outlying parts like the Lachen and Lachung valleys which were formerly cut off from Darjeeling for several months a year. The Government of India hoped that with the opening of roads from Gangtok to Lachen and Lachung valleys, Indian salt would reach those markets.³⁹

The appointment of the Political Officer did not reduce the Maharaja to an unimportant position so far commerce was concerned and Nolan impressed on the Maharaja that he would be restored to the full power if he could succeed in establishing friendly interchange of commerce with the Tibetans.⁴⁰

The British also started utilizing Sikkim's revenue for this purpose. The formal boundary line between Sikkim and Tibet was never cared much by the graziers of both the countries. But to develop Sikkim as a thoroughfare entirely under the British control the boundary line between Sikkim and Tibet was decided by the Convention of 1890, though the Tibetans often violated this boundary line on the ground that they were not a party to the Convention. An expenditure of Rs. 10,130-4-6 was incurred in 1895-96 on an attempt to delimitate the boundary. In spite of the pleading of the Government of Bengal that Sikkim should not pay for this expenditure because Sikkim was not a party to the Convention and that she was not resourceful enough to bear it,⁴¹ the

38 F. S. P., January 1895, No. 241.

39 Ibid., No. 243.

40 *History of Sikkim*, P. 241.

41 L. G. P. P. (J). A., July 1896, No. 31.

Government of India decided that this should be paid by the Sikkim state. The Government of India expressed readiness to consider any proposal for an Imperial grant in connection with the Lachen road, as it was recognized as matter of political consideration and required faster construction than the resources of Sikkim could permit.⁴²

Since 1892-93 the trade with Tibet through Sikkim was increasing steadily due to the impediments placed by the Government of India on that country in the way of traffic being in process of the removal as well as due to increase in the price of wool, a very important commodity to import from Tibet.⁴³ During an interview with the Khamba *Jongpen* in August 1896, White expressed that if free trade and intercourse could be opened between the Lachen and Lachung valleys of Sikkim and Khambajong, if only as far as Shigatse and Gyantse, it would be immense boon to the people of both the places. He suggested that the question of opening up the Lachen route should be considered when the boundary commission would assemble.⁴⁴ Every year, however, large amount of Sikkim's revenue was spent to complete and maintain the important lines of communication and the Government of Bengal desired that "much must continue to be spent under this head". The Government of Bengal also observed the value of roads to the Lachen-Lachung valleys and over the Laghyab pass to gnatong and the Jelap pass for military as well as trade purpose.⁴⁵

Vehement Tibetan opposition to the entry of the British or even the Sikkim subjects into their country hampered the development of Yatung as a trade mart.⁴⁶ The period of five years referred to in the fourth clause of the Regulations of 1893 was to terminate in 1899 and from England the Secretary of State for India wanted from the Governor-General a full report on the progress made since

42 Ibid., No. 44.

43 C. P. F. 22 of 1897, No. 1.

44 Ibid., No. 2.

45 Ibid., No. 3.

46 Ibid., 18 of 1898, No. 3.

the date of the Agreement towards the settlement of the frontier and the development of trade.⁴⁷ Nolan informed the Government of Bengal that no trade mart had been opened at Yatung due to the Tibetan opposition. He proposed to give effect to the project of Late Macaulay of obtaining permission for Indian traders, other than Europeans, to reside at Lhasa or elsewhere in Tibet.⁴⁸ The Government of India thought that to secure any permanent improvement in the British trade with Tibet, the important thing was to open direct negotiation with Lhasa.⁴⁹ But Nolan did not expect any great result from it as the Tibetan *Lamas* were sincerely attached to the policy of isolation and the feelings of the laymen in Tibet were not known and commented that neither the Chinese nor the Tibetan would assent to free intercourse with India "except through fear of something which they may regard as a great calamity."⁵⁰ The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal also shared Nolan's opinion.⁵¹ The Government of India, however, preferred to leave to Tibet the lands in the neighbourhood of Giaogong in exchange of Phari being thrown open to the traders from British India for business with the Tibetans. The Government of India did not wish to insist on permission for Europeans to reside and trade at Phari and thought that there should be option for the British Officials to visit Phari and reside there, if required.⁵² But the Secretary of State for India, though preferred direct negotiations with Tibet, was opposed to the proposal to insist upon the right for the British officials to visit or reside at Phari.⁵³ In the meantime, on 3 November 1899, the Maharaja of Sikkim, through his private secretary, offered his services to Nolan for effecting the settlement of the frontier question. In reply Nolan wanted to make surrender of Giaogong to

47 Ibid., 27 of 1898, No. 1.

48 Ibid., No. 3.

49 Ibid., 39 of 1899, No. 1.

50 Ibid., No. 3.

51 Ibid., No. 4.

52 Ibid., No. 5.

53 Ibid.

Tibet conditional of Tibet's permission to allow Indian traders to trade and reside at Phari. But the Maharaja's secretary expressed helplessness in that case as the Tibetans were altogether opposed to the presence of British subjects, including natives of India, in any part of Tibet and this would simply weaken the Maharaja's influence in Tibet.⁵⁴

While the British authorities in India were endeavouring to find some way out to communicate with the Tibetans, India Tea Association became restive to import tea into Tibet.⁵⁵ As the five years' period specified in the Regulations had already expired in July 1899, the Association wanted to have from the Government of Bengal some definite information as to the exact position of affairs at Yatung, if the Indian tea would be admitted there, and, if admitted, what should be the rate of duty.⁵⁶ The Government of Bengal replied that no duty had been imposed on Indian tea as no tea had been exported and expressed inability to take any active steps without definite instruction from the Government of India.⁵⁷ The Association wanted to know whether the Government of India had issued any order relating to the clause IV of the Trade Regulations.⁵⁸ But as the Commissioner of Rajshahi did not prefer any direct intervention by the Government until settlement, the Government of Bengal advised the Association to take assistance of Miss A. Taylor, a lady missionary, who had a tea shop at Yatung.⁵⁹ But the Association came to know from Miss Taylor that, according to a treaty between the Chinese *Amban* and the Tibetan Government, no one would be allowed to buy Indian tea under heavy penalty and little could be done to develop the trade of Indian tea unless the Government of India could annul the treaty.⁶⁰

54 Ibid., No. 10.

55 Ibid., 29 of 1899, No. 1.

56 Ibid., 44 of 1900, No. 1.

57 Ibid., No. 4.

58 Ibid., 11 of 1901, No. 3.

59 Ibid., No. 11.

60 Ibid., No. 15.

But White was doubtful regarding the existence of any such treaty.⁶¹

Sikkim's trade with Tibet also was jeopardised due to restriction imposed by Tibet and the people of the Lachung Valley complained of their distress as a result of this restriction. So the Sikkim Maharaja and Maharani were anxious for the establishment of friendly relation as well as trade between India and Tibet, even by surrendering a part of the Sikkim territory which Tibet claimed to belong to her.⁶² Marindin also wanted to utilize the Maharaja for negotiation. W. R. Macdonald of Kalimpong, during his tour in Sikkim in November-December of 1900, had discussion with the Maharaja regarding the possibility of Maharaja's assisting the Government of India in opening communication with the Dalai Lama through the Maharani's relations at Lhasa and the Maharaja promised accordingly to use his influence.⁶³

To Marindin Maharaja pointed out the main points of difference between the British Government and Tibet-(i) Tibet was claiming Giaogong as the boundary between Tibet and Sikkim while the British claimed the ridge of Hills, the watershed of the rivers flowing towards Sikkim to be the boundary and (ii) the opening of trade route upto Phari. Marindin expressed that the Tibetan claim of boundary line could be accepted if free trade was allowed upto Phari. But the Maharaja thought it difficult and opined that if the Tibetans could be persuaded to open free trade route initially even so far as Rinchingong (Tromo), in due course the desired concession might be obtained. As Sikkim was not a party in this affair, the Maharaja wanted to have something in writing from Marindin to undertake anything about it. So Marindin gave the following in writing :—

“Although we have been made to suffer much during the late disturbances, yet since our fortunate interview with the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal we have felt how generous and benevolent the

61 Ibid., No. 19.

62 Ibid., 37 of 1901, No. 1.

63 Ibid., (Notes on Sikkim tour by W. R. Macdonald).

Government is. It has taught us the way to collect the revenues and administer justice in Sikkim and besides that it has very kind intention towards us. The Government entertains the same friendly feelings towards Tibet too.

"(2) The Government courts a direct communication with His Holiness the Dalai Lama of Lhasa, from whom any letter coming or any representative coming, will be received by His Excellency the Viceroy direct without the necessity of passing through the usual stages and channels of various secretaries and officials.

"(3) If these are received favourably there ought to be no difficulty for the Sikkim Durbar to effect a peaceful negotiation.

"(4) The members of the Raj Family at present in Tibet must do their best to forward the proposal and use their influence with the Tibetan Council (Kasang) to bring this to a successful issue."⁶⁴

The Maharaja communicated accordingly, but failed to get any reply from the Tibetan authorities.⁶⁵

Thus efforts to communicate the Tibetan authorities in various way including Viceroy Curzon's personal letters to the Dalai Lama having failed, in June 1903 Curzon decided to despatch a mission with armed escort to Tibet under Colonel Younghusband.

Now with the decision to despatch the mission the vital thing was to make quick construction of roads. The Maharaj Kumar (second prince) volunteered to go out into the camp and to help in the works on roads.⁶⁶ The Government of India ordered for the construction of a cart road from the Rangpo Bazar to Gangtok and another road for mules and ponies from Gangtok to Choombi over the Nathula Pass. The Maharaj Kumar helped personally with transport in connection with the *Cooli* Corps. The members of the Council and the *Kazis*, except the pro-Tibetan Jerung Dewan and Yangthang Kazi, rendered help in providing labours for roads and transport work. White was particularly pleased with the Nepalese

64 *History of Sikkim*, Pp. 258-259.

65 *Ibid.*, P. 260.

66 C. P. F. 37 of 1903, No. 1.

Newar Babu Lambodar Pradhan who was even allowed to flog his *ryots* for their refusal to work as cooli⁶⁷ (discussed in Chapter III).

The British preparation for the mission frightened the Maharaja and he attempted to make Tibet come to terms. He wrote to the Tibetan authorities that the British were making road from Rangpo upwards to send an expedition for settling the question of trade; the British were very powerful and the Tibetan authorities should come to a reasonable settlement about the opening of a trade route.⁶⁸ But the Tibetans were adamant not to come to any settlement. The Maharaja accompanied the mission and proceeded towards Khambajong in July 1903 and, during the course of negotiation there, the Maharaja again urged the Tibetan officials to resume negotiations with the British peacefully and the British should be allowed to push their trade mart from Yatung to at least Rinchingong to stop them from pushing further and if the British proposal was accepted the Maharaja would be restored to full power. But the Maharaja's appeal was in vain.⁶⁹

White wanted to utilize the Maharaja's service and the Maharaja accordingly, informed the Tibetan authorities of the British design to proceed right up to Lhasa if their object was not served at Yatung. He further informed: "In the disturbances between the two powerful Governments, the Sikkim people had to carry loads and make roads right upto Phari which is a tiresome work. If the disturbances continue for some years more the Sikkim subjects will be scattered." But the Dalai Lama expressed his determination to resist the British and on the question of reported Russian involvement in Tibet's affairs the Dalai Lama said that there was no difference between the English and the Russians to them.⁷⁰ The Tibetans thought that since the European imports were coming in from India right upto Lhasa there was no reason to insist on establishing

67 Ibid. 79 of 1904, No. 1.

68 *History of Sikkim*, Pp. 261-262.

69 Ibid., Pp. 262-263.

70 Ibid., Pp. 264-267.

trade marts for that purpose and they were suspicious of the bad design of the British in disguise of establishing communication.⁷¹

Ultimately the Tibetans came to terms when the British force reached Lhasa on 4 August 1904 and the Lhasa Convention between the Great Britain and Tibet was signed on 7 September 1904.

The mission affected Sikkim's state business very badly. Many villagers left their home and country due to extra demands for labour from them resulting in marked decrease in collection of revenue. The extension of cart road from Rangpo to Gangtok started in January 1903 and was completed in November 1903. The mule road to Graogong via Lachen was also taken in hand and portions re-aligned as well as the Laghyab road. To complete these works 1,900 *Coolies* were employed daily between April and November 1903 and, with the taking of the Laghyab road in hand between December and March, the number increased to nearly 4,000. For regular work the Sikkim Cooli crop was formed and it was to carry Government stores from Gangtok to Choombi via Nathu-La and 1,750 *Coolies* and 300 mules and ponies were employed daily.⁷²

Thus the British, with the desire to open trade with Tibet, made roads to Tibet through Sikkim and utilized the Royal family. But the question remains—what benefit did Sikkim get out of these British efforts, because she had traditional trade with Tibet before the advent of the British. The following figures will be helpful in forming an idea regarding the effect of the British trade policy in Sikkim—

<i>Sikkim & Tibet</i>			
Years	Import into Bengal	Export from Bengal	Total
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1878-79	1,20,841	60 184	1,81,025
1879-80	2,51,491	48,085	2,99,576
1880-81	1,67,960	80,898	2,48,858
1881-82	1,67,533	86,011	2,53,544
1882-83	2,00,148	1,16,294	3,16,442
1883-84	2,21,523	1,12,711	3,34,234
1884-85	3,75,987	2,04,735	5,80,722

71 *Ibid.*, Pp. 268-269.

72 C. P. F. 79 of 1904, No. 1.

Years	Import to Bengal from Sikkim	Export from Bengal to Sikkim	Total trade with Sikkim	Import to Bengal from Tibet	Export from Bengal to Tibet	Total trade with Tibet
1885-86	75,855	78,641	1,54,496	3,72,735	2,45,714	6,18,449
1886-87	52,497	40,071	92,568	2,13,385	2,96,026	5,09,411
1887-88	1,74,835	76,035	2,50,870	1,90,427	1,74,799	3,65,226
1888-89	1,24,636	75,723	2,00,359	3,168	4,181	7,349
1889-90	1,17,847	1,01,070	2,18,917	1,49,254	1,31,458	2,80,712
1890-91	1,50,580	1,23,226	2,73,806	1,80,893	1,99,788	3,80,681
1891-92	2,20,157	1,25,989	3,47,146	6,18,146	2,03,131	8,21,277
1892-93	2,43,591	1,80,919	4,24,510	3,51,519	2,29,117	5,80,636
1893-94	2,83,111	2,07,068	4,90,179	3,58,799	3,31,613	6,90,412
1894-95	4,18,879	3,06,006	7,24,885	7,01,348	4,47,802	11,49,150
1895-96	4,66,555	4,33,856	9,00,411	6,25,543	3,48,985	9,74,528
1896-97	6,55,906	4,17,902	11,73,808	5,89,181	3,11,194	9,00,375
1897-98	4,94,039	3,64,953	8,59,002	4,98,125	1,88,280	6,86,405
				(Nine months)		
1898-99	5,68,642	4,22,976	9,91,618	11,21,019	10,17,685	21,38,704
1899-1900	5,69,623	3,86,938	9,56,611	11,54,104	10,52,301	22,06,405
1900-01	4,21,579	2,55,546	6,77,125	7,44,169	7,32,115	14,76,284
1901-02	5,04,386	3,19,707	8,24,093	7,93,060	7,23,876	15,16,936
1902-03	3,43,395	2,73,716	6,17,112	9,63,165	8,10,677	17,73,842
1903-04	3,09,872	3,10,770	6,20,642	3,56,814	3,92,361	7,49,175
1904-05	2,35,108	3,61,114	5,96,222	4,10,794	7,38,946	11,49,740

Compiled from Reports on the External Trade of Bengal with Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, from 1880 to 1905).

The figures exhibited above show the gradual increase of British trade with Sikkim and Tibet, though there was decrease in trade from time to time due to political reasons. But Sikkim's trade with Tibet was swallowed by the British trade. In July 1853 Campbell estimated the import from Tibet to Sikkim and Darjeeling to be Rs. 50,000 per annum and export from Sikkim and Darjeeling, though less than the value of the import, Campbell hoped it to increase in future with the development of routes to Lhasa. Trade developed no doubt, but the Sikkim-Tibet trade became India-Tibet trade, though in larger quantity.

The Sikkim Maharajas previously had personal trade with Tibet. But after 1904 he had to apply for loan from Sikkim's state fund and favour of the British Government to embark on private trade in wool. Regarding this application Marindin commented: "They no doubt enriched formerly in this way at the expense of the state, and the state is now being administered on different principles with which the present proposal is not consistent".⁷³ The Maharaja's appeal was, however, granted by the Lieutenant Governor.⁷⁴ Thus head of the Sikkim state was at the mercy of the British and the inhabitants became the beast of burden.

73 L. G. P. P. A., June 1905, No. 7.

74 Ibid., No. 8.

CONCLUSION

Since the days of Warren Hastings The British in India cherished the desire to develop trade of Bengal with Tibet and to communicate with China via Tibet. They endeavoured to advance their influence in the Himalayas—into Kumaon, Garwal, the Sutlej valley, Spiti, Lahul and Kashmir on the west, and into Sikkim, Bhutan and the Himalayas in the east.¹ But the British authorities ultimately put the maximum emphasis on Sikkim because through Sikkim ran the shortest route from the plains of Bengal to the Tibetan capital at Lhasa. In fact, Tibet was the cause and Sikkim was the effect of British Himalayan policy. But the commercial necessities gave rise to some political problems of direct importance requiring political solution. The Sikkim authorities, by treaties with the British Government in India, obtained some short term advantages. But this friendship became kiss of death. Ultimately the Sikkim ruler found himself ousted from effective power and became puppet head of the state in a British protectorate (discussed in chapter I).

By the Treaty of 1861, between India and Sikkim, Sikkim for all practical purposes became a protectorate of the Government of India. But Tibet was not ready to accept it till September 1904 when Tibet was forced to accept it and by the convention between Great Britain and China in 1906 China approved the Lhasa Convention and India's suzerainty over Sikkim secured international recognition. But the Government of India was inclined to maintain the separate identity of Sikkim as a protectorate. The British motive was political. At the time of expedition of 1861, Ashley Eden was advised not to say or do anything which might create suspicion that the British rule would be planted permanently in any part of Sikkim. They apprehended that in that case Nepal and Bhutan could make common cause with Sikkim against the British. Annexation might

1 Lamb, Alastair, op. cit. P. 31.

also lead to quarrel with Tibet or China because Sikkim was tributary of Tibet who was again tributary of China. Besides, in its policy towards Sikkim, the Government of India considered trade with Tibet of more importance and it could not be risked by antagonizing China by annexing Sikkim. So the Government of India preferred to maintain Sikkim as a buffer state between Nepal, Bhutan, Tibet and British India.²

The British thought it prudent to de-Tibetanize Sikkim to the extent of their necessity. They formed a Council, consisting of pro-British Sikkim officials and *Lamas* and White as the Political Officer of Sikkim, to endorse the British activities. The succession of the second prince got the sanction of the Council (discussed in Chapter II). Perhaps, the British authorities in India did not forget that Lord Dalhousie's introduction of the "right of lapse" which refused to recognise the right of the childless princes of the "dependent" states of India to install their adopted heirs on the throne offended the Indian religion and custom resulting in the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857.³ So the British Government secured the question of succession settled with the help of the Sikkim Council. There was no possibility of the Sikkim Maharaja's discontent getting popular support because the Nepalese were by that time already the majority in Sikkim's population.

Tibetan type of Buddhism had immense influence in Sikkim and the monasteries in Sikkim were its custodian. These monasteries controlled education in Sikkim and supplied the Sikkim authorities with men when required, as Sikkim had no regular police and military force. It was obvious that the British would not allow it to continue. So a Boarding School was established at Gangtok to impart English education to the sons of the Sikkim aristocrats and a police force was organised and the Bhotias were excluded from getting job in this police force (discussed in Chapter II). White thought that due to heterogenous character of Sikkim population

2 L. G. P(G). A., January 1861, No. 45.

3 Hutchison, David, (Ed.) *Annals of the Indian Rebellion, 1857-58*, P. XXVII.

crime would be more prevalent (discussed in Chapter II). But between 1899 and 1902 only 37 criminal cases were tried in the Court of the Maharaja in Council and in that of the Political Officer. Out of these cases only two were for murder, ten for "offences against public tranquility" and nine for "Hurt, criminal force and assault".⁴ Naturally Sikkim could be called a very civilized and disciplined country and White's plea to organise a police force was more due to British motive than Sikkim's requirement.

Obviously, the question arises-why Christianity was not encouraged in Sikkim to check the influence of the monasteries, particularly when the Christian missionaries were so enthusiastic at neighbouring Darjeeling district? Practically, of the principal tribes of Sikkim, only the Lepchas did not belong to any established religion and they were originally spirit-worshippers. Though after the advent of the Bhotias from Tibet they were converted to Buddhist, they did not give up their old religious practice and rituals. A bulk of these Lepchas took shelter in Darjeeling since the day of the British possession and more than 50 per cent of the Christian population of Darjeeling in the decade ending 1901 were from these Lepchas.⁵ But the Bhotias were Buddhists and Tibetan in origin, sentiment and culture. Tibet was completely opposed to the Christian Missionary activities. The Catholic Missionaries of Messrs Desgodins, Biet and Gonlettle and their Christian followers were badly treated and persecuted in Tibet.⁶ The British perhaps feared that the preaching of Christianity in Sikkim would alarm the Tibetans and would hamper trade which was their prime object. In the thinly populated state of Sikkim the British authorities encouraged the Nepalese immigration to get supply of working force and these Nepalese outnumbered the indigenous Lepchas and Bhotias (discussed in chapter III). These Nepalese were Hindus and attempt to spread Christianity among them was sure to create adverse repercussion. So the British policy was not to annoy them but to encour-

4 *Sikkim State Gazetteer, Statistics, 1901-02*, Table No. XI, P. 6.

5 O'Malley, L. S. S., *op. cit.*, Pp. 51-52.

6 L. G. P. P(G). A., September 1867, No. 5.

rage more Nepalese immigration to outnumber the pro-Tibetan Bhotias and they had nothing to fear from the Lepchas whom the British found to be effete. The Nepalese *Thikadars* were the newly created aristocrats in Sikkim to rival the Lepcha-Bhotia *Kazis*. The activities of the missionaries were confined in different welfare services in Sikkim. Besides, as White pointed out, the different missionary organisations of Catholic, Anglican, Scottish, Scandinavian, Baptist and other dissenting churches, all having delegates in one small area, led to bewilderment and confusion of the local people who could not grasp the point of divergence.⁷ So it was not desirable to the British to push their trade in jeopardy by indulging in Christian missionary activities and the Christian missionary activities in Sikkim and the adjacent Darjeeling district can best be considered as independent activities of different churches ; the Government having nothing to do in it.

The immigration of the Marwaris and the other plainsmen did not appear as a blessing to the Sikkim people. The Marwaris by lending money at usurious rate of interest, and against agricultural produce, ranging from 75 percent to 150 percent, caused widespread indebtedness among the Sikkim people. To check it, several resolutions were passed in Sikkim Council in 1908, and in 1914 some Marwari money lenders were expelled from Sikkim.⁸

White boasted that the revenue of Sikkim had increased enormously to meet the increased expenditure of the State since his appointment as the Political Officer there.⁹ Revenue increased, no doubt ; but for whose interest was the revenue utilized ? A perusal in the expenditure of the Sikkim revenue, between the years 1892-93 and 1904-05 will elicit that quite a reasonable amount of the revenue was spent to serve the British interest.¹⁰ Every year a large amount from the revenue was spent for road making and its

7 White, J. C., op. cit., P. 42.

8 *Administrative Report of the Sikkim State for 1912-13*, P. 3.

9 White, J. C., op. cit., P. 29.

10 C P. F. 22 of 1897, 18 of 1898, 27 of 1899, 48 of 1900, 37 of 1901, 37 of 1903, 79 of 1904 and 68 of 1905. (Expenditures of Sikkim revenue).

repairing and maintenance, and other public works which were required more by the British than by the Sikkimese for trade and this expenditure on road increased enormously between 1902-03 and 1904-05 due to the mission to Tibet. Similarly, a large sum was spent for "allowance to Raja and his Family" while the allowance for the grant of Darjeeling was stopped. Besides, a sizable amount of the revenue was spend to pay the commission to the *Kazis* and for this White was taken to task. (discussed in Chapter IV).

Whatever the British authorities in India wanted to do in Sikkim was done with the help of the Sikkim Council with White as its head. Naturally the British purpose was served and the British policy was uniquely implemented by the Sikkim administration, though the British authorities were very careful not to hurt the Sikkimese sentiment. But some of the practices of Sikkim like flogging, though were criticized by the British, were not discontinued and they themselves took recourse to flogging to force the people of Sikkim to work for their mission to Tibet. (discussed in Chapter III). Thus in their activities in Sikkim, the British were guided by the policy of de-Tibetanization of Sikkim and their own imperialistic design.

GLOSSARY

Amban	—The title of Chinese Resident at Lhasa.
Amlas	—Important officials in the Raja's Court.
Avatar	—Incarnation. In Tibet and in countries contributing to the Tibetan Buddhism, there is a belief that a grand Lama manifests after his death in an infant who succeeds him and is accepted as the incarnation of the deceased Lama.
Bakshish	—A present of money or kind.
Bazar	—Market.
Bhutta	—Maize crop.
Bhustiwalla	—Owner of holding of land.
Chogyal	—Dharma Raja ; head of the state or supreme authority in Sikkim.
Coolie	—Porter or hired labourer.
Dewan	—Minister.
Dingpon	—Captain. The title was nominal as Sikkim had no army.
Durbar	—Court, a body of officials at an Indian Court.
Goomba	—Buddhist monastery in Tibet or countries contributing to Tibetan Buddhism.
Guddi	—Throne.
Jagir	—Estate.
Jamadar	—Non-Commissioned officer in police or military.
Jong	—The district headquarter (fort) ; the administrative unit at district level.
Jongpen	—Officer in charge of district (Jong).
Kazi	—The Lepcha-Bhotia landlords in Sikkim with some magisterial power.
Khani	—Mine.
Kuot	—Realization of revenue in kind.

- Kumar —Prince. Derived from Indian usage.
- La —Mountain pass.
- Lama —Buddhist monks of Tibetan schools.
- Marwari —An Indian business community.
- Mondal —Village headman, under the Kazi.
- Morung —Terai ; the forest clad foot-hills of the Himalayas.
- Munshi —Accounts officer.
- Nazar or
Nazzar —A present to the king or his representatives.
- Newar —Ruling class of Nepal before the rising of the Gurkhas. They were well known for their sense of art, craft and trade. Probably, no Newar, like the other Napalese, worked as coolies in Darjeeling or Sikkim.
- Panchayat —Local self-Government.
- Pattah —Deed of assessment of revenue.
- Patti —Four seers of maize ; it is used as a unit for assessing revenue.
- Pepon —Tibetan officers in charge of district under the direct control of the Maharaja.
- Ryot —Tenant.
- Saheeb —A term of respect in India to persons of rank or Europeans.
- Salamies —Delivery of various agricultural produce, meat, poultry and fruits to the primary holders.
- Sravan —Fourth month of Indian calander.
- Sambat or
Sumbat —An Indian era usually followed by the Nepalese. By deducting 57 from the Sumbat the approximate English year can be arrived at. The Sikkim era referred to in chapter III and IV is Sumbat era.
- Sardar —Headman.
- Shengnas —Tibetan Kazis of same stock as the Sikkim Maharaja.

- Tatsang —Whole group of Lamas, a monastery or assembly of Lamas.
- Thikadar —Settlement holder.
- Vakeel —Maharaja's representative or agent.
- Zamindar —Landlord.
- Zolung —A sort of tax, or a duty on trade.

APPENDIX I

J. C. White's statement representing payment for the
education expected from private sources in Sikkim.

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Name of leading men of Sikkim State</i>	<i>Number of Sons</i>	<i>Rupees per mensem</i>
1.	Shew Dingpen	1	1
2.	Leving Kazi	2 (eight annas each)	1
3.	Sook Singh Kazi	2	6
4.	Song "	1	3
5.	Sunik "	1	3
6.	Renok "	1	3
7.	Yangtang "	1	3
8.	Terung Dengung	1	1
9.	Assoo Kazi	1	3
10.	Tassithing "	1	3
11.	Temi pepen "	1	nil
12.	Lachung "	1	nil
13.	Lachen "	1	nil
14.	Deboo "	1	nil
15.	Lingthen	1	nil
16.	Mongbon	1	nil
Total :		<u>18</u>	<u>27</u>

(Lieutenant Governor's proceedings. Political (Judicial) 'A' category, August 1896, No. 3).

A P P E N D I X II

Luchmidas Pradhan's appeal to the Government of Bengal
for protection of his holding which he received in 1867.

To,

Sir John Edgar, E. C. S. I. C. I. E.,

Sir,

I beg most respectfully to approach your worship with the following humble prayer, which, I hope, will receive kind consideration at your worship's hand.

Your worship has known me for the last 18 years during which period my humble self has always served the Government, to the best of my capacities and due obedience to the orders of your worship and those of other high officials, who have, I am proud to state treated me with usual favour.

Your worship is well aware that about 22 years ago I have received some lands in Sikkim for which a lease was granted to me and my posterity by the Lama Shahib of Phedong and the Rajah of Sikkim.

When I received the land they were full of jungles and without any habitation but I have done my best to have them well inhabited and cultivated. It is needless to state that I have been paying the due rents regularly.

Considering my humble services done before and in the last Sikkim affairs, your worship who is my old patronage would kindly see that I and my posterity may not be put to any difficulties as to the right and possession of the lands in Sikkim, and that the terms of the said lease may hold good in future.

As your worship knows me and my affairs full well and has always treated me with kindness, it is my humble prayer that your worship would kindly see so that I may not suffer in any way.

Your worship's obedient servant,
Sd/- Luchmidass Pradhan

24/10/89

A P P E N D I X III

Deed of lease of lands to Luchmidas and his family in 1874.

We the Phodung Lama and Burra Dewan both brothers of Sikkim Estate, hereby give the Sedam Land (which we have received from the Sikkim Rajah as per Lal Mohars or read Seal) within the following boundary and conditions to Latchmi Dass, Chandrabir, Jitman and Lambodar on a lease of context to hold power upto your descendants after descendants.

Boundary of land on the North and East form Rooe Naddi to its confluence to the Tista river, on the East-South all along the Tista river, on the South and West all along the Burra Rungit upto its suspension Bridge over the Rungit river, on the North-West from the Rungit suspension Bridge along the old road upto Pukka village along the Government Road to Koolow Ektompani, from the Jhora of Koolow Ektompani upto the Manfur river, on the East from the North of Manfur all along the Manfur Jhora upto its source.

All the land within the boundaries as above mentioned have been given to you and to enjoy by your descendants as well on paying Rs. 500/- (Five hundred) to the Rajah and 700/- (Seven hundred) to us both brothers, later Rs. 1,200/- (Twelve hundred). Whatever income you may derive above may be enjoyed by you and your descendants.

All the forests, trees, bamboos, canes etc. within the boundary of this land are yours and you may do whatever you like with them.

With the exception of murder cases you may have power to decide and investigate and fine according to your Nepaly Custom. Should the revenue be below Rs. 1,200/- you are to pay this sum out of your own pocket and take yearly receipt of this sum from us.

Signed and sealed,

Phodung Lama (Seal)

Khangsa Dewan (Seal)

Sumbat 1931, 12th Mangha, Friday
(By courtesy of Motichand Pradhan)

A P P E N D I X IV

Role of Luchmidas Pradhan and his family in Sikkim

Luchmidas Pradhan (Newar) and his family played very important part in the affairs of Sikkim and the British Government in India Supported the immigration of the Nepalese under the leadership of this family due to political and economic reason.

There was huge influx of the Nepalese in Darjeeling soon after the establishment of tea gardens there. Luchmidas Pradhan with his uncle Keshab Narayan came to Darjeeling in 1853 from Nepal and probably no Newar had come to Darjeeling before them. They settled in Sikkim in 1867 for working copper mine in Tukkhani in Southern Sikkim and later on worked in a number of other copper mines. Naturally relations of Luchmidas stayed in Sikkim for this work. In fact, this family was the pioneer of mining in Sikkim where no mining was done due to age old superstition inherited by the Bhotias from Tibet that attempts to make use of treasures below the earth would cause sickness of men, cattle and even the Dalai Lama and the crops would fail. The copper mines worked by Luchmidas and his family were :

- (1) *Tuk Khani* near Turuk in Southern Sikkim ;
- (2) *Rinchi Khani* in Rinchinpong in Western Sikkim ;
- (3) *Bhotang Khani* near Rangpo Bazar in Eastern Sikkim (this mine is now being worked out by the Government of India);
- (4) *Pachey Khani* near Rhenok in Eastern Sikkim (Photocopy of the grant exhibited below) ;
- (5) *Rathok Khani* in Namthang in Southern Sikkim.¹

Luchmidas family also minted coins in Sikkim for the first time. Sikkim had no currency system and bartar system was followed by the traders. In *Sambat* 1906 (1849 A.D.) some Nepalese traders made a representation to the British seeking permission for the circulation of the Nepalese coins for the convenience of their trade.

¹ *Gazetteer of Sikkim* (1894), Pp. 62-72; Family papers of Motichand Pradhan; Motichand Pradhan's correspondence with the author.

The British allowed them, accordingly, to use the Nepalese coins among themselves. In 1883 the Sikkim authority permitted Luchmidas to mint Chepte Paise (coin) for the Maharaja of Sikkim (the photocopy of the Grant exhibited below). Due to possession of copper mine in Sikkim, they started minting copper coin which, however, could not continue for more than few years. The Nepal coin and the Sikkim coin were in circulation side by side in Sikkim, Darjeeling as well as in Nepal. But on receiving information from the merchants that the Sikkim coin was no longer current in the jurisdiction of Dhankuta in Nepal, Luchmidas submitted a representation to the Prime Minister of Nepal stating : "similarly as formerly on the representation made to the British Government by the traders and merchants could carry on, so also now if the coin of Sikkim is allowed to be made current there it is not likely to cause any harm to any of the two Governments. If Nepal Government would be pleased to pass an order allowing this the traders and merchants would be using the currency with benefit. The coin of the Government of Nepal is still being used by traders and merchants and the people in Darjeeling and Sikkim. If Sikkim coin is allowed to be used freely in the territory of Nepal Government also by the traders and merchants they would use the coin advantageously and there is no possibility of harm of any sort arising to any of the two Government. If your Highness pass an order allowing this all the merchants will be able to carry on the business with facility". Luchmidas also requested colonel Gajrejang Thapa, Governor of Ilam in Nepal in *Sambat* 1942 (approximately 1885 A. D.) to make a submission to the Maharaja of Nepal in this matter and get an order passed allowing the circulation of the Sikkim coin in Nepal.²

The Luchmidas family in 1883 (*Sambat* 1940) was authorized by the Sikkim Government to collect taxes on land, liquor etc. and to utilize the forests in South Sikkim (The Grant exhibited below).

The Luchmidas family also had possessed a number of estates in Sikkim with the help of the Phodang *Lama* and his brother Khangsa

² Letter of Luchmidas Pradhan to the Governor of Ilam in Nepal, dated 8 *Shravan*, *Sambat* year 1942. (Family papers of Motichand Pradhan).

Dewan, two important Lepcha officers in Sikkim Court. In 1913 the estates owned by the descendants of Luchmidas Pradhan were :

- (a) Kitam, Chidam, Namthang, Singtam and Chakung by Rai Sahib Lambodar Pradhan ;
- (b) Pakyong, Rungpo, Pendam, Rigoo, Pathing and Temi by Rai Sahib Luchmi Narain Pradhan ;
- (c) Ney and Broom by Suriaman Pradhan ;
- (d) Pachey Khani and Taza by Dalbahadur Pradhan ;
- (e) Rhenok by Ratnabahadur Pradhan ;
- (f) Mamring by Sherbahadur Pradhan.³

Luchmidas Pradhan and his family thus owned copper mines, mint, number of estates in Sikkim and there was huge influx of the Nepalese to work in their possessions. This influx was never favoured by the Tibetan Faction in Sikkim Court. But the Nepalese were fortunate to get the support of the Lepcha brothers the Phodang Lama and the Khangsa Dewan and of the British who also required the Nepalese migration from Nepal to Sikkim. This family helped the British in different ways and the British authorities in India honoured Lambodar Pradhan, son of Luchmidas Pradhan, with the title of Rai Sahib for his service and loyalty to the British. Lambodar Pradhan became the owner of the largest landed property in Sikkim. Rai Sahib Haridas Pradhan, another son of Luchmidas became the Inspector of Police in Darjeeling. Motichand Pradhan of Kalimpong, the grandson of Luchmidas Pradhan and son of Lambodar Pradhan, was the Chief Magistrate and Chief Executive Officer, Government of Sikkim.⁴

3 Report of the Committee of Land Reforms, 1975. Government of Sikkim. Pp. 104-107.

4 Motichand Pradhan's Correspondence with the author.

(A)

Pachey Copper Mine Grant (In Tibetan language).

(See Illustration A)

English version of the Grant :—

All our subjects, irrespective of monks, laymen, high and low should notice this :

Regarding the new copper mine, situated near the river Turuk, the Kancha Tsondrabir Babu and Dal Babu, Haridas Khutsan applied for the grant of permission for working the copper mine, for which they will pay for the time being a rent annually of Rs. 200/- (two hundred) through Pashal, and they have also applied for the permission to use the place near the copper mine of Ga-thong, and ready to pay a rent of Rs. 100/- (one hundred) through Sangjong. If they do the needful as per order, they are allowed to work the copper mine for ten years, and also permit has been granted for using (settlement) the place.

So all the above mentioned people must co-operate and help them, and must not create any trouble, claiming this belongs to me and so on, and shall have no right to make claims.

And, the Newar traders Khutsan party shall have no right to claim anything that is not in the permission order. If they use unauthorized powers, create troubles, they shall not only be punished severely but also the orders to work the copper mine and to make settlement will cease to operate.

Hence, all must honour our orders properly. From Phodang (Palace), 30th day of 2nd Month of Fire-ox year (1877 A.D.).

(B)

Grant for Minting Chepte Paise Coin (in Tibetan language).

(See Illustration B)

English version of the Grant :—

All the subjects—monks and laymen, high and low, and particularly the Newar trader Lacheme Dhar must bear in mind (Honour this notice) the following :

The previous petition from the Newar trader regarding the making of the Chepte Paise, had been forwarded through the *Chekyhab* (Director) Saheeb to Lord Eden Saheeb, and permission has been already sent to the Newar trader. This day, through Garjong we have received petition regarding the making of the chepte paise, for which an increase of Rs. 100/- (one hundred) will be paid as Government Tax. So the order of permission had already been issued for a period of five years, provided that the taxes are paid without any delay, and also no agitation or trouble is created in the country.

Attention to this should be paid by all. From Phodang (Palace)
3rd day of 10th Month of water-sheep year. (1883 A.D.).

(C)

Grant allowing to collect taxes from land, liquor, labour, forest in Southern sikkim (in Tibetan language).

(See Illustration C)

English version of the Grant :—

Ladron Pun Tshi (brothers of Ladron) and Newar Babu Lacheme Dhar of South Sikkim, and all other subjects—monks and laymen should notice.

As our representatives of monks and lay people were purposely sent to your place and according to the orders of Lord Eden Sabeeb, the representative investigated the case of you South Sikkimese subjects and the Newar.

And agreement had been drawn that-the subject Newars promised to obey the orders and live peacefully with the Newars, and shall not raise any objection, agitation. As petitioned to Lord Saheeb. *Che-kyhab* (Director) and *Las-thog* (Ensuing officer), the same should be carried out for ever. Our southern subjects must pay the taxes of land, liquor, labour etc. as before without any delay or claim.

And the Newars must pay the taxes of man-tax (most properly labour), forests which together amount to the sum of Rs. 111-8 as.

This taxes should be paid without delay. Even if there is slight negligence on your part, you shall have to pay the taxes according to the agreement and shall also be punished physically, that may show a good example to others. Hence all must honour this.

On the 8th day of 6th Month of the water-sheep year, written from the Wangdin Phodang palace. (1883 A.D.)

A P P E N D I X V

Notice (in English and Hindi) permitting flogging for not taking part in the work of the Younghusband Mission.

(See Illustration D)

A P P E N D I X VI

Settlement in Kalimpong.

Kalimpong was taken by the British from Bhutan after the war of 1864 and in 1866 it was transferred to Darjeeling district. Kalimpong had an area of 401 square miles to the East of the Teesta.

In 1865 its revenue was Rs. 640, there being no land revenue but poll tax in place of it. In 1882, due to influx of new settlers, particularly in the north-west of the Teesta, Rilli, Mayrung and Rashed valleys, the revenue from poll-tax increased to Rs. 11,800. This portion of the estate was accordingly surveyed and settled in 1882. The *Ryots'* holdings were measured, rent rates were fixed for the different blocks and *pattahs* were issued to the ryots. The settlement was made for 10 years and on its expiry another settlement was carried out for the same terms of year.

By the settlement of 1901, poll tax was entirely abolished and the whole area was surveyed by cadastral survey.

Government being the direct proprietor of the estate, there was no private landlord or tenure holders. There was no one between the Government and the ryots. For administrative purpose the estate was divided into 48 blocks, each block under the charge of a *Mondal* or headman who were subordinate to the Manager of the estate who again was under the control of the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling. These *Mondals* were direct representatives of the Government on the Estate with duty to collect the rent from the *ryots* and to remit it to the Manager, to report all transfers of land, to inform the police of any crime which might occur, to look after the construction and maintenance of roads, to ensure that the *ryots* provided labour and supplied provisions for Government purposes, to act as intermediary between Government and the *ryots* and to look after some other affairs as authorized by the Government. In return for these duties, they received 10 per cent on all their collections except rent for cardamom land and were sometimes allowed free permits for grazing.

The rent was based on fourfold classification of the land, viz., Cardamom lands, terraced rice land (*Panikhet*), ordinary or unterraced lands (*Sukhakhet*), and orchards and fallow of less than three years. The rent was determined in each case, except the first one, on the basis of fertility of the soil and general advantages of the blocks in which the lands were situated. The rate charged for terraced fields varied from 8 annas to Re. 1-4 an acre, those for dry cultivation from 6 to 15 annas and for the wastelands from 2 to 3 annas, the average being $13\frac{1}{2}$, 8 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas respectively. Cardamom trees yielded nothing for first three years and were rent free for that period, but after that the rent was Rs. 10 an acre.

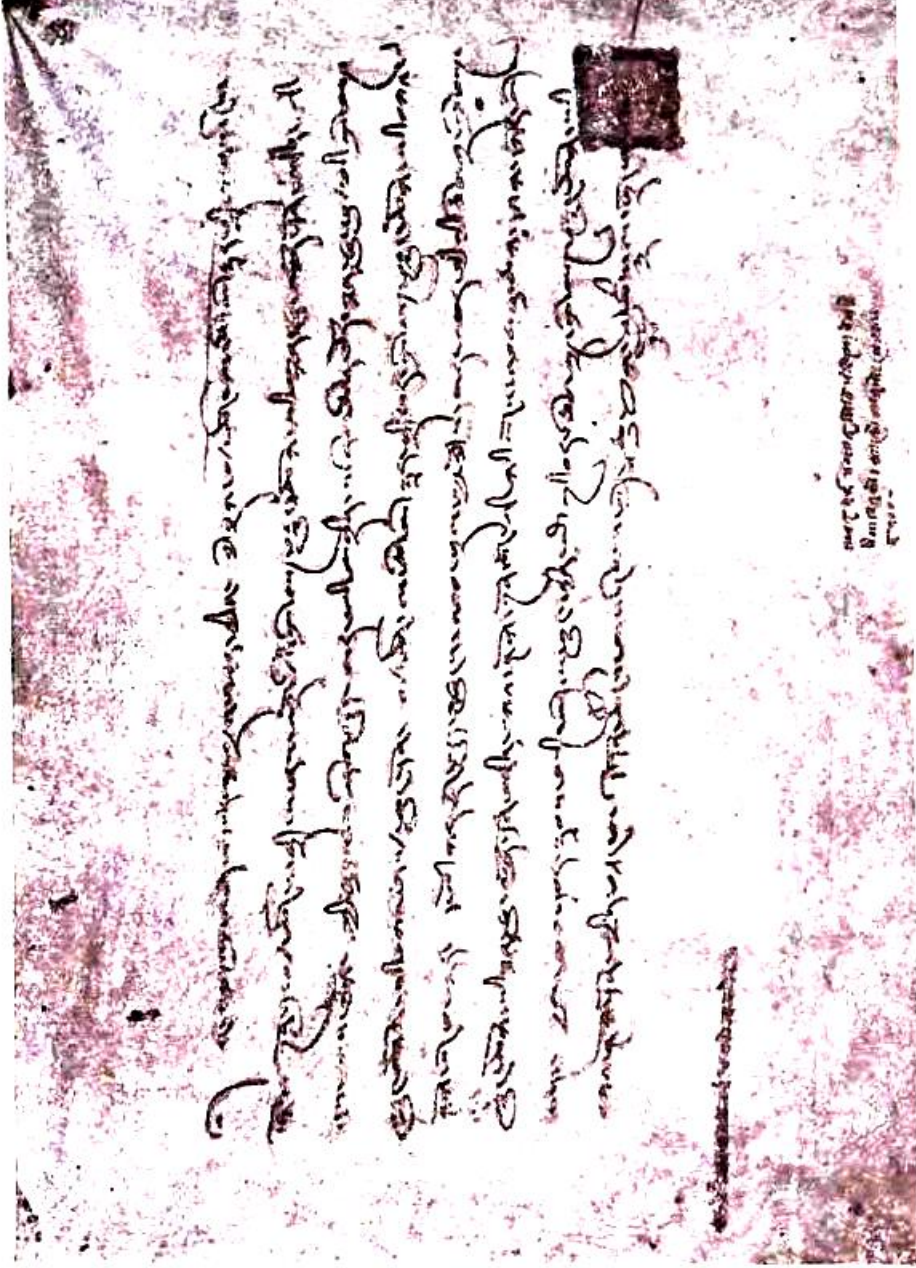
The whole agricultural lands were reserved for the Lepchas, Bhotias and Nepalese and the rent of their holdings was fixed for 10 years and in case of their failure to pay their rent, property might be sold up. They were strictly forbidden to sublet or transfer any part of their holding without permission of the Deputy Commissioner.

Plate—A

The image shows a page of handwritten text in Tibetan script. The text is organized into about 12 horizontal lines. The script is a traditional form of Tibetan, with characters that are somewhat rounded and connected. The paper is aged and has some reddish-brown staining, particularly towards the right edge. The text appears to be a formal document or grant, as indicated by the caption. The lines of text are roughly parallel to each other, with some variations in line length. The overall appearance is that of an old, well-preserved manuscript.

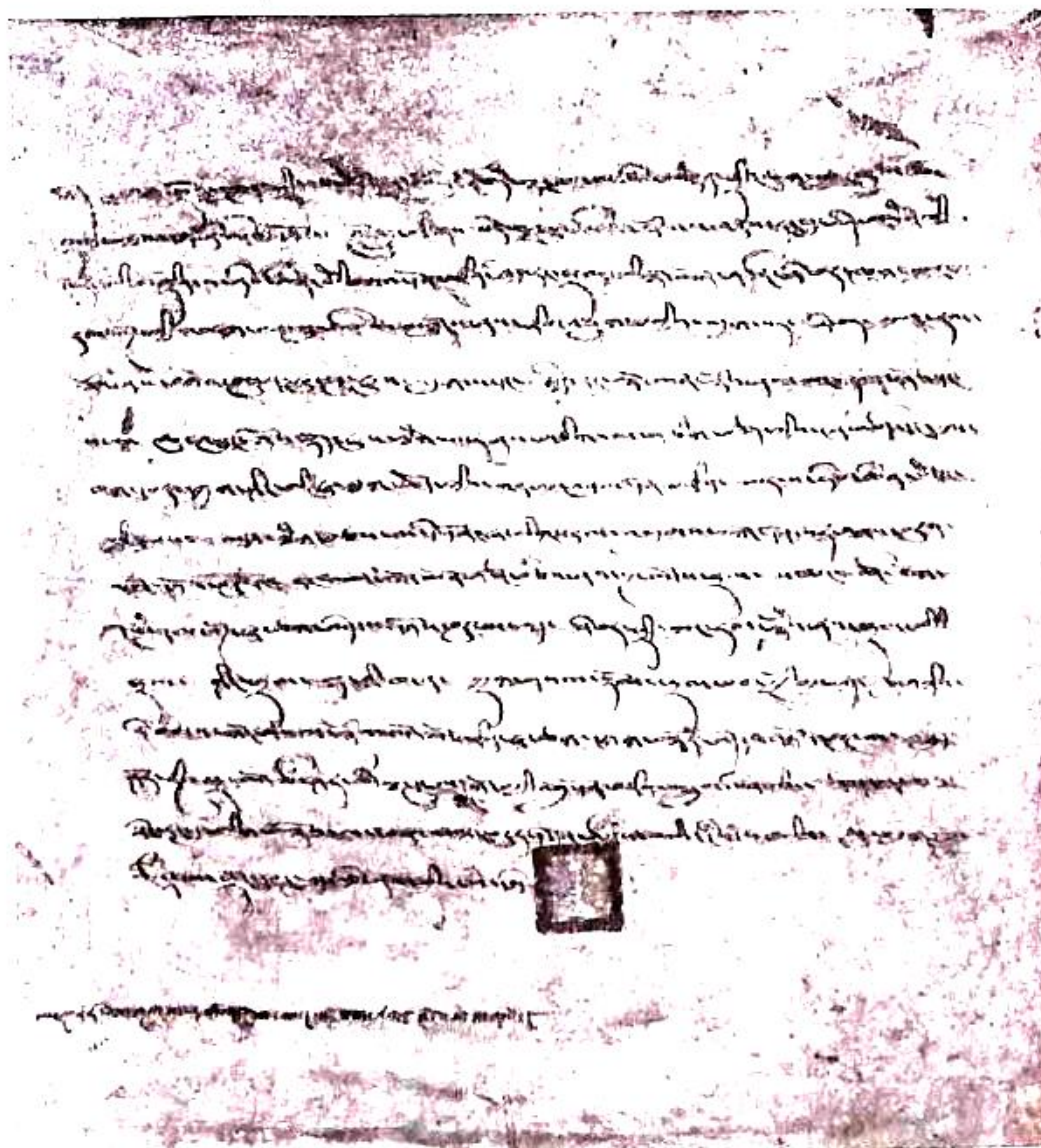
Pachey Copper Mine Grant (in Tibetan language)

Plate—B



Grant for Minting Chepte Paise Coin (in Tibetan language)

Plate—C



Grant allowing to collect taxes from land, liquor, labour forest in Southern Sikkim (in Tibetan language)

Notice

All the British officials and the
 Ambassadors present are here by word
 that if they find it necessary in the name
 of the Law to punish those who
 are ordered to do for their work
 they will get punishment and large
 of looks for their behavior.

एव वस्तुवादा लंघनीय वास्तुवादी
 न न ह्येन गौरीया मालुत वा गगा
 को इ एव न वा व लस्येदर प्रगत
 का हुकुम नदी हुते वा औ हाएनारी
 काम ते सुजी वे सु वा व हुकुम देवा
 नदी देवा वा उत को समत एवम
 औ १ सुजी व न मिले वा हा सुकु
 मक नगा

Gangotri
 8/19/0

Political Officer
 S. P. Misra

Notice (in English and Hindi) permitting flogging for not taking part in the work of the Younghusband Mission.

It was meant to prevent the Nepalese from buying land of the Lepchas and to save the *ryots* from being ousted by the money lenders. Each *ryots*, male or female, were bound to give two days' labour free of charge for the maintenance of roads on the estate. Besides all the *ryots* except the Brahmins and Khatriyas who actually did not drink were to pay Rs. 2 as Excise Tax. But this did not entitle them to brew for sale. Any infringement of these conditions rendered the *ryots* liable to have their lease cancelled.

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- 1 Ref: 1. Proceedings of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, Political 'A' category, March, 1904, Nos. 56-57. (Notes by C. A. Bell, Settlement Officer of Kalimpong).
2. O'Malley, L. S. S.,—*Bengal District Gazetteers—Darjeeling*, Calcutta, 1907, Pp. 109, 143-145.

APPENDIX VII

I

List of Kazis, etc. and the Commission drawn by them.

Item No.	Name of Kazis	Name of land	Rent paid to State		
			Rs.	A.	P.
1	2	3	4		
1.	Badong Kazi Kyomitashai	Ben ...	1,500	0	0
		Do ..	—	—	—
2.	Barmiok Kazi	(a) Namthag	4,043	0	0
		(b) Barmiok	1,223	0	0
3.	Tinchoda	Do ...	—		
4.	Mapen	Do ...	—		
5.	Dallam Kazi	Dharamdin	1,000	0	0
6.	Gangtok Kazi	Gangtok and Martam	2,521	0	0
7.	Jerung Dewan	Lachen and Lachung	600	0	0
8.	Jongtuk Jongpen	Tinkitam	160	0	0
9.	Dingpen	Tummon	300	0	0
10.	Kerzang	Sakyong	230	0	0
11.	Lasso Kazi	(a) Namchi	3,300	0	0
		(b) Keitam	585	0	0
12.	Living Kazi	Pathing	780	0	0
13.	Lobzang	Lingmo	263	0	0
14.	Mamring Kazi	Mamring	399	0	0
15.	Pachakhani	Taza etc.	1,600	0	0
16.	Penchu	Rinchenpong	665	0	0
17.	Pendam Kazi	Pendam ...	2,320	0	0
18.	Phodang Lama's estate	Chidam ...	2,430	0	0
19.	Rhenok Kazi	(a) Rhenok	2,000	0	0
		(b) Chuzachur	262	8	0
		(c) Rigu ...	800	0	0
20.	Rinzing Kazi	Ghur ...	1,280	0	0
21.	Shew Dingpen	Brong. Neg. and Upper Rungeet.	290	0	0

Commission			Rate of Commission			Remarks
5			6			
Rs.	A.	P	Rs.	A.	P	
60	0	0	7	0	0	<i>Rent are collected by Kabirang Subah</i>
50	0	0				
1,212	0	0	30	0	0	Ditto Babu Lambodar Pradhan to whom land was originally leased by Barmiok Kazi.
196	0	0	30	0	0	Rents collected by Barmiok Kazi.
10	0	0				
160	0	0				
300	0	0	30	0	0	
756	0	0	30	0	0	
180	0	0	30	0	0	
20	0	0	12	8	0	
36	0	0	12	0	0	
25	0	0	12	0	0	
990	0	0	30	0	0	
164	0	0	28	0	0	Rents of Keitam are collected by Babu Lambodar Pradhan to whom land was originally leased by Lasso Kazi.
227	0	0	29	0	0	
79	0	0	30	0	0	
119	0	0	30	0	0	Rents are collected by Dojuer Singh, son of Chandrabir Toxari, to whom land was originally leased by Kazi.
480	0	0	30	0	0	Only one-third of the rents is collected by the Kazi himself, the rest is now collected by others.
66	8	0	10	0	0	
690	0	0	30	0	0	Rents are collected by Babu Lutchmi Narain.
729	0	0	30	0	0	Rents are collected by Lambodar Phadhan.
678	0	0	30	0	0	The Kazi does not collect the rent himself, the estates are managed by others.
120	0	0	15	0	0	
384	0	0	30	0	0	
24	0	0	8	0	0	

Cont.

Item No.	Name of Kazis	Name of land	Rent paid to State		
			Rs.	A.	P
1	2	3	4		
22.	Simik Kazi	(a) Simik ...	500	0	0
		(b) Temi ...	1,000	0	0
23.	Temu Pison ...	Do ...	—		
24.	Singli Kazi ...	Mangmo ...	1,394	0	0
25.	Sonam Rinchin ...	Simon ...	508	0	0
26.	Sang Kazi ...	Sang ...	1,100	0	0
27.	Suksing Kazi ...	Sendup and Nampang ...	180	0	0
28.	Tashiting Kazi ...	Samdong ...	937	0	0
29.	Raja Tendup ...	Dharamdin ...	500	0	0
30.	Rai Ugyen Gyatshe... Bahadur.	Yangang ...	367	3	6
31.	Yangthang Kazi ...	Yangthang ...	1,100	0	0
32.	Chobagye ...	Wak ...	300	0	0
33.	Kewzing Kazi ...	Kewzing ...	412	0	0

Total : —

Commission			Rate of Commission			Remarks
5			6			7
Rs	A.	P	Rs.	A.	P	
150	0	0	30	0	0	
220	0	0	24	0	0	Rents collected by Persad Sing
20	0	0				
312	0	0	22	0	0	
152	0	0	30	0	0	
330	0	0	30	0	0	
54	0	0	30	0	0	
281	0	0	30	0	0	
150	0	0	30	0	0	
109	12	0	30	0	0	
330	0	0	30	0	0	
35	0	0	12	0	0	
60	0	0	15	0	0	Rents collected by Jerung Donzang.
9,959	4	0	—			

II

Rates and rents in lower Sikkim

Number of Villages in Lower Sikkim ... } 288

-Do-in which enquiry was made

(Twenty-five per cent of the raiyats were interrogated)

Sl. No.	Name of villages.	Name of landlord.	Landlord's rent to the State.	Rent collected by the landlord.	No. of houses.
1	2	3	4	5	6
			Rs. A. P.	Rs.	
1.	Pakyong	Doling Lama	*39 0 0	99	12
1.	Wak	} Chobagye	534 12 0	560	64
2.	Omchu				
3.	Tinkitam				
1.	Laring	} Ralang Lama	*467 4 0	Not known	127
2.	Junthang				
3.	Cboka				
4.	Wambum				
5.	Jarong				
6.	Lingding				
7.	Phyagan				
8.	Magar				
9.	Palek				
10.	Sangrum				
11.	Lingdam				
12.	Khyongsupa				
13.	Barphung				
1.	Mamring	} Dalbahadur	739 0 0	1,000	93
2.	Tachang				
3.	Kainjalay				
4.	Vemba				
1.	Manchong	} Sangchung Lepcha	1,380 4 0	1,500	111
2.	Tanchong				
3.	Sankha				
4.	Ledong				
5.	Tendam				
6.	Mendong				
7.	Singtam				
8.	Sopakha				
1.	Mangmo	Pirtheadhoj	917 8 0	1,200	70

*Monasteries do not pay land rent.

Rate of rent paid		Grazing fees.	Excise Tax.	Labour Tax.	Nature and value of any abwabs or Salami.	Method of assessment and collection, and any other information required which is not included in the foregoing columns.
Paharias	Lepchas and Bhutias, per house.					
7		8	9	10	11	12
Rs. A.			Rs.	Rs. A.		
Old System	4 8	—	2	1 12	Petition fee, Re. 1-1-3. Donation to Kazi's annual pujah. Four annas and a bundle of firewood, besides offering of grain, but er, etc., to propitiate the evil spirits. Buddhists only are expected to make these peace offerings.	<p><i>General remarks</i></p> <p>I. Method of assessment of—(a) unirrigated lands.—The rent is assessed on the number of patts of bhoota seed sown, a patti being four seers in weight. This assessment is made by someone deputed by the landlord, assisted by the Mundals and Karbaris, and the cultivator is told to be present. After taking into consideration the extent, nature and quality of the ground, rough and fairly accurate guess is made of the quantity of seed that can be sown on it. Any crop can be sown on a piece of land that has been assessed by the above standard. This is the new system introduced by the Nepalese settlers, and is becoming generally use. It has the sanction of the Maharaja and the Council and also of Government. But in many estates, the Kazi still assessed, in accordance with the Old Sikkim Custom, on what the tenant was in a position to pay according to the number of Cattle he possessed and the adult number of the family who helped him to Cultivate his fields and his general state of prosperity or otherwise. The average rent assess-</p>
Average.						
Ditto	6 14	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	5 14	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	3 8	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	7 0	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	3 0	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	3 8	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	6 0	—	2	1 12		
24 Patts of Murwa and 20 Patts paddy		—	2	1 12		
Ditto		—	2	1 12		
Ditto		—	2	1 12		
Ditto		—	2	1 12		
Old system average.	3 0	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	6 8	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	6 4	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	5 8	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	5 0	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	8 1	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	7 0	—	2	1 12		
As 14 per patti as 8 per patti		—	2	1 12		
„ 14 „ „ 8 „ per house		—	2	1 12		
Old system average.	7 0	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	9 8	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	8 4	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	6 10	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	11 4	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	10 0	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	4 6	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	6 8	—	2	1 12		
As 14 per patti As 8 per patti		—	2	1 12		

Cont.

Sl. No.	Name of villages	Name of landlord	Landlord's rent to the State.	Rent collected by the landlord	No. of houses
1	2	3	4	5	6
			Rs. A. P	Rs.	
1.	Bhung	Namphu Lepcha	210 12 0	Not known	30
2.	Katwa				
3.	Srinagi				
1.	Bangteng	Wongdu	214 4 0	Ditto	32
2.	Lizing				
1.	Sindirang	Pemionchi Lama	*506 0 0	Ditto	152
2.	Chougpoong				
3.	Gazing				
4.	Kyongsa				
5.	Jesigong				
6.	Rishi				
7.	Srithang				
8.	Chaugia				
9.	Longzeh				
10.	Nampung				
11.	Pram				
12.	Tookpong				
1.	Tinkitam	Jongtoole	239 1 3	Ditto	21
2.	Tapuosng				
1.	Kitam	Lachmi Das	13403 0 0	About 20,000	1692
2.	Soombook				
3.	Ramabong				
4.	Malli				
5.	Ralabong				
6.	Toorook				
7.	Chesribotay				
8.	Took Khani				
9.	Bool				
10.	Rong				
11.	Payong				
12.	Rubytar				
13.	Sodam				
14.	Soontolay				

* Monasteries do not pay land rent.

Rate of rent paid		Grazing fees.	Excise Tax.	Labour Tax.	Nature and value of any abwabs or Salami	Method of assessment and collection, and any other information required which is not included in the foregoing columns.
Paharias	Lepchas and Bhutias per house.					
7		8	9	10	11	12
Rs. A. P		Rs.	Rs.	A.		
Old System average	6 2 --	—	2	1	12	ed in this manner was Rs. 5 per annum. (b) Irrigated lands. The rent is paid in kind at the rate of 25 per cent of the produce. During the first three years of a newly irrigated piece of land no rent is charged. The assessment of the produce (Koot) is not made by the actual weightment, but is based on the yield of a patti of seed in average year. Land was not irrigated before the advent of the Nepalese, and this is a purely Nepalese custom. II. Method of Collection—villages are placed under Mundals assisted by Karbaris, and number of houses in a Mundalship range from 3 to 30, but for purposes of assessment of the State taxes for labour and excise, a mundalship is taken as containing 20 houses of raiyats. The Mundals Collect the rents from the raiyats generally in cash and pay them to the landlord, who gives the munda a consolidated receipt, the mundal giving separate receipts to each raiyat. Rents are collected usually after harvest time between November and February, when the raiyats have been able to dispose of their produce. Free labour taken by landlords and Mundals—
Ditto	8 0 —	—	2	1	12	
Ditto	6 11 —	—	2	1	12	
Ditto	5 8 —	—	2	1	12	
Ditto	4 6 —	—	2	1	12	
Ditto	4 8 —	—	2	1	12	
Ditto	4 4 —	—	2	1	12	
Ditto	3 6 —	—	2	1	12	
Ditto	3 11 —	—	2	1	12	
Ditto	4 8 —	—	2	1	12	
Ditto	6 4 —	—	2	1	12	
Ditto	2 10 —	—	2	1	12	
Ditto	5 0 —	—	2	1	12	
Ditto	3 4 —	—	2	1	12	
Ditto	5 4 —	—	2	1	12	
Ditto	5 0 —	—	2	1	12	
Ditto	5 0 —	—	2	1	12	
Ditto	7 0 —	—	2	1	12	
Ditto	5 0 —	—	2	1	12	
			2	1	12	
			2	1	12	
			2	1	12	
			2	1	12	
			2	1	12	
			2	1	12	
			2	1	12	
As. 14 per patti	As. 8 per—		2	1	12	
	patti.		2	1	12	
			2	1	12	
			2	1	12	
			2	1	12	
			2	1	12	
			2	1	12	
			2	1	12	
			2	1	12	

Petition for Rs. 1-1-3 Donation to Kazi's annual pujah, four annas and a 1 bundle of firewood, besides offering of grain, butter, etc., to propitiate the evil spirits. Buddhists only are expected to make these peate offerings.

APPENDIX

Sl. No.	Name of village	Name of landlord	Landlord's rent to the State	Rent collected by landlord	No. of houses
1	2	3	4	5	6
			Rs. A. P	Rs.	
1.	Badong	...			
2.	Dukdung	...			
3.	Kamdong	...			
4.	Singtam	...			
5.	Ralab	...	Raghunam-	955 0 0	1,500
6.	Kopcha	...	daram		80
7.	Singbel	...			
8.	Majhitar	...			
1.	Bhengyong	...			
2.	Sipthang	...			
3.	Ching	...			
4.	Chebyong	...			
5.	Pcotoo	...	Simick Kazi	736 4 0	Not Known
6.	Chaday	...			63
7.	Raboug	...			
8.	Simick	...			
9.	Lingzay	...			
1.	Temi	...			
2.	Tanak	...			
3.	Shim Kharka	...	Parsad Sing		
4.	Tarkoo	...	and		
5.	Rayoe	...	Lutchmi	1,720 4 0	Ditto
6.	Lahokthang	...	Narain		172
7.	Damthang	...			
8.	Sardong	...			
1.	Boom	...			
2.	Rishi	...	Penchu	1,077 8 0	Ditto
			Lepcha		111
1.	Kapmogang	...			
2.	Kandong	...	Rinchipong	* 78 0 0	Ditto
3.	Rinchipong	...	Lama		24

* Monasteries do not pay land rent.

Rates of Rents paid		Grazing fees	Excise Tax	Labour Tax	Nature and value of any Abwabs or Salami	Method of assessment and collection, and any other information required which is not included in the foregoing columns.
Paharics	Lepchas and Bhutias Per house					
7		8	9	10	11	12
	Rs. A.		Rs.	Rs. A.		
			2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
As. 14 per patti	As. 8 per patti	—	2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
	Rs. A.					
Old system Average.	6 2	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	7 6	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	7 9	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	6 0	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	12 0	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	2 4	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	10 0	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	5 14	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	6 8	—	2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
As. 14 per patti.	As. 8 per patti.	—	2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
Old system Average	7 12	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	8 8	—	2	1 12		
Old system Average	10 8	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	7 0	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	7 8	—	2	1 12		

Petition fee Rs. 1-1-3. Donation to Kazis' annual puja, four annas and a bundle of firewood, besides offering of grain, butter etc. to propitiate the evil spirits. Buddhists only are expected to make these peace offerings.

Kumar Polden has brought to light the exactions of the landlords in this respect, and in my letter No.949, dated the 3rd February 1903, I have shown the uses to which this labour is put and the steps taken to remedy the evil. There were a few complaints regarding the overassessments of land rent, but complaint against this taxation was not general. The villagers do not object to giving a few day's free labour, as this is part of the conditions under which they take up their land, but the unlimited demands that were made upon them made it unpopular. The new rules limiting the number of days to ten for both Kazis and Mundals have given general satisfaction.

Sl. No.	Name of village	Name of landlord	Landlord's rent to the State	Rent collected by landlord	No. of houses
1	2	3	4	5	6
			Rs. A. P.	Rs.	
1.	Tayat	Sherbahadur	756 8 0	1500	74
2.	Pacha Khani				
3.	Dugha Lakha				
4.	Gangchung				
5.	Chalumthang				
6.	Gangchung Lakha				
7.	Dekiling				
8.	Byangthang				
9.	Kali Khola				
1.	Payong	Tashi eg Kazi	1,375 12 0	1,600	112
2.	Lingi				
3.	Radong				
4.	Bray				
5.	Kaimbul				
6.	Ralay				
1.	Arithong	Kurgong	425 4 0	Not known	53
2.	Guruthang				
3.	Barukthang				
4.	Timigong				
1.	Rinchenpong	Kumangpal Limba	145 0 0	Ditto	12
1.	Yongsoom	Pala Lepcha	197 8 0	Ditto	18
2.	Mengyong				
3.	Lingding				
1.	Roongbul	Sangchey Lepcha	272 12 0	Ditto	21
2.	Taglog				
3.	Sumbrangbong				
4.	Jote				
5.	Nyotfri				
1.	Namrat	Sring Namgyal	148 8 0	Not known	18
1.	Barfoke	Agumsing Gurung	321 0 0	Ditto	42
2.	Nasur				
3.	Changden				
4.	Yongsoom				

Rate of Rents paid		Grazing fees	Excise Tax	Labour Tax	Nature and value of any Abwabs or Salami	Method of assessment and collection, and any other information required which is not included in the foregoing columns.
Paharias	Lepchas and Bhutias					
7	8	9	10	11	12	
			Rs.	Rs. A.		
			2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
As. 14 per patti	As. 8 per patti		2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
	Per house					
	Rs. A.					
Old system.						
Average	7 8	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	8 8	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	7 8	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	8 0	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	8 8	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	9 0	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	4 0	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	8 0	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	10 0	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	4 12	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	5 0	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	4 0	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	9 0	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	11 8	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	9 0	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	10 8	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	6 8	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	11 0	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	12 4	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	11 0	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	11 0	—	2	1 12		
Old system						
Average	0 8	—	2	1 12		
		—	2	1 12		
		—	2	1 12		
As. 14 per patti	As. 14 per patti	—	2	1 12		
		—	2	1 12		

Petition fee, Re. 1-1-3. Donation to Kazi's annual pujuh. four annas and a bundle of firewood, besides offering of grain, butter, etc., to propitiate the evil spirits. Buddhists only are expected to make these peace offerings.

Sl. No.	Name of villages	Name of landlord	Landlord's rent to the State	Rent collected by the landlord	No. of houses
1	2	3	4	5	6
			Rs. A. P.	Rs.	
1.	Chuzachen	Jerung Donzang	749 8 0	Ditto	90
2.	Chensing				
3.	Tingum				
4.	Mambring				
5.	Dolep				
6.	Mangbro				
7.	Hingdam				
8.	Bakhim				
9.	Ligship				
10.	Mendangang				
1.	Kyongoo	Tummon Mandal	476 4 0	Ditto	47
2.	Mendang				
3.	Kyongmet				
4.	Brung				
5.	Singdo				
1.	Jangong	Ugyen Gyatcho	695 11 6	1,000	89
2.	Sanprop				
3.	Naniphab				
4.	Gagyon				
5.	Chungthang				
1.	Rangang	Tobden Lepcha	202 8 0	Not known	30
1.	Nay	Shew Dingpong	335 4 0	Ditto	37
1.	Wampung	Barmick Kazi	2,029 4 0	3,000	215
2.	Tokul				
3.	Doring				
4.	Mamring				
5.	Pabung				
6.	Chalamtheng				
7.	Limbong				
8.	Laphak				
9.	Today				
10.	Dolep				
11.	Rishop				
12.	Pangkob				
13.	Rabiang				
14.	Rochong				
15.	Ramang				
16.	Gangchoong				
17.	Choring				

Rate of rent paid		Graz- ing fces	Excise Tax	Labour Tax	Nature and value of any abwabs or Salami	Method of assessment and collection, and any other information re- quired which is not in- cluded in the foregoing columns.
Paharias	Lepchas and Bhutias per house					
7		8	9	10	11	12
	Rs. A.		Rs.	Rs. A.		
			2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
As. 11 per patti	As. 11 per patti		2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
Old system			2	1 12		
Average	7 0		2	1 12		
Ditto	7 4	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	10 0	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	6 8	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	7 4	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	7 0	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	5 0	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	5 12	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	2 9	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	6 0	—	2	1 12		
Ditto	2 8	—	2	1 12		
As. 14 per patti	As. 14 per patti	—	2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
As. 12 per patti	As. 8 per patti	—	2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
			2	1 12		
			2	1 12		

Petition fee, Re. 1-1-3. Dopation to Kazi's annual pujah, four annas and a bundle of firwood, beside offering of grain, butter, etc., to propitiate the evil sprits. Buddhists only are expected to make these peace offerings.

Sl. No.	Name of villages	Name of landlord	Landlord's rent to the State	Rent collected by the landlord	No. of houses
1	2	3	4	5	6
			Rs. A. P.	Rs.	
1.	Singtam				
2.	Boordung				
3.	Majhitar				
4.	Khantinar				
5.	Kameray				
6.	Kali Khola				
7.	Mapjeg				
8.	Sujong				
9.	Pachan				
10.	Gungatay				
11.	Joden				
12.	Padamsey				
13.	Sownay				
14.	Bagay				
15.	Bhasmeh				
16.	Budong				
17.	Kanang				
18.	Sakoo	Lutchmi Das			
19.	Botan Khani	Dirghabir and	4,453 12 ⁰	7,000	569
20.	Karmithang	Zitman			
21.	Pendam				
22.	Sokay				
23.	Booroong				
24.	Choongthang				
25.	Jitsang				
26.	Samsing				
27.	Chulingay				
28.	Doogu				
29.	Chewribotay				
30.	Bhyogcha				
31.	Shagyong				
32.	Shifo				
33.	Salongbong				
34.	Pathang				
35.	Fokli				
36.	Sampkany				
37.	Mamling				

Sl. No.	Name of villages.	Name of landlord.	Landlord's rent to the State.	Rent collected by the landlord.	No. of houses.
1	2	3	4	5	6
			Rs. A. P.	Rs.	
1.	Mamlay				
2.	Tangseng				
3.	Mik				
4.	Bomtar				
5.	Mandaram				
6.	Salgari				
7.	Kolag				
8.	Kamrang				
9.	Tinjir				
10.	Assangthang				
11.	Kopche				
12.	Singriathang				
13.	Tringingthang				
14.	Dumogaon				
15.	Tanak				
16.	Najing				
17.	Pabong				
18.	Sipong				
19.	Possang	Sasso-Kazi	6,356 4 0	8,728-8	815
20.	Sibilambi				
21.	Dong				
22.	Ranguthang				
23.	Jambari				
24.	Salabong				
25.	Thoray				
26.	Bobrong				
27.	Maling (Dhambedara)				
28.	Tak Chung				
29.	Kalhait				
30.	Sungbum				
31.	Pakring				
32.	Ahlay				
33.	Binjay				
34.	Chamgaon				
35.	Denjong				
36.	Phalidara				
37.	Nabikyong				

Rate of Rent paid		Grazing fees.	Excise Tax.	Labour Tax.	Nature and value of any abwabs or Salami.	Method of assessment and collection, and any other information required which is not included in the foregoing columns.
Paharias	Lepchas and Bhutias, per house.					
7		8	9	10	11	12
Old system	Rs. 7 A. 4		Rs.	Rs. A.	Petition fee. Re. 1-1-3. Donation to Kazi's annual pujah, four annas and a bundle of firewood beside offering of grain, butter, etc., to propitiate the evil spirits. Buddhists only are expected to make the peace offerings.	
Average	6 6					
Ditto	6 8					
Ditto	4 0					
Ditto	6 4					
As 14 per patti	As 8 per patti					
Ditto	Ditto					
Old system	4 8					
Average	5 8					
Ditto	6 12					
Ditto	7 0					
Ditto	5 8					
Ditto	5 12					
Ditto	7 4					
Ditto	6 12					
Ditto	6 4					
Ditto	3 4	Per house	Per house			
Ditto	7 4	Rs.	Re. A.			
Ditto	8 4	1 to 3	1 12			
Ditto	5 12					
As 14 per patti	As 8 per patti					
Old system	6 0					
average.	2 0					
Ditto	4 0					
Ditto	7 8					
Ditto	6 0					
As 14 per patti	As 8 per patti					
Old system						
Average	5 0					
As 14 per patti	As 8 per patti					
Old system						
Average	8 12					
Ditto	3 0					
Ditto	6 8					
As 14 per patti	As 8 per patti					
Old system						
average	5 12					
Ditto	3 4					
Ditto	4 8					
Ditto	5 0					

Sl. No.	Name of villages	Name of landlord	Landlord's rent to the State.	Rent collected by the landlord	No. of houses
1	2	3	4	5	6

Rs. A. P. Rs.

1. Simboo	}	Dallam Kazi	1,955	0 0	Not known	180
2. Akra						
3. Phambong						
4. Rongbong						
5. Beyong						
6. Siktam						
7. Tikpore						
8. Thumbong						
9. Naksdangra						
10. Tarabir						
11. Korchu						
1. Dharamdin	}	Tenduk Raja	1,306	4 0	Ditto	215
2. Rengyung						
1. Chakung	}	Jerung Dewan	8,500	0 0	17,000	1,200
2. Sereong						
3. Segyang						
4. Medogang						
5. Malabangshi						
6. Budang						
7. Samsing						
8. Dathang						
9. Singling						
10. Suntalay						
11. Chumbong						
12. Gayling						
13. Temborbang						
14. Sirbong						
15. Rotok Khani						
16. Rotok						
17. Jum						
18. Malidang						
19. Barbotay						
20. Therpu						
21. Bunkhop						
22. Arubota						
23. Raho						
24. Majuna						
25. Pakigong						
26. Depung						
27. Senchi						
28. Shim Kumar						
29. Shinrop Dangra						
30. Dangragong						
31. Phonchibong						
32. Hurugung						

Rate of rent paid		Grazing fees.	Excise Tax.	Labour Tax.	Nature and value of any abwabs or Salami.	Method of assessment and collection, and any other information required which is not included in the foregoing columns.	
Paharias	Lepchas and Bhutias, per house.						
7		8	9	10	11	12	
Rs. A.		Rs. Rs. A.					
Ditto	6 4				Petition fee, Re. 1-1-3. Donation to Kazi's annual pujah. Four annas and a bundle of firewood, besides offering of grain, butter, etc., to propitiate the evil spirits. Buddhists only are expected to make these peace offerings.		
Ditto	8 0						
Ditto	10 10						
Ditto	15 4						
Ditto	4 14						
Ditto	5 6						
Ditto	13 0		2	1 12			
Ditto	8 4						
Ditto	20 0						
Ditto	3 11						
Ditto	6 0						
Ditto	17 9						
Ditto	38 0		2	1 12			
Old system							
Average	15 12						
Ditto	22 12						
Ditto	25 8						
Ditto	9 10						
Ditto	20 0						
Ditto	10 15						
Ditto	17 8						
Ditto	15 10						
Ditto	23 10						
Ditto	8 0						
Ditto	9 7						
Ditto	11 2						
Ditto	14 8						
Ditto	13 14						
Ditto	15 8						
Ditto	12 12	Per house	Per house				
Ditto	9 10	2	1 12				
Ditto	11 12						
Ditto	10 2						
Ditto	21 10						
Ditto	18 0						
Ditto	17 5						
Ditto	14 3						
Ditto	14 14						
Ditto	5 0						
Ditto	10 2						
Ditto	17 9						
Ditto	15 4						
Ditto	14 8						
Ditto	15 13						
Ditto	10 14						
Ditto	16 10						

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