

**GANGTOK : METAMORPHOSIS OF
A STEREOTYPE-SIKKIM-URBAN CONGLOMERATE
INTO A COLONIAL HILL-STATION (1889-1950) :
A HISTORICAL CONSTRUCT**

*Thesis submitted to the University of North Bengal for the
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CONTENTS

Chapter I:	Urbanisation in India : A Pre British Experience.	1
Chapter II:	The Growth of the City of Gangtok as the Capital of Sikkim: A study of Sikkim-Nepal relations in the later part of the 18 th and early 19 th centuries.	38
Chapter III:	Emergence of Gangtok as a Semi-Hill Station from the time of Claude White	97
Chapter IV:	Urbanisation of Gangtok Administration Economy Education Health Services Social Formations	155
Chapter V:	Conclusion	250
Glossary		257
Appendix I:	Some of the important constructions and other developmental activities undertaken at Gangtok during 1889-1950	261
Appendix II:	Khangsa Brothers	267
Appendix III:	Council Meeting Dated the 16 th November 1892	269
Appendix IV:	Extracts from the minutes of Council Meeting	271
Appendix V:	Council Meeting Dated the 4 th February 1896	272
Appendix VI:	Exports into Tibet across the Sikkim - Tibet Frontier from 1 st April 1904 to 31 st March 1905	274
Appendix VII:	Municipal rules for the Bazaars in Sikkim	278
Appendix VIII:	Rules for the Management of and Discipline in the Hostel of Sir Tashi Namgyal High School, Gangtok	282
Appendix IX:	Rules regarding Dog Licences	285
Appendix X:	Rules regarding PLYing of Carts in Sikkim	286

Appendix XI:	Revenue Income from Public Works between 1906-1932	288
Appendix XII:	Sikkim Police Guide	289
Appendix XIII:	The New P.O.	298
Appendix XIV:	Expenditure on Public Works during the year 1907-1908	300
Appendix XV:	Expenditure on Public Works during the year 1908-1909	301
Appendix XVI:	Expenditure on Public Works during the Year 1910-1911	302
Appendix XVII:	Expenditure on Public Works during the Year 1912-1913	303
Appendix XVIII:	Expenditure on Public Works during the Year 1914-1915	304
Appendix XIX:	Expenditure on Public Works during the year 1916-1917	305
Appendix XX:	Expenditure on Public Works during the Year 1917-1918	306
Appendix XXI:	Expenditure on Public Works during the Year 1918-1919	307
Appendix XXII:	Expenditure on Public Works during the Year 1922-1923	308
Appendix XXIII:	Expenditure on Public Works during the Year 1923-1924	309
Appendix XXIV:	Expenditure on Public Works during the Year 1925-1926	310
Appendix XXV:	Expenditure on Public Works during the year 1926-1927	311
Appendix XXVI:	Expenditure on Public Works during the Year 1927-1928	312
Appendix XXVII:	Expenditure on Public Works during the	

Year 1929-1930	313
Appendix XXVIII: Expenditure on Public Works during the Year 1930-1931	314
Appendix XXIX: Expenditure on Public Works during the Year 1931-1932	315
Bibliography	316
Illustrations	Plates
- The British Residency Gangtok	1
- Gangtok 1913	2
- Road to the North of Sikkim showing a timber bridge	3
- Gangtok Bazaar, C 1938	4
- Polo Ground, September 1941	5
- Approach road to Gangtok Bazaar, Lal Bazaar 1948	6
- Development Area 1949	7
- Letter head of Jetmull and Bhojraj the Marwari business men of Darjeeling who opened a bank at Gangtok in 1889	8
Maps	
Location of Holy sites in Yuksam Area	1
Road map showing the palace area, 1908	2
Road map covering important locations in and around the Ridge, 1922	3
Gangtok Military Compound	4
Showing the settlement policy during the period of British Adminis- tration in Sikkim	5
Graph	
Graphic Representation of the <i>Nathu-la</i> and <i>Jelep</i> routes	1

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PREFACE

The historical development of Gangtok, the Capital of Sikkim from an obscure beginning into a world of urban culture forms an interesting area of study. Gangtok could not remain isolated from the influences of the British Raj as she had to serve the exigencies of colonial pride and greed. The Government of India was interested in Sikkim for its own reasons and so different Political Officers were put to task to create a congenial atmosphere within the country for fulfilling British desires. In this process, Gangtok emerged out as a cantonment township followed by steady additions of other criteria of urban elements.

Historians, writers and researchers have expended labour to record the History of the Chogyal Dynasty and the political relations of Sikkim with her neighbouring countries. Recent research has also been done on the modern period of Sikkim's history with special focus on the administration of British. However, in all such labour Gangtok's importance has not been explored although it was the seat of British administration in Sikkim and the centre of Indo-Tibetan trade.

Therefore, in view of these facts I have made an humble effort to explore the unrecorded evidences of the modern history of the Capital of Sikkim, its growth and development as an urban centre emerging out as a natural corollary of colonial penetration.

CHAPTER-I

Urbanisation in India: A pre-British Experience

Among the forces that have triggered off massive changes in human society during the last two hundred years or so, urbanisation is one of the most potent ones. Therefore, very often the level of urbanisation is treated as an indicator of development and catholicity of a society. No matter how valid this notion is, the fact that urbanisation, development and social change are interrelated cannot be denied. One impacts the other rather directly and hence the issue is important not only from academic angle but from policy and planning angles.

What gives rise to urbanisation? Is it a product of growth in population, or a change in the pattern of population distribution? Or is it a social change, a break from traditional past? Or is it a change in economic growth or a product of industrial revolution?

Sociologists look at urbanisation as a process as well as an instrument of modernisation and social change—a break from traditional past. It connotes a change from a parochial to cosmopolitan outlook and from personal and sentimental to impersonal, contractual and utilitarian relationships. Geographers look at urbanisation as a process by which human beings or population and their activities congregate spatially to give rise to towns and cities of various sizes¹ Prof. Hauser and Duncan² use ‘urbanisation’ just in this sense when they characterise urbanisation as a “change in the pattern of population distribution. It involves an increase in the relative size of the urban population, a growth in number and size of urban settlements, a place and an increasing concentration of the population in such places.” Hope Tisdale Eldridge³ also echoes a similar opinion when he says that there can be no meaning of it (urbanisation) but a process of population concentration which involves two elements: multiplication of points of concentration and the increase in the size of individual concentrations.⁴ Economists lay emphasis on cities as engines of economic growth, so much so that the level of urbanisation is frequently used as proxy for the level of economic development.⁴ Again, some would stress the political aspect as Prof. B. Bhattacharya⁵ puts it, ‘as

seats of administration..., thus political role took a very important part in setting the urban pattern..."

While some scholars consider the social factor as responsible for urban growth, others give the same place either to economic, political or geographical factors. We do not suggest that these factors are meaningless in the context of urban development, but we assert that none of these factors was independently sufficient enough to transform a rural settlement into an urban centre. An isolated factor is simply incapable of giving birth to a system/ organisation/ institution which encompasses within its orbit and, in turn, affects the whole societal system.⁶

Hoselitz, Hauser and Lerner were the foremost among the scholars who emphasised the study of urban growth with particular reference to its bearing on social change, economic development and cultural change.⁷ Hoselitz's⁸ argument is that urbanisation, economic growth and cultural change are interrelated. Hoselitz has classified cities into two types viz., 'Generative' and 'Parasitic'. A city will be designated as generative if its impact on economic growth is favourable. A city will be considered as parasitic, if it exerts an opposite impact.

Hauser⁹ too has analysed urbanisation in relation to economic development and social change. He argues that industrialisation and urbanisation produced not only a changed physical environment and new forms of economic organisation, but also profoundly affected the social order and man's conduct and thought. "Urbanisation produced not only the city as a physical and economic structure, but also urbanism as a way of life."

Lerner¹⁰ has attempted to investigate the relationship between urbanisation and some non-economic variables. In his pioneering study of the Middle East, Lerner has tried to show how increasing urbanization has tended to raise literacy and in turn has led to wider economic and social participation.

Urban development is therefore a complex process defying any simple and isolationist explanation. As it is the epitome of a society advancing towards more civilised way of life, it can be studied and viewed properly only in a total societal framework. Any explanation of this emerging pattern becomes lopsided if one or the other aspect of its growth is over emphasised at the cost of other equally

relevant factors. Indeed, urbanisation is a process by which man transforms his agricultural based rural habitat into essentially non-agricultural urban functions and places and a change of his homogeneous habitat into a large heterogeneous mass.¹¹

As there is no universally acceptable definition of urbanisation, so also there is no universally acceptable population size norm for a place to be called a town. In Greenland, for example, a place with 300 or more inhabitants is called a town while in the Republic of Korea an area must have at least 40,000 inhabitants to be called a town. A place with thousand can qualify for township in Canada and 2,500 in the U.S. Clearly numbers alone mean very little. There are circumstances in which numerically small settlements may have urban characteristics like density, markets, and administrative functions. In India, for instance, a town must not only have more than 5,000 inhabitants but some other conditions are also to be met. These conditions are: at least 75 percent of people must be engaged in non-agricultural functions; it must be incorporated in a municipality for urban governance and it must meet certain infrastructure standards.¹² United Nations, for international comparability, has recommended a population of 20,000 as the cut off point for a place to qualify for township.¹³

I

Substantive research on urban problems in India belonging to the post-Independence period reveal a long history of urbanisation beginning with the Indus Civilisation down till the independence of India and even of the later period. The first phase of urbanisation in the Indus valley is associated with the Harappan civilisation dating back to 2350 B.C. The cities of this civilisation flourished over a period of more than 600 years up to about 1700 B.C and this was followed by a prolonged period of over a thousand years in which we have no evidence of urban development. From around 600 B.C, we again come across towns and cities associated with two major, but closely related, cultural streams of India, namely the Aryan Civilisation of the North and the Dravidian civilisation of the South. From this period onwards India has had more or less a continuous history of urbanisation. Once towns came into existence in the early historic period they suffered decay and

decline but they did not completely disappear unlike the Harappan towns.¹⁴ This phase of urbanisation in Indian History has been termed as the second urbanisation.

What can be understood from the above account is that the story of urbanisation in India in historical times is a story of spatial and temporal discontinuities. The earliest urban developments were confined to the Indus valley and the adjoining parts of Rajasthan, Punjab and to some extent western Uttar Pradesh. Other parts of the country remained outside the pale of urbanisation. In the early historical period urbanisation took place in the southern part of the Indian peninsula, while the areas in between had no known cities. During much of the historical period, vast parts of the country were untouched or only partly affected by urbanisation. Spatial discontinuities in urbanization continue to be an important aspect even in modern India.¹⁵

In view of the distinctive features of our social, economic and political systems, the causative factors behind urbanisation varied from time to time, leading to not one but several urbanisation processes at different points of time. In the prehistoric period, urbanisation was synonymous with the origin and rise of civilisation itself, thus manifesting itself essentially as a cultural process. In the historical periods, from ancient times to the British period, urbanisation was inextricably related to the rise and fall of kingdoms, dynasties and empires and thus in effect urbanisation during this period has been associated with industrialisation and economic development. In this sense, urbanization is essentially an economic process.¹⁶

The history of urbanisation in India therefore reveals different processes of urbanisation at work throughout the historical period. Geographer for example R. Ramachandran suggests four processes of urbanisation at work. These are: (a) the emergence of new social relationships among people in cities and between people in cities and those in villages through a process of social change; (b) the rise and fall of cities with changes in the political order; (c) the growth of cities based on new productive processes, which alter the economic base of the city, and (d) the physical spread of cities with the inflow of migrants, who come in search of a means of livelihood as well as a new way of life.¹⁷

Recent trends in urbanisation problem have given rise to debates in the study of urbanisation in India, its processes and classification. While R. Ramachandran suggests the study of urbanisation in terms of rural-urban relationship, production categories, settlement pattern,¹⁸ historians on urbanisation hold a different theoretical position to study urbanisation in India. They suggest classification of urban centres in terms of the feudal mode of production. The historians involved in this debate are R.S Sharma,¹⁹ D.N Jha,²⁰ V.S.N Yadav²¹ and Terrance Bies,²² Harbans Mukhia²³ etc. B.D Chattopadhyaya²⁴ and R. Champakalaxmi²⁵ have enriched the quality of debate. The major points of debate are the following:

- (a) R.S Sharma holds the view that urban centres during the time of second urbanisation in India prove on account of state feudalists. Sharma borrowed the argument of Henry Pirenne. D.D Kosambi nomenclatured this type of feudalism as feudalism from above. Sharma is of the view that decline of second urbanization is explained by the decline of state feudalists.²⁶
- (b) B.D Chattopadhyaya and R. Champakalaxmi suggest that after the decline of second urbanisation, a third phase of urbanisation took place in the early medieval India on account of the growth of the local trading communities and trade centres. "The majority of urban centres of this period were primarily nodal points in local exchange networks, the numerical strength of settlements and a growth in the number of locality elites tended to result in the proliferation of urban centres of relatively modest dimensions."²⁷ Thus, the third urbanisation with some characteristic features are being explained by them as the product of decentralised feudals. Kosambi²⁸ classified them as products of feudalism from below.

II

Amidst an ocean of tiny, autarchic villages, urban centres had sprung up and existed for centuries in India.²⁹ Even after going through extremely difficult situation on one or on innumerable occasions during the early medieval period, the Indian urban centres embarked on a vigorous flourishing career.³⁰ This indomitable life force so characteristic of Indian urban centre is gathered from the unique location as well as the rich economic situation enjoyed by them. Political disturbances, much shorter in duration than the spells of peace, could hardly affect

these inherent qualities so that the cities could easily spring back to normalcy as soon as the difficult times passed off.³¹

The Muslim rulers came to India to stay in India. It therefore follows that the Muslims had offered to the countries they had conquered something more substantial than Islamic faith and fraternity alone. Whatever other factors might have been incorporated in their programme of consolidation, urbanisation was one of the major items on the agenda. The vast territories could properly be governed through the deputies appointed by the Caliphs in a series of well dispersed towns. Thus, the foundation of new towns or resuscitation of the older ones was undertaken primarily under the stress of political necessity. But, by introducing this new element of multiplication of urban centres the Muslim conquerors had shifted the focal point from rural communities to urban agglomerations. As a result of this approach, the appearance of new towns became almost a routine matter in the Muslim empire.³²

Contemporary historical treatises are full of reference on the foundation, decline and other relevant aspects of urban centres. These sources clearly bring out how skillfully Muslims had handled towns in India, possibly because of their urban background. Borrowing from their past traditions the Sultans set up *thanas* or military posts at appropriate points and placed them under their nominated incumbents. These *thanas*, big or small, old or new, formed the nucleus of towns that were to be nurtured and raised in due course of time into large thriving populous urban centres.³³

The Muslim rulers also did not fail to understand that urban prosperity ultimately enriches the royal exchequer, and this is only possible under an able administration, taking care of the productive organs and helping the safe movement of goods from one place to another.³⁴ Therefore, since the accession of Lodi Sultans their developmental activity was largely focused on building roads connecting distant outposts of the empire, plantation of shady trees on either sides of the highways,³⁵ construction and maintenance of *Sarais* or resting places for the travellers at fixed stages of journey and furnishing these *Sarais* with lodgings, wells, mosques and separate boards for Muslims and Hindus and fodder for their animals.³⁶ The charges of these *Sarais* were nominal. Manucci³⁶ paid glowing

tribute to the system of *Sarais*. The *Sarais* were fortified places, built of stone or brick, offering accommodation to 800 to 1000 persons or more, in many cases along with their horses, camels, and carriages. Construction of *Sarais* was an old tradition of the Muslim rulers prevalent in the Islamic world.³⁷

The Urban pattern and structure that evolved demonstrated the rise and acceptance of the need of uniformity and hierarchy. The urban structure thus, had in its apex sixteen metropolitan cities of Agra, Sikri, Delhi, Ahmedabad, Cambay, Ellichpur, Burhanpur, Ajmer, Ujjain, Mandu, Awadh, Lucknow, Varanasi, Jaunpur, Bihar and Cuttack. The empire was divided into 15 Subas and 105 Sarkars or districts. Abul Fazl records that there were 2837 cities in 1594, but only the larger cities numbering around 180 are mentioned in his works. All the provinces, whether Bengal in the East, Berer, Khandesh or Malwa in the South, Gujrat in the West, or Lahore, Multan or Kashmir in the North contained many city of importance, besides numerous small towns and large villages of some consequence. From the literary evidences it becomes clear that the smaller urban places noted for their craftsmen, prospered considerably. All this led to an ever-expanding urban system with a hierarchy of settlements, each performing a number of economic, administrative and military functions.³⁸

In the Southern fringe of the empire, the rise of the Marathas, the Bahmani Kingdom, Vijayanagar Empire and later the Nizam of Hyderabad gave rise to Pune, Golconda, Hyderabad, Bijapur and Aurangabad. Mughals carried their administration down to the village level and for this they appointed a series of intermediate level functionaries, (Governors and Mansabdars) who were instrumental in creating new market centers and townships in their areas of jurisdiction.³⁹ Thevenot, traveling in India in 1666 provides us with information about widespread nature of urban development. There were thirty towns in the province of Gujrat⁴⁰ In the province of Agra there were forty towns. The province of Multan had many good towns. The country constituting Bengal and Orissa is full of castles and towns. There were great many trading towns in Rajasthan. Between Aurangabad and kalvarala, a distance of about 60 leagues had eight towns and in the Kingdom of Bijapur there were many good towns.⁴¹

It was basically from industry or trade and commerce that urban centres of the time got their source of support. The entire industrial structure was based upon different guilds and crafts of the village and urban communities having long traditions in the individual sphere of activities. The important industries, developed on the basis of this traditional skill could withstand every political upheaval as the producing units being house-bound were invariably small in size and thus could remain obscure at the time of unrest. Thus, the lack of state guidance during the sultanate period to the industrial and commercial activities did not hamper their normal progress. During the time of the Mughals the situation had certainly changed as the rulers had not only set up *Karkhanas*, but also participated in trading activities. The industrial and commercial activities, thus, were no longer the absolute monopoly of the state capital, in other words, capital- function was not the only decisive factor for giving rise to urban centres.⁴² Manucci⁴³ giving an account of the country in his time (1656-1717) reveals the existence of several prospering urban centres. The province of Agra abounded in white cloth, silk stuff, and cloth of gold and silver of great fineness and indigo. The province of Lahore produced fine white embroidered materials, carpets, saddles, swords, coarse woolen stuffs etc. Ajmer, Benaras, Allahabad were famous for very fine white cloth and great quantities of grain, milk, butter, salt, turban, waist-belts, womens' wear etc. The vast region of the province of Dhaka produced the prodigious quantity of fine white cloth and silken-stuff of which the nations of Europe and elsewhere transport several shiploads. The urban industries also produced articles of luxury for the aristocratic and wealthy strata of the society, it produced equipments for the army, forged weapons of war and undertook the construction of military forts, erected magnificent palaces, imposing temples and even such monuments of rare art or engineering as the world celebrated *Taj Mahal* and *Kutub Minar*. It was the urban industry which undertook to construct canals.⁴⁴

The town handicrafts of India, during centuries of their existence in pre-British India, had reached a high level of development. The fame of their products which were varied and of great artistic quality had spread to distant countries. The Indian industries, consequently, commanded a world market. V.F Calverton⁴⁵

remarks ‘...from ancient days, when Indian fabrics, tapestries, gems, carpets, enamels and mosaics adorned the private and public buildings of Rome down to the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, the world looked to India for its most arresting and exiting wares.’ The specialty of Indian products regarded as rarities by foreigners gave India a highly esteemed position which could not have been achieved without a strong urban foundation. It was this richness of India, preached by her fascinating products that attracted the west towards her, finally culminating in her exploitation.

III

European impact on urbanisation in India was evident as early as 16th century when the Mughal Empire was on ascendancy. The Portuguese traders established themselves at Panaji in 1510 and Bombay in 1532. Within a quarter of a century the Portuguese were not only able to oust the Arabs from their exclusive control of the Indian trade but also succeeded in establishing their settlements all over the western coast. The Portuguese achievements were followed by the Dutch, the English, and the French contest for monopoly of oriental commerce. The Dutch established themselves in Machilipatnam in 1605 and Nagapattinam in 1658; the English established their factories at Madras in 1639 and Calcutta in 1690 and the French at Pondicherry in 1673 and Chandernagore in 1690. All these European settlements and the European presence as traders in large number of existing Indian ports and inland cities, continued throughout the Mughal period, but, without having any marked impact on the level of urbanisation in India. It is only in the early 19th century that the British established a firm territorial hold in India, and India came under the British crown in 1858. From that time, until 1947, the British exercised unquestionable sway over the entire subcontinent including 500 odd princely states. The entire country, without exception, came under one political umbrella. This was unprecedented in Indian history. The course of urbanisation after 1800 in all parts of India was determined by British economic policies and social attitudes.⁴⁶

The consolidation of territorial power by the British and the end of a period of political instability brought about surprisingly, a period of stagnation and decline

of urban centres in India, which lasted for well over a century. Towns and cities long famed for their specialised products faced a continually shrinking market, the entire industrial structure crashed down under stiff competition from imported goods resulting in the slackening of the activities in the commercial centres.⁴⁷ This was largely a result of the industrial revolution in England and the growth of the textile industry in Manchester. To this was added an unsympathetic, almost hostile attitude of the new rulers to Indian industries which gradually languished under the pressure of unequal competition and forcible closure of foreign markets. By the end of the 19th century England emerged as a major industrial economy of the world and India was the main market for British goods. India's traditional urban centres which depended on the export of its industrial products, declined rapidly as a consequence.⁴⁸ The old populous manufacturing towns, Dacca, Murshidabad (which Clive had described in 1757 to be as extensive, populous and rich as the city of London), and the like, were in a few years rendered desolate.⁴⁹

The 19th century urban scenario stands out in contrast to the Mughal period of urban growth. A major feature of the early 19th century was the decline of the pre-British cities. The towns and cities hitherto acting as centres of political and economic activities of independent kingdoms lost their freedom of action. Their functions being restricted in many fields, the very purpose for which the cities existed became largely superfluous. The entire economy of the country was going through a devastating change necessary to serve the needs of the ruling power. The towns and cities had to fit into this changing pattern. Their obligations and responsibilities were not the same as before. Their economic or political functions were replaced by a role in general administration for which most of the important towns and cities were converted into some tamed administrative headquarters of the British India. This meant a great curtailment of activities in a much wider field which quite naturally could not be conducive to their growth. Decadence slowly crept in the urban life.⁵⁰

The first Census report undertaken in 1872 shows that within five decades Benaras was brought down from 1st position in 1820 to the 5th position in 1872, whereas the important places of English settlement- Calcutta, Madras and Bombay.

all of English origin, had emerged as the three largest cities of India. Other examples of the decadence of pre- British cities are- Agra which was once an imperial city was surrounded by extensive ruins all around at the first quarter of the 19th century, Vijayanagar a great metropolis of the 16th century was mostly in ruins, Cambay, the sea port and one of the most important metropolises of India represented a collection of uninhabited streets, ruined mosques, and mouldering palaces.⁵¹ The list can be lengthened considerably by citing examples of Delhi, Lucknow, Ahmedabad, Srinagar, Patna, Gaya, Baroda, Indore etc. (By 1872, when the first census was undertaken the urban population of India had declined from 11 percent in 1800 to 8.7 percent in 1872. There were only 16 cities with a population of one lakh or more and, in all, only 43 places had a population of 50,000 or more. While the pre- British cities showed a marked decline in population, the British cities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras showed remarkable growth.)⁵² Known as colonial cities they acted as headquarters of political and economic activities in India and so, they naturally enjoyed privileged positions and care than the other cities.⁵³ Having rather a free- hand in building these settlements, the English tried their best to make these towns an exact replica of English towns. The city's focal point was the central commercial area, with tall European- style buildings, representing the banks and headquarters of commercial and industrial houses. The city's administrative nerve centre was no less impressive. Dalhousie Square in Calcutta and Fort St. George in Madras were close to the central commercial area and had massive buildings which were British variants of Roman styles. To the native Indians, these structures provided a glimpse into European culture, while for the Europeans; they were reminders of their home.⁵⁴

It is rather strange that the peace offered by the British administration in India did not help much in the proliferation of urban activities in the country. The reason seems to be that the urban activities being reduced to administrative functions, supplemented by commerce mainly in foreign goods, followed by a planned systematic demolition of the old industries had destroyed the basic sustaining force for urban growth. The changes, thus, introduced in the urban functions had a great effect on the urban life in general. Those cities (originating

long before the arrival of the British) which could survive the shock had to lean on other means, such as, enlarged administrative and military importance and managed to make an existence out of them. It is interesting to know that in 1891, 21 out of 26 first grade towns and another 20 out of the total 47 second grade towns of the country had either forts or military cantonments in them.⁵⁵ The cantonments were most often built near major towns for considerations of security. Originally they were built for housing British officers and men of the armed forces. Indian soldiers were housed in separate areas within the cantonment.⁵⁶

Another modification which added a new feature to the urban landscape of India and which at the same time satisfied the racial pride of the British was the 'Civil Lines'.⁵⁷ The civil lines and cantonments were planned settlements and stood in sharp contrast to the indigenous town. The 'civil lines' contained the administrative offices and courts as well as residential houses for the officers. The civil lines had well-laid streets, widely spread buildings introducing English architectural styles into Indian cities and enough of green and open space to breathe in air of ease. They had basic civic amenities, schools, churches, hospitals, recreation areas in the form of gymkhana, clubs, game courts and race course. The 'civil lines' area thus stood apart from the native city.⁵⁸

The civil lines and cantonments highlighted the social distance deliberately maintained by the British from the mass of Indian urban dwellers. Their racial pride and alien identity kept them detached from the people they ruled. The city thus became more firmly divided within itself and the social distance between the urban and rural areas increased.⁵⁹

IV

A unique contribution of the British to the urban landscape of India was the creation of hill- stations. A number of hill-resorts were established at selected spots for the specific use of the British administrators, for temporary shifting of their capital to these places during the hot summer season. Initially chosen as sanatoria, hill- stations eventually turned out to be important administrative apparatus for the colonial masters thus giving rise to a new set of urban centres.

The Indian hill-stations as high altitude settlements were originally established by the British in India. The beginning of such a culture can be traced back to the early 19th century period when a group of hill-tops from Terai to the borders of Ladak came under British protection as a result of the Anglo-Nepalese war of 1814-16. The treaty of Sagauli in 1816, gave the British a direct control over the Himalayan Districts of Kumaon and Garwal. Since this time onwards, the English dream of having settlements on hill tops away from the heat and dust of the tropical plains was realised. The British contact with the Himalayas therefore, gave rise to a new set of urban centres catering to the British needs. There emerged an extensive Himalayan frontier of India dotted with hill-stations⁶⁰ like Simla, Mussorie, and Almora followed a decade later by Darjeeling in the northeast. From the start, these highland sites attracted visitors in search of rest and relaxation but, they also served as forward positions in the strategic reconnaissance of neighbouring states and as launching pads for commercial probes into Central Asia. Mahabaleshwar was founded within a decade of the defeat in 1818 of the Peshwas which concluded the war against the Marathas. The establishment of Cherrapunji was made possible by the acquisition of Assam in 1824. In the south, the relationship between the conquest of territory and establishment of sanitarium was less direct. It took nearly thirty years after the defeat of Tipu Sultan in 1799 for the British to explore and settle southern India's highest mountains, the Nilgiris.⁶¹

The first hill-stations were established as early as 1815 and by 1870 there were over 80 hill-stations in four different areas in India serving the four major metropolitan cities of Calcutta, Delhi, Bombay and Madras. These areas were (a) Simla-Mussoorie-Nainital near Delhi, (b) Darjeeling-Shillong near Calcutta, (c) Mahabaleshwar in the Western Ghats near Bombay and (d) the Nilgiri-Kodaikanal area in Tamil Nadu.⁶² However, the first resort that comes to mind when the Himalayas are mentioned is Simla where the hill-station concept was born and nurtured. As early as 1830, a Frenchman Monsieur Jacquemout, described Simla as "the resort of the rich, the idle, and the invalid."⁶³ Following the rapid development and quick popularity of Simla other resorts soon appeared in the Himalayan foothill.

The hill-stations of British India shared similar characteristics but, they differed greatly in size, function and clientele. Nora Mitchell has proposed the following five categories: (a) the official multifunctional hill-stations, (b) the private multifunctional hill-station, (c) the single purpose hill-station, (d) the minor hill-station and (e) the satellite hill-station. Among the stations that fall in the first category are Simla, Darjeeling, Nainital, and Ootacamund. They were government headquarters as well as social, recreational, and educational centres for the British. Kodaikanal, Matheran, and Mussoorie are examples of stations in the second category. They served much the same array of social functions as the first group but did not possess any official purpose. The three remaining categories are a good deal more difficult to distinguish from one another. Many of these stations could be described with equal justice as minor, single-purpose, and satellites of larger stations. Most stations of these categories were cantonments for British troops. Some were enclaves of missionaries, planters, pensioners, railway workers, and so on. Dharmkot for instance, was dominated by Presbyterian missionaries. Lonavala by employees of the Bombay railway system and Madhupur by retired civil servants.⁶⁴

The second half of the 19th century was the age of consolidation for hill-stations. Far fewer new stations were founded in this period but, existing stations became larger and more important to the British in India and their development became a matter of state policy. There emerged in hill-resorts Swiss-Gothic type of residential buildings, hotels, restaurants, market-places including facilities, the mall, the garden and the Public Schools offering British systems of education.⁶⁷ It was around this period that the hill-stations also acquired political importance. The great turning point, however, was the 1857 revolt which deepened British anxieties about their security on the plains and heightened their appreciation of the safety of the hills. As a result, civil and military authorities began to shift their headquarters to hill-stations wherever feasible. Simla obtained official recognition as the summer capital of the Raj in 1864, when the Secretary of State for India allowed the Imperial Council to accompany the Viceroy on his annual migration to the hills. By the early 1870s, most of the provincial governments had obtained sanction to

establish seasonal headquarters in hill-stations. The political importance of the official stations was underscored by the inauguration of large and costly public-building projects. Simla's physical appearance was transformed in the 1880s by the construction of the grandiose viceregal lodge and an array of other government buildings. Governors' or lieutenant governors' mansions were established in Darjeeling in 1879, Octacamund in 1880, Mahabaleshwar in 1886 and Nainital in 1896. A profusion of clock towers, bandstands, fountains, and statues evidenced a heightened civic pride and prosperity even among the smaller hill-stations. As railways extended feeder lines into remote areas, journeys to the hills became increasingly easy and inexpensive.⁶⁵ The growing importance of many hill-stations led to a number of them adopting corporate identities and becoming municipalities. Naini Tal was the first to leave the starting gate in the Mayorial stakes as early as 1845, with Mussoorie and Darjeeling the minor place-getters in 1850 and Simla a surprising fourth in 1891. Devolution of authority came to Ooty, Almora, Coonor, Dalhousie, Hazaribagh and Ranchi in 1860s, Lonavala and Kurseong in 1870s and Kodaikanal in 1899.⁶⁶

The hill-stations located at elevations of 1,500 to 3,000 metres above sea level attempted to replicate the ambiance of the English countryside for which the English in India longed nostalgically. It had been always true that tropical diseases and health hazards caused by them had been the single important pre-occupations of the British to induce them to set up stations at the hills for recuperation of the diseased. But, it had other underpinnings which had been underlined by Dane Kennedy. The hill regions of India correspond to the topography of the highland of Welsh and Scotland from which British aesthetic sensitivity towards landscape could be said to have originated. The natural ambiance of an undulating green meadow abandoned to a state of soundlessness and infrequently visited by a shepherd with his flock of sheep had framed the British imagination. Indian hills had appealed to them because they had more green and loneliness than even those landscapes with which the British had been familiar. Gradually, they had augmented courage to reduce a part of it to 'human proportion'. The other important aspect which Kennedy has made out regarding British preoccupation

with hill-stations was their feeling of exclusiveness. This feeling arose because of their racial prejudice against the Indians and their pride of being the rulers. While establishing the administrative headquarters in the plains they sought to preserve this exclusiveness by being sequestered in a settlement contraption called 'civil lines' not being frequented by Indians. In spite of the cordon sanitaire, which they had woven around, it was only the hill stations, which would have fulfilled their dreams of being at home away from home. In spite of it being sustained by Indian labour, the hill- stations could be very British in all details that were required by the British pride and prejudice. Thus, while determining the settlement policy three objectives were always kept in view that (I) the hill stations would provide the ambiance for exclusive living by the white denizens on the topmost regions of the ridges with exclusive down town facility, (ii) the availability of the domestics who would be settled at a safer distance at the foot of the ridges, and (iii) health and education facilities of the white soldiers and children respectively. The urgency to have these facilities realised had further introduced the hill-station planner to develop a new kind of hill architecture that was a blend of the Swiss villas and the new-classical architecture. As the hill-stations grew they assumed importance even as political head quarters or centres of power from where the English would issue and execute orders with an air of omnipotence. ⁶⁷

What comes out clear from the above account is that urban centres in India be it in the plains or in the hills have originated in diverse circumstances and have derived their rationale for existence from diverse causes. Historical studies of individual town have also used the approach that every city is unique, a discreet entity occupying a unique history. In studying the process of urbanisation of Gangtok we will notice this uniqueness amply exhibited. The study will also reveal that though Gangtok's urbanisation owed to certain causes such as its use as an administrative headquarter of the British Agency in Sikkim, its strategic importance and importance as a route to Indo-Tibetan trade. Yet, in the absence of other factors, it could not have been urbanised.

V

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. 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.⁶⁸ On the other hand, 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..."⁶⁹ Thus, Sikkim was sandwiched between China and the British India. Her immediate necessity was restoration of her lost territories. She got back her territories by the Treaty of Titalia in 1817. However, in the process of the British policy of de-Tibetanisation, Sikkim gradually began to lose her territory and freedom. Without any regular police or military force and with poor economic condition, Sikkim could not defend herself against the militarily strong and commercially aggressive colonial authorities in India. Consequently, she became an easy prey of British colonialism.⁷⁰

The beginning of a formal relation between the East India Company and Sikkim can be traced back to 1814 when the Company was involved in a war with Nepal. The Company became interested to establish its relation with Sikkim because of its strategic importance. 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.⁷¹ In view of the above reasons, the East India Company deputed Captain Barre to establish contact with the Maharaja of Sikkim.

184681



Captain Barre promised the ruler of Sikkim to recover the territories lost to Nepal in 1790. Thus, the Maharaja of Sikkim was brought in contact with the East India Company. After the Anglo-Nepalese war and the signing of the Sugauli Treaty on 2 December 1815, the Nepalese ruler was asked not to disturb the *Raja* of Sikkim. It was agreed by the rulers of both these country that they would accept the arbitration of the British in case of all the differences arising between Sikkim and Nepal.⁷²

To establish sound relations with Sikkim, the British restored all the territories between Mechi and Teesta to Sikkim by signing the Treaty at Titalia on 10 February 1817. But, the British reserved to themselves the right to arbitrate in any dispute that might arise between Nepal and Sikkim.⁷³ The political freedom of Sikkim was thus restricted and the company was benefited in respect of trade up to Tibetan frontier.

Between 1817 to 1826, no important transaction took place between Sikkim and the Company. However, the Company remained busy to acquire a place in Sikkim from where it could promote its trading interests. In 1826, a quarrel between the *Raja* Tsugphud Namgyal and his Lepcha Dewan Buljeet Karjee (also known as Chagzod Bolod), resulting in latter's assassination called for British intervention. After Bolod's assassination, some Lepcha chiefs with around 800 Lepchas left Sikkim and went to Illam in Nepal. The Sikkim *Raja*, in spite of the support given by Tibet and China failed to get the returns. At this juncture, both the parties applied to the British for help. This was a golden opportunity for the British to enter Sikkim and explore their interest in the region. Captain G.W. Lloyd and G.W. Grant were deputed to investigate and settle the dispute. During their visit, they noted the importance of Darjeeling as a place of health resort and in 1829, they again visited Sikkim accompanied by a surveyor named Captain J. D. Herbert. They emphasized on Darjeeling's importance as health resort as well as the importance from political and commercial point of view. Thus, Darjeeling came to the notice of the British. In 1830, Lord William Bentinck the Governor General proposed to his Council to send Lloyd to open negotiation with the Sikkim *Maharaja* for transfer of Darjeeling to the British Government "in return for the equivalent in land or money".⁷⁴ Bentinck also wrote to the *Raja* that the object of

possessing Darjeeling was not pecuniary but “solely on account of the typical weather”.⁷⁵ But the *Raja* put forward certain conditions to the proposal for cession of Darjeeling: (a) grant of Debgong (Debgram) to Sikkim (b) arrest of one Rummoo Pradhan against whom the Raja advanced claim for the revenues of the Morung for three years and the (c) extension of the boundary of Sikkim upto Koshi. The claims appeared to Bentinck to be impracticable.⁷⁶ Regarding the first condition Lloyd replied that it was beyond his power. On the arrest of Rummoo Pradhan, Lloyd did not comment anything. Lloyd assured the Raja that he would try to settle the dispute between the Lepchas and the latter. Although the *Raja* was informed that climate was the only factor for wanting the transfer of Darjeeling. Lloyd wrote to the 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 could be constructed so that tea cultivation, construction of native bazaar and settlement of Indian merchants could be taken up.⁷⁷ Thus, the British were bent on acquiring a permanent place from where they would operate and spread their influence throughout the Himalayas.

After prolonged discussion and communication, the *Raja* was made to cede Darjeeling to the British. On 1 February 1835, the *Raja* affixed his red seal and the deed of grant of Darjeeling was ceded to the British in India. But the *Raja* did not consider the cession to be unconditional. The British Government conveyed the *Raja* through Campbell that he would be granted Rs.1000 annually provided he agreed to the “free intercourse between Darjeeling and interior of Sikkim”.⁷⁸ The *Raja* was suspicious of the British promise. Ultimately in September 1841, the Sikkim *Raja* was granted Rs. 3,000 per annum as compensation for Darjeeling⁷⁹ which the Raja had to wait till June 1847 to get the arrears of compensation since 1835.⁸⁰

In spite of the Darjeeling settlement, the relations between Sikkim and the Company were not so friendly. Problems cropped up on the question of surrender of slaves to Sikkim who took refuge in Darjeeling as well as the criminals taking refuge in Sikkim from British India. Both the sides refused to co-operate with each other in apprehending the slaves or criminals.⁸¹ 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 had started between Sikkim and Nepal since 1827.⁸² Campbell charged the *Raja* of causing vexations, delays and regular money exactions from the people of Nepal, Tibet and Sikkim who were trading with Darjeeling, failing to comply with the demand for surrendering criminals from India, objecting to accept new road from Besar Batti to Siliguri as boundary on the ground that by ceding Darjeeling, the *Raja* had given no lands other than the mountain lands; preventing his people from coming to Darjeeling for labour and trade; prohibiting the people of Bhutan from coming and settling at Darjeeling; refusing to sell Sikkim's lime deposits to the British; applying frequently for surrender of slaves settling in Darjeeling. Campbell threatened the *Raja* of depriving of his possession in the Morung for his unfriendly course.⁸³ Campbell's bullying tactics paid dividends and in August 1846, the *Raja* sent his *Dewan* Illam Sing to Darjeeling to settle 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.⁸⁴ The *Raja* also granted the use of lime deposits at Singmare (presently in Darjeeling) in Sikkim.⁸⁵ Government of India decided to increase the *Raja*'s allowance from Rs. 3,000/- to Rs.6,000.⁸⁶

The *Raja* of Sikkim was not happy with Campbell for the latter's overlordship. But the Government of India refused to comply with the *Raja*'s request for the replacement of Campbell.⁸⁷ Relation with the British further deteriorated when Doctor Campbell and Hooker during their unauthorized exploration inside Sikkim were made prisoners in 1849. This action of the Sikkim authority was a sign of annoyance towards the policy of the British in Sikkim. But in its turn, such action resulted in a punitive expedition against Sikkim. The *Raja* was forced through an ultimatum to release Campbell and Hooker and once this was accepted, the British took revenge upon the Sikkim authority by the annexation of the Morung (Sikkim Tarai). At the same time the British also annexed "the portion of Sikkim Hills bounded by the Ramman on the North, Rangeet and Tista on the East and by Nepal frontier on the West, a tract of country containing about 500 souls". The grant of Rs. 6,000 per annum which the *Raja* had been receiving

since 1846 was also withdrawn. These annexations brought about significant changes in the relations between Sikkim and the British India. Previously, Darjeeling was an enclave in the British territory but after the above annexations, it became contiguous with the British districts of Purnea and Rangpur in the plains. At the same time, the Sikkim *Raja* was cut off from access to the plains except through the British territory.⁸⁸

It is evident from the above account that the crisis of 1849 had brought into focus the real position of Sikkim vis-a-vis the Government of India. When the Company established its relation with Sikkim in the second decade of the 19th century, it regarded the *Raja* as an ally and later granted him the Morung suitable to that situation. But within three decades and a half, the position of the *Raja* was so reduced that he was contemptuously regarded as a "Hill Savage". The decline in the status of the *Raja* was the outcome of Sikkim's reduced size and importance. In 1815, Sikkim was given importance as Nepal was then still unsubdued. With the growth of Anglo-Nepalese concord, Sikkim's importance correspondingly diminished. Moreover, by the Treaty of Titalia the Company had gained substantial influence over Sikkim, which also marked the beginning of the end of Sikkim's independence. Since the Titalia event, Sikkim began to lose her territory one after another. The cession of Darjeeling in 1835 took away the faith that Sikkim had on the British and by 1849; the Colonial authority in India was virtually at war with Sikkim. The Company did not annex the whole of Sikkim because of the political expediency of maintaining the kingdom as a separate identity. Interestingly enough, the non-annexation of the whole of Sikkim brought no positive result in the increase of British influence there. This was actually due to the strength of the Tibetan (nationalist) faction in Sikkim led by the Tibetan *Dewan* Dongyer Namgyal better known as *Pagla Dewan* who had succeeded *Dewan* Illam Sing and in whose hands rested the real power. Though ostensibly dismissed after the 1849 crisis, he staged a dramatic comeback and within a mere few years became a power to be reckoned with. The *Raja* of Sikkim Tsugphud Namgyal, an old man of nearly 80 years had relinquished all cares of the state and retired to Chumbi in Tibet. Though Tibet did not actively intervene on behalf of Sikkim during the crisis but continued

to grant the *Raja* an allowance when the British stopped his compensation for the Darjeeling grant. This gesture increased the Tibetan influence so much that in the next decade the Government of India was forced to undertake another military expedition into Sikkim to re-establish its position.⁸⁹

Immediately after the retirement of the *Raja* to Chumbi, Dongyer Namgyal took over the administration of Sikkim. In March 1859, Dongyer Namgyal in the name and with the knowledge of the *Raja* sent a deputation to the Government of Bengal demanding the payment of the enhanced annual allowance of Rs. 12,000 or as an alternative the restoration of Sikkim's territory confiscated in 1850. The request was rejected by the Government of Bengal and it was informed to the Governor General that the *Raja* was in receipt of all the arrears due to him. This was followed by raids into Darjeeling. British Indian subjects were carried off and sold as slaves or detained in Sikkim.⁹⁰ Campbell now requested the Government of Bengal to send a strong military force to crush Dongyer's activities in the state and force the ruler to comply with the English demands such as (a) restoration of the kidnapped British subjects (b) compensation to those who had been plundered (c) payment of the cost of occupation (d) security against future aggression. But when the *Raja* refused to comply with the demands, a British force under Campbell entered Sikkim. The force had to withdraw and return back to Darjeeling as a result of Dewan Namguay's sudden attack on them. At this juncture, the Governor General decided to replace Campbell. The Governor General therefore deputed Ashley Eden (Joint Secretary to the Board of Revenue) as envoy and special commissioner to Sikkim.⁹¹ It was made clear to Eden that the Government of India did not want to annex any portion of Sikkim because its existence as an independent country was the need of the hour.⁹² After thorough examination of the situation in Sikkim, Eden asked the *Raja* to arrange for the surrender of Dongyer Namgyal to the British and the release of all the British subjects arrested. The *Raja* was further asked to make an apology of his past misconduct and create a healthy situation to improve relations with India.⁹³

The British Government sent a very strong force in 1861 under J.C Gawler and Ashley Eden as a retaliatory measure. The force met Dewan Namgyal on the

banks of River Tista. But before the British force took the final steps, Dewan Namgyal fled to Tibet.⁹⁴ British took advantage of the situation and forced a treaty upon Sikkim on 28 March 1861 at Tumlong. The Treaty was signed on behalf of the Government of India by Ashley Eden and by Sidkeong Namgyal the son of the *Raja* Tsugphud Namgyal. According to the provision of the Treaty, all the former treaties between the Colonial Government and Sikkim were to be cancelled. Sikkim became the de-facto protectorate of India and the annexation of Darjeeling was confirmed. The British also got the right to construct roads through Sikkim to the Tibetan border and the *Raja* was to be designated as the *Maharaja*. The Sikkim Government agreed not to allow Dewan Namgyal or his blood relations to enter Sikkim or hold any position of power. The Maharaja also agreed to allow British merchants to pursue duty free trade inside Sikkim.⁹⁵ In short, it can be said that the position of the Government of India in Sikkim had reached to such a firm and advanced position that it could annex Sikkim any time if desired. But, the tactful Colonial Government of India rather preferred a weak Sikkim and avoided immediate annexation. Sikkim as a buffer between India and Tibet suited British interest more than an outright annexation. 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 case Nepal and Bhutan could make common cause with Sikkim against the British. Annexation might also lead to quarrel with Tibet because Sikkim had close religious and cultural affinities with Tibet. Tibet also considered Sikkim as her tributary. Besides, in its policy towards Sikkim, the British Government of India considered trade with Tibet of more importance and it could not take risk by antagonizing Tibet by annexing Sikkim. So, the Colonial Government of India preferred to maintain Sikkim as a buffer state between Nepal, Bhutan, Tibet and British India.⁹⁶

In 1862, the *Maharaja* Tsugphud Namgyal abdicated the throne in favour of his eldest son Sidkeong Namgyal whose rule saw the happiest period in the history of Indo-Sikkimese relationship. The annual allowance on Darjeeling was increased

from Rs 6,000 to Rs 9,000 per annum and further increased in 1873 to Rs 12,000 on the request of the Maharaja of Sikkim to the Government of Bengal, but on the condition that the Maharaja should help the British Government in India in respect of trade whenever necessary. Thus the rule of Sidkeong Namgyal did not see any ups and downs in Sikkim's relation with the British. He died in 1873 and was succeeded by his half brother Thudop Namgyal, a candidate of British choice.⁹⁷

It is worth noting that Ashley Eden who had brought the British military expedition to Sikkim to a successful conclusion by forcing the *Maharaja* to enter into a treaty with the Government of India in 1861, expressed the hope that within a few years a very considerable trade would spring up between Lhasa and Darjeeling by the Sikkim route and the Tibetans would be too glad to exchange gold dust, musk, borax, wool and salt for English cloth, tobacco and drill. The optimistic tone of Eden's report and the stupendous development of tea industry at Darjeeling increased the interest of the Government of India in the Tibetan trade via Sikkim.⁹⁸

The Government of India was trying its best to open Tibet for trade while in England a similar movement was started by the mercantile community. Fascinated by the immense possibilities of trade in the Himalayan and Trans-Himalayan region, the traders began to press the British Government to secure the early opening of Tibet for trade for which they presented a memorandum to the Government of India.⁹⁹ In fact the suggestions in the memorandum were more or less intone with the aims of the Government of India. The importance of the memorandum however lies in the fact that it had concentrated its attention on the Sikkim route to the exclusion of all other routes across the Himalaya.

In the meantime trade on the Sikkim-Tibet frontier was stopped by the Tibetan authorities in 1873. The Government of India could not afford to accept this at a time when it was actively involved in developing Himalayan and Trans-Himalayan trade. It was afraid that its hope of developing commercial ventures with Tibet would be doomed unless something was done to prevent stoppage on the Sikkim-Tibet frontier. The Bengal Government therefore, felt it necessary to send a British official to the Sikkim-Tibetan border to enquire into the causes and significance of the frequent stoppages of trade. The Government of India accepted

the proposal of the Bengal Government and accordingly deputed J.W. Edgar Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling to Sikkim in October 1873 with the instructions to understand the actual condition in Sikkim-Tibet frontier, the best line for the road to take off and the advisability of opening one.¹⁰⁰

In October 1873, Edgar entered Sikkim and visited the passes into the Chumbi valley of Tibet and talked with the Tibetan officials like the *Jongpens* of Phari and ex-*Dewan* Namgyal. Edgar felt that by meeting the ex-*Dewan* he would be able to find out the latter's exact position and influence as well as his present sentiments towards the British Government. Moreover, he felt that he would be able to get more information regarding Tibet from ex-*Dewan* Namgyal than from any one else. And in fact Edgar obtained more information regarding Tibet from him than from any other sources.¹⁰¹

The *Amban* on learning of the proposed visit of Edgar to Sikkim and Tibetan frontier wrote a letter¹⁰² to the *Maharaja* of Sikkim ordering him not to allow the Britishers (Peling Sahibs) to cross the frontier. The *Maharaja* was warned in the following strong terms:

“Your state of Sikkim borders on Tibet. You know what is in our minds and what our policy is, you are bound to prevent the Peling sahibs from crossing the frontier; yet it is entirely through your action in making the roads for the sahibs through Sikkim that they are going to make the projected attempts. If you continue to behave in this manner it will not be well for you.”

Edgar, on learning about the *Amban's* letter to the *Maharaja* of Sikkim, gave up the idea of entering into Tibet. He however took the opportunity to explain to the *Jongpens* the British policy towards the Himalayan states which he stated as one of “encouragement of trade to the utmost of our power and the maintenance of strong friendly states along the frontier”.¹⁰³

After his return to Darjeeling from Sikkim in 1873, Edgar made a number of proposals to the Government of India to improve its relation with Tibet. First, he suggested that the British Minister at Peking should make an effort to get from the Chinese authority a declaration that the exclusion of the British subjects from Tibet was not authorized by the Chinese Government. Secondly, he suggested that the

British officers should cultivate friendly relation with the Tibetan frontier officials. Thirdly, he advocated the establishment of a trade mart on the Sikkim-Tibet frontier. Lastly, he recommended the construction of a road to the Tibetan frontier through Sikkim. He was surprised as to why steps were not taken to construct a road after the Treaty of 1861.¹⁰⁴

The Lieutenant- Governor of Bengal Sir Richard Temple believed that trade with Tibet through Sikkim could be developed simply by improving the communication. He therefore, endorsed Edgar's proposal for the construction of a road to the Tibetan frontier through Sikkim and wanted that it should be completed within three or four years.¹⁰⁵ The Government of India unlike the Bengal Government did not react favourably to Edgar's proposal for the construction of a road to the Tibetan frontier through Sikkim. It felt that the time was not ripe for its implementation since the main obstacle for the development of the Tibetan trade namely, the Chinese and Tibetan opposition was not removed.¹⁰⁶ Even though the Government of India did not accept the proposals of Edgar, the latter's visit to Sikkim was not in vain. It had in fact, resulted in the increase of the British influence in that kingdom. The *Maharaja* supported Edgar's proposal for the establishment of a trade mart on the Sikkim-Tibet frontier and the construction of a road up to the Tibetan frontier. He also agreed to assist the Government of India in the construction of the road. So from 1873-1877, events in Sikkim were in tune with the British paramount position in that kingdom. A road was constructed from Darjeeling to the Tibetan frontier at *Jelep* Pass. In this work, the Government of India received the active assistance of the Sikkim State and met with no objection from Tibet.¹⁰⁷

Some secret explorations by Sarat Chandra Das, Headmaster of Bhutia School at Darjeeling who was deputed by the Government of India in 1879 and again in 1881 made the Tibetan authorities very suspicious about the British moves. Therefore, 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 (a) discuss with the *Maharaja* questions regarding the administration of Sikkim and his

relations with the British Government; (b) to visit the Lachen valley to examine its potentiality as trade route towards the province of Tsang in Tibet and (c) to endeavour to establish friendly relations with the Tibetan authorities of the districts adjacent to Sikkim on the north.¹⁰⁸

On his arrival some of the pro-British officials of Sikkim such as, Phodong Lama and Khangsa Dewan advised Macaulay to persuade the *Maharaja* to reside in Sikkim permanently and not to go to Chumbi as they hoped that this would promote the British views regarding development of trade and friendly relations with Tibet. The *Maharaja* was asked by Macaulay to stay at Tumlong and to carry out the administration from there and to supply potters for the roadwork. The *Maharaja* also promised to do his utmost to secure the withdrawal of stoppage of trade by the Tibetan authorities and pointed out that trade was continuing in spite of efforts of the Tibetan authorities to stop it. He also agreed to keep up the *Jelep* road.¹⁰⁹ About this time trouble broke out between Tibet and Bhutan and the *Maharaja* was allowed to go to Chumbi to find out the reason behind the trouble and to use his influence to open up the trade.¹¹⁰

On 8 November 1884, Macaulay met the Tibetan official, the *Jongpen* of Khamba, (a small town north of the Sikkim-Tibet border) who advised Macaulay to secure China's consent to open Tibet for trade and make it free from all restrictions. Macaulay attached too much importance to the opinion of the *Jongpen* and advocated for the dispatch of a mission to China to plead the British case for free admission of Indian traders to Tibet without any obstruction through Sikkim-Darjeeling route.¹¹¹ Macaulay's proposals though made the Bengal Government enthusiastic, was received by the Government of India with coldness. However, Macaulay was able to convince Lord Randolph Churchill the Secretary of State for India, about the need of a mission. Macaulay was thus permitted to go to China to arrange for the passports to go to Tibet. 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. To convince the Tibetans, Macaulay sent letters to the Tibetan frontier officials through the *Maharaja* who

was still at Chumbi expressing the peaceful intention of the projected mission.¹¹² But the Tibetan opposition was determined and the Macaulay mission had to withdraw.

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 of 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 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 complaints and admitted that Sikkim land had been considered as included within the Tibetan territory since the days of the first Sikkim *Maharaja* Phuntsog Namgyal.¹¹³ In fact, the *Maharaja* had entered into a 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.¹¹⁴ The Colonial Government in India felt that it 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 all trade.¹¹⁵

Thus, fearing the decline of British influence in Sikkim, Steuart Bailey the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal wanted to adopt some stern measures. The inactivity of the Government of India was also subject to criticism in England by the Chambers of Commerce and by tea planters in Darjeeling and Doors.¹¹⁶ 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 Chumbi in September in 1888. The *Maharaja* was arrested at Chumbi and on his return was instructed never to go to Chumbi in future. He was further asked to act according to the counsel of Phodang Lama and Khangsa *Dewan*, leaders of the pro-British faction in Sikkim. The *Maharaja's* close associates were ill-treated.¹¹⁷ It was

at this juncture that Edgar suggested to the Government of Bengal for the future arrangements of Sikkim's administration and proposed for the direct administration of Sikkim by a British Officer. The suggestion was accepted by the Bengal Government and accordingly J.C. White was appointed as the first British Political Officer in Sikkim to look after her administration with the help of a Council consisting of important pro-British faction like Phodong Lama, Khangsa *Dewan*, Shew *Dewan* and others.¹¹⁸

From the above account, it is evident that from 1817 to 1889 the British Government in India did not interfere directly in the internal affairs of Sikkim. The Grant of Darjeeling in 1835 to the East India Company by Tsugphud Namgyal did fulfill to a certain extent the British desire of having a suitable place through which they could enhance trade prosperity. In 1861, Sikkim became a British Protectorate by the Treaty of Tumlong which also confirmed the annexation of Darjeeling. Although Sikkim became a British Protectorate, the Officer In-Charge of Darjeeling was entrusted with the responsibility to look after the affairs of Sikkim. The British thus tried to achieve their goal by keeping the internal affairs of Sikkim undisturbed. They thought that this policy would keep the Tibetan authorities in good humour and their purpose would be served. But when they felt that the situation was not favourable to their requirements, they decided to arrange the administration of Sikkim according to the need of the British. J.C White, an Engineer in the public works department was accordingly appointed as the first Political Officer of Sikkim. The ruler was placed in the throne with nominal power and the entire administrative responsibilities were taken over by the Political Officer who in fact became the de-facto ruler. From about 1889-1890, the residence of the Maharaja was shifted to Gangtok from Tumlong¹¹⁹ because of the fact that Gangtok would serve a better opportunity to the British for realising their aims and objectives. It was also felt that geographically Gangtok was centrally located to communicate with Tibet and British India. One interesting fact worth noting is that the plan of removing the residence of the Raja to Gangtok was initiated by Sidkeong Namgyal way back in 1873 but the work was interrupted by his death.¹²⁰ With the transfer of the capital of Sikkim to Gangtok and the creation of the post of

Political Officer, steps were taken to transform the entire internal set-up of Sikkim in tune with the requirements of the British administration. Our study of these measures in the subsequent chapters will bring to light the steady transformation of Gangtok into an urban center. With the arrival of the subsequent Political Officers, Gangtok gradually emerged with some pronounced characteristics of the nearest hill station namely Darjeeling. Though Gangtok succeeded to retain some of its pre-colonial traits on the whole it assumed a shape that would be compared to the hill-station culture on justifiable grounds.

VI

Hill areas are endowed with different, varied potentialities for urbanisation and thus their problems differ from the plain areas. Town planning in the hills has to be exclusively based on the potentialities of the hills and their particular problems. Due to the ruggedness of the terrain, lack of suitable sites for human settlements, particularly large agglomerations and various environmental constraints, many difficulties are faced while constructing and maintaining hill towns. The world history of urbanisation indicates that towns are the product of two distinct processes: endogenous and exogenous. In the endogenous process urban centres or towns come into existence as a result of two factors: (i) due to excess agricultural products a village gradually grows into an urban centre where surplus agricultural products are brought or assembled from surrounding villages due to various reasons for transactions. These towns can be called market towns where inter-related secondary and tertiary activities start in consequence. In this case, the strength of an urban centre depends on the supply of products from the hinterland. The urban centre will break down consequent to the weakening of the rural system. (ii) Non-agricultural product based towns emerge due to endogenous locational factors, namely halting places or trade routes or highways and mountain passes, sea and river ports, centres of learning, pilgrimage, administrative and strategic location, recreation and others. (iii) The increase in population of a village beyond the carrying capacity of an agriculture system where its inhabitants diversify the means of subsistence from primary to secondary and tertiary sector lead to a village automatically acquiring an urban character.

(2) In the exogenous process, urban centres are established due to external locational factors such as the establishment of towns for specific purposes; industry, mining, administration, medical, tourism, power stations, transport junctions or other reasons. In this process towns emerge first followed by the development of other urban facilities. They appear to be grafted or planted settlements on the rural fabric. Such towns do not grow from the rural systems but they influence the rural system in the course of time to its benefit. The survival of such town is externally controlled. Broadly speaking the endogenous category of urbanisation can be associated with the agricultural or pre-industrial society and the exogenous with the industrial society.¹²¹

Most of the hill towns seen today in India are the products of exogenous forces and have been planted on the rural fabric without any real inter-connection with the villages. Such urban agglomerations are generally the seats of administration with a few office buildings, residential quarters, schools, hospitals and a *bazaar* line. They do not have all the urban amenities or functions and land use. The centres of administration thrust upon the hills lack true hinterlands and do not act as nodal or growth points. Some degree of urban-rural interaction begins after the formation of such towns, but this is sufficient to create a spatio-temporal-functional hierarchy and pattern in the human settlements and land use of the area.¹²²

The whole of Sikkim remained rural in character till the beginning of the 20th century with the exception of Gangtok acquiring urban qualifications to some extent from this period onwards. The rural economy of Sikkim never reached the surplus stage to generate endogenous urbanisation. Though inter-village barter or exchange of products existed, the entire hill ecosystem of Sikkim did not provide sufficient potential for urbanisation. The urban characteristics of Gangtok were the product of exogenous forces as was the case with other hill-stations of India which came into existence during the British period. Although Sikkim was a semi-colony the fact that Gangtok as an urban area was the creation of a few British Political Officers to cater to their needs cannot be denied. From the last decade of the 19th century onwards Gangtok, the capital of Sikkim saw its gradual transformation from a rural economy into an area having some urban qualifications due to external or exogenous factors.

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CHAPTER-II

The growth of the city of Gangtok as the capital of Sikkim: A study of Sikkim – Nepal relations in the later part of the 18th and early 19th centuries.

I

Sikkim has been quite unfortunate not to have its Todd to write its annals and antiquities. Barring a few records such as the law book ascribed to the foremost Maharaja of Sikkim, *History of Sikkim* compiled by Maharaja Thutob Namgyal and Maharani Yeshey Dolma, *Sikkim Chronicle*, *The Gazetteer of Sikkim* by H.H. Risley and a couple of travel records of the British Political Officers, Sikkim has not much records of its history.

In the absence of all authentic records relating clearly and authoritatively about the origin of the family of the rulers of Sikkim, brief allusions found in the preface to the law book ascribed to the foremost Maharaja of Sikkim must be given credit to, as they are moreover supported by the oral narratives of the oldest people living, who again ascribe their narrative to the annals of their parents whom they heard relating so. According to this account, the rulers of Sikkim were sprung from the pure stock of the ruling Minyak House of Tibet (Khri-Srong-Ideu-bTsan). This Khri-Srong-Ideu-bTsan was a Tibetan king born in 730 A.D that is the (*Chag-r'tu* (Iron-Horse) year of the Tibetan era. This seems to be more likely. It is also on record that Guru Padma Sambhawa had prophecised that a descendant from Khri-srong-Ideu-b Tsan would be ruling over Sikkim. Besides, the ancestor of the Sikkim Raja Gyad-bum-bSar obtained the hand of the lady of Sakya, related to the hierarchs. So far as better authorities showing otherwise cannot be obtained, it must be accepted as the most reliable.¹

The *History of Sikkim* and various Tibetan and Indian sources talk of an invitation to Guru Padmasambhava from the Tibetan king in the Tibetan Sa-gLang year or 749 A.D and his visit to Tibet on this invitation. The great pundits (mken-chen) Shanta Bakhita, Maha Pundita, Vimala Mitra were also invited. In the *Chag-Yos* (Iron-Hare) year, 751 A.D the great Sam-ye monastery was built. The Tibetans were

converted to Buddhism, some became priests. One hundred Lo-tsa-was, translators or interpreters were sent down to India to translate various portions of the Pitakas and other Buddhist scriptures into Tibetan.²

Risley³ in the *Gazetteer of Sikkim* also traces the origin of the Namgyal dynasty to the ruling house of Tibet. According to him Khri-srong-Ideu-b Tsan was the most illustrious of all the rulers of Tibet. The Namgyals had been ruling over the Chumbi valley and the Tista valley for at least three centuries prior to the establishment of their dynasty in Sikkim. They were on pilgrimage in Central Tibet at the opening of the 13th century. It is further recorded that the emigrant Minyak chief was prophesied to go towards Sikkim (*Dema-Jong*), where his descendants would rule.⁴ Impelled by the divine command; he started forth from his kingdom with his sons and passed through Sakya, to pay his homage to the hierarchs there. At Sakya, the eldest son of the emigrant chief helped in the construction of a monastery, after which he obtained the name Gyad-hBum-bSar, (Khye-Bumsa) equaling a lac of men in strength.⁵ Several stories are told about the miraculous strength of Khye-Bumsa and his victory over Ngag-wang-ge-pu-pul-bar, a rival Bhutanese hero, which resulted in the present worship of Mt. Massong by the inhabitants of Chumbi and Hah in Bhutan.⁶ Khye-Bumsa married the daughter of the Sakya hierarch and dwelt in the nearby Chumbi valley for sometime which was to become the nucleus of the later kingdom of Sikkim. Shortly after this he left Sakya and came down towards Sikkim where he came in contact with the Lepchas of Sikkim. A deep friendship grew between Khye-Bumsa and The-Kong-Tek, the Lepcha chief.⁷ This friendship was cemented by a ceremony at which several animals, both domestic and wild were sacrificed and all the local deities invoked to bear witness to this solemn contract of friendship, binding the Lepchas and the Bhutias in an inseparable bond.⁸ "They sat together on the raw hides of the animals, entwined the entrails around their persons, and put their feet together in a vessel filled with blood, thus swearing the blood brotherhood to each other."⁹

Mipon Rab or the leader of men (Rab means 'to excel', 'to surpass') the bravest of the three sons of Khye-Bumsa¹⁰ succeeded to the chiefship on his father's death. He also married a lady from the Sakya heirarch's family,¹¹ named Gurumo.¹² He had four sons and were called Tong-du-ru-zi, meaning the four clans of a thousand

each, from whom the four principal clans of Sikkim, 'Tongdurushe' are said to have descended. It is interesting to note as to why the sons of Mipon Rab were called Tong-du-ru-zi. *The History* records that when Mipon Rab's wife had conceived and when the pregnancy had been pretty far advanced, she visited her parents at Sakya. A son was born there who having been born at his maternal uncle's place was called Shang-po-dar or he who would enhance the fortune of his uncle. The second son she gave birth to was born on the tenth day of the seventh month, a *pujah* and festival day in honour of Guru Rimpoche. So, this son was called Tse-chu-dar, meaning glorious or lucky tenth day. The third son was born on Sunday, so he was called Nyi-ma Gyalpo, meaning the Sun or solar king. The fourth son was born on a day when a consecration ceremony was being performed on the occasion of the completion of an image of Guru Rimpoche. So he was called Guru Tashi (Guru-bKra-shes). These four Tong-du-ru-zi brothers viz: Sangpdar, Tsechudar, Nima Gyalpo and Guru Tashi were all settled in Gangtok. Of these four brothers' family Guru Tashi's family became pre-eminent and inherited the princely dignity and name.¹³ He became the first ruler of Sikkim and paved the way for a regular Monarchy.¹⁴

The Lepchas, after the death of their chief The-Kong-Tek started breaking up and turned to Guru Tashi for leadership and protection. The Lepchas came under his influence and power within a very short time. One Lepcha retainer (Nang-gzan) called Sambar became the favourite of the *Raja*, from among the Lepchas. From that time the Lepchas flocked to the service of the *Raja*, and those who proved themselves the most trustworthy were appointed in the household establishment of the *Raja* while others were entrusted with posts of responsibility and honours in the State. Those not so much in the *Raja's* confidence were employed as traders to carry goods and were employed in out door services, in building and handicrafts. Besides, they were to contribute the summer *Nazar* (*yar-jal*) in the form of newly gathered crops, grains and fruits, and they were also to carry grains etc. to any markets for trade or barter. Such rules began from the time of Guru Tashi.¹⁵

On the basis of the above account furnished by the *History of Sikkim* and supported by other sources, one can come to the conclusion that the first ruler of Sikkim was Guru Tashi and the seat of his Government, Gangtok, was the first capital

of Sikkim. It was in Gangtok that Guru Tashi settled and assumed princely dignity and name. Although Guru Tashi cannot be established as a consecrated monarch of Sikkim, yet his assumption of princely dignity and name laid the basis for the future monarchy in Sikkim. Certain rules of administration were established by Guru Tashi and Gangtok with some kind of trade and revenue system then would certainly mean that it had some traces of urban culture.

Guru Tashi's son was Jowo Nangpo whose great grandson was Phuntsog Namgyal who was born in Gangtok in the year 1604 A.D that is the *Shing-dug* (wood Dragon) year of the 10th century of Tibetan era.¹⁶ He was consecrated as the first *Maharaja* of Sikkim, by the three Lamas at Yuksam. Earlier these three Lamas, namely Lha-tsun Namkha Jigme or Lhatsun Chenpo, Kathog Rikzin Kuntu Chenpo and Ngadak Sempa Rikzin Phuntsog Chenpo having come from Tibet with the aim of propogating Buddhism and establishing a consecrated monarchy as the protector of the faith, had consolidated Buddhism as the established Church in Sikkim, prior to 1642A.D. They entered Sikkim from different directions and met at Norbugang, which was then called by the Lepchas as 'Yuksam', meaning the three superior ones or literally meaning 'the three lamas'. Having assembled there, they sent for a search party to find for a person named Phuntso. After several adventures, the search party found one Phuntsog Namgyal in Gangtok. They presented to him the invitation from the Lamas assembled at Yuksam which was accepted by Phuntso Namgyal. "He saw that everything tended to a lucky development of events. So he started forth with his entire retinue of followers, officers and household establishment."¹⁷ When the Lepchas of Rumtek saw the party starting forth on the journey, they all exclaimed, "*Along Kuyu-sa Rumtek non pa-o*" meaning now our God is going away. That place came to be called Rumtek. This shows how simple the Lepchas must have been, and how kind and helpful *Raja* Phuntso Namgyal must have been to them. After Phuntsog Namgyal's arrival at Yuksam, the learned Lamas performed all the necessary rites and ceremonies as prescribed in the installation of a royal dynasty, in the most impressive style. (Apocalyptical books of the sacred Guru of Urgyen contained the prophecies regarding the rulers of Sikkim). He was given the power, conferring rites of the eight auspicious objects and the eight auspicious or royal emblems. Phunsto Namgyal was

thus installed as the *Maharaja* and Yuksam established as the capital of Sikkim. The *History of Sikkim* talks of various sources and books like the guide book to the hidden stores of *Padma Linga*, *Rinzin-god-Idem-chen* and *Ratna Lingpa* all agreeing that. "if a descendent from the unbroken line of Khri-srong Ideu-bTsan be appointed ruler of this land, it will enjoy peace and prosperity for a while." Another source according to *The History*, is the *Gabpa-tsi-lung* (astrological revelation) which says, "a Buddhist Avatar king will settle in Sikkim as his capital, and in the time of the 2nd or 3rd descent from him, the middle one of these sons will be an Avatar of king Khri-srong Ideu-bTsan, his name will be *shawo-che* (big cap) who will be succeeded by seven Incarnate successors, during the middle one, in whose time the Faith will shine as bright as the Sun, because he is an incarnate of Manjusri."¹⁸

The *Maharaja* Phuntsog Namgyal's coronation or installation on the throne of Sikkim took place in the *Chu-ta* (Water horse) year as mentioned in the brief history compiled during his lifetime, while he was living at Lasso. This *Chu-Ta* year corresponds to the year 1642 A.D. He was installed on the *Gaddi* of Sikkim with the title of *Chos-rGyal* (*Dharmaraja*, king of righteousness) having two fold powers, spiritual and temporal. Next all the priests and the *Raja* combined in entreating Lha-bTsun to found a monastery on the spot. So, the Dubdi monastery was built by Lha-bTsun¹⁹ and Sangachelling also commenced under his direction. He also pointed out Pemiongchi as a proper site for a monastery for pure monks (*Tasongs*). It is on record that Lama Jigmed Pao Gyatso came from Tibet and succeeded Lha-bTsun as his incarnate. With his assistance the monastery at Sangachelling was completed. That establishment was open to all alike no matter what their descent, so in accordance with the directions of Lha-bTsun a third monastery or building was erected near Pemiongchi for persons of pure descent (Tibetans only), during Tensung Namgyal's reign.²⁰ "Next year after the installation (*Chu-lug* or water sheep year), Ngadag Sempa built the Lhakang Marpo (red temple) and the Kathog lama built the Kathog monastery. The lamas also fixed upon Tashiding as being the central key of Sikkim, and agreed that it was a sacred spot. A monastery was built by Ngadag lama at Tashiding"²¹ on top of a heart shaped hill with the backdrop of the sacred Mount

Khang-chen-Dzongpa. Tashiding is now famous for the most holy Chorten known as 'Thong-Wa-Rang-Dol', which literally means 'saviors, by mere sight'.

Phuntsog Namgyal instituted the first centralized administration in Sikkim. Having brought all the Lepchas and Bhutias under his direct power, he divided the kingdom into 12 *Dzongs* (districts), selected twelve *Kazis* from amongst the twelve chief Bhutia clans then existing and likewise he selected twelve Lepcha *Jongpens* (governors) from amongst the superior families of Lepchas to administer the twelve *Dzongs*. Proclamations were made promising due recognition and emoluments to those who distinguished themselves by loyal and faithful services, saying that the posts of ministers and Prime ministers (*Chagzod*) would be conferred on them. On the other hand those who did not serve well would be classed amongst the common people and required to contribute such services as demanded by the *Maharaja* and that they would remain master less. The boundaries of the new kingdom of Sikkim were also fixed. They were, Dibdala in the North, Shingsa Dag-pay, Walung, Yangmag Khangchen Yarlung and Timer Chorten in the West, down along the Arun and Dud Kosi Rivers, down to the Maha Lodi Nuxalbari, Titalia in the South, Tagong La on the East and Tang La on the North. These constituted the boundaries of Sikkim.²² But the country was later on frequently invaded by foreign powers therefore reducing it to its present limits.

Thus, from 1642 A.D onwards Yuksam became the capital of Sikkim. In the *Chu-lug* or water sheep year, a year after his installation, the *Maharaja* built a Palace at Tashi Tengka.²³ Interesting is to note why the capital of Sikkim was shifted to Yuksam in 1642 A.D? Padmasambhava, who is highly revered and worshipped by Sikkimese Buddhists, is considered to have blessed Yuksam and the surrounding landscape of Demojong in the district of West Sikkim, by having placed within it a large number of hidden treasures (*ters*). It is also believed that many of the sacred treasures were also hidden by Lha-bTsun Namkha Jigme, in the Yuksam region. Therefore, Phuntsog Namgyal must have felt it important to shift the capital to Yuksam it being considered as the '*Lhakhang*' (alter), and the place of hidden treasures.²⁴ Yuksam remained the capital of Sikkim till 1686A.D after which it was moved to Rabdentse by *Maharaja* Tensung Namgyal. The distance between Yuksam

to Rabdentse is about 25 Kms. and is situated in the west district of Geyzing in Sikkim.

Tensung Namgyal succeeded his father and ascended the *Gaddi* in the *Chag-Khyi* (iron dog) year, 1670 A.D. he was born at a place called Lasso, situated about a mile to the north west of the Tashiding monastery or Brag-Kar-Tashiding, in the *Shing-tel* (wood monkey) year of the 11th century, Tibetan era, corresponding to the year 1644 A.D. It was Tensung Namgyal, who after becoming the ruler transferred the capital of Sikkim to Rabdentse in 1670 A.D. Phuntsog Namgyal, together with Lha-btsun Chenpo, had already made the proposal for the transfer. They selected the sites of the Rabdentse palace, the Pemionchi monastery, besides building several other places of worship and furnishing them with sacred and precious relics, images, etc. they built 13 *Mani* wheels each containing 10,000,000 of *Mantras*, and provided those who would turn them with permanent maintenance funds. On every suitable and prominent place, they caused stupas to be built, and the *Lamas'* whole time was employed in the works of public good, and performing the rites of consecration. During Phuntso's reign and while Lha-bTsun was alive and sojourning at Tashiding, he had spoken to the *Raja* about constructing the Rabdentse Palace in the following prophetic tone "from Brag-kar Tashiding which is the most sacred of pilgrimages, looking westwards upon the second lotus petal, and upon the third rocky eminence along the spur of the ridge, there on the top of the head of the serpent spirit Ananta (Gao-Jogpo) is situated the noble unchanging and eternal peak. There should you erect your Palace, O, Protector of the Faith." So according to that prophetic injunction, which was implicitly obeyed Tensung Namgyal built the Rabdentse palace²⁵ about three hundred feet below the famous monastery of Pemionchi. The Lepcha name for this palace fortress is 'fyung gri'.²⁶ Till the Year 1814 A.D, the king of Sikkim ruled the country from this palace. Today, the ruins lie hidden from the main road at a walking distance from the Pemionchi monastery. It can be approached by following a footpath, which branches off from the main road just below the monastery. The scenic view from the top of the ruins scanning across the deep valley to the mystic heights of *Khang-chen-Dzonga* ranges is something to be cherished and etched in memory.

Rabdentse faced difficult days during the period of *Maharaja* Chador Namgyal who succeeded his father Tensung Namgyal in the *Chag-Drug* (iron dragon) year of the 12th century, corresponding 1700 A.D. He was born in the *Me-tag* (fire tiger) year of the 11th century, corresponding to the year 1686 A.D. Being left an orphan while still very young, Chador's half sister Pande Wangmo jealous of this young brother becoming the ruler, entertained the idea of usurping the throne. Pede Wangmo's mother was a Bhutanese, so she along with a few other persons conspired together and invited a force from Bhutan to assassinate the boy king. The then Deb Raja of Bhutan, *bZhi-dar* sent one Tabar Ngawang Thinley and Don Phenley with a Bhutanese force to assassinate the *Raja*. But while he was in great danger, Yug-thing Tishey a loyal minister and few other men like Dagkar Chagzod karma Dargay and his brother and a Tatshang lama named Agay Popdig carried off the boy king and saved him. These persons carried off the young *Raja* by the Ellam road, via Wallung (area of the Tsongs) into Tibet. The Bhutanese force then captured Yugthing Aroop the son of Yugthing Tishe who was left in charge of the Rabdentse palace and sent him to Bhutan. The Bhutanese occupied the Rabdentse palace for about eight years within which time they had rebuilt the palace itself and the walls besides adding a new building, which was connected by a covered secret pathway with the palace. The Bhutanese force proceeded towards Ghar and Jongu, where also they built Namgyal Thonpoi Jong and Wangdu Phodong Jong near pakyong. They built a monastery near Pemionchi called Paro-gon, as well as another Jong on the top of the Tagtse ridge near Gangtok called Tagtse Jong.²⁷ They also constructed a flight or road of stone steps from the Rungeet up to Rabdentse. For Risle²⁸ the date of Bhutanese invasion varies from 1700 to 1706 and so the palace was actually kept under Bhutanese occupation for five or six years and they left it after intervention from Tibet. On the whole, the seeds of urbanisation in Sikkim were sown at Rabdantse. The settlement presumably was confined to the ruling families, the *Lamas* and their retainers. The cantonment was in fact an extension of the ruling authority's establishment.

Meanwhile the *Maharaja*, who was in Lhasa, married a lady of U, as well as a princess of the Lowo *Raja*. It is said that the Tibetan Government, sent a letter to the Bhutan Government to the effect that the Tibetan Government should be the father,

the Bhutanese the mother and Sikkim, the child and therefore, they should bear love and friendship for each other, as they are one nation. This intervention from Tibet had some effect on the Bhutanese who agreed to withdraw from Sikkim proper. The *Maharaja* Chador Namgyal and his followers were then sent back to Sikkim with a representative of the Tibetan Government. Upon his return, the Bhutanese left the palace and returned back to Bhutan but retained in their occupation, Damsong, Daling, Jongsa and all the places in between the east Teesta and *Tagong La hill*.²⁹ It was found that those forces, which had occupied the east Teesta portion of Sikkim had permanently settled down in these areas and so it was impossible to remove them. This reason seems likely for the cessation of the above-mentioned areas of Sikkim to Bhutan.

As soon as the *Maharaja* Chador Namgyal came back from Tibet, he reoccupied the Rabdentse palace and expelled the remainder of the Bhutanese forces that still loitered in Sikkim. But subsequently, another Bhutanese force under the leaders named Magpon Agyal and Rups invaded Sikkim and took formal possession of the lands lying between the Teesta and Rongpa. They were encouraged to come by one Shal-ngo Achhok, who was not in good terms with the *Raja*. So Achhok sought refuge under the Bhutan Government and it was thus that the Bhutanese forces were sent to invade Sikkim. But, Achhoki was treacherously assassinated by the Bhutanese at Ambiok near Daling Fort, who thenceforth took possession of all the lands and inhabitants thereof, between Teesta and Tagong La³⁰ i.e., the present Rhenock and the Kalimpong sub-division of the Darjeeling district. The British occupation of Kalimpong took place in the Doors war with Bhutan and in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Sinchula in 1864.

During his asylum in Lhasa, Chador Namgyal had become very learned and acquired a great deal of the habits of the Lamas. At Lhasa the *Raja* took to attending the secular schools and distinguished himself by his attainments in Buddhist literature and astrology and even became the state astrologer to the Sixth Dalai Lama for sometime. He was kindly treated both by the Tibetan and the Chinese Governments, who conferred high honours and titles on the young king and gave him estates in Central Tibet with sovereign rights. These estates consisted of Padi-Jong, Nagartse

Jong, Tinke Jong as jagirs to be enjoyed by him.³¹ After his return to Sikkim, the Maharaja devoted himself to the cause of religion and learning. Aided and encouraged by Lama Jigmed-Paw, he founded the present monastery of Pemionchi and richly endowed it. The establishment was to consist of 108 monks and the Raja himself shaved his head and became one of the first members. He also appointed 108 tGar-na-pa or lay officials to serve with the lamas and assist them in secular business. Among other works the Raja wrote a book on monastic discipline, called IChags-Yig, composed a religious dance, *Rong-Chham*, in honour of Takpoo or warlike demons, and designed an alphabet for the use of his Lepcha subjects.³² The monastery, located on a hilltop at an altitude of 6840ft. commands a magnificent panoramic view of the Himalayan ranges and the surrounding hills and countryside.

The *History of Sikkim* also talks of a rumour of Bhutanese invasion, during the period of Maharaja Gyurmed Namgyal who ascended the throne on the 10th day of the 1st month of *Me-ja* year of the 12th century corresponding to 1717 A.D, on the auspicious occasion of a day sacred to the memory of Guru Padmasambhava. To repel the Bhutanese king Gyurmed sent one Shal-ngo Changzod and Nyerchen Bagyal to the frontier, while one Shal-ngo A-dZin was appointed *Jongpen* of a place called Sodah on the plain frontier. About this time a boundary question arose again between the Bhutanese and the Sikkim state. It is recorded in an old document that although the boundary had been fixed at Dhalla-gang, yet in the time of Deb Raja Khangchen of Bhutan the question was raised again just for the sake of picking a quarrel. At this, the Government of Tibet deputed one Tsang Depon (Tibetan official) named Chang-lo-Chen to try and effect an amicable settlement between the two states. He met with the representatives of the two states. One Gyal-Tshering represented Bhutan, and Dagkar Changzod Karmatargay represented Sikkim. At the conference the Sikkimi representative blamed the Bhutanese on the one hand for needless and unprovoked aggression and on the other asserted that the boundary had previously been fixed at Dhalla-gang and should be settled at that place. The Bhutanese of course persisted in their avaricious and aggressive demands. Thus the negotiation terminated without coming to any definite agreement. Next year the Tibetan official came again to Phari and summoned the two representatives from Bhutan and Sikkim. This time

Bhutan was represented by Don-nyer Tenpa Chopel, and Sikkim by Butsao Pongsang Dahlo. At the discussion that ensued the Sikkimi representative lacking the boldness of his predecessor and being unable to present a bold front, the boundary was fixed according to Bhutanese demand and that was at Rongchu and an almost compulsory agreement was imposed to that effect.³³

Throughout his reign *Maharaja* Gyurmed Namgyal occupied himself mostly with building activities. His idea was to build a covered pathway between Dachen Ling and the Rabdentse palace, after the style of the Potala palace in Tibet, which he actually completed during his lifetime. He founded a monastery in the Dechen Ling palace and established about 60 Trapas there, whom he employed in performing the *Ka-gyat* ceremonies and executing the dances connected with the rituals. It was these various and constant building and fortification works in which the *Tsongs* (Limbus and Mangars) were always employed, which drove them in disgust to retire to a place, called the Limbuana land.³⁴ It is indeed intriguing as to why only the Limbus and Mangars were constantly employed in the building activities? Risley comments, "The *Raja* became inclined to the Lepchas and their form of worship. Throughout...the *Raja* harried, and distressed his Limbu subjects so much by calling them out unnecessarily to fight and again to build forts and walls, that in despair they threw off their allegiance to Nepal."³⁵ This argument seems to be likely in understanding why the king demanded the services of the Limbus and Mangars only and not of the Lepchas.

The Bhutanese invaded Sikkim again in 1740 because the ruler was a minor.³⁶ During the last days of Gyurmed Namgyal's reign Sikkim was in a state of uneasiness with regard to who should succeed to the throne, because Gyurmed did not as yet have an heir. In 1733, when the *Maharaja* was taken seriously ill, the ministers and attendants questioned him as to who should succeed him. The *Maharaja* in his last breath told them that a nun of Sangacholling monastery, daughter of one Bhutia named Kyer Gaden of the *Tagchungdar* caste, was carrying his child and that they should find out for her. After the king's death the attendants and *Kazis* on enquiry found this nun at a place called Onge-Kye-Sa. She had become pregnant by a connection with the late *Raja* and gave birth to a son in the *Chu-lang* (water bull) year

of the 12th century, corresponding to 1733 A.D. He was named Namgyal Phuntsog, who as desired by his father was put on the throne.³⁷ The royal treasurer, Tamding opposed the succession on plea of illegitimacy and declared himself king³⁸ and ruled for three years, viz., from 1738 to 1741 A.D. Hence he was called Gyalpo Tamding.³⁹ It was the internal political problems of Sikkim around this period which encouraged the Bhutanese to invade again in 1740.⁴⁰ Surprisingly, *The History* and also *The Gazetteer* contain no evidence of Bhutanese invasion taking place in 1740 A.D.

At this juncture, the case of the minor king was taken up by the Lepchas who backed the baby and fought the pretender (Tamding) under the leadership of Changzod Karwang. Tamding was defeated and he fled to Tibet. The Tibetan Government, in compliance with request from Sikkim, deputed one Rabden Sharpa to work as regent until the ruler came of age. On his coming to Sikkim, Rabden Sharpa at once restored the people to their homes and gave them a feeling of security. He built *Jongs* in Karmi and in Mangsher. To every subject who came to pay him respect he gave a present of a plateful of salt. As salt was a very rare thing then it induced every one to pay respect to Rabden Sharpa, so that they might secure the *Bakshis* of the plateful of salt. Thus it was a means to obtain a pretty correct census. He had all the names of the recipients of the salt *Bakshis* noted down in a roll and next year the first assessment of taxes was made according to the above roll. This was the beginning of the collection of annual rents from the people of Sikkim. The Regent convened a vast assembly of all the subjects of Sikkim at Mangsher and made a proclamation which came to be called the *Mangsher Duma*, (The Mangsher Convention) at which all lamas and laymen, headmen and raiyats signed down on the constitution then drawn up.⁴¹ It defined the functions and responsibilities of the Government, and its constituent bodies. Some fixed system of revenue was also devised. They were (1) *h Bah-p*, a kind of land tax, (2) *b Zo-lung*, a tax on forest produce and (3) *Tshong-skyed*, a custom or income-tax.⁴² A regular source of income to the Government was thus fixed.

It was during the time of this Regent that the Mangar chief having died his son wanted to have his installation ceremony performed or graced by the presence and authority of a representative of the Sikkim *Maharaja*. So he had thrice invited the

Regent to grace the occasion by sending some representatives. The elder officers of the state advised the Regent to accede to the request especially as it was the custom to depute representatives with congratulation letters and presents in former times. The Regent being ignorant of the prevailing customs and usages, and proudly thinking it to be below the dignity of Sikkim's ruler to honour a chief, he discourteously refused to do so. The Mangar chief being offended besought the patronage of the Deb Raja of Bhutan, who at once deputed four representatives to grace the occasion. The Magar allegiance was thus lost for a while. The relations further deteriorated in subsequent years and about 1852 a Tsong uprising took place, which was of course put down by Changzod Karwang but their loyalty was won back by tactful diplomacy.⁴³

Just about this time Sikkim petitioned to the Tibetan Government for re-installation of the young *Raja* upon the *Gaddi* of Sikkim, which was satisfactorily complied with by Tibet. Upon this the Regent Rabden Sharpa returned back to Tibet. It was during his regency that the Sikkim Tibet boundary was fixed at Khumbu Ragkha as before.⁴⁴

For a while Sikkim's anxiety was put at ease when the king *Maharaja* Namgyal Phuntsog was replaced on the throne and the administration set in order thereafter. But, the peaceful days of Sikkim did not continue for long for the Bhutanese launched another attack on her in the *Chag-Tag* (iron tiger) year, 1770 A.D. In about 1767 A.D one Deb Zhidar, a very adventurous ruler had assumed the political authority of Bhutan. Under his adventurous zeal he invaded Sikkim at the head of a vast force in 1770A.D. Their main body took possession of areas in the eastern portions of the river Teesta, while the scouts and advanced patrols and skirmishing parties came up as far as Mangbru and Barphung. One portion of the Bhutanese force penetrated as far as Ralag Samdong and lay encamped there. This party however was completely surrounded by the Sikkimi force consisting of lamas and laymen and being entirely cut off from their main body they were compelled to retreat but in trying to do so they were all entrapped at a place called Tama-byag (a precipitous rock) at the foot of the *Maphi La*, where the defenders of Sikkim had driven sharp bamboo stakes at the foot of the precipice, down which they had hung a rope made of twisted reeds, called the Pa-yum bamboo. The remainder, which escaped

that catastrophe, retreated to join the main body of the force and soon after they came to terms with the Sikkimese. The negotiations were carried on at Pob-chu, near Rhenock hill spur and Sikkim obtained possession up to that place which originally belonged to Bhutan.⁴⁵ The area was actually annexed by Bhutan from Sikkim in 1706.⁴⁶

II

Throughout the 18th century, Bhutanese invasions of Sikkim on her eastern side created a deep sense of anxiety as she had to lose vast tracts of land lying on the east of river Teesta. This sense of insecurity was further aggravated towards the last quarter of the 18th century when Nepal was rising as a new and aggressive power under Priyhivinarayan Shah beyond Sikkim's western frontier. Prithivinarayan Shah, the ruler of a small principality of Gorkha in western Nepal had embarked upon a career of military exploits that was to result in the consolidation and unification of the numerous petty principalities scattered all over Nepal. The rise of the Gorkha power disturbed the balance of power in the hills.

We do not find evidence of a Gorkha attack on Sikkim actually taking place during the lifetime of Prithivinarayan Shah. On their move against eastern Nepal, his commanders were given instructions not to wage war of offence against Sikkim. Action was called for only if Sikkim moved first. "Do not go beyond Islimba and Chyangthapu to occupy territory. In case of Sikkimese attack choose a vantage point to give battle and defeat them. If you go to the old territory of Sikkim, the relation with Lhasa may turn bad. Therefore, do not advance to the north and see that not even four-finger breadth of the Lhasa territory is encroached upon. You must not give trouble to the people there and also you must not go to the old territory of Sikkim".⁴⁷ Such were the orders given by Prithivinarayan Shah to his commander Abhimanshing Basnet in a letter dated October 1774. A similar assurance had been sent to Tibet. Much perturbed by the Gorkha move in the east, the Panchen or Tashi Lama met George Bogle (Warren Hasting's emissary to Tashilumpo) on 23 December 1774. Bogle had been sent in an attempt to open up Tibet, he was told that Prithivinarayan 'had promised again and again to him and to the Government of Lhasa, that he would never encroach a finger's breadth on their territories, 'but now he had attacked Demo

Jong's (Denzong or Sikkim) country, which was a subject to Lhasa'.⁴⁸ A few days after, on 11 January 1775, Prithivinarayan died.⁴⁹ Immediately after his death, his successor Sinha Pratap Shah had planned to attack Sikkim. According to *The History*, "they had actually intended invading Sikkim, but as the Tibetan under Depon Patsal had already approached the Nepal-Tibet frontiers, the Gurkhas could not send the invading force to Sikkim."⁵⁰ Risley had also presented an identical argument, "in 1775-76 Raja Sinha Protapa, son and successor of Raja Prithi Narayan Sah, threatened the invasion of Sikkim; but the Tibetan general, Deba Patza alias Depon tPal-rTsal, was sent to make a diversion, and the Goorkha Raja at that time failed in his attempt."⁵¹

On the basis of what Bogle wrote and the Sikkim version it may be accepted that Tibet had taken steps to preempt the move of the Gorkhas against Sikkim. According to Tashi Lama 18,000 strong army had been sent under *Depon* Petsal. However they had returned 'as they were unable to proceed on account of the great quantities of snow which rendered the road impassable'.⁵² However, the Tibetan Government was angry with *Depon*. *Depon* told Bogle when they met a few days after his return in April 1775 that he was 'expecting soon to be again sent towards Nepal.' *Depon* might have retreated on his own when he heard about the Gorkha King's death. Tashi Lama also received a 'letter from the commander of the Gorkha troops mentioning that he intended to desist from war on account of his master's death, and proposing a truce for three years'.⁵³

The History of Sikkim records a graphic description of the different stages of Gorkha invasions in Sikkim and the flights the Sikkimese had been put through on that account. Beginning from the *Shing-Ta* (wood horse) year, 1774 A.D, the Sikkimitese and the Gurkhas maintained a continual fight on the banks of Arun River. The Sikkimese being unable to resist retired to a place called Tob-Jong situated higher up in the hills. On their retirement the Gorkhas advanced and at once occupied the place, which they had left, viz, Bichapur. Then they kept up a continual attack on Tob-Jong also for several years. Once they surprised the Sikkimi army by coming along a secret path, but they were repelled with fearful losses by the Sikkim troops under their leaders Changzod Chogthup, a Lepcha (son of Changzod Karwang) and Jomgyal. The

Gorkhas however returned with vast reinforcements to attack, and in the encounter, which took place, Chogthup was wounded by a musket ball, which nearly killed him.⁵⁴

Upon this the Gurkhas and Sikkimese came to terms. The Gurkha *Raja* deputed his representative; Yongzin Tulku, Shalu Khanbu, *Depon* Patsal and the State Secretary Tung Jatsag represented the Tibetan Government and the Sikkim representatives were Jomgyal, Tobjong Wangchen and a lama from Pemionchi named Gelong Kun-Sal who went to the frontier with various documents and proofs of the former possession and the boundaries of the territories with the histories of how they came to be obtained and with petitiones to the Tibetan Government praying that they should not be allowed to suffer any diminution. After a good deal of discussion and negotiation the Gurkhas urged that they must have indemnities for the slaughter of four Brahmins who had been deputed as messengers from the Government to Sikkim.⁵⁵

The Tibetan Government kindly acted the part of a friendly and most sincere mediator and well wisher by paying Rs.4000 in cash to the Gurkha as blood money for the slaughter of the four Brahmin upon which the Gurkhas undertook to refrain from future raids and annoyances. The present rupture having been due to the Bhutanese, (but it is not very clear in 'The History' how the blame for the 'present rupture' could have been put on Bhutan) they promised to abstain from all connections with the Bhutanese at least in the matter of armed assistance. They fixed the boundary too, from Shango-chu, in the higher hills, Shangdi-Jong, Malliayan, Lha-chu called in Tibetan and Kanika River in Hindi. East of these was fixed and settled as Sikkim territory. Any breach of the above treaty would entail the party who broke it the forfeiture of an indemnity fine of hundred *dharnis* (250 seers) of gold.⁵⁶

This treaty was made on the 13th day of the 6th month of the *Shing-Lug* (wood sheep) year of the 13th century, 1775 A.D at Walung.⁵⁷

Immediately after this settlement was made the Gurkhas again poured down through the two passes. One of these being the pass by Tob-Jong above, and the other being the Illam road below. They took possession of these places, viz, Tob-Jong and Illam.⁵⁸

Again the Tibetan Government was solicited for a protecting force. Accordingly the Tibetan Government sent down *Kyilingpa* as the representative Resident in Sikkim. Upon his arrival in Sikkim one *Nyerpa* was sent to Top-Jong to demand the stipulated indemnity from the Gurkhas, but they disregarded him, and he finally died there.⁵⁹

Again in the same year the Gorkhas under Purna Ali burst forth once more and penetrated as far as Relling, Karmi and Chakung. In the encounter which ensued, the Sikkimi Bhutia force was led by the Tagkarpa Deba Tsang Rinzing who fought a battle at Namchi, in 1779 A.D and defeated the Gorkha forces. In *Cha-Ji* year, 1780 A.D another encounter took place in which the Gurkhas lost their leader and about a hundred men. They took back eight Jongs or forts, beginning from Kota Jong and got as far as the banks of the Arun River, where they continued fighting for many days at Bolmeg Jong. At last their ammunition gave out. And the Lepcha force under Chogthup's sons and brothers could not effect the junction with the Bhutia force. The Lepcha force encountered the Gurkhas and drove them back steadily till they came to a fortified place of the Gurkhas, called Dhawagiri. Here a fierce encounter took place and both sides lost heavily, but the Lepchas continued fighting till they entered the Terai country called Morang, where the Gurkhas were thoroughly routed.⁶⁰

But meanwhile the Bhutia force fighting up had sustained an irreparable loss by the death of their leader, Deba Tsang Rinzing. This incident disheartened the men so much that they got dispersed and all of them tried to get back to their homes as fast as they could. For a time till 1788 there was no fighting.⁶¹

Risley has given a brief account of the struggle between Sikkim and Nepal taking place after the termination of the Gorkha attempt in 1775, during which Changzod Karwang's son, Changzed Chothup, alias Athingpoi, alias Satrajeet, greatly distinguished himself. This Lepcha leader obtained the name 'Satrajeet' because of seventeen successful opposition and heroic defence against the Gorkhas. His military colleague was Deba Takarpo alias Sang Rinzin. This officer carried on the war successfully for a time and drove back the Goorkhas from Illam and the hills and his forces actually penetrated as far as Chainpur. Here, near Bilungjong the Sikkimese general was defeated and slain, and his army dispersed, and in consequence of his

defeat Satrajeet had also to retire from the Morung.⁶² Risley gives the date of Deba's death and defeat as 1787, whereas *The History* records the dates of this struggle as 1779 and 1780 and the dispersal of the Sikkimite force after Deba Tsang's death. So, how is it possible to say that both the sources are talking of the same event? What can be safely presumed here is that perhaps the rivalry that took place in 1779-80 must have continued up to 1787 A.D.

The event of 1779 and 1780 however does not appear in any of the Nepali sources recording the event of the Gorkha expansion in the east. Even in Kumar Pradhan's construction of the Gurkha expansion in the east of Nepal and Sikkim in his work *The Gorkha Conquest*,⁶³ the event does not find mention. His account on Sikkim section is primarily based on Markham's and Hamilton's records which relates the 1779 and 1780 to persons and events of a later date i.e. 1788 and 89. For Dr. Pradhan the 1779 and 1780 events as mentioned in the *Maharaja's* work *The History of Sikkim* is a mere repetition of the 1788-89 invasion of the Gurkhas as it talks of the same commander, Purna Ali, invading Sikkim and penetrating into the same areas of Sikkim i.e., Reling, Karmi and Chakung in both the attacks, i.e., of 1779 and later in 1788. In view of this fact, Dr. Kumar's argument does not seem illogical till further sources on the 1779-80 events are traced. However, the year mentioned in *Sikkim History* i.e., *Chag-ji* (Iron-mouse year) 1780 is a definite year and it is unlikely to be confused with *Sa-ji* i.e., earth bird/ mouse year, 1789 A.D as suggested by Dr. Pradhan.

What comes out clear from the above arguments is that, a treaty was concluded in 1775 between Sikkim and Nepal. Though no Nepali version of any treaty made between Sikkim and Nepal in 1775 has come to light, *The History* claims that an old record of the treaty was extant when the manuscript was compiled. The Nepali sources only refer to a treaty (Dharmapatra) between Nepal and Tibet written in *Newari* made on *Newari Samvat* (the Newari era started from 20th October A.D 879, a Thursday) 895 Sraavan Sukla 13 Wednesday at Khasa.⁶⁴ The Sikkim version of the treaty claims 13th day of the 6th month of the *Shing-lug* (Tree-ship) year i.e., 1775 A.D as the date of the treaty and Walung as the place where it was concluded.⁶⁵ What can be safely presumed here is that when Bogle met Tashi Lama, it was the 26th day of

January 1775.A.D therefore even a rough calculation indicates that both the sources are referring to a treaty made in July-August, 1775 A.D. ⁶⁶

Active hostilities seemed to have then died out for a time, and Sikkim was lulled into a state of false security, when suddenly in the Sa-Tel (earthen ape) 1778 year A.D, the Gurkhas invaded Sikkim again.⁶⁷ A two-pronged attack on Sikkim took place in 1788. Purna Ali, a Magar commander of the Gorkhali force came from Illam, probably after crossing Choyabhanjyang. (Bhanjyang means a pass in Nepali).⁶⁸ Then he advanced up to the Reling and Karmi, (now in Darjeeling), and Chakung. Another force moved from Bijapur under one commander called Johar Singh.⁶⁹ In Risley's account he was 'general Jor Singh.'⁷⁰ Hamilton called him Tiurar Singh, Subah of Morang.⁷¹ He was probably Jahar Singh, son of renowned Gorkhali commander Kehar Singh Basnet.⁷²

Advancing steadily on the Singalila route Johar Singh crossed the Khaletchu (the Tibetan name for Kulhait), an affluent of the Great Rangit to the north of Darjeeling. Proceeding quickly on its banks, he made a surprise attack on the palace of Rabdentse and captured it. The Raja Tenzing Namgyal and his son had scarcely any time to dress, when they had to take to flight. The Rani barely succeeded in hastily snatching and carrying away a painted mask of the local Deities of the Kenchenjunga, which they used to regard with special veneration. The prince Tsugphud Namgyal was borne off on the back of the grand father of the Khangsa Dewan, who was then Sapon (chief cook), and who subsequently came to be appointed a Dewan and was called *Don-nyer* Chagdor. Thus the entire family fled; crossing the Kathong River they proceeded up the bank of the Am-Mochu. Being hard pressed by the sudden attack of the Gorkhas they had no time to obtain any provisions. For several days they sustained on the roots from the jungle such as yams and other edible roots.⁷³

Another Gurkha force more numerous and powerful than the former ones under one Damodar Pande, subsequently re-inforced the Gurkhas, which took possession of the country beyond Teesta. Then they proceeded to take possession of every *Jong* and monasteries. Thus the Gurkhas remained masters of Sikkim, beyond the Teesta, while the *Raja* took to flight and all the Sikkimese were compelled to have refuge in the valleys of the rivers, hills and caves, suffering great hardships.⁷⁴ Risley

comments, "more troops were sent by the Goorkha General Damodar Pande, which overran and held possession of all Sikkim south and west of the Tista."⁷⁵ According to the Nepali version,⁷⁶ Damodar Pande, one of Nepal's generals, was in charge of the western part of the country and was in overall command of the Gorkhali army when the Chinese intervened on behalf of Tibet immediately after.⁷⁷ Describing his visit to Pemionchi in January 1849, Hooker⁷⁸ noted that 'the Gorkhas plundered Tassiding, Pemionchi, Changchelling, and all the other temples and convents to the west' of the Tista. It was then, he says, the famous history of Sikkim, compiled by the lamas of Pemionchi, and kept at this temple, was destroyed. The Bhutanese Government then under the newly elected Deb Raja, Deba Seshing, who was friendly with the Tibetan Government, generously sent some stores of provisions, viz, 180,000 or 84,000 Bhutia *pathis* of rice, bales of dye and tea, with about Rs.1000, of Bhutia silver coins, which proved a very welcome gift, in the straitened circumstances, Tibet too send in gifts of tea and silks and other items of provisions.⁷⁹ Hamilton⁸⁰ states that it was with the help of Bhutan that Sikkim forced the Gorkhals to lift the siege. However the Bhutanese retired soon because they were allowed no pay as the country was too poor.

The Sikkimese however, continued to resist the Gorkhas under the leadership of a Lepcha leader, Chogthup. The son of an old Lepcha minister, Karwang, Chogthup could have defeated the Gorkhas in skirmishes here and there after retiring to a stronghold situated between the two branches of the Tista.⁸¹ 'This place,' observed Hamilton⁸² in 1802-03, 'called Gandhauk (Gangtok), has annexed to it a territory of considerable extent, and affords the *Rajah* a revenue of about 7000 rupees a year, which is all that he possesses. While Chogthup led troops and annoyed the Gorkhas, his brother Namgyal looked after the administration.

At that time the *Raja* Tenzing Namgyal lived in Kabi. Having lost their properties, the *Raja's* family was supported by his loyal followers who took to cultivate the fields for several years, and had to live in most precarious circumstances regarding their food. Such was the dire circumstances that *Don-nyer* Chagdor son of *Solpon* Tsang Namgyal used to collect the Magenta dye, and carrying a load of it on his own back used to dispose it of at Phari with the price of which he used to buy salt for the *Raja's* kitchen. Going down to the plains in the Terai to buy rice he used to

carry it up on his own back. He thus supplied the *Raja's* kitchen stores. He was rewarded with the post and title of Dewan afterwards. He was also called the aged *Kazi* (Lon Depo). Khangsa Dewan Lhundup, the Phodong Lama Karma Tenkyong and Tunyik Ngodup gyaltsen were his sons, all of whom were at once given high posts and honours after him.⁸³

In the *Chag-khyi* (Iron-dog) year, 1890 A.D the Sikkim Raja went to Tibet to seek aid. The Tibetan Government was about to dispatch a Tibetan force towards Kyidong and was making preparations, when Chogthup and Zomgyal sent up news to apprise the *Raja* of having succeeded in expelling the Gurkhas from Sikkim, and on account of this information the Tibetan force was not sent.⁸⁴

In 1791 A.D. the Tibetan Government deputed the Phari *Shar Jong*, named Phodang Goma to Sikkim to reside there as a representative officer of the Tibetan Government so as to afford protection, at the same time Bhutan deputed one Lama named Thinly Dugyal and one *Zimpon* named Phurpa to Sikkim. They came to Song Bolgyong situated on the left bank of the Teesta River.⁸⁵

There a meeting of lamas and laymen was convened. They presented a representation about the harassing raids and invasions of the Gurkhas to the representatives of the Tibet and Bhutan Governments. These representatives preceded as far as Namchi and Chakung, and they summoned the Gurkha leader Johar Singh from Rabdentse, and told him that as long as they did not get a communication from Nepal, he must vacate Rabdentse and retire to Bijapur. Johar Singh did so, and for a while the Gorkha pressure relaxed somewhat due to Nepal's involvement in Tibet.⁸⁶

In 1791 Nepal renewed its war with Tibet. The Gorkhas advanced to take Shingte and plundered the rich monastery of Tashilumpo. On the strength of promises of friendship offered by the British emissaries, Bogle and then Turner, Tibet had previously appealed to the British. However Lord Cornwallis could not intervene for various reasons.⁸⁷ Tibet then turned to China, and Chien Lung, the Manchu Emperor, sent a vast army to drive the Gorkhas out of Tibet.⁸⁸ The Chinese Resident (*Amban*) at Lhasa wishing to guard all the passes and routes into Tibet set about despatching troops to all the likely points where attacks might be expected.⁸⁹

At this juncture it was considered that as the Gurkha and Sikkim lands are adjoining each other Gurkha forces might attack Tibet through Sikkim. It was thought advisable to despatch Chogthup and Yug Namcha with all the available Sikkim forces to the points most likely to be assailed on the frontiers. The Chinese Amban in Tibet required 'the most zealous co-operation and active service' of Sikkim and promised Chogthup that in exchange of their services he would get suitable recognition and 'the grant of buttons and peacock feathers' with reward and titles and after having marched their forces to the various points on the frontiers, they should report to him about their arrival and also the number of men each had under him. The Chinese Amban in Tibet intimated this to Sikkim through a letter. The *History of Sikkim* informs us that the original letter of the Chinese Amban to Chogthup was extant at the time of its compilation.⁹⁰

When the Gurkha invading army penetrated as far as Tashi Lhunpo in Tibet, the Chinese Imperial forces Under Hosi Thungthang and Dha Changzin came to Tibet and then carried war into Nepal. The Chinese circulated an order which said, 'as we intend to proceed to the Gorkha Raj and lay it in ruins, so you (the Sikkimites) must also render every assistance to the best of your abilities. You will have to come to the Gorkha country to join the troops under the Tungthangs. Vast tracts of territories will be conquered, and foes shall be slain in countless and their countries ravaged. You will retain possession of as much land as you have conquered... small though your forces be, you must do your utmost for your future good and peace'.⁹¹

The Chinese officer wrote to Chogthup as well as to the Tsongs (Limbus) saying that though the *Tsong* had reported to him about their advance and the encounter with the Gorkhas, they had been compelled to retreat when their ammunition was exhausted. 'To the *Tsong* force, he sent a supply, 100 measures of gunpowder, and 500 of lead'.⁹² The magnitude of the rebellion is described in Nepali documents and this tallies with the Sikkimese account. The Chinese faced hard resistance but they had vastly superior numbers and, when in September 1792, they were only a few miles away from Kathmandu, Nepal sued for peace.⁹³

Tibet got an assurance that the Tashilumpo property would be restored and an agreement was made for demarcating the Nepal-Tibet boundary. Sikkim was not

represented at the negotiation, and Tibet refused to listen to its pleas 'on the ground that though Bhutan had helped Tibet, the Sikkimese had not.'⁹⁴ The Nepal-Sikkim boundary was drawn further back to the left bank of the Tista. This according to 'The History',⁹⁵ was due to the absence of Sikkim, the indifference of Tibet and misrepresentations made by Nepal. "The Gurkhas falsely reported to the Tungthang, who did not know the former boundaries of Sikkim that Sikkim's boundary comprised of Teesta below and Singlila above, and they made it appear as if they had restored the Pemionchi and lower parts of Sikkim, where they had once been masters for a time, but from which the Sikkimites had expelled them."⁹⁶ The Chinese general had assured Sikkim that "it had been arranged and settled that his original territories would be restored to him' but that 'the details had not been entered into'.⁹⁷ Sikkim made two representations to Tibet (the copies of which were reported to be extant) that in spite of the assurances of the restoration of the original boundaries of Sikkim, 'the Gorkhas' has 'again sent raiding parties into Sikkim' and not fixed boundary anew as ordered'.⁹⁸ As a matter of fact, Sikkim not only lost most of its territory to Nepal, but Tibet also swallowed up Chumbi valley and the *Raja's* fiefs at Piahte Jong and Samye granted to Chador Namgyal by the Sixth Dalai Lama, and pushed its own boundary up to the Chola-Jelep range.⁹⁹

Nepal's ambition to establish any sort of political or economic hegemony over Tibet was checked in 1792. On the contrary, the action of Nepal greatly augmented the Chinese power in Tibet. It was a decisive blow to the policy so earnestly followed by Prithivinarayan; and at the same time it was blow to the policy of the British, pursued with equal eagerness since Warren Hastings' governorship. The English Company, when approached both by Nepal and Tibet, had tried to mediate by sending Colonel Kirkpatrick in 1792, but the move came too late. The commercial treaty made that year between Nepal and the Company was the only access for Indian traders and British goods to Tibet. When Abdul Kadir Khan, a merchant sent by the Company to examine the prospects of trade with Tibet through Nepal, came to the conclusion that it was bright, John Shore, the Governor, wondered whether it would have been better for the Company if the Chinese had occupied the whole of Nepal in 1792 and driven out the Gorkhas. The Company took advantage of

the political change resulting from the exile of Ranabahadur Shah (the ruler) in Benaras, and induced the rulers of Nepal to accept a British resident at Kathmandu. The Treaty of 1801 was not welcome to many in Nepal and was regarded as an imposition. Captain Knox, therefore, achieved nothing during his stay at Kathmandu from 1801-1803. On the contrary Anglo-Nepalese relations became strained and the treaty of 1801 was dissolved. Lord Wellesley hoped that the Company could in future avoid having anything to do with Nepal.¹⁰⁰

Raja Tenzing Nangyal died in Lhasa in the *Chu-lang* (water bull) year, 1793 A.D., and the prince Tsugphud Namgyal came down enriched with rich presents from the Lhasa Government and became the ruler of a country, much truncated in size. For sometime he lived in the *Yul-gyal* (victorious in flight) palace of Kabi.¹⁰¹

A column of the Gorkha army had penetrated as far as Chongtong. Its commander was probably Subedar Jayanta Khatri. In *The History of Sikkim* he is recorded as Jang Khater.¹⁰² Hamilton¹⁰³ records that the Gorkhas in Sikkim were stationed at Darjeeling and Nagari and here they had established their own administrative system. As a British document¹⁰⁴ of 1846 relates, the orders passed then 'invariably had the joint seal of the Sikkim Rajah's Dewan and the Gorkha Subah at Nagree'. The boundary of Nepal in the east remained extended up to the Tista both in the hills and the plains. Risley says "For some years, Pemionchi and all the South Tista tract paid rent to Nepal, until in 1815 the Nepalese were compelled by the British Government."¹⁰⁵

Checked in the north by China, the directions in which Nepal could expand were the west, south and east. Having reached the Sutlaj in the west it could not go beyond because of the rise of the Sikh power under Ranjit Singh. In the south the dominions of Nepal and the British were coterminous along the plains to an extent of thirteen hundred miles, and quarrels concerning boundaries were inevitable. There were charges and counter-charges of encroachments. Not only was the border between the two dominions ill defined, but in some cases the hill *Rajas*, ousted by the Gorkhals regarded themselves as tenants of the Nawabs of Bengal and Oudh. But the terai was of vital importance for Nepal as its revenue formed the major share of land income. Bhimsen Thapa, who had risen as the Prime Minister and wielded de facto power, was

trying to combine different Indian rulers by sending envoys to them.¹⁰⁶ Hence Lord Hastings' policy was motivated principally by a sincere fear that unless the British acted first, the native states would combine and drive the Company from India. This way of thinking made it impossible for Hastings to treat the Nepalese encroachments as mere isolated border incidents.¹⁰⁷ Consequently, the Marquis of Hastings declared war on Nepal in 1814.

Sikkim in the east, much reduced in size, was looking for ways to regain its lost prestige. Much perturbed by the expansion of British colonialism in India and the fear of its possible entry into Sikkim, the Chinese Amban sent three or four letters to the Sikkim Durbar, dated the 5th month of the Chah-Chui (Chinese year) and another in the 6th month of the same year.¹⁰⁸ The former said that "although a Tibetan force had always been stationed at Phari since a long time, yet it was now thought, after due consultation between the minister and Changjun, that it was desirable to depute Kao-Tsong-yer hitherto at Gyantseto Phari, and to place troops inboth these places, with no other new innovations or alterations in view, but that of the convenience of making enquiries into the movements of the *ferangis* (Europeans) and that the Sikkim Durbar need not entertain any fears etc on that score." The second letter acknowledges receipt of a letter from the people of Sikkim and the minister, and advises despatch of an answer, wherein detailed instructions had been sent, and enjoining compliances with those. It goes on to say "that letter from the Durbar, you say that you have delivered the letter we addressed to the Official head saheb of the ferangs, and sent special messenger again to remind him of the reply due. Your readiness and expedition are commandable. But no reply has been yet received; so as soon as you obtain the reply by dint of reminders, you will transmit it to us by mounted runner without delay." A fourth letter dated the 8th month of the 21st Chah-Chui, says, "your letter dated the 1st day of the 8th month has been received in which you inform us about the safe return of the 2nd special messenger, who went to remind the *Ferang* head *saheb* and also forwarding the reply letter from the *Ferang saheb*, which has been received. We are very much pleased." These are the extracts from four of the official letters as recorded in *The History of Sikkim*.

The war between the British and Nepal was imminent. When the war broke out, the King of Nepal, Girvanayuddha appealed to Tibet for help. No material help came, but Tibet offered prayers for Nepal's success in the war.¹⁰⁹ Sikkim, a sufferer at Nepalese hands, was completely at variance in its attitude. After some friendly communication with the British the Sikkim court applied to the British for a force to help it in driving out the Gorkhas. The Khambu chiefs, Yakhas and Ashogrambus also entreated the Government for the same.¹¹⁰

At this juncture, in its search for trade, the Company was thinking about the option that Sikkim could offer because of the matrimonial and religious affinities it had with Tibet and that it could also be a bulwark against the possible Nepal-Bhutan alliance against the British.¹¹¹ Accordingly, Captain Barre Latter of the Rangpur Local Battalion, stationed at Titalia to the south of Siliguri, was instructed to establish contacts with Sikkim. Latter succeeded in his endeavour.¹¹² The Government at last sent a large force against the Gurkhas. Changzod Chogthup and his sons and brothers accompanied Major of Titalia, with whom he had four or five conferences during which he made a clear and detailed representation of the state of affairs. Sikkim thus became involved in the Anglo-British war. They jointly attacked the Nagri Jong, which for some time withstood the joint assault, but by means of Strategem, the Gorkhas under Jayanta Khatri were dislodged.¹¹³ But Jayanta Khatri and his men could not be dislodged until 1816 as one of the terms of the Sugauli treaty signed by the British and Nepal after the war clearly indicates this.¹¹⁴

The withdrawal of the Gorkhas from Malaun sealed their fate in the war and broke their power of resistance against the British. Nepal started negotiations for peace in May 1815, at different places and at the fall of Kathmandu in 1816, a peace negotiation was concluded between the British and Nepal at Sugauli.¹¹⁵

The Sikkim ruler thanked the British and requested 'that the boundary between Sikkim and the Gorkha territory be laid at Timar Chorten (the Tamar River) if possible, but the best would be Arun River, and the least of all Milighu, Dhankote as middle, Shadijong, down to the Kanika Terai rivers.¹¹⁶ "All the country east of these are Sikkim territory, and I pray these may be restored to Sikkim, after taking oaths, or written bonds, or sealed and signed documents from the Gurkha Maharaja.

As long as the boundary is not laid down definitely, I pray that the Major Saheb, who represents the British Government may not be removed or transferred elsewhere. If this is not done, then your Excellency is aware of the various subterfuges that the Gurkhas might employ to defraud us. I pray therefore that your Excellency will be pleased to regard my prayers about the above three boundaries with favour and cause it to bear fruit." This was the appeal made by the Sikkim Maharaja to the British Government, which was dated 1816, just on the eve of the Sugauli agreement.¹¹⁷

The British felt that the richest part of Nepal, and the part which furnished it with sinews of war, was the lush Terai, hence its cessation was made the first condition of truce. By the treaty of Sugauli, accepted on March 24, 1816.¹¹⁸ Nepal ceded most of the Terai it possessed. In accordance with the British policy 'to restore the ancient chiefs in all cases in which special reasons did not exist against it', the annexed hill states west of the Mahakali River, except Kumaon were restored. All the territories within the hills eastward of the river Mechi, 'including the lands of Nagree and the Pass of Nagarcote leading from Morung into the hills, together with the territory lying between that pass and Nagree' were ceded to the Company 'in perpetuity'. The treaty laid down that 'the aforesaid territory shall be evacuated by the Gorkha troops within forty days.' Jayanta Khatri had to move out of Nagari; he went to Illam.¹¹⁹

On February 10, 1817, the British Government made a treaty at Titalia with Sikkim, and restored the territories situated to the eastward of the Mechi River and the westward of the Teesta River, "formerly possessed and occupied by the Rajah of Nepal, but ceded to the Honourable East India Company by the Treaty of peace signed at Sugauli."¹²⁰(These were the territories which now forms Darjeeling, Kurseong and Siliguri sub-division of the Darjeeling district.) Sikkim was thus given its old territories east of the Mechi River. The size of Nepal was reduced but Sikkim did not get all it had asked for. The treaty also stipulated that Sikkim would submit to the arbitration of the Company any dispute with Nepal and other neighbouring countries.¹²¹The treaty thus established a complete British influence in Sikkim. For the first time the British acquired the right to trade up to the Tibetan frontier.

The evident protective wing of the British was not enough to drive away the fear of the Gorkhas from the mind of the *Maharaja*, Tsugphud Namgyal, who right from his infancy had been a victim of the Gorkha conquests of Sikkim. So the *Maharaja* thought it prudent to shift the capital from Rabdentse in the west to Tumlong in the north of Sikkim. In the *Shing-khyi* (wood dog) year of the 14th century, 1814 A.D he commenced building a palace named Wangdutse, at Tumlong and shifted the capital there.¹²² The palace was built exactly between the two famous monasteries i.e., the Phodong and Labrang monasteries. The Phodong monastery located above the North Sikkim Highway about forty kilo meters away from Gangtok was built by Chogyal Gyurmed Namgyal sometime in the first quarter of the eighteenth-century. A kilometer further from Phodang, the Labrang monastery was built about 100 years later. This monastery belongs to the Nyingmapa Sect of Tibetan Buddhism, the same as that of Pemayangtse monastery in west Sikkim. Between the two monasteries are the Tumlong Palace ruins. Thus from 1814 Tumlong became the seat of the Chogyals' Government, much away from the Gorkha kingdom's eastern boundary. Tumlong remained the capital for about ninety years.

Nepal was presented with an opportunity to exploit the internal feuds in Sikkim and serve its design once more immediately after the treaty of Titalia.¹²³ Since 1850s Sikkim had been suffering from chronic internal feuds. The rebellion of the Limbus or the Tsong community in the middle of the eighteenth-century (1852) had been put down by Chogthup's father, Karwang, the Lepcha minister. The rebellion was the result of discontentment of the Mangars who were being deprived of their traditional privileges. Through tactful diplomacy Changzod Karwang later won back the loyalty of the Tsongs and for a while the land enjoyed peace.

More serious in nature was the recurrent conflicts between the Lepchas and Bhutias. When the powerful Bhutia or Tibetan minister had refused to recognize the posthumous infant of Gyurmed and captured power, the Lepcha faction under Karwang opposed him. The '*Mangsher Duma*' had apportioned powers to the Lepchas and Bhutias and established peace. But the amity was not destined to last forever. The Bhutia camp, jealous of the achievements and the rising power of the Lepcha Karwang family, procured the murder of Bolod, a scion of the family, under the king's

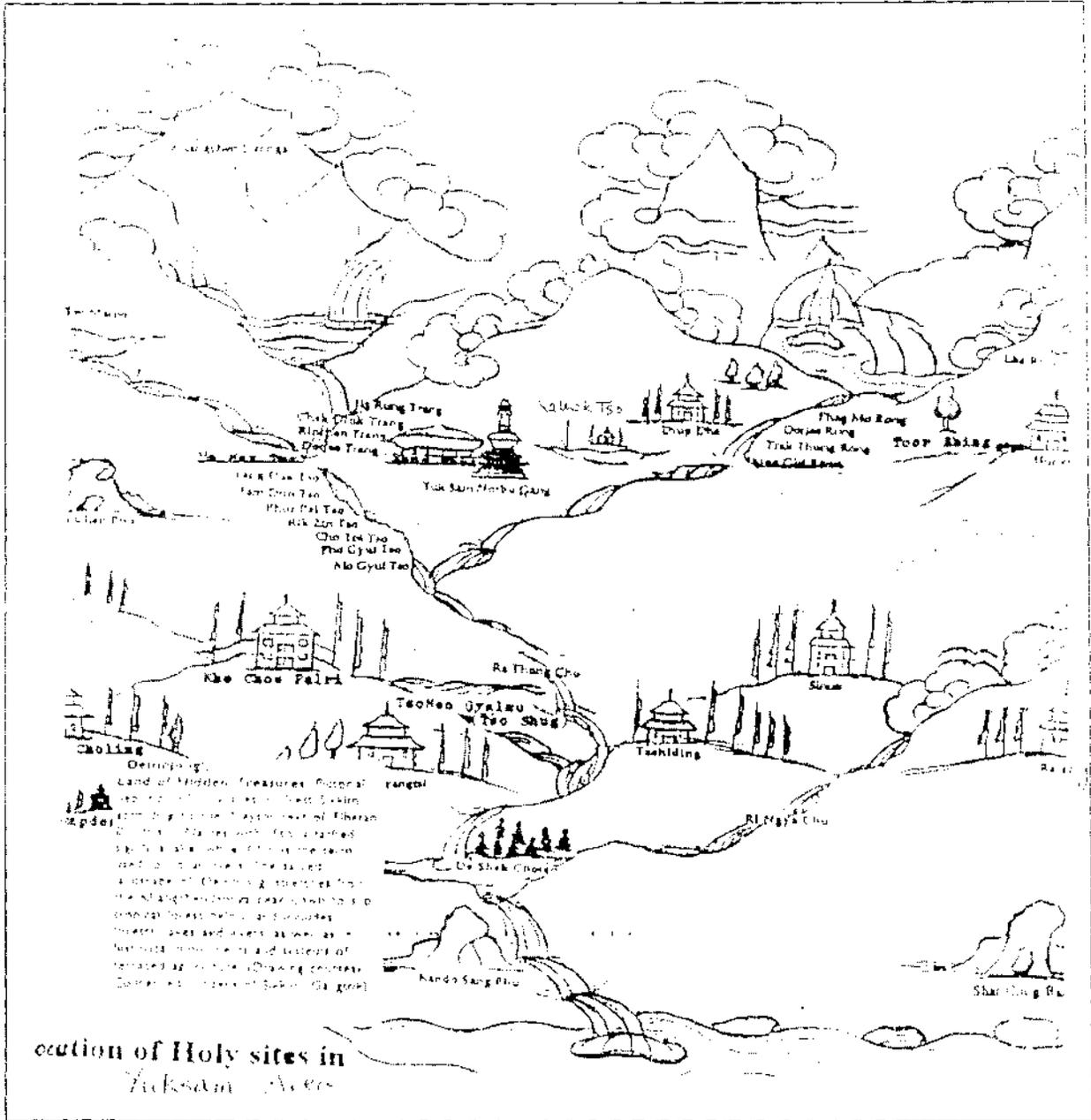
instruction in 1826. (Tung-yik Menchoo, father of Dongyer Namgyal treacherously murdered Bolod near Tumlong). The Lepcha chiefs 'left Sikkim taking with them about eight hundred houses of Lepcha subjects' and went to Illam seeking Nepalese help.¹²⁴ Thus began the 'Kotapa insurrection', which sorely troubled Sikkim for a long time.

The Kotapa insurrection was not a brief affair. Jayanta Khatri, who had by then retired to Illam, wrote in 1826 about a delegation of the Kotapas that went to meet him seeking help. The British had withdrawn to the plains in turmoil and were stationed at Phasidewa with two cannons, the Lepchas were insisting that it was the time to take action in Sikkim. Moreover, a border dispute arose between Sikkim and Nepal, and Sikkim referred the matter, in accordance with the treaty of Titalia, to the Company, the two issues were intricately related.¹²⁵

It was to investigate this dispute that William Bentinck deputed G.W.Lloyd and J.W Grant in 1828. They penetrated into the hills and came as far as Rinchingpung. These gentlemen, attracted by the position of Darjeeling, brought it to the notice of the Governor-General, and it was resolved by Government to open negotiations with the *Maharaja* of Sikkim on the first convenient occasion for the cession of Darjeeling to the British Government in return for an equivalent in lands or money. This opportunity occurred in 1834-35, when the Lepcha refugees in Nepal made an inroad into the Sikkim Terai, and Colonel Lloyd was deputed to enquire into the causes of the disturbance. The refugees were obliged to return to Nepal, and the negotiation ended in the cession by the *Maharaja* of the Darjeeling tract under a Deed of grant, dated February 1835. In 1841 the Government granted an allowance of Rs.3,000 per annum to the Maharaja as compensation for the cession of Darjeeling.¹²⁶

Ever since the inception of monarchy in Sikkim, the question of the seat of its Government had been of great concern for the monarch. Factors such as religious, political and geographical, played their role jointly or singularly in choosing a location as the capital. When the capital was shifted from Gangtok to Yuksam, the idea was to administer the country from a place regarded very sacred by the Namgyals. The need for the transfer of capital from Yuksam to Rabdentse also occurred out of religious factor. Lat-bTsun had once uttered to Phuntso Namgyal that he should build a palace

Map - 1



Location of Holy sites in Yuksam Area

Source : Nature and Natural Resources (UNESCO) Paris 1996

at Rabdentse. This showed Lat-bTsun's concern for propagating Buddhism (Nyngmepa sect) in the country. For over hundred years Rabdantse remained the capital and during this period numerous religious monuments were being established. In 1814 the capital was shifted from Rabdentse to Tumlong, the need this time arising out of geographical and political factors. Throughout its period as the seat of the Government, Rabdantse faced constant harassment from foreign powers, so the Chogyal shifted the capital to Tumlong away from the Gorkha Kingdom's eastern boundary and close to Lhasa. It should also be remembered that from time to time the ruler's summer residence was in the valley of Chumbi in Tibet. From about 1889 the residence of the *Maharaja* was transferred to Gangtok. Our studies in the following sections shall reveal why Gangtok became the capital around 1889-90.

III

Though aware of the great commercial possibilities of Tibetan trade since their arrival in India, the British had not taken any step to develop it until they occupied Bengal, where the northern frontier was contiguous with the Himalayan foothills. The British considered trans-Himalayan trade vital for their commercial interests. But by the time the officials of the East India Company in Bengal had begun to consider opening trade relations with Tibet, the political events within the country and on its southern border, in Nepal had already combined to make it virtually a closed land, shut off from its previous connections with Bengal and Northern India. Tibet did not begin to become a "forbidden land"-except for the natural obstacles to entry offered by the terrain- until the Manchu Emperors of China took steps to add it to their domains, after an army sent from China had conquered it in 1720. After 1750, circumstances had tended more and more to make Tibet a closed land. (Previously, Tibet had at times been a nominal tributary of China, but the Chinese had never had any direct control over it). The conquest of Nepal by the Gurkhas, (completed in 1769) and their replacement of the Semi-Tibetan Buddhist culture of the former Newari rulers by a new Hinduised one, tended to shut off the age-old cultural contacts between Nepal and Tibet, as well as the accustomed avenues of trans-Himalayan trade between Northern India and Tashilungpo by way of Nepal passes. Furthermore, the intrigues of the English, in their efforts to help the old rulers of Nepal against the

Gurkhas, thoroughly annoyed the latter. In 1767, for example, the English sent an expedition under Captain Kinlock into Nepal against the Gurkhas, and this proved almost totally disastrous to the Company's troops. It succeeded only in arousing the wrath of the Gurkhas at the interference. Two years later, in 1769, Surgeon James Logan was sent on a mission to Nepal in an effort to encourage or support the *Newari Rajah* of Kathmandu, partly because the latter was believed to be closely connected with the 'Pontiff' (Dalai Lama) of Lhasa, and it was hoped that he might be useful in furthering the expansion of trade to Tibet. But this too, was a failure, for in that year Kathmandu fell to the Gurkhas, who thus completed their conquest of Nepal proper. Around 1772, Bengal itself was shut off from Tibet when troubles in Cooch Behar to the north, and a subsequent border war between the Company and Bhutan blocked any chance of trade with Tashilunpo and Lhasa by way of the eastern passes.¹²⁷

With the coming of Warren Hastings to India, the Company again became interested in trying to arrange an extension of its trade in Bengal with the countries to the north, in order to revive a strained economy in their possession in Bengal. They also hoped to find some means of introducing British goods to China through her back door, so they could extend the Company's sale of manufactured goods from overseas. These economic reasons were the direct stimulus in the search for new markets and new channels of trade in the North.¹²⁸ In May 1774 a mission under George Bogle was sent to "open a mutual and equal communication of trade".¹²⁹ But this mission did little to open up the trade route through Bhutan. In 1783 a second mission was sent under Samuel Turner.¹³⁰ 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 a British Resident at Kathmandu in 1800, no trade was opened.¹³¹ This was partly due to the events of 1792 and their sequels, and partly because the ruler could not be forced to cooperate even after several punitive expeditions against Nepal.¹³²

The trade routes to Tibet through Nepal and Bhutan thus remained shut throughout the nineteenth century. The only solution would have been to add these

Border States to the already unwieldy Indian Empire, but that the British could not afford to. Therefore they concentrated on Sikkim, which was small and weak, gradually absorbing it.¹³³

Sikkim's involvement in the Anglo-Nepalese war and her newly developed friendship with the British proved rather unlucky for her as it gave the British a chance to establish a complete influence in Sikkim. The treaty was also a blow to the Nepalese ambition in the east. But Sikkim *Maharaja's* freedom of action was drastically curtailed. The Company got the 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. On 7 April 1817, the Governor-General Lord Moira formally granted to the Sikkim ruler by a *Sunnud* "all that portions of lowland situated Eastward of the Meitchie River, and westward of the Maha Nudee, formerly possessed by the Rajah of Napaul, but ceded to the Honourable East India Company by the Treaty of Segoulee, to be held by the Sikkimputee Rajah as a feudatory, or as acknowledging the supremacy of the British Government over the said lands",¹³⁴ on condition that the provisions of the Treaty of Titalya 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 Morung.¹³⁵ 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.

Darjeeling was ceded to the Company in 1835, but the Sikkim *Maharaja* did not consider the cession to be unconditional. In November 1839, he wrote a letter to 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 Rommoo Pradhan and his brothers should be delivered over to me; and that deficit in my revenue in their hands should be made good".¹³⁶ 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".¹³⁷ Campbell expressed that the Raja had mistaken because Lloyd was not authorised to offer any land.¹³⁸ Government of India

instructed 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”.¹³⁹ In 1843 the Maharaja again wrote a letter to the Superintendent: “we received a letter from the India Government at Calcutta saying that the Government wanted a piece of land in Darjeeling for a Sanatory station for invalid British Officers and that either a suitable piece of land in exchange or some rent in money would be given. Accordingly I offered a piece of land in Darjeeling for the purpose. The proposed exchange in land was not given, but you persisted in offering as annual rent in money. And you know already, whether we sent any one to ask for rent money or not. Now you write to say that you will not send up the annual rent for the Darjeeling land. Now if you do not live in Darjeeling, we do not want any money either. The original boundary of Sikkim as demarcated by the Major... Saheb was from the Mechi river. But since you have come, you have cut the boundary ...and given it to the Gurkhas. In the letter from the great Saheb I am informed that Campbell Saheb has been sent to further my interest and you wrote to me, informing me of my arrival and assuring me of your wish to further my interests and to work agreeably to my wishes. But in real fact ever since your arrival in Darjeeling you have not only done nothing to help me, but giving ears to all the talks of evil minded people endless disputes have arisen. The neighbouring States are perpetually bothering me. It will not do if Darjeeling falls into another State’s hands, or if any of the raiyats of Darjeeling get scattered. As you have asked me to send down an authorized person in your letter, I have sent Donyer Phodar, who has been instructed minutely as regards my wishes etc.” The dispute between the East India Company and the ruler of Sikkim regarding compensation was finally settled by the Company agreeing to pay annually a sum of Rs. 3,000.¹⁴¹ In 1846, the Indian Government had granted an increment of the rent of the Darjeeling land from Rs.3,000 to Rs.6,000. But the *Raja* had to wait till June 1847 to get the arrears of compensation since 1835.¹⁴²

In 1839 Darjeeling contained about a hundred bustiwallas, but within ten years, viz from 1839-1849 more than 10,000 houses had settled there. People from all parts of the country flocked there, it having become a great market the slaves and menial classes from Sikkim, Bhutan and Nepal all took refuge there. But an ill feeling

was created when the Sikkimese not being used to the usages of the powerful Government, used to pursue their slaves and kidnap them back from Darjeeling. Criminals from Darjeeling also use to take refuge in Sikkim. In view of these developments the Sikkim Durbar wrote several times to Campbell and tried to obtain the extradition of the runaway slaves from Darjeeling but Campbell turned deaf ears to this proposal.¹⁴³ Risley's position was, "there was free trade in labour and all other commodities, with forest land enough for all comers to settle in, and every encouragement given to new arrivals. The increased importance of Darjeeling, under free institutions, was a source of early and constant jealousy and annoyance to the Dewan of the Maharaja, who was himself the monopolist of all trade in Sikkim, and this jealousy was shared in by the Lamas and other principal people in the country, who lost their rights over slaves settling as British subjects in our country. The plan pursued was through reports and secret emissaries to frighten our slaves to their former masters, and by discouraging the resort in every way of the Sikkim people to Darjeeling; added to which some British subjects were occasionally kidnapped to be sold into slavery, and there were frequent senials of aid in capturing and surrendering criminals. There has always been an arrangement for a mutual exchange of slaves between Sikkim and Bhutan, and Dr.Campbell, the Superintendent of Darjeeling, was constantly importuned by the Maharaja of Sikkim and his Dewan to get the British Government to follow a similar course with Sikkim, which was of necessity steadily refused."¹⁴⁴

It seems that there existed a serious communication gap between the Sikkim Maharaja, his officials and Dr.Campbell, the successor of Capt.Lloyd who always seemed to be annoyed with the former. Dr.Campbell not only gave vent to his annoyance but even thought that the Raja owed his existence as a Ruler to the British as he wrote, "...that it (Government) will agree with me in thinking that it is time to show him (Rajah) that the Government to which he owes his country and his existence as a Ruler is not indifferent to his persevering continuance in careless acts of obstruction to our progress here and bad feelings towards us whenever he can manifest it."¹⁴⁵ The Government of India in reply asked Campbell to warn the *Rajah* of serious measures if he persisted in his unfriendly ways.¹⁴⁶ Campbell acted

accordingly.¹⁴⁷ The *Maharaja's* faith in the British Government shattered. How could the *Maharaja* of a country take such insults, after all he was a sovereign ruler. And rightly so why should 'the *Maharaja* give in to demands made by the Colonial Government in India.

In the year 1849, Dr.Campbell and Hooker visited Sikkim, and were touring the Tsola side. The Tibetan Government had issued stringent orders forbidding foreigners to be allowed beyond the boundaries. The *Maharaja* of Sikkim was also forbidden to visit Tibet often than once in 8 years. Such complications and suspicions had been aroused in the Tibet Government by the representation from a resident of Tromowa village, named Yulsar Aphur with regard to the leasing of the Darjeeling land to the British, and protesting against the Tromowa's being compelled to supply transports etc free to the Sikkim *Maharaja*. The complications were later settled but the Sikkim Durbar no longer could afford to incur the displeasure of the Tibet and Chinese Governments and allow these Englishmen to go beyond Tsola range.¹⁴⁸ Campbell presumed that the refusal was due to the influence of Donyar Namgyal who had become a very influential minister in the *Raja's* court and had monopoly of Sikkim's trade with Tibet.¹⁴⁹ The *Maharaja* Tsugphup Namgyal was too aged and infirm and the Tokhang Donyer Namgyal and other ministers of Sikkim asked the two English gentlemen not to go beyond the Tsola range but as they did not mind these, the ministers, not foreseeing the consequences which might happen from the British side, thought themselves compelled to restrain these two gentlemen and detained them for sometime. But when a letter came from the Indian Government both the gentlemen were released.¹⁵⁰

In 1850, British Indian Government sent up an "avenging force"¹⁵¹ under the Darjeeling Superintendent and attached all the Terai, and all the land lying below Raman in the North, and the Rangeet and Teesta in the East, and the Nepal Sikkim Frontier in the west, besides stopping annual rent of Rs.6000, from Darjeeling. The lands thus attached at one swoop by the British Government meant a loss of 6 Jongkhags, or Kazis'elakas in the hills, besides Rs.6, 000 and an income estimated at Rs.46, 000 annually coming in cash or in kind from the *raiya*t in these plains.¹⁵²

Sikkim lost its Terai region (Morung) and became a hill-locked Kingdom.¹⁵³ This new territory was put under the management of the Secretary of Darjeeling.¹⁵⁴

It is thus noticeable that disguised as a friend, British colonialism influenced Sikkim since the time of Anglo-Nepal war. The *Maharaja* was put at the Company's mercy. The Dewan who so long stood as a protestor of evil English desires was ridiculed as '*pagla*', working for safeguarding his monopoly over Sikkim's trade. The Company asked for his dismissal, which they procured by the treaty of 1861.

In 1861 Sikkim was bound to sign a treaty with the British. A force was dispatched in 1860 under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Gawler, accompanied by Ashley Eden, (who was the Political officer as far as Teesta) as Envoy and Special Commissioner. The force advanced to the Teesta and Sikkim was bound to accede to, a new treaty in 1861, consisting of twenty-three articles. It was concluded by the Envoy with *Maharaja* Sridkyong Namgyal and the Political officer impressed the necessity of its faithful observance upon the Sikkimese.¹⁵⁵ Donyar Namgyal was banished from Sikkim.¹⁵⁶

IV

By 1861, Sikkim was completely transformed into a British protectorate and the annexation of Darjeeling was confirmed. Colonial diplomacy however did not afford the British to annex Sikkim completely. For the British the acquisition of Darjeeling was the realization of their long cherished desire to get a foothold within the territory of Sikkim to influence it with their commerce and culture and further use it, as a bridge to Lhasa. Now they needed a proper location 'as a base' for their trade and a 'pass' closer to this base to satisfy their ambition. They therefore undertook serious explorations of Sikkim route through various trade missions.

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 travelers from India as easy means of transit for the trade between India and Tibet. Sikkim as a highroad for trade there would spring up an excellent trade, 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.¹⁵⁷ 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.¹⁵⁸ During the British occupation of Sikkim in 1861 two roads were constructed from Tumlong and they joined the Teesta. Of these two roads, 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 1863.¹⁵⁹ 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. It was decided to adopt the line along the Teesta valley and H.C Wake, the Superintendent of Darjeeling suggested that the road should enter Sikkim at or near the bridge over the Great Rungeet River because Chebu Lama, had offered the land at Goke to Wake's disposal as a place suitable for fair. Wake had felt the need of an annual fair as proposed by Eden.¹⁶⁰ But the survey discontinued due to trouble with Bhutan.

Sir J.D. Hooker¹⁶¹ in his journal gives an optimistic remark on the prospects of India-Tibet trade through Sikkim. He commented, "there is a considerable trade in musk, salt, gold dust, borax, soda, woolen clothes and especially in ponies." W.B. Jackson¹⁶² of the Bengal Civil Service submitted an encouraging report on the trade between Darjeeling and Tibet. In spite of many restrictions and duties the trade with Tibet on Sikkim route had a value of Rs. 50,000 annually. The report suggested that British manufactures could be exchanged for Tibetan gold, salt and wool. The Calcutta Review¹⁶³ furnished a descriptive account in 1857 of the value import from Lhasa by Sikkim route, which was estimated at Rs. 50,000 annually. The imports consisted of salt, gold, silver, precious stones and coarse woolen stuffs. The principal import was wool. 'The flocks of Tibet are very numerous, and the wool is of finest quality'. The Calcutta Review expressed hope that Darjeeling was the gateway through which commerce and culture of the west could reach Central Asia.

By 1856 the tea industry in Darjeeling advanced from the experimental to a more extensive and commercial stage.¹⁶⁴ From 1860 commercial interests in Tibet were diverted from western Tibet to the road to Lhasa through Sikkim. It was the shortest route between Calcutta and Lhasa with Darjeeling as an entrepot for central

Asian trade.¹⁶⁵ In October 1869 Colonel Haughton, Commissioner of Cooch Behar, strongly recommended cultivation of friendship with the Lamas of Tibet. He submitted a report on the commercial relations with Tibet and China. He suggested that Peking should be asked to remove all restrictions on the free passage of merchants and travelers. In a separate report, Haughton enumerated the routes through which markets of Central Asia could be reached. Importance of Sikkim route was also reiterated.¹⁶⁶

On the request made by the Government of Bengal, the superintendent of Darjeeling prepared a report on trade with Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim, details of which were supplied by Cheebo Lama.¹⁶⁷ The report was, to quote the Superintendent, 'tolerably accurate'. The merchandise imported from Sikkim consisted of horses, cattle including sheep and goats, blankets, salt, musk, wax, ghee, oranges, millet, rice, lime and copper. There was steady annual increase of trade. The imports in 1863 were nearly double of those in 1860. The money earned during the four years under notice amounted to Rs.89, 535 out of which the sum of Rs.19, 450 was returned to Sikkim in the shape of goods. The articles of exports to Sikkim included English cloth, metal utensils, tobacco and coral. Among the items of export, only tobacco was grown in the Terai and others were not of local manufacture. With the improvement of communications, the Superintendent expressed hope; great quantities of tea would be exported to Sikkim and Tibet replacing brick tea imported from Lhasa and China. The trade with Tibet consisted of the importation of horses, blankets, tea, turquoise, wool, musk, ox-tails, musical instruments and shoes. Horses found a market in the plains. The imports increased greatly during 1860-63. The total price of goods sold amounted to Rs.64, 005. Out of this amount Rs.43, 700 was spent in Darjeeling for the purchase of goods for exports. The balance of Rs.20, 305 was taken away as cash. Both in Sikkim and Tibet there was steady demand for English cotton goods, cloth and foreign luxuries. There was a suggestion that completion of a direct road through Sikkim and railway communication with Calcutta would further the cause of trade and make Darjeeling 'important as a trade depot'.

Trade with Sikkim was conducted in four routes: two via Namchee and Chadam to the Great Rangit, and two via zeeme to Gok and Tramduc to Colbong. The

Tibetan merchants entered Darjeeling by routes starting from Chola, Yekla, Nathey, Cumra and Dangsa. All these met in Sikkim through which they entered Darjeeling via Gangtok and Dikeeling.

This was the first comprehensive report on the Trans-frontier trade.¹⁶⁸ The report was thoroughly examined by the Bengal Government and it was convinced that the trade was capable of considerable expansion in the direction of Sikkim and Tibet. The Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling was instructed to facilitate the establishment of *serai* and *bazaar* on the Lebong spur. There were other instructions too. The Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling was instructed to call upon the *Maharaja* of Sikkim, through the Dewan Cheebo Lama, to see that the road made to the Teesta by the British Force in Sikkim in 1861 is kept in good repair.¹⁶⁹

The problem of communication was also taken into account. "A road along the Teesta Valley and then via Rhinock to the Nethai Pass would near the frontier join an excellent road through the great mart of Jagartchi to Lhasa, and the whole distance would probably not occupy traders more than six weeks, though ordinarily the trade would be rather with Jigartchi and Phari than with Lhasa itself. This was considered a subject of great importance and the public works department was asked to arrange for survey of the road."¹⁷⁰

In spite of these efforts, trade between Sikkim and Bengal remained insignificant.¹⁷¹ In 1876 the following approximate estimate of the value of trade through Sikkim with Tibet was available from the returns supplied by the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling.¹⁷²

<u>Items</u>	<u>Imports (Rs)</u>
Ponies	51,440
Cows	6,320
Sheep	7,536
Blanket	18,750
Salt	11,960
Yak-tails	6,640
Miscellaneous	<u>7,980</u>
Total	1,10,626

The exports were approximately estimated as follows:

<u>Items</u>	<u>Exports (Rs)</u>
Cloths (including broad cloth, all kinds of cotton goods, mixed silk and cotton, and country cloths)	1,25,000
Indigo	43,000
Tobacco	7,140
Miscellaneous	<u>10,400</u>
Total	<u>1,85,540</u>

In April 1873 a deputation from the Society of Arts, London, led by A. Campbell, Lt. Col. Gawler, J.D. Hooker and B.H. Hodgson submitted a memorandum to the Secretary of State for India. They advocated a more dynamic commercial policy in Central Asia on strategic and commercial grounds. They laid stress on the improvement of existing communications in Sikkim by extending roads to the Tibetan frontier and also by completing railway connection between Darjeeling and Calcutta. In the same year the *Raja* of Sikkim had an interview with Sir John Campbell. One of the results of the interview was the visit, on deputation of J.W. Edgar, Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling to Sikkim and Tibetan frontier 'to enquire into the conditions and prospects of trade with Tibet and advisability of making a road through Sikkim to the Tibet frontier.'¹⁷³

The visit took place in October, November and December 1873. Edgar failed to cross the Sikkim-Tibet boundary. The Jungpens of Phari sensed the 'ulterior motives for the visit' but he 'tactfully' explained to the Jongpen of Phari that the object of his visit was to enquire into the question relating to promotion of trade between India and Tibet and to recommend the construction of roads and bridges through Sikkim and establishing marts. On 28 October 1873 Edgar met some Tibetan traders who were on their way to Darjeeling where they wanted to exchange coarse blanket for Tobacco. At Keu Laka he met a family of herdsmen from whom he learnt that they had supplied butter and cream cheese to the markets of Darjeeling and Lhasa. These markets were mainly dependent for beef, butter and cheese on the herds of cow of the Phari valley. It was not uncommon for a family in this area to keep a

flock of four or five thousand sheep.¹⁷⁴ Edgar mentions of a typical case of trade, "while we were at the Pass, (Guntui) a man from Guntuck, with his wife, came up with murwa of their growing to the value of about six rupees, which they were taking to Choombi for sale. They said that they meant to take the proceeds to Phari, where they would buy salt, which they might probably lay out the proceeds of its sale in an investment for the Thibet market, if they found time to do so before next year's sowing season...these murwa-sellers expected to get six rupees for their murwa at Choombi, and with this sum to be able to buy at Phari four maunds of salt, which they could sell in Darjeeling for Rs.32, while the value of their murwa at Guntuck was only Rs.4-8."¹⁷⁵ During his stay in East Sikkim, Edgar although met peoples either coming from, or on their way to Darjeeling with goods. Edgar noticed that the chief articles of import from Bhutan and Darjeeling into Tibet were rice, goor, sugar, dried fruits, tobacco, sticlac, 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 suggested that he had no doubt if tea were freely admitted to Tibet, Darjeeling growers could easily produce a tea of better quality than now commonly consumed, and deliver it even at Lassa at a lower price than 'is now paid for the market, and break away from ideas formed under the influence of brokers catering for English tastes'. Edgar reported that market for Tibetan salt was exclusively local. The Tibetan salt was sold at Darjeeling for rupees eight a maund against sea borne salt for rupees ten only. With transport cheapened by the opening of the railway salt from Calcutta would replace that of Tibet and would possibly find its way beyond Tibet. There was no doubt that the prohibition of the importation of Darjeeling tea was due to Chinese influence. The Chinese tea was imported through Tibet into Darjeeling for consumption of the local inhabitants of the district, who were practically unable to obtain the tea grown on the spot. 'The trade has not to be created, it exists.' So to promote it Edgar recommended the construction of a bridge across the Teesta and making a good road through Sikkim to Tibetan frontier and establishment of a mart somewhere close to the Tibetan boundary.¹⁷⁶ Edgar explored few options about the question of the most convenient route and the most suitable location for

market. He comments, "I was inclined to recommend the construction of a road over Jeyluk to the Jeylep, but that I should not make up my mind until I had explored the remaining passes."¹⁷⁷ Within the country, "in my opinion, the road from Guntuck to Sharab is one that follows, on the whole, a good line, and could with very little difficulty be made into an excellent road suitable for all purposes except wheeled traffic."¹⁷⁸ Exploring the Guntuck to Teesta routes via Rumtek to Sang, which joined Martam, and then to Teesta which joined Darjeeling, Edgar thought of it to be of much value. During his stay in East Sikkim and his meeting with the Changzod of Sikkim he learnt about the importance of having a mart at Gangtok close to the Yatung valley and the Tibetan capital at Lhasa. In his report Edgar talks of some valuable suggestions given by the Changzod about establishing a mart at Gangtok, "he (Changzod) urged strongly the advantages of Guntuck, where he said the Rajah had long contemplated building a house, and where there was much level land, with plenty of water, in a perfect climate, neither too cold nor too hot."¹⁷⁹ He further says, "In one place were heaps of building materials and the foundation of a house begun by the Rajah's father. But the work was interrupted by his death, and has not been since resumed, though; the idea of removing the residence of the Rajah to this place from Toomlong has not been abandoned. Below this is the house of the kazi of Guntuck, a very unornamental building, of wattle and daub, raised on stout posts. The slopes of the hill on either side are very gentle, and there is much ground suitable for buildings situated at elevations varying between 5,000 and 6,000 feet. There are six springs of water near the top of the ridge. On the whole, the place itself would be suited for a mart; but it is more than questionable whether the best route from Darjeeling to the Chola range lies through it."¹⁸⁰

On his return to Darjeeling in December 1873, Edgar made some proposals to the Government to adopt and improve to the utmost one of the existing routes through Sikkim even though they would entail many ascents and descents, because the Tibetans preferred a road over the hills to one along the valleys. In his suggestion the question of a mart in Sikkim was also emphasised upon.¹⁸¹ In 1879 a cart road to Jelep La was completed, and in 1880 railway was laid in greater part of the way between Siliguri and Kurseong.¹⁸²

In August 1875 Bengal Government sanctioned certain proposals mooted by the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling for the registration of the frontier traffic.¹⁸³ For Sikkim and Tibet trade two frontier stations, one at Pedong and the other at Rangit were sanctioned in the same year.¹⁸⁴ But in June 1885 Rhenock and Kalimpong were substituted for Pedong on the Sikkim frontier. The purpose behind these steps was the registration of the trade between Darjeeling and Tibet through Sikkim and with Sikkim as complete as possible. Again, by September 1889 some changes in the arrangement of stations for registration of traffic with Sikkim and Tibet became necessary. A road was opened direct from Pakyong to Pedong by which traffic from Sikkim to Damdin could be carried without passing the registration stations at Rhenock and Kalimpong. The Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling proposed to remove the registration station from Kalimpong to Labah and that at Rhenock back to Pedong. The arrangement was approved by the Government. On 4 November a new station was started tentatively at Singala (which was permanently sanctioned in August 1895) for registering Sikkim trade that passed over a newly constructed bridge across the Ramman River. 'The increase in the traffic passing through the part of Sikkim owing to the construction of a bridge over the Raman river warranted the establishment of this registration station...'¹⁸⁵ In 1896 the Commissioner of Rajshahi Division after consultations with the Political Officer of Sikkim and the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling made recommendations to the Government of Bengal regarding some new arrangement for the registration stations for trade with Tibet. It recommended that trade with Tibet be registered at Gangtok and Yatung instead of the existing stations under the control of the Deputy Commissioner of of Darjeeling. The Government of Bengal accepted this proposal. It is interesting to note that soon after this the Commissioner of Rajshahi Division was asked to establish a registration post at Gangtok. He was further asked to obtain and furnish the Government with statistics of trade from January 1898.as registered at Yatung by the Chinese customs Department.¹⁸⁶

V

After the Tumlong agreement the deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling had been supervising the affairs of Sikkim. This arrangement of supervision continued till

1889. But the British attempt to extend commerce and culture in Sikkim and to use her as a bridge for Indo-Tibetan trade did not flourish much till the last decade of the 19th century. British position was that their attempt was hampered much by the Tibetan claim of suzerainty over Sikkim and the Maharaja's inability to keep a balance between the pro-Tibetan and Pro-British factions in his country. After much investigations and correspondences between the Bengal officials and the Government of India about Sikkim issue, it was felt necessary to manage the administration of Sikkim from within. A post of Political Officer for Sikkim was therefore created in 1889.

On 20 January, 1889, Edgar (who was then holding the post of the Chief Secretary, Government of Bengal) sent a telegram to the Government of India, which says, "After some communication with Tibetans, Ampa has evidently made up his mind to refuse any terms which do not compromise of unchanged official relations between Tibet and Sikkim. This includes presents and caused in humble language of chief civil authorities at Lhasa in other words it homage to Tibet...I think that it is necessary, if we are to avoid complete relapse that should for the present be administered by British officer with the help of Deputy Commissioner. He should be paid from the suspended subsidy. If the Lieutenant Governor agrees, I would get sanction to retain White, who has very special qualifications and would settle whole thing on way down. Raja was at Pedong and should I think be kept out of Sikkim for sometime".¹⁸⁷ This proposal indicates that unless and until the administration of Sikkim is carried out from within, the British objectives will not gain much success.

The reaction of the Government of Bengal to Edgar's proposal was positive. On February 14, 1889 the Chief Secretary, on behalf of the Government of Bengal, submitted some proposal about the Sikkim affairs to the Government of India:¹⁸⁸ It is proposed that for some time to come a Political Officer should remain at Gangtok, to advise the Raja and his Council, and aid them in restoring orderly administration. The Bengal Government would select for the duty Mr. White, a Civil Engineer of the Public Works Department, who has been some time in Sikkim and has throughout the campaign acted an an Assistant Political Officer. He would be under the orders of the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling, and would receive a salary of Rs. 1,000 a month;

with traveling allowance. This would be paid at present from the suspended Sikkim subsidy.

I have no doubt this is the proper course, and Mr. White is the best man to choose. He knows the country well, and his energy in road making and the like will be of special value. He is a man of conciliatory manners and patient disposition, and gets on well with Raja and officials. He tells me he wants no definite powers, as the Raja and Council will his advice. I would therefore merely appoint him Political Agent, and tell the Raja that no important measures must be taken without consulting him.

I may remark that the Council consists practically of two brothers, a priest and a layman, the Phodong Lama and Kangsa Diwan. These old men are the leaders of the Anti-Tibetan party, and are thoroughly in our interest. The Raja and Rani will not speak to them in consequence. Mr. White will have to bring about a reconciliation if possible, but it will be difficult. The Raja is neither able nor willing to rule the country himself, but he detests the brothers, through whom it has been ruled for him.

In a few years the population and revenues of the state ought to be largely increased and cultivation extended. In British Sikkim the advance made in the last few years is surprising.

The Sikkim subsidy is only Rs. 12,000 a year. The Government of India sanctioned an increase to Rs. 18,000 on certain conditions, but this was never given. I cannot therefore say that there will be no expense to Government. But Mr. White wants a very small establishment. He told me one clerk would be enough. If we regard the subsidy as Rs. 18,000 a year, I believe the whole expense of the Agency will come within it. Hereafter I hope the revenue of the State will be so much increased that when we remove the Agency we can let the subsidy drop for good.

In any case the Agency is necessary. The want of control of late years has done much harm, and if the Raja is left to himself now he will at once return to his former courses.

It is proposed that the political relations of the Government of India with Sikkim and Bhutan should be controlled by one authority. At least the Lieutenant-Governor is inclined to think so. This is only a question of Deputy Commissioners. The Bengal Government manages our relations with both States, but through different frontier

officers. It would certainly be better to let the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling have both charges.

I have told the Bengal Government that there is no objection to Mr. Paul, who has been on special duty, resuming charge of the Darjeeling district. He need not now remain at Gnatong. But they wish him to retain his special allowances of Rs. 300 a month. This is right, as he will still have charge of any correspondence with the Chinese and Tibetans, and the supervision of all political arrangements connected with the troops in Sikkim, including the collection of intelligence. This gives him a good deal of extra work. The Political Officer with a force is expected to perform all sorts of miscellaneous duties, from watching the front to supplementing the transport and commissariat.

After going through the Proposal, the Secretary of State for India wrote to the Government of India. The letter says: "you support the recommendation of the Government of Bengal that for some time to come a Political Officer should remain at Gangtok, the Raja's residence to advise the Raja and his Council, and then in restoring an orderly administration. Mr. J.C. White, C.E., Public Works Department, who during the Campaign acted as Assistant Political Officer, and is mentioned as having rendered extremely good service, is named for the appointment, and is suggested that his pay, which will be met from the Sikkim subsidy, should be fixed at Rs. 1,000 a month, and that he be allowed one Clerk on a salary of Rs. 50 a month. The grounds on which these proposals are based appear to me to be well founded, and I accordingly sanction your recommendations. I observed that the expenditure involved by the adoption of these measures will be almost completely covered by the Sikkim subsidy of Rs. 12,000 a year. I also accord my sanction to the proposal that Mr. Paul, Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling, who was on special duty with the Sikkim Field force, may retain, after reversion to his appointment, temporarily, in view of the possibility of his services being still required in connection with the duties on which he was engaged".¹⁸⁹

On 17 April, 1889, Edgar sent a telegram to the Finance Department, Government of Bengal, which says, "Mr. White proposes to build a house at Gantok; asking for Rs. 9,000, and asks whether this office can provide money as he has none

available.”¹⁹⁰ The Finance Department replied, “money may be sanctioned for White’s house, if you apply officially. Finance Department has agreed.”¹⁹¹ The Chief Secretary accordingly submitted on 24 April, 1889 “the plan and estimate for a house to be built by Mr. White at Gantok, requesting the sanction to the building and a grant of Rs.9,319.”¹⁹² The Finance Department’s reply, which came on 27 April 1889, was, “an expenditure of Rs. 10,000 has already been sanctioned. The Bengal Government has been informed. No orders are required on this. The house when finished will be the Taj of Sikkim.”¹⁹³

Thus, after much correspondence, the Government of India informed the Government of Bengal in June 1889, that the post of Political Officer had been created. Edgar wrote to A.J. Paul, the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling on 12 June 1889, “the Lieutenant-Governor has now considered all the information recently collected concerning the internal affairs of Sikkim, and taken the opinions of the members of the Council at Gantok and other natives of the country whose opinion is of weight. He has had the advantage of consulting you and Mr. White on the subject, and has directed me to communicate to you the following instructions.

As you have been already informed, the Government of India have recommended to the Secretary of State the appointment of a Political Officer to reside in Sikkim and to assist the Raja in Council with his advice in the administration of affairs. Mr. White, who has been selected for this appointment, will act under your general supervision. A sum of Rs.10,000 has been sanctioned by the Government of India for a house and furniture for the Political Officer. This house is now being built in Gantok.

Arrangements are being made to build quarters for the detachment at present posted at Gantok; and the house originally built for the Raja, and now occupied by the Sepoys, will be then made available for the Raja’s occupation. It is understood that he will go into it as soon as it is available, and he should be encouraged in every way to continue at Gantok and take an active part in the administration. For the present, affairs will be conducted by the Council of the leading monks and laymen in Sikkim... It (Council) should meet at Gantok, and will conduct all the civil, criminal, and revenue administration, subject to the provisions above indicated about its relation with the Raja.”¹⁹⁴

What comes out clear from the above is that the British were bent on having a foothold at Gangtok. They created a situation, which facilitated them to establish themselves firmly at Gangtok by 1889. The creation of the post of a Political Officer for Sikkim and the appointment of J.C White as the first British Political Officer with his headquarter at Gangtok reveals their motive of establishing Gangtok as a market for their trade with Tibet. They had also clearly understood the strategic importance of Gangtok as a place from where they could apply themselves effectively against the Tibetans in the frontier. The strategic importance of Gangtok was experienced by the British in the mission of Colman Macaulay. "A British detachment was then posted at Gangtok and the house originally built for the Raja, was occupied by the Sepoys".¹⁹⁵ Geographical situation of Gangtok, its location on gentle slopes which could be easily made accessible for communication with the Indian plain also played its role in the British mind for choosing it as a base of administration. Other than these, one hidden motive comes out clear as we minutely scrutinise the above facts, that is the transformation of Gangtok as a prototype of a neighbouring hill-station namely Darjeeling. This motive is amply exhibited when Gangtok was chosen as the head quarter of the British Political Agency and J.C. White, an engineer in the Public Works Department as the first Political Officer. As a rule, White was not entitled to act as a Political Officer because he hailed from the engineering services. So his parent Department (Public Works Department) questioned the placement of White as a Political Officer. The Secretary to the Foreign Department defended the appointment by saying, "the appointment of Political Agent in Sikkim is only a temporary one, and possibly we may be ready to return Mr. White to his own Department before five years are past. But it would be much better; I think not to lay down any hard and fast rule for the Political Department, and his appointment in Sikkim was only sanctioned as a special case."¹⁹⁶ Edgar's proposal on behalf of the Government of Bengal to the Government of India as seen earlier says, "...for sometime to come a Political Officer should remain at Gantok. I have no doubt that; this is a proper course, and Mr. White is the best man to choose. He knows the country well, and his energy in road-making and the like will be of special value..."¹⁹⁷ Immediately when Edgar placed his proposal before the Government, A.J Paul the Deputy Commissioner of Bengal, wrote

to Edgar defending the proposal, "if the above proposal is approved, I would venture to suggest that Mr. J.C. White would make an excellent officer for the work. He has already obtained full insight into the intrigues carried on in Sikkim, and thoroughly understands the relations in which the various Sikkimese and Tibetan Officers stand to one another, and has inspected a considerable part of Sikkim, while his experience as a road-maker in the hills cannot fail to produce most satisfactory results. He is already known to and trusted by many of the most influential Kazis, and has made very fair progress in colloquial Tibetan."¹⁹⁸ Between 1888 and 1889, "a road was made from Pedong through Rhenock and Gangtok to Tumlong which was felt to be undoubtedly very useful, and it was hoped that in time the resources of the country will allow of other equally valuable roads being opened up."¹⁹⁹ Edgar expressed this view in a letter dated 16 May 1889 to A.J. Paul, the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling. The hidden motive is amply exhibited in the above correspondences. As per British version, the main objective to create the post of a Political Officer was to advise the *Maharaja* and his Council, and to aid him in restoring orderly administration which had been disbalanced due to *Maharaja's* inefficiency as a ruler. And so, for the British, Political Agency was the need of the hour.

From the above argument, it also becomes clear that by the year 1889 when a British Political Agency was established at Gangtok, with administrative powers in the hands of the British political Officer and road construction taken up at the earnest, Gangtok had begun to emerge out as the Capital of Sikkim. The Raja's new residence had already been built at Gangtok at around 1888. The pro-British officials of the *Raja's* court such as, Phodang Lama and Khangsa Dewan had advised the Macaulay Mission 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 developments of trade and friendly relations with Tibet. They wanted Macaulay to make assistance to construction of *Raja's* new house and increase the allowance conditional on his agreeing not to leave Sikkim.²⁰⁰ In a letter to the Government of Bengal, S.C Bailey, (Lieutenant Governor of Bengal) wrote in 1887, "he is a perfect nonentity, but his people set great store by his family, and if we could once get him out of Choombi and safely surrounded by his own people at Tumlong or still better at

Guntuk, where he has built a house, we should have no difficulty in keeping the present administrators not only in safety but in power. At least, this is my present view.²⁰¹ In view of Bailey's remark it is also understood that the *Maharaja* had shifted a part of administration to Gangtok. The *Maharaja* Sidkeong Namgyal who succeeded to the throne of Sikkim as the Eighth Consecrated Chogyal in 1863²⁰² had begun the foundation of a house at Gangtok for shifting his capital there, but the work was interrupted by his death. Yet the idea of shifting the residence of the *Raja* was not abandoned. This is pointed out by Edgar in his report.²⁰³ What can be said here is that Sidkeong's idea of construction arose out of his own interest to shift the seat of his Government somewhere closer to Tibet. It also becomes clear that the construction was completed around 1888 by Thudop Namgyal, successor of Sidkeong Namgyal under the pressure of the pro-British factions in his court. The palace stood ready but for the British force to occupy.

By the beginning of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Gangtok thus began to gain in importance as a base for Indo-Tibetan trade, it being close to the Tibetan frontier through the *Nathu-La*. The importance of Gangtok as a place with sufficient water, much level land and a perfect climate, which would cater to preserve British exclusiveness and let them live a quarantined life of their choice, had long been felt by the British officials in Bengal. It gained ground since the time of Edgar's visit to Sikkim. This he talks of in his report. Therefore, in 1889 when the need was felt by the British to administer Sikkim from within, they selected Gangtok as their administrative headquarter for this would provide them ambiance for exclusive living on the top most regions of the ridge with exclusive down town facility and the availability of the domestics who would be settled at a safer distance at the foot of the ridges. This sense of British exclusiveness a product of racial prejudice was amply exhibited in the settlement policy followed by the British administration in Gangtok which was in tune to the policy followed in the hill-stations of British India.

Notes and References

1. Namgyal Thudop and Dolma Yeshey, *History of Sikkim. (Mimeographed)*, Gangtok, 1908.p.6.
2. *Ibid*, p.15.
3. Risley, H.H, *The Gazetteer of Sikkim*, Calcutta, 1894;rep. Delhi, 1974.p15.
4. *Sikkim Coronation*. Gangtok, Sikkim.p.1.
5. *History of Sikkim, op.cit* p.17.
6. *The Gazetteer of Sikkim, op.cit* p.8.
7. *Sikkim Coronation, op.cit* p1.
8. *History of Sikkim, op.cit* p.21.
9. *Ibid*, p.21.
10. *The Gazetteer of Sikkim, op.cit* p.9.
11. *History of Sikkim, op.cit* Pp.21, 22.
12. *The Gazetteer of Sikkim, op.cit* p.8.
13. *History of Sikkim, op.cit* p.22.
14. *Sikkim Coronation, op.cit* p1.
15. *History of Sikkim, op.cit* Pp.22, 23.
16. *Ibid*, p.22.
17. *Ibid*, p.27.
18. *Ibid*, Pp.27, 28.
19. *Ibid*, p.29.
20. *The Gazetteer of Sikkim, op.cit* p.11.
21. *History of Sikkim, op.cit* Pp.29-32.
22. *Ibid*, p.30.
23. *Ibid*, p.29.
24. *Nature, Journal on Nature and Natural Resources, (UNESCO), Paris 1996.p.16.*
Yuksam being considered as the 'altar' by the Sikkimese where offerings are made to protective deities, it is believed that this landscape and its surroundings should not be disturbed. Any large-scale human induced perturbation in this holy land of Yuksam region would destroy the hidden sacred treasures.*Ibid, Nature.p.16.*
25. *History of Sikkim, op.cit* Pp.34, 35.

26. *King Gaeboo Achyok Birth Anniversary 1996*, Kalimpong, 1996.p7.
27. *History of Sikkim, op.cit* Pp.37-39.
28. *The Gazetteer of Sikkim, op.cit* p.12.
29. *History of Sikkim, op.cit* p.39.
30. *Ibid*, Pp.39, 40.
31. *Ibid*, Pp.37, 38.
32. *The Gazetteer of Sikkim, op.cit* p.13.
33. *History of Sikkim, op.cit* Pp.49, 51, 55, 56.
34. *Ibid*, p.52. The land mass lying in between the Arun River in the west and the Teesta River in the east, prior to the establishment of the Namgyal Dynasty in Sikkim was known as Limbuan (the land of Limboos). In 1641-42 most of the petty chiefs of Limbuan accepted the supremacy of the first consecrated ruler of the Namgyal dynasty, Phuntsog Namgyal along with the Bhutias and Lepchas that led to a historical tripartite agreement of Lho-Men-Tsong-Sum at Kabi Longtsok. This followed the formation of a Himalayan Kingdom, the area of which extended from the Chumbi Valley in the north to the Arun River in the west and they named this landmass a kingdom as Songkhim meaning, a new house in Limbu language or *Singkhim* meaning wood house in Limbu. The word later on seems to have corrupted to Sikhim and then to Sikkim. Chemjong, I.S, *Kirat Itihas*, Darjeeling, 1948, Vol. II. P 108.
35. *The Gazetteer of Sikkim, op.cit* p.15.
36. *LCANG-SKYA; BRAS-LJONGS. LCANG-SKYA* (A biography of the 7th Dalai Lama. Bskal-bzang) *BRAS-LJONGS* (Chronicles of Sikkim).
37. *History of Sikkim, op.cit* p.57.
38. *Sikkim, A Consise Chronicle. Ganktok. 1963.*p.6.
39. *History of Sikkim, op.cit* p.58.
40. *LCANG-SKYA; BRAS-LJONGS.*
41. *History of Sikkim, op.cit* Pp.58, 60.
42. *The Gazetteer of Sikkim, op.cit* p.20.
43. *History of Sikkim, op.cit* Pp.60, 63.
44. *Ibid*, p.62.

45. *Ibid*, Pp.65, 66.
46. Pradhan,K. *The Gorkha Conquests*. Calcutta 1991.p.111. There is a Pass' called Islimba in Pachthar on the Nepal side. A little further up joining Sikkim and Nepal in the Choyabhanjyang pass, to the West of which a place called Chyangthapu. Bhanjyang means a pass in Nepali.
47. *Prithivinarayan to Abhimanshing*. Partha Bhandari, Kirtisingh Khawas, Bali Baniya, Asvinbadi 30 roj 4 (5 October 1774), *Itihas Prakash*, 1, p.13; *Upadesh*, III, pp.1193-95, Letter No.
48. Markham Clements, *Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet and the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lasha*. London, 1876. p149.
49. Baburam Acharya, 'Sri Panch Prithivinarayan Shah Ka Antim Din or The Last Days of Prithivinarayan Shah (AD 1174-75)' *Sri Badama- harajadhiraj*, 3, p.629 ff.
50. *History of Sikkim*, *op.cit* p.66.
51. *The Gazetteer of Sikkim*, *op.cit* p.17.
52. Markham, *Narratives*, *op.cit*, pp157, 164.
53. *Ibid*, p.164.
54. *History of Sikkim*, *op.cit*. Pp. 66, 67.
55. *Ibid*, p.67.
56. *Ibid*, Pp.56, 68.
57. *Ibid*, Pp.67, 68.
58. *Ibid*, p.68.
59. *Ibid*, p.68.
60. *Ibid*, p.69.
61. *Ibid*, p.69.
62. *The Gazetteer of Sikkim*, *op.cit*, Pp.17, 18.
63. *The Gorkha Conquests*, *op.cit*, Pp 111-121.
64. The Dharmapatra in Newari gives the date of its (Treaty) signing as Newar Samvat 895 Sravan Sukla 13 Wednesday. The agreement signed at Khasha in the Kuti Region was mostly a trade transaction and does not mention Sikkim at all though it gives the names of the Sikkim delegates. *Ibid*. Pp.111-121.
65. *History of Sikkim*, *op.cit* p.68.

66. *The Gorkha Conquests op.cit*, p.127.
67. *History of Sikkim, op.cit* p.69.
68. *The Gorkha Conquests, op.cit* p.132.
69. *History of Sikkim, op.cit* p.69.
70. *The Gazetteer of Sikkim, op.cit*, p.18.
71. Hamilton F.B, *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal and the Territories Annexed to this Dominion by the House of Gorkha* , Edinburge,1819.p120.
72. *The Gorkha Conquests, op.cit* p.132.
73. *History of Sikkim, op.cit*. Pp. 69, 70.
74. *History of Sikkim, op.cit* p.70.
75. *The Gazetteer of Sikkim, op.cit*, p.18.
76. Shaha, Rishikesh, *Modern Nepal, A Political History,1769-1955* Vol.I. New Delhi, 1996.p. 133.
77. *Ibid,p*
78. Hooker, J.D, *Himalayan Journal*, London, 1855.Pp.309,10.
79. *History of Sikkim, op.cit* p.70.
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82. *Ibid*, Pp.122.
83. *History of Sikkim, op.cit*. Pp.70,71.
84. *Ibid*, p.71.
85. *Ibid*, p.71.
86. *Ibid*, Pp.71,72.
87. Lamb, Alastair, *British and Chinese Central Asia: the Road to Lhasa 1776-1905*, London, 1960. p. 23.
88. *The Gorkha Conquests, op.cit*. p.135.
89. *History of Sikkim, op.cit* p.72.
90. *Ibid*, p.72.
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92. *Ibid*, p.72.
93. *The Gorkha Conquests, op.cit* p.136.

94. *The Gazetteer of Sikkim, op.cit, p.18.*
95. *History of Sikkim, op.cit. Pp.73,74.*
96. *Ibid, p.74.*
97. *Ibid, p.74.*
98. *Ibid, p.74.*
99. *The Gazetteer of Sikkim, op.cit, p.19.*
100. *The Gorkha Conquests, op.cit p.139.*
101. *History of Sikkim, op.cit p.76.*
102. *Ibid, p.79.*
103. Hamilton, *An Account,op.cit, p.122.* Chungthang is now a tea garden in Darjeeling.
104. Capt.Salter's Report in the Political Quoted by P.Melville, Offg. Under Secretary to the Government of India, September 1846, in the *letter's memorandum on the connection of the Sikkim Rajah with the British Government, Melville, Bengal Political Consultations,14 November 1846,No.29.* The name Nagri is said to have been derived from Lepcha words, nak meaning straight and gri meaning high stokade. Hamilton, *An Account, op.cit, p.122.* Nagri is now a sprawling tea estate in Darjeeling District of West Bengal.
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111. *Papers Relating to the Nepal War, London 1824,p.268.*
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132. *Trade Through the Himalays*, *op.cit*, and p.149.
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135. *Ibid*, p.60.
136. *Foreign Political Consultation*, 12 Febuary, 1840,No.102.
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138. *Ibid*, 7 September 1840,No.98.
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140. *History of Sikkim*, *op.cit*. Pp.89, 90.
141. *F.P.C.* 27 September 1831,No.100.
142. *Ibid*, 26 June 1847,No.102.
143. *History of Sikkim*, *op.cit*. P.94.
144. *The Gazetteer of Sikkim*, *op.cit*, p.20.

145. *Letter to G.A Bushby, Officiating Secretary to the Government, From Campbell, F.P.No.23-24, March 1846, (Letter No.22 of.) January 1846,25th February, Darjeeling.*
146. *Letter No.23, March 7, Fort William.*
147. *Letter from the Superintendent of Darjeeling to the Rajah of Sikkim, May 11th 1846, No.97, Consultations, May 30,1846, Nos.104-107.*
148. *History of Sikkim, op.cit. Pp.80,81.*
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150. *History of Sikkim, op.cit. p.96.*
151. *The Gazetteer of Sikkim, op.cit, p.21.*
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155. *Ibid, p.21.*
156. *History of Sikkim, op.cit. P.97.*
157. *L.G.P.P (G) A., April 1861, No.30.*
158. *Ibid, No.48.*
159. *Ibid, March 1863, No.25.*
160. *Ibid, March 1865, No.5. Chebu Lama was a Sikkimese Lepcha. Though a priest by profession, he stayed at Darjeeling as the political representative accredited by the Sikkim Raja according to a provision of the Anglo-Sikkimese Treaty of 1861. He accompanied in 1864 Eden Mission to Bhutan as Tibetan interpreter. As a reward for his pro-British services he was granted a tract of land comprising 115 square miles situated in the northwest of the Darjeeling district. Ibid, March 1865, No.5.*
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177. *Ibid*.p.23.
178. *Ibid*.p.90.
179. *Ibid*.p.23.
180. *Ibid*.Pp.60,61.
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188. *Foreign Department Proceedings*, Secret-E, June 1880. (K.W) Nos. 127-139.

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190. *F.D.P, Secret-E, (K.W) June 1889.Nos.127-139.*
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192. *Ibid, F.D.P, June 1889.Nos.127-139.*
193. *Ibid, F.D.P, June 1889.Nos.127-139.*
194. *Letter from J.Edgar, Chief Secretary , Govt.of Bengal to A.Paul the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling & Political Officer,Sikkim* 12 June1889, F.D.P (S) July1889
195. *Letter from Edgar to F.D.P, Secret-E, (K.W) June 1889.Nos.156-161.*
196. *F.D.P Secret-E, (K.W) December 1889. Nos.253-257.*
197. *F.D.P, Secret-E, (K.W) June 1889.Nos.127-139.*
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200. *Macaulay, Colman, Report of a Mission to Sikkim and the Tibetan Frontier with a memorandum on relations with Tibet, Calcutta, 1895.p.1.*
201. *Foreign Department Secret-E. January1888, Nos.1-40.*
202. *Sikkim Coronation. Gangtok, Sikkim.p.3.*
203. *Edgar,A Report,op.cit.p.61. In 1876 Edgar noticed that the valuable forest property were being destroyed indiscriminately by the contractors earning Rs. 60,000 anually and the State earned only Rs.200 from it and some labours expanded on the Gangtok Palace. C.P.F 8 of 1889, Notes and Orders, No.1.*

CHAPTER III

Emergence of Gangtok as a Semi-Hill Station from the time of Claude White.

A perfect symbol of the confluence of the past and present is Gangtok, the capital of Sikkim. Built on a flank of a ridge, Gangtok is 1600 metres above sea level. The town's unique ambience represents a happy blend of tradition and modernity. Alongside the deeply felt presence of *stupas* and monasteries, Gangtok also bustles like any other modern towns of India with change and modernity. Consisting of a population of 188,517,¹ Gangtok has a healthy bracing climate throughout the year. It is so located that it sprawls alongside the southern tip of one of the many disjointed spurs of the Chola Range of the mountains. On two prominent hilltops, not far distant from each other still stands the Chogyals' Palace and the residence of the British resident. Some 200 or 300 feet below, slopping down the hillside are the bazaars and the city dwelling. The main highway passes through this living area, leading northward, and here is the residential section of private built homes. Also from the highway the road zigzags climbing steeply upward to the bazaars. If one descends 500 feet and follows the road for about two miles distance one comes upon the cantonment. The highway continues to Rangpo, a town that skirts the border of Sikkim and West Bengal. Beyond Gangtok the highway continues a further 63 miles to Chungthang leading to Lachen and Lachung in a northerly direction. North-eastward, another branch of the highway winds to Karponang Changu and Nathu-la, a distance of 32 miles. Nathu-la, the pass at an altitude of 14,000 feet is the main gateway to the Chumbi Valley of Tibet. Across it, but for a short gap, the road continues to Yatung, Gyantse and finally to Lhasa in Tibet.² Gangtok has a cosmopolitan flavour and a lively mix of cultures and has undergone rapid modernization in the past few decades. But with expansion, Gangtok town is now literally spilling downwards with huge buildings precariously clinging to the hillside. It is in fact becoming a concrete jungle with trees vying for space in the town area.

The period of active and effective British influence in Sikkim commenced with the establishment of the British Residency at Gangtok under John Claude White, the first Political Officer, in the year 1889. It may be recalled that ever since the Titalia agreement (1817) the British Government of India had achieved protectorship over the country of Sikkim. Lord Moira considered the establishment of relations with Sikkim as a diplomatic triumph "which we could not have imposed by force of arms from the extreme difficulty of the country".³ The Treaty between Sikkim and British India concluded in 1861 further tightened this hold. Till 1889 the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling was entrusted with the task of Sikkim's administration but from 1889 onwards it was felt necessary by the British to rule Sikkim from within.

After much debate and discussions a British Political Agency for Sikkim was created in 1889 with the head quarter of the Political Officer at Gangtok. As discussed in chapter II the only argument presented by the British for the creation of a Political Agency in Sikkim was to advise the *Maharaja* and his council, and to aid him in orderly administration. The Government of India felt that the administration of Sikkim was completely disorganized. The ruler was inefficient and completely under the influence of his Tibetan wife, and unless an English officer was posted in Sikkim for sometime to guide him, the old state of affairs would inevitably recur. The Government of India felt that J.C.White was the fittest person to tackle the situation and should be selected as the Political Officer. He had acquired a thorough knowledge of the Sikkim State and its people, and his professional services as an Engineer, had been and would be of special value in the country of hills and forests, where one of the main objectives to be aimed at was the opening up of communications. Though not eligible for the post of political service proper, the Government thought that in his special post there should be no objection to White's continued employment. The expenditure would be made from the Sikkim subsidy of Rs.12000 a year and if it was not adequate the Government had already decided to raise the subsidy to Rs.18000. So, the Government need not take any extra grant from the imperial revenue. The post of Political Officer for Sikkim was therefore created in the year 1889.⁴ From the British point of view this official version was the only factor for their decision to rule

Sikkim from within. But the motive of profit from the Tibetan trade, the selection of Gangtok as a base to trade through *Nathu-la* the shortest route to Tibet had a greater role to play in the creation of a Political Agency. Further the selection of Gangtok as a base for operation reveals their idea of exclusive settlement in cool climate. Therefore, a part of the road building activity in Sikkim was initiated by these motives. On the whole, what the British authority in Sikkim required was a network of good roads constructed with care and capital investment connecting Gangtok to Lhasa and then joining the capital of Sikkim to different parts of the country and the rest of the world.

Immediately after the British Political Officer took over the administration of Sikkim, the first thing that had to be done by him was to construct a house for him, as there were no houses to be hired. In his official letter, Edgar, the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal wrote to A.W.Paul, the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling, "the house is really wanted. I know the place well. There is one stone house-the Raja's and nothing else but two or three huts, hastily run up, of branches and split bamboo, plastered with mud."⁵ So White was obliged to build. The expenses of building in the hills was beyond all calculations dearer than in the plains on account of the difficulty of procuring workmen, their propensity to run away, the high wages and the expenses of every material such as lime, ironwork, well seasoned woodwork, glass etc not to be found or made on the spot.⁶ The Political Officer expressed this difficulty when he lamented, "not an easy task in a wild country where masons and carpenters are conspicuous by their absence, where stone for building had to be quarried from the hill-sides and trees cut down for timber."⁷ Even the selection of the site for construction was not an easy task considering the landscape of the region. The Political Officer in his wanderings around Gangtok had come across a charming site located on a ridge in the midst of primeval forest, (some 200 feet above the present day bazaar) which seemed to be suitable in every way. So, the British officer was determined to build his residence on it. By leveling the uneven ground and throwing it out in front, White managed to get sufficient space for the house, with lawn and flowerbeds around it.⁸

On 19th April 1889, the Political Officer¹¹ wrote to A.W.Paul, the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling, "I have the honour to send the estimate, together with specifications and abstract of cost of the house I propose to build at Gantok."⁹

Specifications-

Foundation-These may be level and dug to the depth shown on plan or to such depth found necessary.

Pucca Masonry-The masonry to be of coarsed rubble set in lime mortar. The best local stone available being used. The foundation and plinth and the chimney blocks to be of pucca masonry.

Kutchra Masonry-This is to be of coarsed rubble as above, only mud being used in place of lime mortar.

Pointing-The exterior joints of the masonry are to be pointed in lime mortar.

Plastering-The interior of the building to be plastered in lime mortar.

Woodwork-to be of the best local timbers available.

Floors-Verandah floors to be of 1¼" planking, the remainder of 1" planking, the same timber as above being used.

Ceilings-To be of ¾" planking as above.

Doors and windows-To be made according to the dimensions shown on the drawings and to be of local timber.

Doors and windows-To be made according to the dimensions shown on the drawings and to be of local timber.

Roof-To be of Sal shingles put on in the usual way.

Ridging and guttering-to be of local timber.

Eaves boards-The whole of the wall to be done according to detail drawings and in a workmanlike manner, and everything to be done to the entire satisfaction of the officer in charge.

Abstract of Expenditure and Quantities.

	Rs.
Excavations ... 2,188 cubic feet at Rs. 3% cubic feet =	65
Pucca masonry ... 5,995 " " " " 45% " " =	2,697
Kutchra " ... 13,738 " " " " 10% " " =	1,370
Pointing " ... 5,103 square " " " 6% sq. " =	306
Plastering ... 11,756 " " " " 6% " " =	702
Woodwork ... 719 cubic " " 1 cubic " =	719
Flooring ... 4,100 sq. " " " 8% sq. " =	328
Ceiling ... 4,100 " " " " 8% " " =	328
Doors and windows ... 981 " " " " 12 as." " =	735
Roof including rafters ... 6,020 " " " " 30% " " =	1,800
Ridging and guttering ... 300 r. feet at 8as. r.feet	= 150
Barge boards ... 132 " " " 8 " " "	= 66
Eaves boards ... 211 " " " 4 " " "	= 53
Total =	9,319

The Bengal Government finally sanctioned an expenditure of Rs. 10,000 for the construction of the house very specifically stating that the house when finished will be the *Taj* of Sikkim.¹⁰ With this sanction being made by the Government of Bengal the resident of the first Political Officer saw its completion at the end of 1890. In a typical Imperial tone the Political Officer once condescended, "After my house was finished, nothing pleased the natives more than to be allowed to wander round the rooms, especially the bedrooms. They never touched anything, but liked to see how we lived and what European furniture was like... Perhaps the most beautiful sight was my office, a building a few hundred yards from the house, which was completely covered, roof and chimneys included, with roses and a sight worth coming miles to see."¹¹ Immediately after the Political Officer moved in to his new residence a staff of servants were appointed. A Bhutanese cook was sent by his Highness Tongsa Penlop of Bhutan to learn the mode of English cooking¹² and an interpreter named Nimsering of Kalimpong was appointed for Rs.50 per mensem.¹³

Plate-1



The British Residency, Gangtok

Source : J. C. White, *Sikkim and Bhutan*, New Delhi, 1909

What comes out clear from the above discussion is that the typical English way of constructing their residential houses in the hills of British India had also been introduced in Gangtok, the capital of Sikkim. It is interesting to note that British homes in the hills namely the cottage differed from the plain bungalow not just in name but also in form. Although the simple rectangular bungalow with its single story and verandah skirt was transported to the hills in the early years, it soon lost favour. The rugged terrain of the highlands inhibited the lavish use of level space, and the cool climate negated its environmental appeal. The cottage was considered appropriate for the hills because it replicated the general features of the English country home. Those features were easily recognized by visitors to the hills. With their small windows, sloping roofs, and many chimneys, these houses put one in mind of English cottages. However, their judicious use of the local material, use of sandstone bricks in the construction work, timber paneling and the application of a distinct policy to use the side of the building facing the hill as view point helped to draw the basic outline of what a home in the hill should be like. With private rather than public initiative driving the construction of houses in the hills, the architectural designs of these dwellings reflected the personal fancies of their builders.¹⁴ And rightly so, the Residency at Gangtok was totally the product of the initiative of J.C White whose past experiences as an engineer in Public Works Department of Bengal proved to be of tremendous help. From the above it also becomes clear that even in a semi colonial situation like that of Sikkim the British sense of exclusiveness was fully exhibited. They selected Gangtok as their administrative headquarter for this hilltop appeared to be the most ideal place in Sikkim where the British could have a quarantined life of their choice. The choice of a convenient site by the Political Officer for the construction of his residence, which stood at the topmost region of Gangtok, also talks amply of British racial pride and prejudice, of wanting to be at the top and away from the natives.

Interestingly, during the first decade of the 20th century British cottage architectural design and technology influenced few structures that came around this period in Gangtok. The Palace of the *Maharaja* that had collapsed in the earthquake of 1897 was rebuilt and it came about as a mixture of native and English technology. The

Plate – II



Gangtok-1913

Source : Sikkim State Archive, Royal Geographical Society for Gangtok, Old British Caption : Gangtok, Sikkim,
Date C : 1913

residence of the Forest Manager, Gangtok *Kazi's* house, the residence of the State Engineer, the house of Civil Surgeon and the State Bungalows were built in tune with the British cottage architecture and technology. It is also worth noting that the settlement of the native officials stood below the main ridge of Gangtok where the Residency was built on one hilltop and on the other stood the *Maharaja's* Palace. A regulation had been brought in force in the early 20th century that the main ridge and the area skirting the ridge should be kept exclusively for British settlement and for the settlement of the Royal family only.¹⁵ Constant care was taken to maintain the ridge at Gangtok. A sum of Rs. 6,774 was spent in 1917 on dressing side slopes and planting trees on the ridge.¹⁶ Fountains and flower vases was provided for the ridge in 1928.¹⁷

III

Administration and market consideration indeed were nodal in the urbanisation process of Gangtok. But a number of factors not visualized before suddenly came into operation to enhance the urgency for urbanization along a new dimension which I have tried to highlight in the following discussion.

It was seen in the last chapter that Edgar's visit in 1873 had increased the British influence in Sikkim. The following year witnessed a still more striking assertion of British supremacy over Sikkim when the Government of India succeeded in nominating its own candidate as the ruler, on the death of the *Maharaja* Sidkeong Namgyal in April 1874. The late *Maharaja* had no issue, but only two half-brothers, one legitimate and the other illegitimate. The legitimate half brother was Thuthop Namgyal. The illegitimate half-brother was known as Tinley Namgyal. His sister was married to the ex-Dewan Namgyal. As early as 1868 there were rumours that the ex-Dewan was instigating or supporting the attempts to get the throne for his brother-in-law, Tinley Namgyal.¹⁸ That was why in 1868, the Government of India rejected the request of the late *Maharaja* Sidkeong Namgyal, to permit the ex-Dewan Namgyal to return to Sikkim.¹⁹

On the death of *Maharaja* Sidkeong Namgyal, Edgar, the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling, received a letter from "certain officers of the Sikkim Durbar" informing him of the event but making no mention about the successor to the throne. Edgar suspected that an attempt might be made to set aside the succession of

Thuthop Namgyal in favour of Tinley, since the former had a hare-lip which was considered as a disqualification by the ex-Dewan's faction on the alleged ground that it indicated a want of intellect. To prevent such a contingency, Edgar informed the Sikkim Durbar that the Government of India would not recognize any succession which would have for its object, the restoration of ex-Dewan Namgyal's influence.²⁰ Meanwhile he recognised in anticipation of the sanction of the Government of India the succession of Thuthop Namgyal as the ruler of Sikkim. This quick action of Edgar had not only increased the British influence in Sikkim, but also struck a blow to the possible Tibetan pretence of suzerainty over Sikkim. Further it revealed two facts namely, (i) that the British were not prepared to allow any man suspected of pro-Tibetan leanings to sit on the throne of Sikkim and (ii) that the British influence in Sikkim had grown so much that the Government of India became the undisputed kingmaker. H.H. Risley,²¹ after wards Secretary to the Government of India, commented on this episode thus: "Not a whisper was heard on the frontier of the remonstrance against this vigorous piece of kingmaking, and Tibet acquiesced silently in an act which struck at the roots of any claim on her part to exercise a paramount influence in the affairs of the Sikkim State."

The subsequent events in Sikkim were in tune with the British paramount position in Sikkim. Sir Richard Temple, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, visited Sikkim in 1875, and during his tenure of office from 1874-77 a road was constructed from Darjeeling to the Tibetan frontier at *Jelep Pass*.²² In this work, the Government of India received the active assistance of the Sikkim kingdom, and met with no objection on the part of Tibet, though it was well known that the Government and people of that country looked on the British road building activities in Sikkim with a certain amount of suspicion and uneasiness.²³

However, a new chapter was added to the Anglo-Tibetan relationship from 1885 onwards. By this time the importance of Gangtok as the shortest route to trade with Tibet and to counteract Tibetan influence over Sikkim was fully recognized by the British. That was why the capital of Sikkim was transferred from Tumlong to Gangtok more because of British interest. The mission of Colman Macaulay and subsequently the Lingtu incident of 1888 gave importance to Gangtok as a

cantonment. As studied in chapter I, some secret explorations by Sarat Chandra Das, Headmaster of Bhutia 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 border stopped. Therefore in 1884 the Government of Bengal, according to the advice of the Government of India had deputed its Finance Secretary, Colman Macaulay to visit Sikkim and the Tibetan frontier to discuss with the *Maharaja* questions regarding the administration of Sikkim and his relations to the British Government, to visit the Lachen valley to examine its potentiality as trade route towards the province of Tsang in Tibet and to endeavour to establish friendly relations with the Tibetan authorities of the districts adjacent to Sikkim on the north.²⁴ Macaulay arrived in Sikkim in October 1884 and met the *Maharaja* Thothup Namgyal. He could not get any information from the *Maharaja* regarding the causes of the stoppage of trade. However the *Maharaja* informed Macaulay that the trade on the frontier was resumed on October 1884. Macaulay came to know from the Jongpens of Khamba that the monks of the monasteries of Lhasa-Sera were rigorously maintaining the policy of isolation towards the British because they feared to lose their monopoly and that the construction of road would be of no use while the present policy of isolation was maintained by Tibet. The Jongpens advised Macaulay to secure the consent of China on their side to open Tibet for trade from all restrictions.²⁵

Macaulay attached too much importance on the opinion of the Jongpens 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 Ambans and the Government officials of Tibet for free admission of Indian traders to Tibet without any obstruction through Sikkim-Darjeeling route. Macaulay's proposal, 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 passports. 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. 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, if required. Thus the Tibetan opposition was determined and the Macaulay mission had to withdraw.²⁶

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 was still critical in 1886 and the British army was still lied 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 with 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.²⁷

No sooner had the Macaulay Mission been abandoned than the news came that the Tibetans had advanced thirteen miles into Northern Sikkim across the *Jelep* pass and occupied a place called Lingtu on the Darjeeling road. The Government of India thought that the Tibetans had resorted to that action due to their fear of the Macaulay Mission and hoped that they would withdraw on learning about its abandonment. At the same time it was afraid of the potential effects of that aggression on the Himalayan states of Sikkim, Bhutan and Nepal. Therefore it very much wanted to get the aggression vacated, but was not prepared to achieve that either by force of arms or with the help of China as it might lead to very embarrassing results. The Tibetans however showed no signs of withdrawal from their position at Lingtu, even when they learnt that the Macaulay Mission had been abandoned. Instead they took steps to consolidate their position by building a fort at that place. The Maharaja of Sikkim, Thuthob Namgyal, who was then staying in the Chumbi valley of Tibet supported the Tibetan action and declared that the land in occupation really belonged to Tibet, even though Sikkim as a matter of grace was allowed to use it. He

maintained that Tibet had asserted its rights and resumed the tract as “the Sikkim people have exposed their country to the English like meat before a dog.”²⁸

The Government of Bengal was very much worried of the continued Tibetan presence in Sikkim as it was causing them alarm and also resulted in a severe damage to the British prestige in the Himalayan states. Sir Rivers Thompson, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, wanted that the Government of India should take steps to secure the immediate withdrawal of the Tibetans from Lingtu. For securing this objective he made three alternative suggestions namely (1) negotiations with Tibetan frontier officials, (2) intervention of China, and (3) use of force. As to the first suggestion, he felt that negotiations with local officers were of no use. The second proposal, that is, China’s intervention was mentioned casually and not discussed fully. He felt that as a final resort, force had to be used.²⁹ But the British waited till 1888 to resort to the use of force.

In December 1887, the Government of India intimated to the Tibetan military officer at Lingtu that the British forces would occupy that place if it was not vacated by 15 March 1888. On learning about this, the Tsungli Yamen and the Chinese Legation at London requested Walsham and Lord Salisbury, the British Foreign Secretary, to get the action postponed by a few months on the ground that their new Amban was on his way to Lhasa. The Chinese Government hoped that the British would recognize the desirability of evacuation by the Tibetans at Lingtu by “the pacification of China than by the Indian Government having recourse to arms”.

Salisbury was not convinced of the need to delay the action of the Viceroy. Thereupon Dufferin intimated Walsham that he would not postpone the proposed action on 15 March 1888, but assured that the British troops would not enter Tibet unless they were attacked.³⁰

In March 1888, a force of about 2,000 men under the command of General Graham took the field. A.W Paul and J.C White, an Executive Engineer of the Bengal Civil, were attached to it as Political and Assistant Political Officers respectively. The force encountered little opposition and on 21 March 1888 it took Lingtu after a brief clash with the Tibetans. This was the first time the Tibetans had clashed with the army of a western power and were defeated. They were however not dismayed by the

British show of force. Exactly two months after their expulsion from Lingtu, on 21 May 1888, they made a surprise attack on the British position at a place called Gnatong in and nearly succeeded in capturing Sir Steuart Bailey who happened to be there at that time. The attack was repulsed with heavy loss to the Tibetans. Graham wanted to advance across the border into Tibet, but the Government refused to give him the necessary permission.³¹

In September, 1888, the Tibetans were found to be concentrating near Gnatong. Therefore, General Graham made an attack and pushed them across the border. On 26 September, he advanced into the Chumbi Valley, but he vacated it the next day.³²

Soon after the expulsion of the Tibetans from Gnatong, a small force of British Indian army entered Gangtok. This measure alarmed the Maharaja. He fled to Chumbi, but was seized by the British army which had occupied that area for one day on 26 September 1888. The real reason for the marching of the troops to Gangtok was to re-assert the British position in Sikkim which had become critical by September 1888. The Tibetan faction re-asserted itself and there was complete collapse of the leading men of the British faction. Col. Mitchell, an officer attached to the expeditionary force, felt that "as a political move the marching of troops to the capital of Sikkim has had a beneficial effect: the cordiality with which we have everywhere been greeted, and the hospitality received show that the friendly relations have been established."³³

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 1890.³⁴

The 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.³⁵

By this convention three matters remained unsettled—pasturage, communication 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. Thus on 5 December 1893 the Regulation regarding trade, communication and pasturage was signed between India and China.³⁶

The Convention consisted of nine Articles.³⁷ Article One to Six dealt with trade. Yatung was declared a mart for purposes of trade with effect from 1 May 1849 (Article One). The British subjects were granted liberty to travel freely to and fro between the Sikkim-Tibet frontier and Yatung (Article Two). Import and export of arms, ammunition and military stores, salt, liquor, intoxicating and narcotic drugs was prohibited (Article Three). Trade in other goods were to be duty free for the first five years from the date of the opening of the mart, but after that period, it may be imported into that country at a rate not exceeding that at which Chinese tea was to be imported into England (Article Four). Goods passing through the mart were to be examined and registered at its customs house (Article Five). All the trade disputes arising in Yatung were to be settled in personal conference of the Chinese Frontier Officer and British Political Officer for Sikkim (Article Six). Article seven provided that the dispatches from the Government of India to the Amban were to be handed over to the Chinese frontier officer, while Article eight provided that the dispatches from the Amban to the Government of India were to be handed over to the Political Officer for Sikkim. Article nine dealt with the question of pasturage. It empowered the Government of India to regulate as it saw fit the conditions under which Tibetans might graze their flocks and herds across the Sikkim-Tibet border.

In spite of the treaties of 1890 and 1893 with the Chinese the British could not make much headway in opening Tibet. Meanwhile, Yatung did not appear to the British a properly chosen trade mart.³⁸ With it was added the question of demarcation of boundary, as per the Convention of 1890. White found that some places inside the Sikkim territory, as per 1890 Convention had been occupied by the Tibetans. The

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 the Government of India opposed the move as demarcation was not provided for in the Treaty of 1893 and it was creating no "serious practicable inconvenience".³⁹ However, after some correspondence with the Chinese *Amban* by Lord Elgin, the Viceroy of India, White was asked to arrange for erection of demarcation pillars at the approachable from Sikkim side, with the Chinese and Tibetan officials.⁴⁰ In May and June 1895 White erected some pillars at the *Jelep* 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.⁴¹ 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.⁴² 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, Chumbi would be held by the British "in pawn either temporarily or permanently."⁴³ But Government of India refused to accept the suggestion.⁴⁴ 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.⁴⁵ So he suggested driving the Tibetans back from the boundary which they claimed as well as Giaogang to Sikkim. The Government of Bengal supported Nolan's view,⁴⁶ but the Viceroy turned it down because the 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 Giaogang. He proposed to *Amban* for a joint local enquiry for actual demarcation of the boundary.⁴⁷ Nothing fruitful happened.

As the Tibetans were attaching too much importance to Giaogang White wanted the Government of India to insist on the trade mart from Yatung to be shifted to Phari, which he thought to be a better mart.⁴⁸ Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, supported White's proposal, though Nolan was doubtful of its benefit due to Tibet's policy of isolation.⁴⁹

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 that 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, 1899.⁵⁰ The news alarmed Curzon 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.⁵¹

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.⁵² Ugyen Kazi's letters to Dalai Lama, in this respect, failed to receive favourable response. Then Curzon made two abortive attempts to communicate with Dalai Lama personally.⁵³ White then 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.⁵⁴ The policy of isolation pursued by the Tibetans told on the imperialistic ego of the British and they were not ready to tolerate it. Lord Curzon wrote to 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 last..."⁵⁵ On April 1902 Hamilton permitted the expulsion of Tibetans from Giaogong without crossing the border and the Tibetans were expelled accordingly.⁵⁶

In the meantime there came the news of a reported existence of a secret understanding 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 question 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 dispatched 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.⁵⁷

Colonel Younghusband was placed as the head of the Mission. The Mission crossed *Jelep* 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. Thereupon, Yu Tai, the Chinese Amban agreed for talks, and commenced negotiations with the Mission. On 7 September 1904, the Convention between Great Britain and Tibet⁵⁸ generally known as the Lhasa Convention was signed at the Potala Palace, Lhasa. It contained nine Articles under which Tibet agreed to recognize the Sikkim frontier as laid down in the 1890 Convention, and to erect the boundary pillars (Article one); to open Gyantse and Gartok as trade marts (Article two); to discuss subsequently the question of the amendment of the Trade Regulations of 1893 (Article three); not to levy duties except those provided for in the mutually agreed tariff (Article four); to keep the roads open to the new marts and to transit letters between the British Trade Agent and the Chinese and Tibetan authorities (Article five); to pay an indemnity of Rs. 75,00,000 in seventy five installments (Article six); to place the Chumbi valley under British occupation as a security for the payment of indemnity (Article seven); to raze all fortifications between the British frontier and Gyantse (Article eight); and not to have any kind of dealings with foreign powers without the British consent (Article nine). 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 the above discussion it is evident that the Government of India had exploited the dispute concerning the Sikkim-Tibet boundary to open Tibet. The success of the Younghusband Expedition in opening Tibet and forcing it to sign the Lhasa Convention on 7 September 1904 had solved all the British difficulties regarding the status of Sikkim and its boundary with Tibet. Tibet had not only

recognized the protectorate of the Government of India over Sikkim but also confirmed the Sikkim-Tibet boundary as laid down in the Convention of 1890. China confirmed the Lhasa Convention by signing the Peking Convention with Britain in 1906. The influence of these two treaties on Sikkim was far reaching. In the first place the de jure status of Sikkim as the protectorate of the Government of India had received international sanction. In the second place, the Government of India by demonstrating its power in Tibet was able to consolidate its position in Sikkim. It no longer had any troubles either from the Maharaja or the pro-Tibet faction which vanished altogether.

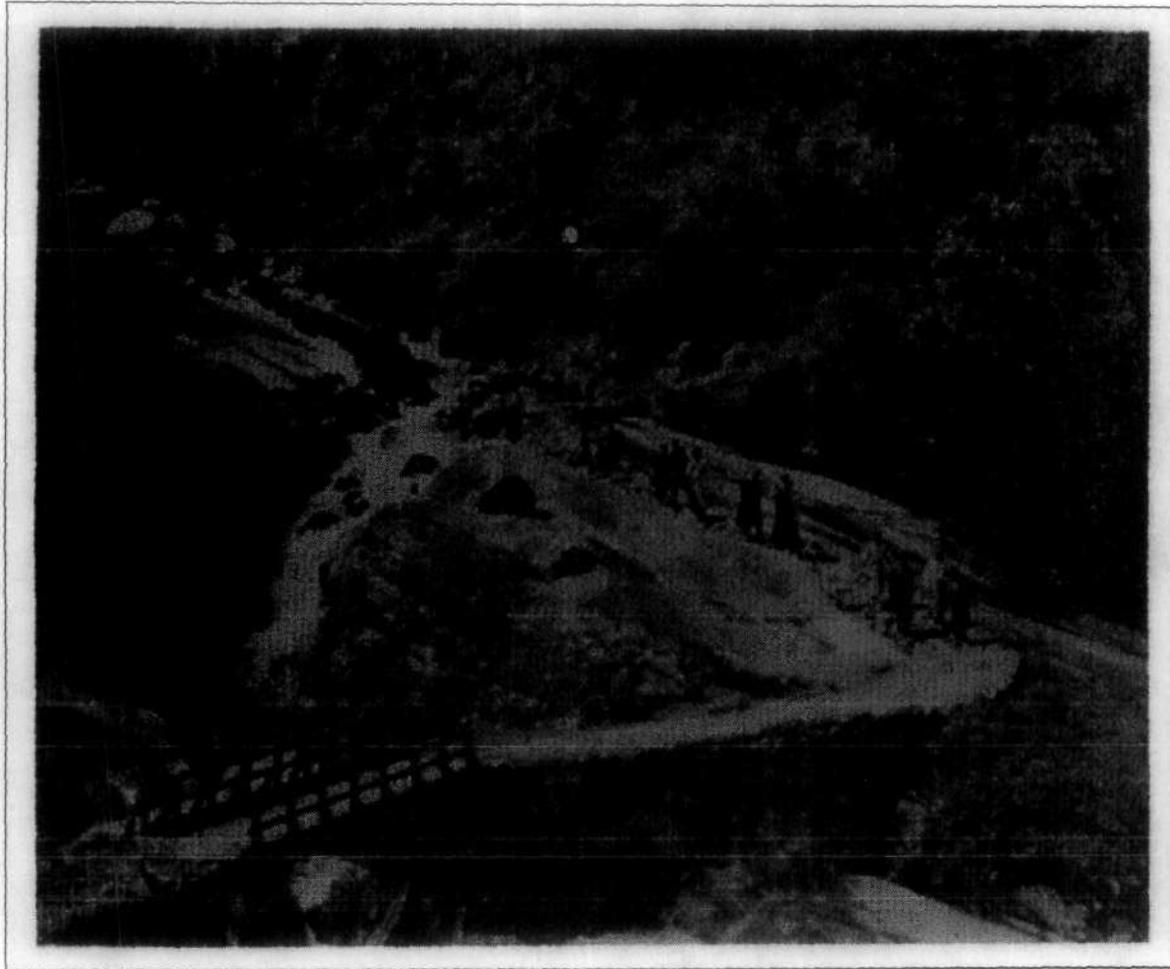
An interesting fact that is evident from the above is that ever since the Lingtu incident Gangtok gained in importance not only as a centre of political and economic activities but also as a military base for the British Indian Army. Though the initial objective to shift the capital of Sikkim to Gangtok was promoted by trade consideration the township in actual fact emerged as a cantonment at the earliest phase. British troops were stationed at Gangtok as early as September 1888 which was meant to re-assert British position in Sikkim that had become critical by that time. Beginning from the Lingtu incident, 1888 and the subsequent turn of events in the Anglo-Tibetan relationship leading to the Anglo-Chinese Convention, 1890, the trade Convention of 1893 and the Younghusband expedition of 1903-04 introduced a pre-emptive military dimension to the status of Gangtok, adding a qualification to its urbanisation. A constructive policy of road building taken by the British Political Officer and subsequent development in road and communication joining the capital of Sikkim to strategic lines of communication was a part of the British defense measure in the north bordering Sikkim, Nepal and Tibet. Thus, from the year 1888 itself Gangtok had a nucleus of a cantonment city and this fact remained in the British mind for initiating road construction. Therefore, during the initial years of British administration Gangtok developed as a cantonment town independent of its use as an administrative headquarter and a centre of Indo-Tibetan trade.

A significant development in communication took place since the establishment of the British Political Agency at Gangtok in 1889. A few bad and difficult tracts had existed in the name of roads in the Sikkim Country. The native paths and tracks were of the usual type, narrow, steep and circuitous to a degree, often rising several thousand feet to avoid a rocky face, only to descend for a similar distance on the other side. In some places rickety platforms led along the sides of the cliff, the ends of the poles being supported in cracks in the rocks, while in others ladders of cane and bamboo were the only means of scaling the steep sides of ravines, or of surmounting boulders. The smallest landslips would send the hillside, and a slight rise in any river or stream would wash away most of the flimsy bridges.⁵⁹

The bridges were of two kinds. The best were those which were built on the cantilever principal. Stout poles from either bank project towards the centre of the stream, and were weighted down on the shore ends by masses of stones etc, across the intervening gap more poles were laid connecting the two platforms and the whole is then floored with transverse beams and branches, weighed down with stones. A strong reliable bridge was thus formed. Examples of this kind of bridge existed till 1950s on the Singtam khola below Gangtok. Sometimes, if the gulf to be spanned was a wide one, several tiers of beams projected from either bank, and in some cases were supported from below by vertical uprights.⁶⁰

The other type of bridge was the suspension bridge composed of canes, very similar in construction to the birch twig *Julas* which were common in Gilgit and elsewhere in the western Himalayas. This type of bridge consisted of three ropes of cane, two above and one below, the section forming a triangle apex downwards. The upper rope was used as handrails and supported the footway. All three ropes were fastened to trees or posts on the banks and very securely tied and the ends weighted. Alongside the rope forming the footway were laid spill bamboos or other thin poles to give a more secure foothold. These were retained in position by the cane loops that connect the upper ropes with the lower. These bridges were impracticable for animals.⁶¹

Plate-III



Road to the North of Sikkim showing a timber bridge.

Source : Sikkim Facts and Figures, Gangtok, March 20, 1963

Communication in Sikkim saw great improvement with the penetration of the colonial authority, as this was the most important objective that the British had aimed at for the fulfillment of their ambition. In response to their commercial needs the British had already made some improvements in the communication system in the Sikkim frontier between 1861 and 1889. In a special report⁶² J.W. Edgar, the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling gave a detailed account of the work done on the Tibet Road through Sikkim, which he considered to be the most important work. Given below is the description of the work done:

- (1) Between Darjeeling and The Teesta there was the Rangeet Road maintained by the Public Works Department of Bengal.
- (2) The road from Teesta Cane Bridge to Sikkim frontier had been realized beyond Kalimpong.
- (3) The first section of the road to the *Jelep* Pass through Sikkim had been opened and partially constructed and all the streams bridged.

After the conclusion of the Anglo-Sikkim treaty of 1861 the attention of the Government of India was focused on Sikkim as one of the channels to carry out its Central Asian policy. The Bengal Government recommended that the East Bengal Railway Company should be allowed to extend their line from Kusthia to the Teesta valley. "Should this proposition be carried out there is no doubt a very extensive and important trade would spring up, especially with Tibet."⁶³ At this juncture it would not be wrong to say that development of Darjeeling as a sanatorium and for the prospects of Indo-Tibetan trade had a direct impact upon the progress of Sikkim's communication.

In 1870, the British had in fact completed an unpaved road to the *Jelep-la* so as to facilitate their travel to Lhasa. In 1881, a branch of the East Bengal Railway was extended from Siliguri, the starting point in North Bengal for a journey to Sikkim and Darjeeling. The Indo-Tibetan trade also showed tendency to increase with the establishment of a permanent route over *Jelep* Pass.⁶⁴

Immediately after the British took over the administration of Sikkim the foremost thing that was taken up was the construction of roads and this entailed heavy expenditure. What the Political Officer saw at his entry was that the financial

condition of Sikkim was deplorable and something had to be done immediately to raise the revenue. A commencement was made to raise the revenue by roughly surveying the different districts and assessing them at so much *per acre*, taking into account the nature of the soil. This was an arduous task in a mountainous country covered with dense undergrowth and therefore necessitating cutting lines in every direction. It was however accomplished in five years, and thus a basis for taxation and revenue was established. At the same time the forests were placed under control, excise was introduced and by these means in about ten years the revenue was raised from Rs.8, 000 to Rs.2, 200,000. As the revenue increased and money was available road construction became the most important concern for the British.⁶⁵ Regarding the immediate development of communication in Sikkim, J.W Edgar⁶⁶ the then Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal wrote to his Government, “the excellent road which has been lately made from Pedong through Rhenock and Gangtok to Tumlong will undoubtedly be very useful, and it is hoped that in time the resources of the country will allow the other equally valuable roads being opened up.” In 1889 the Government allocated Rs.9,740 for the construction of roads, bridges and buildings. In fact every year, 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.”⁶⁷ The budget escalated each year which rose to Rs.24,306 in 1906 for buildings and roads alone.⁶⁸ This increase in expenditure in the opening years of the 20th century was due mainly to the Tibetan expedition of 1904. To facilitate the British expedition to Tibet roads were built to Dinkung *via* Gangtok and Lachen.⁶⁹ The expedition demanded a huge amount of money for the upkeep and maintenance of the Gangtok-Tibet road. It was around this time that the importance of *Nathu-la* road was fully realised by the British administrators in Sikkim. Therefore, the Government of India ordered for the construction of a cart road from Rangpo to Gangtok and another road for mules and ponies from Gangtok to Chumbi over the *Nathu-la*.⁷⁰ In 1907 a new diversion of Gangtok-Chumbi road was constructed.⁷¹ By the end of 1904 the cart road from Siliguri, the terminus of the Northern Bengal State Railway, to the door of the Residency was completed.⁷² This road known as the Teesta valley road was the

highway for travelers and merchants going to Sikkim and Tibet and was maintained by the Public Works Department (Bengal) from Sevok to Tista Bridge (17 ½ miles), and from the Teesta Bridge to Rangpo it was kept up by the Sikkim state. The road passed along the bank of the Teesta River for a distance of 34 miles from Sevoke to Rangpo on the borders of Sikkim. Since this road ran across the riverbank the rapid stream often swollen by floods was a great source of danger. Therefore it was decided to abandon the existing alignment and to construct a high-level road 300-400 feet above it. This new road came up by the end of 1908 at the total cost of Rs.5 lakhs.⁷³ The construction of a mule road to Giaogong via Lachen was also taken up and portions re-aligned as well as the Lagyap road. To complete these works 1,900 coolies were employed daily between April and November 1903 and, with the engagement in the Lagyap road project between December and March, the number increased to nearly 4,000. For regular work the Sikkim Cooli corp was raised in December 1903 to carry Government stores from Gangtok to Chumbi via the *Nathu-la* and continued till October 1904, when it was disbanded. During this period 1,750 coolies and 300 mules and ponies were employed daily and over 53,113 maunds of stores were conveyed into Chumbi and 9,582 maunds to intermediate stages.⁷⁴ The state also largely helped with labour for the maintenance of the new roads and improvement of the existing ones and considering the hardships borne by the coolies owing to the high altitudes and the severity of the climate in which they had to work, the casualties were very few.⁷⁵ With the exception of the Gangtok-*Nathu-la* road, roads were maintained by local landlords, and the bridges of larger span than 20 feet by the State.⁷⁶ In 1913 a sum of Rs. 3,879 was spent for the repair of Gangtok-*Nathu-la* road.⁷⁷ The upkeep and maintenance of Gangtok-*Nathu-la* road was undertaken by the Government of India.⁷⁸

Given below is the statement showing the mileages of roads and expenditure on communication, buildings and miscellaneous public improvements during 1904-1905:⁷⁹

<u>Mileages of Roads-</u>	<u>Miles</u>
1. Existing at the commencement of 1904-1905	393
2. Constructed	...
3. Repaired	328
<u>Expenditure</u>	<u>Rs.</u>
4. Communication	..... 1, 800
5. Buildings	..... 9, 772
6. Miscellaneous Public Improvements	..... 261
7. Repairs of roads, buildings and bridges	..... <u>11, 592</u>
Total =	23, 425

From the above discussion we come to understand that the improved means of communication between Gangtok and Chumbi was undertaken by the military authority to facilitate the advance of the Tibet Mission. Incidentally traders began to take advantage of the route, and those at Gangtok found it more convenient than the road via the *Jelep-La*. Regarding the importance of *Nathu-la* route for better communication with Central Tibet and its use as trade route, the Political Officer in Sikkim put forward before the Government of Bengal the following statement. The statement gives a detail comparison regarding the respective advantages of the *Jelep-La* and *Nathu-La* routes:⁸⁰

- (1) There are many tedious and difficult ascents and descents into hot valleys between Kalimpong and Chumbi. Owing to these hot and unhealthy valleys and heavy monsoon rains the Tibetan traders do not visit Kalimpong throughout the year, i.e., from June to September they do not carry on any trade with Kalimpong. Indian traders also experience much difficulty traveling by this route, as after passing Rhenock no supplies are available and find the climb from the Rongli Valley 2,000 feet to Gnatong 12,030 feet in 16 miles very tiring to both men and beast.
- (2) There are no hot unhealthy valleys between Gangtok and Chumbi. Gangtok is more than 2,000 feet higher than Kalimpong, and country between it and Chumbi is at a higher altitude the whole way, and therefore suitable for Tibetans traveling along it at all times of a year. The gradient is easy, and as the distance is shorter, Chumbi traders

could make two trips to Gangtok to every one to Kalimpong, and this throughout the year.

- (3) The Kalimpong-Jelep La route has been used for the last 20 years, and the rates for carriage and food supplies along this route are not susceptible to any change towards cheapness. Whereas if Nathu-La route is maintained as main trade route, the rates at present prevailing along this route would come down considerably. For instance if there were as many carts and baggage animals plying on this route as there are at present on the Kalimpong- Jelep route, the rates would be as follows:

For carts Rs1-4 to Rs 1-8 per maund from Siliguri to Gangtok. For baggage animals Rs.2 to Rs.2-8 per maund from Gangtok to Chumbi, or a reduction along the whole route of from Rs.1-8 to Rs. 1-4 per maund. At present the cost of carriage is cheaper by Re.0-4-0 to Re.0-8-0 on this route, and would therefore be further cheapened by Rs.1-8 to Rs 2. per maund, a very considerable reduction of 40 percent. This does not represent all the gain that would accrue. The Chumbi trader takes 14 days on each trip to Kalimpong, whereas he can in the same time make 2 trips to Gangtok; additional profit to him would be as follows:

He pays Rs.4 to Rs.8 a maund for carriage to Kalimpong and the same for the return journey, Rs. 5 to Rs.6 a maund, and so saves in the two trips Rs.6 per maund. He would on the other hand be obliged to sell his goods at a slightly cheaper rate and buy his imports at a slightly higher rate than at Kalimpong, but he would still make a profit as his expenses would be less. Again the Chumbi owner of transport who gets Rs.8 to Rs.9 per maund for the hire of his animals for each trip to Kalimpong will get from Rs.10 to Rs.12 a maund for his two trips to Gangtok, and this he can do throughout the year almost. If the transport rates fall to Rs.2 a maund he will still not be a loser as, he will have less to pay for grain and fodder, and will be receiving the same as he gets now on the Jelep-La route.

As the Sikkim Darbar have decided to maintain the road up to the Nathu-La and to provide shelters for men, animals and merchandise at the different stages between Gangtok and Nathu-La and to allow free permits for fodder to traders, the Chumbi people will find to their advantage to take this route, but until the shelters and

other conveniences such as improved road are in evidence, it will be difficult to convince the Tibetans. Given below is a comparative list regarding cost of carriage etc. via *Nathu-La* and *Jelep* Routes :⁸¹

Nathu-La

From Gangtok to Chumbi, four day's journey at Rs. 2-12 or Rs 3 per maund.

Distance from rail head (Siliguri)

Cart road from Siliguri via Teesta Bridge to Gangtok, 68 miles
Mule road from Gangtok to Chumbi, 43 miles.
Total Distance = 111 miles.

Jelep-La

Gangtok to Chumbi, 7 day's journey at Rs. 4-8 or Rs. 4-12 per maund.
Distance from rail head (Siliguri)

Cart road from Siliguri via Teesta Bridge to Kalimpong 38 miles.
Mule road from Kalimpong to Chumbi 59 miles.
Total Distance = 97 miles.

Freight from Siliguri to Chumbi

Siliguri to Gangtok, Rs 2 to Rs. 2-8 per maund.
Gangtok to Chumbi, Rs. 2-8 to Rs. 3 per maund.
Total Cost per maund = Rs. 4-8 to Rs. 5-8

Siliguri to Kalimpong Re. 1 to Rs. 1-4 per maund.
Kalimpong to Chumbi Rs. 4 to 4-8 per maund.
Total Cost per maund = Rs. 5 to 5-12

Time taken en route

By cart from Siliguri to Gangtok - 6 days.
By baggage animals or coolie from Gangtok to Chumbi - 4 days.
Total days = 10

By Card to Kalimpong from Siliguri - 4 days.
By baggage animals or coolie to Chumbi from Kalimpong - 7 days
Total days = 11

Prices of food grains and fodder

Prices at Gangtok

Rice at Rs. 6-12 per maund
Maize at Rs. 1-8 to Rs. 3-12 per maund.
Fodder at Re. 0-6 to Re. 0-8 per maund.

Price at Changu

Fodder at Re. 0-12 to Re. 1 per maund from fresh bamboo leaves.

Prices at Kalimpong

Rice at Rs. 6-4 per maund
Maize at Rs. 2 to Rs. 4 per maund.
Fodder at Rs. 1-4 per maund

Price at Gnatong

Fodder at Rs. 1-4 per maund from fresh bamboo leaves and Rs. 4-5 for dry grass during winter months when snow lies heavy on the ground.

Bazaars en route

Gangtok, Singtam, Rangpo and Teesta Bridge with Pakyong and Tokul close to route.

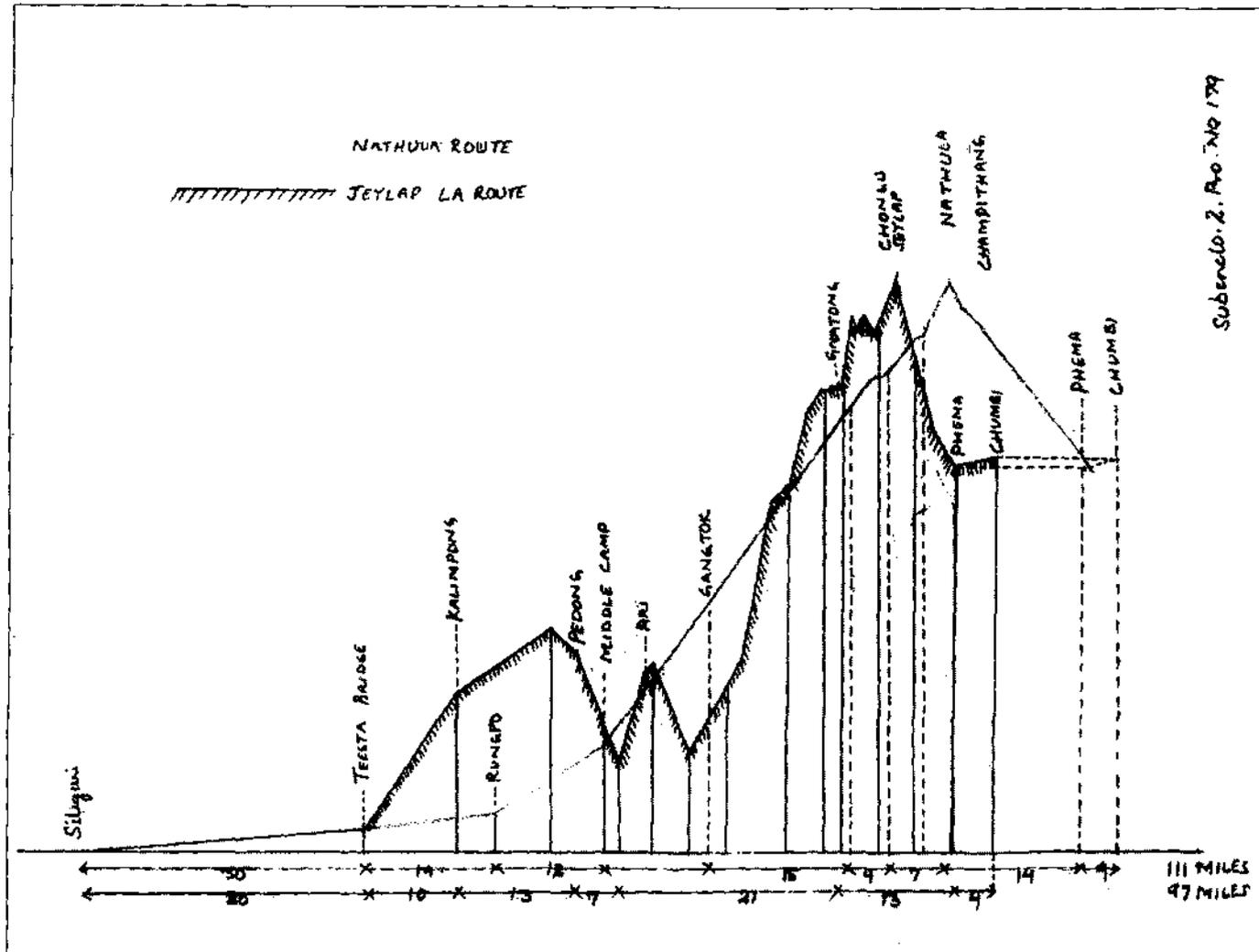
Principle *bazaar* is Gangtok. Tibetan traders will find facilities here. In addition trade from Tibet via Khamba jong and the Lachen and Lachung valley finds its way here.

Rhenock, Pedong, Kalimpong and Teesta Bridge.

Principle *bazaar* is Kalimpong where Tibetan traders sell their exports and buy merchandise (clothes etc.) for import into Tibet.

Graph - I

Graph Representing a comparative study of Nathu-la and Jelep-la routes in regards to its gradient and length.



Subenclo. Z. No. 179

Source : Foreign Department Political Secret 'E' 1907 Sept, 177-179

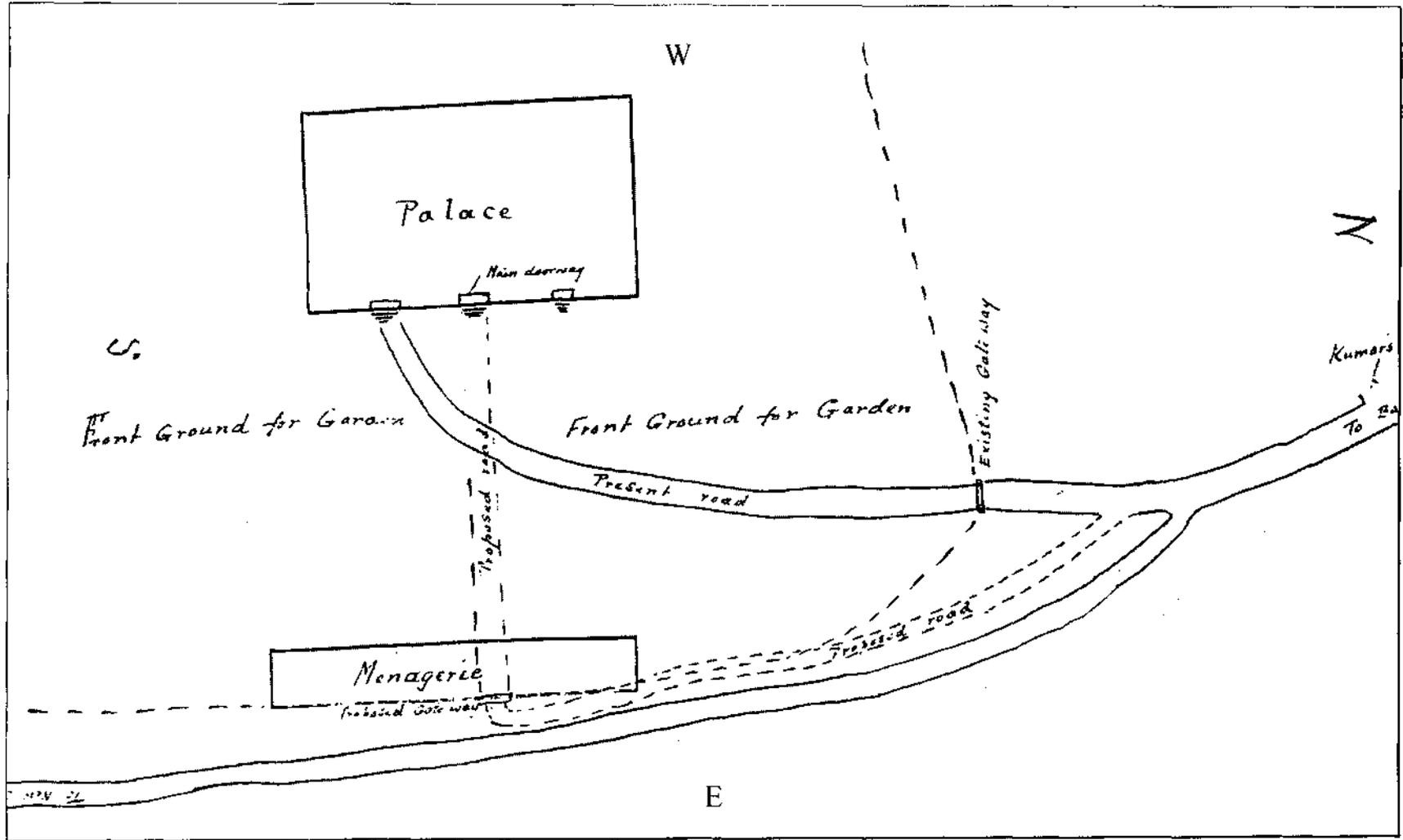
Going into the question of the relative value of the two routes into the Chumbi Valley, it was felt by White together with other British Official Circle (Military General Locke Elliot's letter to Lord Kitchener also expressed the view that the *Nathu-La* route was to be preferred to *Jelep* route because of its Military and commercial advantages) in Bengal that *Nathu-La* was beyond comparison, the most suitable in every way. Tibet being under the Chinese Thumb and any future complications will have a Chinese backing which further would prove important as regards gradient, supply and upkeep to have this military route to and from Chumbi Valley. Upkeep of this route was therefore important both for military and commercial use.

After taking a stock of the importance of *Nathu-la* route and its adoption let us have a look at the planning and construction of roads within Gangtok as the *Nathu-la* route immediately brought the question of communication within Gangtok into focus. Within Gangtok the construction of roads was planned in such a way that it would facilitate the British for easy administration, to transfer their goods to different parts of Sikkim, to have an easy access to the market, to the palace, to the military area and to the main highway joining the Chumbi valley with *Nathu-la*, Rangpo to Darjeeling and then to the rest of the world. The Political Officer therefore initiated a constructive policy for roads within Gangtok as we notice from Map II, III and IV attached in the following page.

Thus, few routes coming into existence within Gangtok till 1920 as evidenced from the maps are:

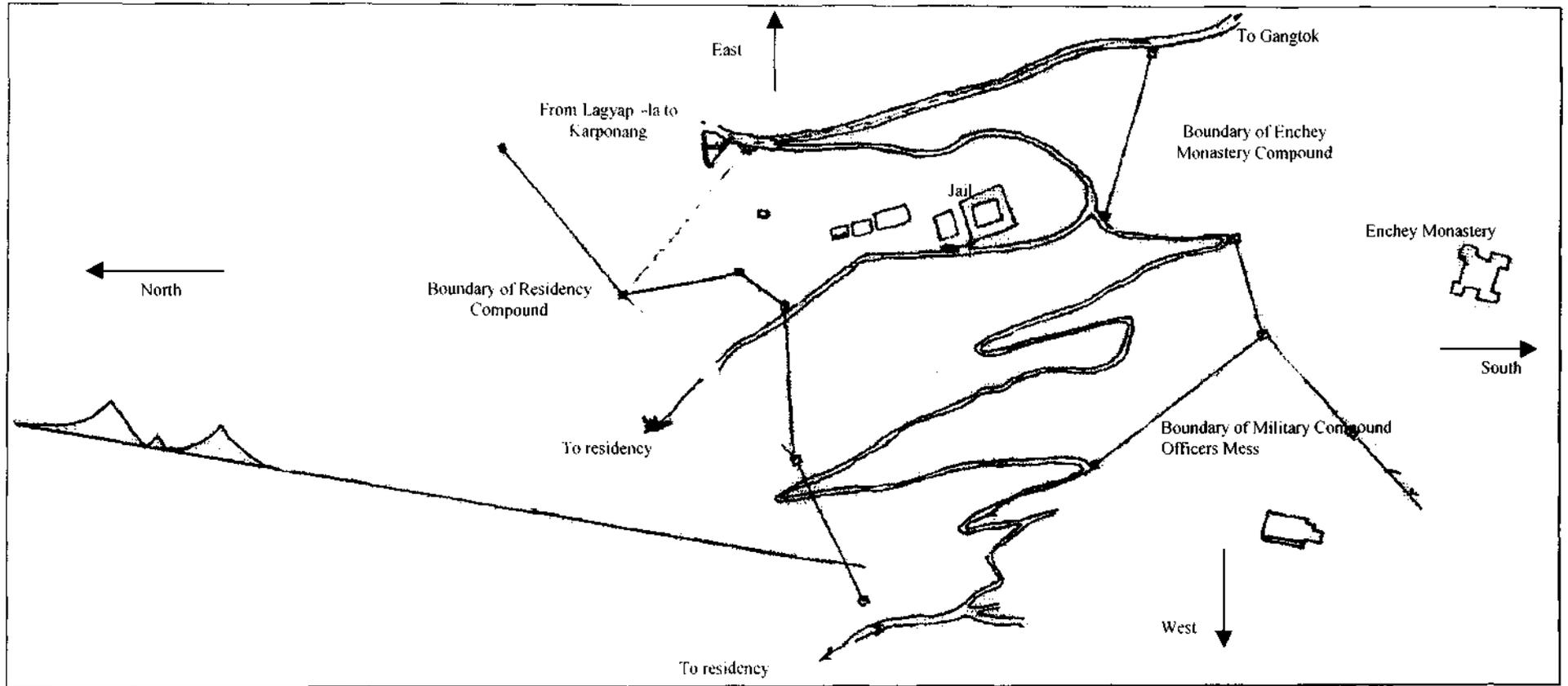
- (a) A road-joining Residency to *Penlong-la*, a strategic line of communication.
- (b) From the Residency lines joining the Residency compound with the hospital, the supply godown and the *bazaar*.
- (c) A road joining Residency compound to the Palace.⁸²
- (d) A road joining the palace to *Dilkusha*.⁸³
- (e) A road from the Residency to *Lagyap*, *Karponang*, to *Rangpo* and the rest of the world.

Map-2



Source : Sikkim State Archive Sikkim Durbar File, No. 37 Of 1908.

Map-3



Source : Sikkim Sate Archive, Land Revenue File, No. 9 Of 1922. Serial No. 148.

As the country was opened out and with further needs requiring the construction of roads and bridges something was accomplished each year. Between 1920 and 1930⁸⁴ Gangtok could boast of a labyrinth of roads within the town such as:

- (1) South road from Bazaar to secretariat in 1927.
- (2) A road branching from the southern end of Gangtok *bazaar* and meeting the Deorali road above Rai Sahib Ratnabhadur's house at Gangtok.
- (3) Construction of a road below Babu Delay Singh's house to the site of the old printing press in 1927.
- (4) Station circular road or the road round the Palace compound in 1930.

The Bengal Government had recommended in 1911 that the Political Officer at Sikkim should be empowered to sanction estimates for ordinary repairs within the limits of budget allotments. The proposal of the Bengal Government was put up by the Public Works Department in the following words,⁸⁵ "all public works (Imperial and Provincial) in Sikkim are under the Political Officer, and are carried out with the assistance of a temporary engineer on Rs.400 a month paid partly by the state and partly by the Government. In November 1903 a temporary division was formed there, and the works were placed under an executive engineer, but this division has now been apparently abolished. As the Political Officer gets competent professional assistance, the proposals of Bengal Government may perhaps be sanctioned with the concurrence of the Foreign and Finance Departments." Once the concurrence of the Foreign and Finance Departments were acquired the Government of India in a letter dated January 1911 informed the Government of Bengal that the above proposal has been sanctioned.⁸⁶ This shows that the British paid much attention to public works in the country. This interest continued even after full power was restored to the monarch in 1918.

Much thrust was also put on the improvement of sanitation within Gangtok. The sanitation of Gangtok was supervised by the Agency civil surgeon from 1909 onwards.⁸⁷ In 1907 a sweeper line was constructed in Gangtok *bazaar* and in 1908 an additional sweeper line and the construction of

drains within Gangtok *bazaar* was also undertaken. A sum of Rs.802 and 800 was allocated for the maintenance of the *bazaar* at Gangtok in 1906 and 1907 respectively.⁸⁸ According to the report *pucca* latrines were constructed in Gangtok and drinking water was supplied through galvanized iron pipes. A proper drainage system and metalling of the roads at Gangtok *bazaar* for better sanitation was also carried out in 1907.⁸⁹ An unsightly hillock below the *dak* bungalow and at the north entrance to the *bazaar* in Gangtok was cut away for easy movement of goods and for further expansion of the market.⁹⁰ To improve the supply of water in Gangtok, a new tank and larger pipes were provided at a cost of Rs.4, 359.⁹¹ During the year 1929-30 two new reservoirs were constructed and the pipeline extended to Deorali. The capacity of this water work was 41,000 gallons per day. Water taps were provided in 1927-1928 to the *bazaar* area, meat market below the *bazaar*, the hospital at Gangtok, veterinary hospital, and to the Government quarters at the Happy Valley.⁹²

In 1912,⁹³ the Government of India and the State Government together sanctioned Rs. 4675 for improvement of sanitation at Gangtok which was proposed by Colonel E. Butt, (Principal Medical Officer, Presidency and Assam Brigade) during his inspection of the Gangtok Station in June, 1910. Therefore, the following works were undertaken:

- (i) Conservancy road.
- (ii) Quarters for sweepers.
- (iii) One 4 seater latrine for female in Gangtok *bazaar*.
- (iv) Latrine for Bhutia and Nepali School.

In 1932 A Military Report⁹⁴ on Sikkim and Bhutan was submitted by General Staff India. Given below is the abstract of the report on communication:

“The Sikkim Durbar maintains about 244 miles of roads and 10 stage bungalows. A part of the Public Works in the State is carried on by the generous help of the Government of India who maintain for the Durbar the twenty-five miles of cart road from Rangpo to Gangtok and seventy miles of bridle path from Rhenock to Lachen, besides about fifty miles of trade route between Rhenock and *Jelep La*. Amongst recent improvements is 15 miles of

mule road aligned on a cart road gradient from Naya Bazaar (opposite Manjhitar) to Ligship. This will form an important link between Western Sikkim and British India, and is already becoming very frequented and popular.

In addition to the above new road construction considerable work has been done on the Gangtok-Chumbi road where reinforced concrete galleries with iron railings have been provided on the precipitous section between the 12th and 14th mile stones and railings provided at other dangerous points. As funds permit improvements are being made to bridges in the country. Recent works of importance are the construction of the suspension bridge over the Tista River at Malli and the construction of a bridge over the Rangit at Akar. The former bridge has a span of 275 feet and a 5 foot roadway; the latter is also 275 feet clear span with 8 feet roadway”.

“For the construction of roads coolie labour is readily available at short notice anywhere south of a line running east and west through Gangtok. Many coolies are expert at road making having gained experience on the Rangpo-Gangtok cart road. The average coolie wage is annas 12 a day, whilst smiths, masons’ and carpenters’ wages are from Rs.2 to Rs.3 per deim.”

The Report⁹⁵ further added a note regarding the principal passes across the Sikkim frontier and they are:

- 1st. Those communicating with Nepal across the Singalila range on the west.
- 2nd. Those to the north communicating with Tibet proper.
- 3rd. Those to the east communicating with the Chumbi valley and Bhutan.

“The passes in the first group are all directly connected with Darjeeling by the Nepal frontier road which runs as far as Chiabhanjan. North of this place several other passes into Nepal exist, of which the principal are the *Chumbab La* and the *Kang La*, which both communicate with the valley of the Tamber River. These northern passes are very lofty and difficult, and may be regarded as strategically of little or no importance. They lead into a wild and sparsely inhabited country across a rugged range of mountains from a part of Sikkim which is connected with Darjeeling only by mountain tracks, and which produces practically no supplies.

Leaving these passes out of consideration the Nepal frontier road appears to be one of considerable strategic importance, allowing as it does for free passage of troops or supplies from Darjeeling or Sikkim direct to the Nepal frontier, and commencing the approaches to Sikkim from several of the principal frontier posts and *bazaars*.

The path which runs north from Chiabhanjan communicating with the more northerly passes is little more than goat track, and is only important from the fact that it communicates with the northern end of the valley of the Tamber river, which in turn is connected with Tibet by two passes, both of which are in regular use for trading purposes. Thus, it affords another means of approach to Tibet should such a thing be at any time desired; but owing to the length of the journey, the barren nature of the country, and the fact that the route would pass through Nepalese territory, it is highly improbable that it would ever be brought into use. Should it be desired to occupy the Chumbab or Kang passes another more feasible route exists via Pemayangtse and Dzongri. This too is only fit for coolie transport.

In the second group of passes mentioned above, which connect Darjeeling with Tibet proper, only two need be regarded as of practical importance. These are the passes at *Kongra La* and *Dachi La*; other passes leading into Tibet, such as the *Naku La* and *Choten Nyima La* present such great natural obstacles that they may safely be disregarded. The roads, which lead to the passes of Kongra and Dachi, are identical as far as Tsuntang where the Lachung and Lachen streams unite to form the Tista.

As regards the southern section of this road the course at present followed is by the cart road thence by the *Penlong la* to Dikchu and on to Tsuntang. From Gangtok an alternative route is via *Penlong La* through Tumlong to Singhik and thence to Tsuntang. North of *Penlong La* both these roads to Tsuntang are fit for pack animal transport.

From Tsuntang the road north to the *Kongra La* lies up the *Lachen Chu* and is fit for pack animal transport as far as Tsangu; to the *Dongky La* and

onwards to the *Dachi La* is via the Lachung valley. This road is fit for pack animals as far as the *Dongkya La*.

Of the third group of passes, namely those on the eastern frontier of Sikkim communicating with the Chumbi valley and Bhutan, by far the most important is the *Jelep* pass by means of which the Chumbi valley is reached. The road to this pass from Darjeeling is via Kalimpong, Pedong, Rangli and Natang. An alternative route is via the cart road to Gangtok and thence by bridle path over the *Nathu La* via Lagyap.⁹⁶

Briefly reviewing the roads in Sikkim as enumerated above we see that they resolve themselves into three principal lines of communication radiating from Darjeeling as a centre. The first skirts the western frontier to Chiabhanjan and commands the principal passes into Nepal. The second runs almost due north through Gangtok and the heart of Sikkim and divides at Tsungtang into two branches, communicating with the Tibetan passes at *Kongra La* and *Dachi La*, whilst the third runs north east and leads to the *Jelep* pass by which the Chumbi valley and Bhutan are reached. The route within the third group via the cart road to Gangtok and over to *Nathu La* by a bridle path is also of considerable importance.

Total mileages of roads till 1950:⁹⁷

1) Under the Government of India :

- (a) Tista-Gangtok Highway- 25 miles. (motorable trunk road)
- (b) Roads other than the Tista Gangtok Highway- 167 miles.

2) Roads maintained by the Sikkim Darbar:

- (a) Main metal roads-1 ½ miles.
- (b) Jeepable bridle paths- 52 miles.
- (c) Bridle paths-163 miles.
- (d) Other roads- 138½ miles.

Total number of bridges till 1950:⁹⁸

- (a) Steel suspension bridges- 10.
- (b) Fixed steel bridge- 1.
- (c) Timber bridges (exceeding 20ft. span) – 3

In 1909 the Durbar decided to plant roadside trees along all the roads, and orders were circulated to all the *Kazis* and *Thikadars* to plant of only the following kinds, viz, Tuni, Mulberry, Walnut, Magnolia and Buk to provide

shades for travelers.⁹⁹ It is worth mentioning that most of the roads mentioned above were opened during the time of the first Political Officer and there was little construction of new roads between 1920 and 1950. The following table gives a brief idea about the budget allocation for public works, a large part of which was spent on construction and maintenance of roads and bridges.

Table: III: 1

Budget allocation for public works between 1906 and 1932.

Year	Budget allocation (in thousands)
1906	45,435
1907	55,359
1908	57,055
1909	51,242
1910	40,910
1911	32,698
1912	49,665
1913	68,575
1914	48,928
1915	61,152
1916	69,554
1917	78,591
1918	54,548
1919	71,121
1920	74,909
1921	78,907
1922	76,892
1923	1,16,152
1924	1,00,859
1925	1,37,655
1926	1,90,897
1927	2,22,579
1928	1,92,400
1929	1,76,500
1930	1,94,600
1931	1,69,300
1932	1,68,299

Source: *Administration Report of the Government of Sikkim* between 1906 and 1932.

The mountainous nature of the country of Sikkim necessitated the use of animal or coolie transport. Of the animals used for transport mules were very frequently employed. They were used mainly for wool carrying trade. In 1932 it was estimated that in the Chumbi valley there were some 1,000 mules employed in the wool carrying trade which could be available for transport purposes if required. No mule breeding however was done in the Chumbi valley, all animals being purchased in Tibet and driven down. The price of a mule in Chumbi varied from Rs.100 to Rs.150, but higher prices had to be paid if large numbers were forcibly purchased. Usually mules carried two maunds of weight over the roughest of roads. The animals were not linked together when traveling, but allowed to pick their own way, there being one driver to about seven mules. They traveled on an average about 10 or twelve miles a day. When working each mule was given a daily ration of about four pounds of grain, and this together with what they use to pick up on the hillsides, was sufficient to keep them in excellent condition.¹⁰⁰

In the snowy and high altitudes of Sikkim especially in Lachen and Lachung valleys Yak was used for the purpose of transport. Other than the mules and yaks a certain number of ponies were also used not as a mode of transport but for carrying grain etc., from Darjeeling to Manjhitar and from Kalimpong Road railway station to Tista Bridge and Rangpo, and on the Gangtok Cart road. Since the construction of the cart road about 60 ponies use to be constantly employed between Rangpo and Gangtok. Elsewhere in Sikkim ponies were rarely seen and no supply of them could be obtained for transport purposes.¹⁰¹

Rates for coolie and mule transport from Gangtok to Chumbi¹⁰²

From December to April	From May to November.
Per coolie Rs. 3/-	Rs.2/8/-
Per mule Rs.7/8/-	Rs.5/-

The Council in its general body meeting held in 1920¹⁰³ revised the rates of hire of transport and labourers in Sikkim. The revised rates were as follows:

TRANSPORT.

	Rs.	As.	P.	Each per stage.		
Riding pony with a good European saddle and equipment	3	0	0			
Riding pony unloaded	1	8	0	"	"	"
Pack pony.	0	12	0	"	"	"
Pack pony unloaded.	0	8	0	"	"	"
Pack pony with a decent Saddle and equipment	1	8	0	"	"	"
Coolies engaged as dandymen, provided not less than seven men per Dandy are employed.	0	10	0	"	"	"
Coolies.	0	6	0	"	"	"
Coolies unloaded	0	4	0	"	"	"

LABOURERS.

Male coolies.	0	6	0	"	"	"
Female coolies and children not less than 10 years of age.	0	4	0	"	"	"

“Any distance beyond four but not beyond six miles will be counted as a half-stage. Any distance beyond 6 and up to 13 miles will be considered a full stage. If any transport is detained for a whole day, half the hire for the stage, that should have been completed is due, provided no coolie gets less than -/4/- per diem and that no halt or detention of transport goes beyond two days; should the detention be beyond two days then full fares must be paid plus -/2/- per coolie and four annas per animal, per diem, to meet the cost of food.

Coolies and pack animals, when employed at any elevation of or above 9,000 feet must be paid at the rate of annas-/8/- per coolie and Rs.1/- per animal, a day, respectively. No allowances for detention are to be made.

The rates for riding pony, etc., unloaded are applicable when transport is taken to any distance of more than one stage. This does not apply between

Gangtok and Rangpo, by the ordinary routes only as no payment for return journey is necessary.

For journeys between Gangtok and Lachung and Lachen, when the coolies and pack ponies are taken more than one stage, one extra coolie and pony for every 6 coolies or 6 pack ponies ordered must be allowed and paid for; they are needed for the carriage of rations.

Coolies engaged for carrying dandies shall be paid at not less than ten annas per coolie per stage when employed below an elevation of 9,000 feet, and at annas twelve at or above an elevation of 9,000 feet.

The rates, for transport supplied for a journey between Gangtok and Yatung, are Rs.5/- for each mule, and Rs 2/8/- for each coolie, from the 1st May to 30th November, of each year; and Rs.7/8/- for each mule, and Rs.3/-for each coolie, during the remainder of the year.

Twenty-four hours previous notice must be given when 6 or less than 6 coolies or animals are required at Gangtok. If they are required at any other place, at t least 5 days' notice must be given. Should more than 6 coolies or 6 animals be required 3 days' notice must be given if the transport is required at Gangtok, and 7 days' notice if needed anywhere else. The notice in every case should be given to the General Secretary. The emergent cases will be attended to specifically as far as possible, by the landlords.

All applications by travelers, for the supply of transport, should be accompanied by a *Chowdree's* fee at the rate of -/6 per coolie, and -/1/- per pony; subject to a minimum of -/1/-on each application.

Transport charges and *Chowdree's* fee must be paid in advance: otherwise no transport will be supplied. The charge must be paid by any person who may ask for the transport; irrespective of the fact whether it is needed for his, or her, own use or not."¹⁰⁴

In 1925¹⁰⁵ the Council further decided that:

(1) *Jharlangi*, which is a form of forced labour, shall be resorted to only when transport is required: but for no other purpose, except emergent occasions where Public Works Department is concerned;

(2) That, in the case of State and Government officials:

(i) Each *Jharlangi* coolie shall be paid not less than six annas per stage when employed below an elevation of 9,000 feet;

(ii) *Jharlangi* coolies, when employed at an elevation of or above 9,000 feet, shall be paid at the rate of annas eight per coolie per stage;

(iii) That when *Jharlangi* coolies are procured by the Durbar for the Public Works Department on emergent occasions, that department shall pay each coolie at the rate of six annas per day below an elevation of 9,000 feet, and ten annas at or above 9,000 feet

Given below is the list of landlords in Sikkim. The landlords could collect coolies for transport and other purposes and each of them could collect up to 500 coolies at a fortnight notice.¹⁰⁶

Table: III: 2
Number of Coolies collected by different Landlords

Name of Landlords	Residence	Number of Coolies able to collect	Time required
Barmaik Kazi	Barmaik	200	3 days.
Namchi Kazi	Namchi	200	"
Rai Sahib Rhenock Kazi	Rhenock	200	"
Rai Sahib Ratna Bahadur Pradhan	Rhenock	200	"
Rai Bahadur Lobzang Kazi	Gangtok	200	"
Yangthang Kazi	Pemayangtse	200	"
Norzang Kazi	Gangtok	200	"
Inche Kazi	"	200	"
Gelong Kazi	"	200	"
Babu Balkrishna Kasaju	Namthang	200	"
Babu Naraindas Pradhan	Pakhyong	200	"
Babu Motichand Pradhan	Turuk	200	"

Source: *Military Report on Sikkim and Bhutan*, General Staff India Calcutta, 1932.

Within Gangtok the means of transport available were coolie, pony, pack mule and bullock carts. Horses were very often used by Government officials, Council members and few rich individuals as private mode of transportation. In fact it was not uncommon for the bureaucratic class and the landlords to own few horses and stables for them. Palanquin was also in use but for the royal family and gentries only. It was especially used to carry ladies of the royal family and the aristocratic class residing at Gangtok. Coolies were very often engaged as dandymen and were paid at the rate of ten annas per coolie per stage. As mentioned above ponies were commonly employed in Gangtok. Since the construction of the cart road about 60 ponies used to be constantly employed between Rangpo and Gangtok. Carts driven by two bullocks was the most common method of transport as the Rangpo-Gangtok cart road facilitated its easy movement.¹⁰⁷ In fact bullock cart was used till the fifties of the last century.¹⁰⁸ Roads necessary for such modes of transportation were kept under good condition. A *Parao* (halting place for carts) *Paddok* (halting place for bull and stallion) was constructed at Gangtok in 1917-1918 with sufficient room to accommodate 20 carts at a time, at an expenditure of Rs. 799.¹⁰⁹ Given below is the rate for hired transport per deim in Gangtok.¹¹⁰

Modes of transport	Prices in Rs.	P.
Coolie	0	50
Pony	1	0
Pack Mule	1	0
Bullock cart	3	0

Modern means of transport (mechanical transport) was first seen in Gangtok around 1924-25 when three English cars of Austin brand were noticed in Gangtok. They belonged to the British Political Officer, the *Maharaja* and Raja Paljor, a caretaker of the private estates of the Maharaja. These cars were small in size and less in weight.¹¹¹ This is also evident from the Administration Report of the Sikkim State for the year 1925-1926.¹¹² According to the report construction of a motor car road from the palace to the newly constructed garage was completed in 1926 at a cost of Rs. 1,702. The station circular road

i.e., a motorable road round the palace was completed in 1930 and in the following year a motorable road joining the cart road junction down to the state quarters in the station was completed.¹¹³ From around early forties of the last century 1 bus (10-12 seater) regularly plied between Gangtok to Giellkhola (railway station) for carrying mails.¹¹⁴ Light motor lorries (not exceeding 35 cwts. in weight) used to ply from Rangpo to Geilkhola for carrying oranges.¹¹⁵ Thus, Gangtok was slowly being opened up for vehicular traffic. By the early 1940s the cart road was fully used for motorable traffic when in 1944 the Sikkim Nationalised Transport was established under the plans of developmental activities taken up by the Government. The Sikkim Nationalised Transport constituted the largest single source of revenue of the Government.¹¹⁶ In 1927 gas lamp was substituted by electricity in Gangtok.¹¹⁷

V

At the time when the Political Officer took over the administration of Sikkim they had to be entirely self-supporting. So cattle had to be bought in order to have their own dairy for milk, butter and cheese, a flock of sheep for the supply of mutton, a poultry yard, an oven built and a baker engaged to bake bread, a blacksmith taught to shoe the ponies. Stores had to be carried on coolies from Darjeeling or Siliguri, sixty or seventy miles and this meant large supplies being arranged for before hand, as transport often broke down, or bad slips occurred on the road. But from the beginning of the last decade of the 19th century such a difficult state of affairs disappeared with the establishment of two or three shops at Gangtok (at Ridge park) for the sale of European provisions, beers and wines.¹¹⁸ From the beginning of the twentieth century the Ridge park *bazaar* developed into a good-sized market. The bazaar was directly under the supervision of the Political Officer. In 1901, Mr. Dover issued a notice that all the *bazaars* in Sikkim will be *Sirkari* (State *Bazaars*).¹¹⁹ As noticed above the Government showed concern for the maintenance and sanitization of the *bazaar* area.¹²⁰

To further enlarge the market the Council decided in 1913 to shift the Gangtok bazaar to more convenient region and that was towards the present

Plate – IV



Gangtok Bazaar, C.1938

Source : Sikkim State Archive

day new market area. The leveling of the site was taken up and completed by 1914. The erection of shops had also commenced before the end of 1914. Two-three seated latrines for the Gangtok *bazaar* was constructed in 1914.¹²¹ In 1926¹²² a meat market was constructed at Gangtok at a cost of Rs.773. In 1924¹²³ a *bazaar* inspector was appointed to look after the affairs the Gangtok *bazaar*.

Given below are the names of those *bazaars* that had come up till 1920. The State Engineer let them out on contract for three years at a time.¹²⁴

Gangtok	<i>Bazaar</i>	...	State Controlled
Singtam	"	...	" "
Rangpo	"	...	" "
Pakyong	"	...	" "
Naya	"	...	" "
Soreng	"	...	" "
Rongli	"	...	" "

Bazaars controlled by the *Thikadars*:

Namchi	<i>Bazar.</i>	Controlled	by	Lasso Kazi.
Majhitar	"	"		Babu B.K.Pradhan.
Rhenock	"	"		Messrs.R.B.&D.S.Pradhans
Makha	"	"		R.S.Mathura Prasad.
Dallam	"	"		Dallam Topden Kazi.
Rinchenpong	"	"		Yanthang Kazi.
Geyzing	"	"		Pemionchi Lamas.
Kewzing	"	"		Bidur Kazi.
Dentam	"	"		Debi Prasad.
Mangan	"	"		Malling Kazi.
Dikchu	"	"		Malling Kazi. Lasso Kazi.
Damthang	"	"		Lasso Kazi.
Temi	"	-		-

Three kinds of markets developed during the administration of British in Sikkim.¹²⁵ They were:

- (1) First class or 'A' category *bazaars*. These were *bazaars* under state control. And whose revenues from taxation were merged in the general revenue.
- (2) Second class or 'B' category *bazaars* were those *bazaars* which were more or less important and big and in which hats were held, but which were not under the direct control of the state but under the control of the *Thikadars*.
- (3) Third class or 'C' category *bazaars* were those in which no hats were held, and which, as in the case of second class *bazaars* were under the control of the landlord concerned.

The revenue derived from these *bazaars* helped the Government to a great extent to further enlarge these markets. In 1925 the Council decided to affect a uniform system of collection from all the *bazaars* of Sikkim and according to the order passed by the Council, the landlords were to realize rent on all bazaar lands occupied by shops at the same rate of square foot as was done in State controlled *bazaars*. The landlords had to pay House tax to the State from these realizations. They also had to carry out municipal works in *bazaars* under them and for this purpose they were authorized to collect tolls in second class *bazaars* in the shape of *Siars*. In the case of class three shops where no hats were held the landlords had to do some amount of municipal work for which the landlords were allowed to realize rent from shop-keepers for *bazaars* lands occupied by them out of which they were required to pay House tax to the state for each shop-keeper in the *bazaar* but the landlord was not allowed to collect tolls on such *bazaars*.

In 1923 all the *bazaars* in Sikkim were placed on a uniform footing. The holders of *bazaars* not controlled by the state from now onwards had to submit all *bazaar* income to the Financial Secretary and get 10 or 20 % on the realization of revenue on the understanding that they will pay for printing of the bazaar tickets etc. The bazaar were inspected on hat days by any of the touring officers. Stall keepers without tickets had to pay a fine of Rs. 5, 00 per ticket. The account books were inspected by the forest manager, revenue inspector and other high officials of the State either at Gangtok or at *bazaars*.¹²⁶

A *Bazaar Committee*¹²⁷ was formed in Gangtok in 1918 with sub-committees at Rangpo, Pakyong, Rhenock, Singtam, Soryang and Naya Bazaar to work together and to deal with the heavy rise in the prices of every article of necessity owing to the effects of the First World War. It had therefore become necessary to control the market. The Committee set to work and placed the following articles under their control: Kerosene and mustard oils, sugar, salt, rice, wheat, flour and ghee. The Committee was empowered by the Sikkim Durbar to control and fix the rates for transport and articles for sale at the various *bazaars* and to punish those infringing its regulations. A report was however to be submitted to his Highness of all important cases of infringement. Lists giving the revised prices of articles under control were issued weekly in all the *bazaars* in Sikkim. The Committee was composed of the following:

President -Kumar W. Palden

Secretary -Vishnu Dayal

Members- Daily Singh, Norzang Kazi, Gellong Kazi and a representative of Messers. Jetmull and Bhojraj, the State Bankers

Certain rules were laid down by the Durbar in 1924¹²⁸ for state controlled *bazaars*. Some of the rules are stated below:

1. No occupiers of premises, houses or shops shall deposit or collect any kind of rubbish or other refuse inside his premises. Any such rubbish shall only be collected in the dust-bins provided for the purpose.
2. All occupiers of shops or houses situated in the *bazaar* area shall provide themselves with tins or receptacles with proper lids for keeping sweepings and washings of the kitchen. Such tins or receptacles shall not be exposed to public view, and the contents thereof shall be caused to be removed by the owner, at least in twenty-four hours, to a place set apart for the purpose.
3. The occupier of premises shall remove the dead bodies of animals dying within his premises to a place set apart for the purpose. The removal shall be effected within four hours after the death of the animal, or if deaths takes place after sunset, within four hours after sunrise.

4. Every owner or occupier of a house or premises within the bazaar wishing to construct a privy or urinal in the premises shall submit an application to the State Engineer. On sanction of application, such privy or urinal shall be constructed on such site, and according to such plan or design, and with such materials as the State Engineer may direct.
5. All privies or urinals situated in the premises of shops or houses shall be kept by the occupier of such house or shop in a sanitary condition, and no night soil or filth of any kind shall be allowed to flow or to be discharged from such privy or urinal to any drain, water course or public road.
6. All cattle and other animals kept in the *bazaar* area shall be accommodated in sheds or stables detached from houses or shops occupied by human beings. No such shed or stables be erected without permission in writing of the State Engineer, and shall be erected only on such site, and according to such plan or design, and of such specification as may be approved by the State Engineer.
7. No poultry or animal shall be kept or stabled permanently or temporarily underneath the floor of any shop or house.
8. No persons shall let loose or allow his cattle or other animal or poultry to go about astray in the *bazaar* area. Stray animals found in the *bazaar* area shall be impounded: pigs and poultry if found straying in the *bazaar* area shall be destroyed or sold by auction and the sale-proceeds thereof credited to the Durbar.
9. All bullock carts, pack or riding ponies or mules shall, after unloading be removed and camped, or stabled at such place as may be fixed for the purpose.
10. No person shall tie any animal to any Lamp-post, railing, or other road fence in the *bazaar* area.
11. No person or persons shall build any shop, house, godown, kitchen, stable, hut, shed etc., on any piece of land within the *bazaar* area without first obtaining the written permission of the State Engineer, Sikkim.

12. No person shall foul any lane, street, alley of the *bazaar*, or urinate within the bazaar or other prohibited area outside the *bazaar* area.
13. No person shall place or hang clothes or any other substance whatsoever on the bazaar street lamp-posts, or on trees standing in the *bazaar*.
14. No person shall bathe or wash any clothes, utensils or any other dirty or offensive things of any carriage, cart, dog, horse, or any other animal at or any other standpipe or any other work erected for the supply of drinking water.
15. No person shall obstruct any authorized servant or official of the Durbar from examining the pipe and water connection, with a view to ascertain any wastage or misuse of water supply.
16. In a *bazaar* where water arrangements exist or may be made in future, any person desiring a water connection to be laid on his premises may apply for it on a prescribed form to the State Engineer. The Durbar shall charge a water tax of Rs. 2 per month.

In 1914¹²⁹ two Co-operative Societies, one at Gangtok and the other at Rhenock were formed. Co-operative societies were introduced in Sikkim with the same objective as those of the Government of India, viz., with a view to facilitate co-operation, thrift and self-help among agriculturists and persons of limited means. Similar rules which were in operation regarding co-operative societies in Bengal were followed in Sikkim. In 1916 the Government of Bengal consented to lend the services of one of their Inspectors of Co-operative Societies for the purpose of inspecting the Societies in Sikkim once a year. The financial aspect and general condition of these societies were good. Agriculturists predominated as members of the societies. The accounts of the Societies were audited by one Babu Gambhir Dass Mukhia, Secretary of the Central Union Bank Limited of Kalimpong. On his recommendation in 1917, the Maharaja in Council passed a Co-operative Credit Societies Act based on the Act in force in British India.¹³⁰ By 1920 four Co-operative societies came into being in Sikkim. They were, Gangtok, Rhenock, Pakyong and Amba Co-operative Societies. The total number of members in these societies was 419 in

1920.¹³¹ The following table gives a list of the chairman of different co-operative societies and some of them continued in office till 1925.¹³²

Names of Chairman	Co-operative Society
Gellong Kazi	Gangtok.
Babu Ratna Bahadur Pradhan	Rhenock.
Babu Narayan Das Pradhan	Pakyong
Babu Sher Bahadur Pradhan	Amba.

The co-operative societies paid Rs 9-6-0 percent per annum to the state as interest on account of the receipts of the loans. It therefore acted as one of the sources of revenue. Given below is the table showing the loan granted to the co-operative societies of Sikkim between 1914 and 1920.¹³³

Table: III: 3

Loans granted to the co-operative societies

Year	Loans by the State in Rupees
1914-1915	6,038.
1915-1916	5,616.
1916-1917	3,599.
1917-1918	4,800.
1918-1919	3,500.
1919-1920	4,000.

Source: *Administration Report of the Government of Sikkim between 1914 and 1920.*

It is noticeable that the communication system of Sikkim had grown in response to the commercial, political and strategic needs of the colonial authority. Moreover, in the first decade of the 19th century with the completion of few important roads surrounding the capital of Sikkim and subsequent development of *bazaars* in Sikkim, Gangtok emerged as a promising economic unit having a distinct character of its own. It now played its part not only as a place for colonial administration but also as an important centre of distribution and a base for Indo-Tibetan trade.

Since the conclusion of the Anglo-Chinese Convention, 1890, Indo-Tibetan trade through Sikkim as well as Indo-Sikkimese trade was increasing steadily. The rise in export from Sikkim was noticed in the volume of timber, hides, sheep and goat and woollen manufacture transported into India. The rise in import was evident in cotton goods, tobacco, rice, provisions and Indian twist yarn that were siphoned off to Sikkim. During 1893-94 trade with Sikkim showed increase by between 15.47% and 41.20% in comparison with the percentage in the two previous years. Substantial improvement was achieved in the export of rain crops, timber, gram, pulse and hides of cattle and in the import of rice, salt, mineral oils and cattle. The aggregate value of the traffic of 1895-96 was 24.21% greater than of 1894-95 and was nearly double of the trade of 1893-84. In 1896-97 the aggregate value of the trade with Sikkim was 30.36% greater than that of 1895-96 and 61.93% greater than that of 1894-95. Commodities like spices (other than betel nuts), fresh fruits and vegetables, provisions (other than ghee), raw cotton, sheep, goats, gram, pulse and yak-tails were exported to Bengal in profusion. The export of yak-tails had valued at Rs. 622.00 in 1892-93, it had altogether ceased in the two subsequent years and was revived in 1895-96 fetching the value of Rs.3, 000.00. Commodities which were imported into Sikkim in large quantity were silver, tobacco, brass and copper, Indian cotton piece-goods, European cotton-twist and yarn, vegetables and mineral oils, horses, ponies and mules. For the first time since 1890-91, horses, ponies and mules were found to be imported into Sikkim during 1895-96.¹³⁴ It may be recalled that in 1896 the Commissioner of Rajshahi Division made recommendations to the Government of Bengal regarding some new arrangement for the registration stations for trade with Tibet. It recommended that trade passing through Sikkim with Tibet be registered at Gangtok and Yatung instead of the existing stations under the control of the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling. The Government of Bengal accepted this proposal and soon the Commissioner of Rajshahi Division was asked to establish a registration post at Gangtok. Also a trade mart was opened at Yatung in 1894.¹³⁵ From this time onwards Gangtok gained in importance not

only as a trade route but also as one of the centres of registration post for Indo-Tibetan trade.

However, vehement Tibetan opposition to the entry of the British or even the Sikkim subjects into their country hampered trade in the subsequent years and also the development of Yatung as a trade mart.¹³⁶ The period of five years referred to in the fourth clause of the Regulation 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 the date of the Agreement towards the settlement of the frontier and the development of trade.¹³⁷ 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 in Lhasa or elsewhere in Tibet.¹³⁸ By this time the Indian Tea Association was also becoming restive to import tea into Tibet as the five years' period specified in the Regulation had already expired in July 1899.¹³⁹ The Regulation of 1893, though primarily concerned with trade, did not satisfactorily settle the question of import of Indian tea into Tibet. Article four simply mentioned that Indian tea might be imported into Tibet. The ambiguity in language was thus causing troubles. Sikkim's trade with Tibet also was jeopardized due to restriction imposed by Tibet. Tibetan authorities had imposed prohibition on the export of tea and salt from Tibet and the people of the Lachung Valley complained of their distress as a result of this restriction.¹⁴⁰ But the result on the whole was beneficial. According to the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling, Darjeeling tea was sold at Rs. 0.25 a pound in Gangtok which was better than the Chinese brick tea sold at Rs.0.5 a pound. Indian salt was also cheaper than that which came from Tibet. There was no difference in quality. The command of the Tibetans over the market rested merely on the habit of the consumers. The Tibetan prohibition weakened that habit.¹⁴¹

Constant attempts to communicate with Tibet and the failure of their efforts made the British once again skeptic about their profits from Indo-

Tibetan trade. They therefore looked for Sikkim's aid in the matter again. Nolan, the British Commissioner while visiting Sikkim in 1901 spoke of the custom of peace being made by the Queens and requested the *Maharaja* of Sikkim to mediate between Tibet and the British authority in India. While the Maharaja was exploring the possibilities, the British hastened the conflict by dispatching an armed mission to Tibet under Colonel Younghusband. This resulted in the Lhasa Expedition, 1904. The impact was felt by the Sikkimese too. Large numbers of Sikkimese were conscripted for road building and transport for expedition.¹⁴²The 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 labour for road and transport work.¹⁴³

Thus the British, with their 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:

Table: III: 4

Trade between Sikkim and India.

Years	Import into Bengal (Rs)	Export from Bengal (Rs)	Total
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	2,21,532	1,12,711	3,34,234
1884-85	3,75,987	2,04,735	5,80,722

Source: Compiled from *Reports on the External Trade of Bengal with Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, 1880-1905.*

Table: III: 5

Indo-Sikkimese and Indo-Tibetan Trade.

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	1,26,989	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
1995-96	4,66,555	4,33,856	9,00,411	6,25,543	3,48,895	9,74,528
1996-97	6,55,906	4,17,902	11,73,808	5,89,181	3,11,194	9,00,375
1897-98	4,94,039	3,64,963	8,59,002	4,98,125	1,88,280	6,86,405
1898-99	5,68,642	4,22,976	9,91,618	11,21,019	10,17,685	21,38,704
1899-00	5,69,623	3,86,988	9,56,611	11,54,104	10,52,201	22,06,404
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

Source: Compiled from *Reports on the External Trade of Bengal with Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, 1880-1905.*

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 import, Campbell hoped it to increase in future with the development of routes to Lhasa. Trade developed no doubt, but Sikkim-Tibet trade became India-Tibet trade, though in larger quantity.

The wool trade opened briskly and this commodity had been imported to India through the Chumbi valley to the value of over four and a quarter lakhs

of rupees between October and December in 1907. In the same year half a lakh of rupees worth of horses, ponies, and mules were also imported, this being the next largest item in the returns. Musk to the value of Rs. 29,700 and Yak tails valued at Rs. 31,600 were also imported. A small quantity of Chinese brick tea figured among the imports to India through Sikkim.¹⁴⁴

The greater portion of export consisting of live stocks and raw wool coming from Tibet to India passed through Gangtok. With a view to increase wool trade through Gangtok, sites for erecting wool godowns at Deorali (Gangtok) were granted to Messers. Lachmandass and Purukchand, Mr.N.Pulgar, Rhenock Kazi, Sonam Dadul, and Messers. Jotram and Ramrikdas of Kalimpong.¹⁴⁵ Gangtok thus gained in importance also as a centre of distribution. Other important items of trade coming from Tibet and registered at Gangtok to pass to British India were horses, ponies and mules. Musk, yaks and a small quantity of Chinese brick tea was also imported. Among the items of exports mention may be made of cotton piece goods, cotton twist, yarn, jewelry and precious stones, including coral. Coral was used in Tibet to a great extent for ornaments. Coral valued at Rs. 74,820 was exported in 1907. Rs. 33,660 worth of silk, mostly Chinese which came round from China by sea to Calcutta, passed through the Chumbi valley.¹⁴⁶

Other than these items of trade there was a large value of trade in gold and silver registered at Gangtok in 1904¹⁴⁷ as shown in the following table:

Table: III: 6

Treasure exported and imported across the Sikkim-Tibet frontier.

Item	Export (in Rupees)	Import (in Rupees)
Gold	-	8,720.
Silver	83,400	1,93,333

Source: *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim, 1904-1905.*

Although Sikkim's traditional trade with Tibet declined considerably her trade with British India continued to increase rapidly. Important articles of Sikkim's trade with Bengal consisted of rain crop other than rice, gram and pulse, spices, timber, vegetables and fresh fruits especially orange. The

principal imports were husked rice, provisions, other than ghee, cotton piece goods, European and Indian, cattle, tobacco, oil, and silver. Perhaps the most important exports to Bengal and Chumbi valley was the Indian corn (bhutta). The quantity of this grain annually exported was around 1,000 maunds. A large proportion of this amount could always be procured locally for feeding either mules or coolies.¹⁴⁸ The following table gives us an idea about Indo-Sikkimese trade in the first quarter of the 20th century.

Table: III: 7

Indo-Sikkimese trade between 1906 and 1925

Year	Imports into Sikkim (Rs)	Exports From Sikkim (Rs)	Total (Rs)
1906-07	5,27,898	6,94,603	12,22,501
1907-08	8,25,764	8,33,384	16,59,148
1908-09	7,77,498	9,45,470	17,22,963
1909-10	9,43,951	9,61,163	19,05,114
1910-11	8,29,501	10,93,586	19,23,087
1911-12	11,08,405	12,91,255	23,99,660
1912-13	13,67,441	15,07,327	28,74,768
1913-14	16,30,296	31,55,786	47,86,082
1914-15	16,05,100	29,63,868	45,68,968
1915-16	16,59,713	27,20,253	43,79,965
1916-17	16,73,013	27,22,685	43,95,098
1917-18	11,10,336	28,17,649	39,27,985
1918-19	12,60,044	32,74,747	45,34,791
1919-20	16,66,543	51,34,716	68,01,259
1920-21	15,08,009	55,93,737	71,01,736
1921-22	13,12,685	68,46,768	81,59,453
1922-23	15,51,532	69,35,711	84,87,043
1923-24	16,43,440	73,74,744	90,18,184
1924-25	16,12,530	65,56,057	81,68,587

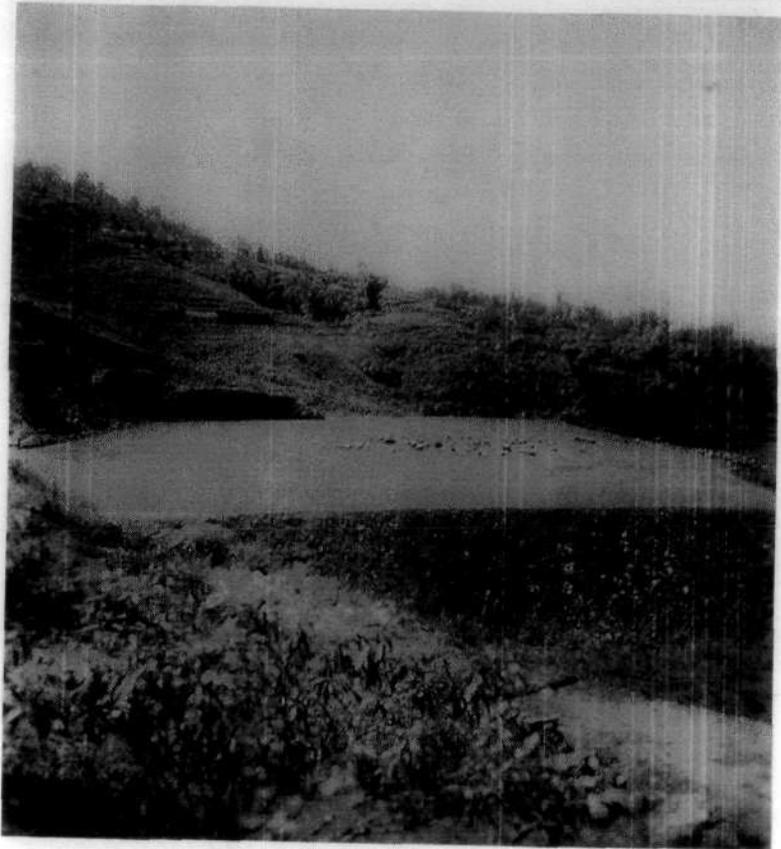
Source: *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim between 1906 and 1925*

From about the thirties of the last century there was a considerable development of Sikkim's external trade in cash crops. This was mainly the result of the increasing cultivation of cash crops. Cash crops exported from Sikkim through the Kalimpong Sub-division and the Teesta Valley were chiefly oranges, cardamoms and apples. Two-thirds of the oranges found in the market at Calcutta were exported from Sikkim. In 1943 oranges to the value of Rs. 15 lakhs was exported from Sikkim. Around 1940s the annual production of cardamom was estimated at 30,000 maunds and average annual yield of potatoes was 40,000 maunds.¹⁴⁹ The flow of cash crops almost exclusively towards India was of vital importance to the economy of the people as it derived a substantial amount of Government revenue. Consequently it was to the advantage of the people and Government of the State and consumer in India to develop this external trade by all possible means.

By the treaty of 1861 between Sikkim and the British Government of India, custom duty on the merchandise passing through Sikkim or coming into Sikkim could not be levied by the State. The question of levying custom duty was not taken up till 1918. But, a kind of transit duty used to be levied on few articles such as kerosene, sugar, orange etc. It may be mentioned that Messers. Sriram Arjundas was the holder of quota for trade in sugar and Messers Ratiram Bansilal and Messers Jetmull and Bhojraj held quotas for the trade in kerosene oil. In 1947 Rs. 1353 was collected on account of transit duty on sugar and credited to the State Bank of Sikkim. It was only in the beginning of 1947 that the Sikkim Durbar was given the right to realize such transit duty. The Durbar received a sum of Rs. 25,257 as transit duty in September 1947.¹⁵⁰

It is evident from the above that beginning from 1889 till the end of the tenure of J.C. White, the first British Political Officer, much progress was made regarding communication in Sikkim and Gangtok in particular. The country was opened up by a system of roads, the torrents were bridged. In a few years time it was possible to ride from one end of Sikkim to the other. With the completion of the cart road connecting Gangtok with Rangpo and then to Siliguri, it was possible to cart goods into the *Bazaar* at Gangtok, a very sharp

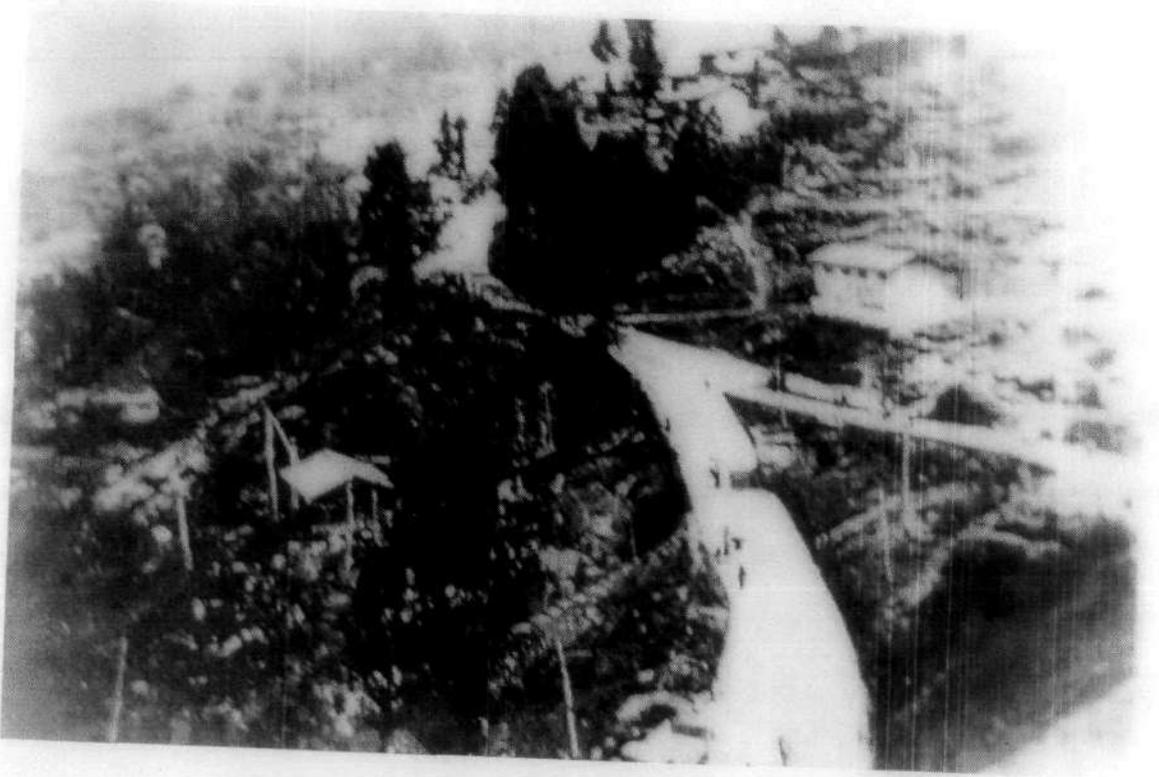
Plate - V



Polo Ground - September 1941

Source : Information and Public Relation Department, Govt. of Sikkim

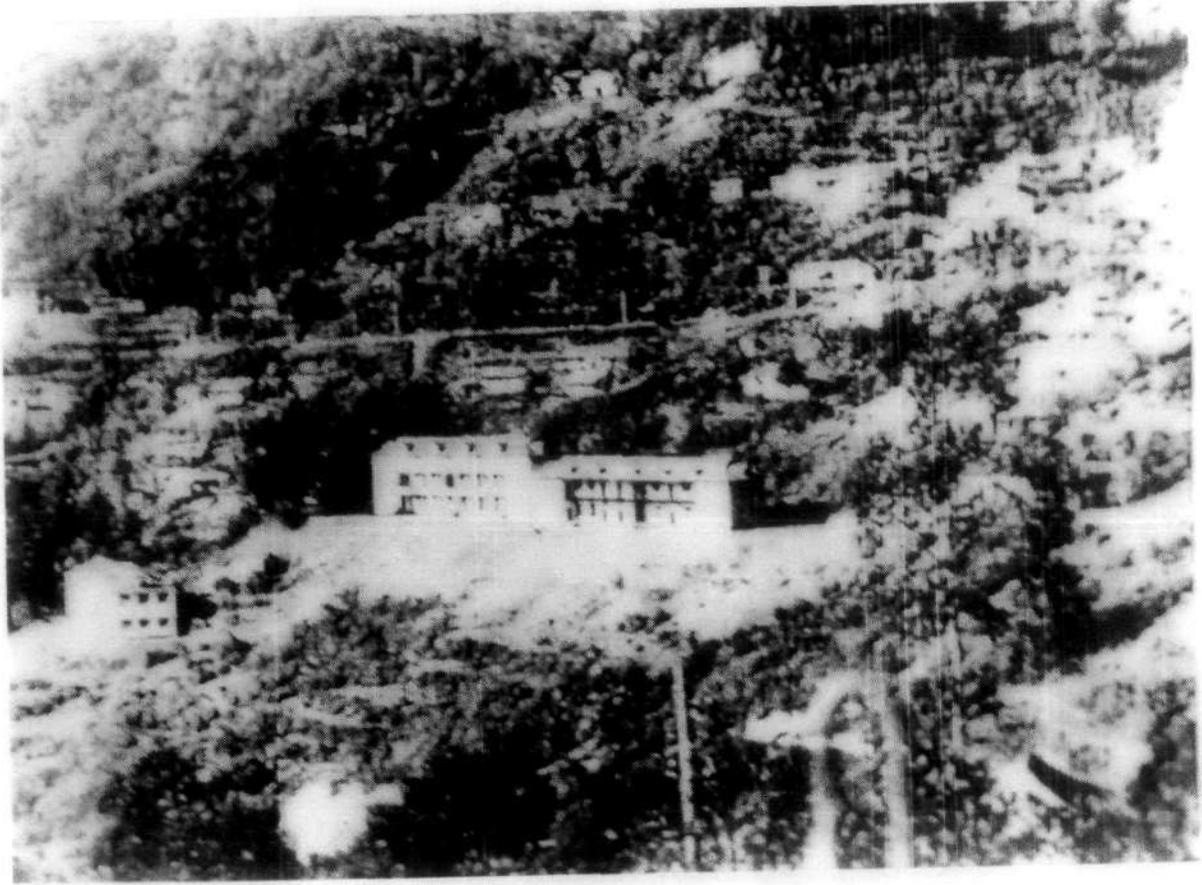
Plate - VI



Approach road to Gangtok Bazar, Lal Bazar, 1948

Source : Information And Public Rilation Department, govt. of Sikkim

Plate - VII



Development Area 1949

Source : Information And Public Rilation Department, govt. of Sikkim

contrast to the earlier days. Subsequent British Political Officers also followed the example set by Claude White. Considering the obstacles faced by the British no matter what their motives may be, the progress of Gangtok within a short span of time seems phenomenal for once isolated Gangtok, from the beginning of the 20th century became well connected with the rest of the world by a network of roads which coupled with improvements in the markets contributed greatly to the urbanization of the place.

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78. Report on the First Five Year Plan, Government of India, 1954. Pp.29-30. A part of the public works in the state was carried out by the help of the Government of India which maintained for the Darbar the 25 miles of Cart road from Rangpo to Gangtok and 70 miles of bridle path from Rhenock to Lachen besides about 50 miles of trade route between Rhenock and *Jelep-la*. The Sate bungalows on these highways were also maintained by the funds of Government of India. The Engineer in charge of the British Government acted also as a State Engineer, the Darbar contributing roughly about one third towards his emoluments. Both the Government of India and the Darbar used to employ their own subordinate executive staff, i.e overseers and sub-overseers. *Administration Report of The State of Sikkim for 1929-30.*

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81. *Ibid*, Secret E. 1907, September. Nos.177-179.
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83. *Foreign Department Proceedings*, General 'A' March, 1909, Nos.77-80. The present day Mintogang was then known as Dikusha. In 1895 a bungalow consisting two rooms called Dilkhusa was built by the Sikkim state to house the British officials such as the Commanding officer of the British Indian Army and the medical officer. In 1904, this bungalow was occupied by the sub-divisional officer of telegraphs posted at Gangtok. The extention of Dilkhusa was taken up around 1915. *Ibid*, General 'A' March, 1909, Nos.77-80. It thus became a four room cottage where the Private Secretary to the *Maharaja* resided from around 1918. The private secretary acted as an intermediary between the *Maharaja* and the British Political Officer. K.C.Pradhan, *op.cit*.
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90. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim for the years 1909-1910.*
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103. General Department File. No.1, 27 March 1920, Gangtok.
104. *Ibid, 27 March 1920, Gangtok.*
105. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim for the year 1925-1926.* A form of conscripted labour for Governmental work called *Jharlangi* had much grown in Sikkim due to the British Government's requirements during the Younghusband expedition and the war. *Administration Report, 1925-26.* *Kalobhari* was also a kind of forced labour. The British sold arms and ammunition to Tibet. Sometimes because of bad weather condition, the commodities were protected in cardboards and put inside gunny bags, cured with tar to save them from rain and snow. The black colour gave the load its local name called *Kalobhari* or black load. These loads were generally 40 kgs. in weight. *Kurwa* meaning long wait was also a kind of forced labour. Sometimes on account of road condition and other factors, people sent to transport the black load waited for several days for the arrival of the commodities. During such waiting they survived on their own supplies. This obliged labour in attendance at staying points in anticipation of officials and tourists was known as *Kurwa*. K.C.Pradhan, *op.cit.*
106. *Military Report on Sikkim and Bhutan, op.cit p108.*

107. *Ibid, op.cit* p108.
108. K.C. Pradhan, *op.cit*.
109. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim for the years 1917-1918.*
110. *Military Report on Sikkim and Bhutan, op.cit* p.112.
111. K.C.Pradhan, *op.cit*.
112. *Administration Report of the State of Sikiim for the year 1925-1926.*
113. *Administration Report of the State of Sikiim for the year 1930-1931.*
114. K.C.Pradhan, *op.cit*. A railway connection had existed till Giellkhola near Tista *bazaar*. The mails coming from Gangtok in the said bus used to be loaded in the train from Giellkhola. This railway connection was washed away by flood in the late fifties around 1958-59.*Ibid*.
115. *General Department Files, Sikkim State, 1936*
116. *Sikkim, A Concise Chronicle, Gangtok, March 20. 1963, p.24.*
117. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim for the years 1927-1928.* The first electric plant was inaugurated by the then *Maharaja* and the inaugural ceremony was held at the compound of the hospital. The Hydro Electric Plant was constructed at Ranikhola near Sichey and the construction was executed by the English Elictric Co. named Boving and Co. Ltd of London. Public buildings and roads were provided electric lights free of charge. In 1929 revenue from Gangtok electric supply amounted to Rs.5461.*Ibid, 1929.*
118. White,J.C, *op.cit*, p.35.
119. *General Department File, Notes and Orders, 1923. Gangtok.*
120. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim for the years 1907-1908.*
121. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim for the years 1913-1914.*
122. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim for the years 1926-1927.*
123. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim for the years 1924-1925.*
124. *General Department File,Notes and Orders,1923.Gangtok.*
125. *General Department File,Notes and Orders.1925.* The Landlords were authorized to collect *Siar* It was a revenue devoted towards public

improvements. The *Kazis* and *Thikadars* enjoyed unauthorized levies. *Ibid*, G.D.F, Notes & orders, 1923.Gangtok.

126. General Department File, Notes and Orders, April, 1923, Gangtok.
127. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim for the years 1917-1918.*
128. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim for the years 1924-1925.*
129. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim for the years 1914-1915.*
130. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim for the years 1917-1918.*
131. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim for the years 1920-1921.*
132. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim for the years 1924-1925.*
133. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim for the years between 1914 and 1920.*
134. The Commissioner's Report. No.247M 1895-96.
135. Report on the External Trade of Bengal.1897-98.p.11.
136. C.P.F 18 of 1900, No.3
137. *Ibid*, 27 of 1898, No.1.
138. *Ibid*, 27 of 1898, No.3.
139. *Ibid*, 44 of 1900, No.1.
140. *Ibid*, 37 of 1901, No.1.
141. Proceedings of the Bengal Government, General Misc., October, 1895.
142. *Sikkim, A Consise Chronicle*, March 20, 1963. p17. The Sikkimese ruling family rendered tremendous help to the British in the Younghusband Mission of 1904.The *Maharaj Kumar* volunteered to go out into the camp and to help in the works of on roads. *C.P.F.* 37 of 1903, No.1.
143. C.P.F 79 of 1904, No.1.
144. Foreign Department Notes. External-A, May, 1908, Nos. 40-45.
145. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim for the years 1924-1925.*
146. Foreign Department Notes. External-A, May, 1908, Nos. 40-45.
147. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim for the years 1904-1905.*
148. *Military Report, op.cit.* p. 105.
149. Dash, A.J, Bengal District Gazetteer, Bengal, 1947. p.168.
150. General Department File, Sikkim State, 1947.

CHAPTER IV

Urbanisation of Gangtok

I

Administration

When the British established their political agency at Gangtok in the year 1889 and took over the administration directly in their hands, the entire administrative structure of the country had to be redone for there was no administration worth the name. The Maharaja had by this time almost become a non-entity because of the British interference. Now the ruler's interest lay more on trying to keep a balance between the Tibetan Government and the British but his effort did not bring in much success to ward off British influence from the Native country of Sikkim.

The first task of White as Political Officer was to appoint a Council to manage the affairs of Sikkim. The appointed Council members were: The Raja, the Phodang Lama and Dorjee 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 J.C.White. The Council's functions was to collect revenue, listen to appeals and to manage the ordinary affairs of the state.¹ Thus, the power of governance shifted totally from the hands of the Maharaja to the Council. The Maharaja was allowed a retinue up to twenty and a paltry pension. Shortly afterwards, the Maharaja and the Maharani were arrested and taken down to Kalimpong.²

It was John Claude White who deserved to be called the real architect of the modern administrative infra-structure which evolved under his parental care. However, what was more important from the point of view of growth and maintenance of the town was a department or an institution for local administration which would take up the task concerning urbanisation of the capital of Sikkim where the British Residency was situated. Gangtok being a cantonment town at its initial stage certainly required much construction

activity as it was needed by the British to fulfill their aim of thwarting Tibetan influence by having a proper base for its army, make it commercially viable for Indo-Tibetan trade and also create a suitable condition for the White denizens to reside. Therefore, at its very outset the British administration focused its interest in creating a department which would take up such a task. So, immediately after taking over as the Political Officer, White created the public works department and invested in it the functions almost equivalent to the municipality existing in the hill-stations of British India. Few other departments which saw their beginning in the last decade of the 19th century were the Police, Revenue, Forests, Education, Excise, Agriculture, and Judicial department. All these departments were directly under the supervision of the Political Officer.³

The public works department looked after the works of construction of buildings and communications, up-keep of *bazaar*, maintenance and procurement of tools and plants, collection of rents from dak bungalows, minor repair works, maintenance and collection of revenue from the state controlled *bazaars* and public improvement schemes such as water supply, hospitals and sanitation. It may be mentioned here that the priority of expenditure around this period being construction activities, maximum budget of the Government was therefore allocated to the department of public works. The public works functioned directly under the Political Officer with the assistance of a state engineer and it also took care of all the municipal functions such as sanitization and collection of revenue from the state controlled bazaars.⁴ All these works were under the charge of a temporary engineer, styled the State Engineer, appointed and paid by the Government. He was assisted by a technical staff consisting of one overseer and six sub-overseers. The *Durbar* used to contribute towards the cost of the State Engineer's pay and that of his technical and clerical staff. He used to exercise the functions of an executive engineer in respect of all Government works⁵ except that he had no power to sanction. However, in 1911⁶ the Political Officer at Sikkim was empowered by the Bengal Government to sanction estimates for ordinary repairs within the limits

of budget allotments. It may be recalled that the first British Political Officer (J.C White) hailed from the engineering services (Public Works Department, Bengal) and therefore his knowledge in public works contributed significantly to the development of Gangtok within a short span of time.⁷

To assist the Political Officer in his administrative work the Bengal Government appointed under him a group of staff. Important officers who assisted the Political Officer in administration were C.W Dover, Mr. Hodges and Mr.Nimshering.⁸ Dover was entrusted with various municipal functions at Gangtok.⁹ Mr. Hodges, was appointed as the office superintendent and Nimshering, a native of Sikkim worked as an interpreter for the Political Officer.¹⁰ In 1902 a medical officer was appointed who looked after medical health and sanitation of hospital and *bazaar* area.¹¹ Till the time White served as the Political Officer he was successful in creating a modern system of bureaucracy. The subsequent Political Officers were luckier in having a well developed bureaucracy in running the administration. The following table gives us an idea about the office staff of the Political Officer and their salaries:

Table: IV: 1

Salaries of Officers and clerks under the Political Officer

Names and designation of officers	Monthly pay	allowances (in rupees)
Political Officer	1,800	112
Medical Officer	350	50
Superintendent	300	15
2 nd clerk	140	-
3 rd clerk	59	-
4 th clerk	44	-
5 th clerk	23	-
Tibetan clerk	36	-
Surveyor and Interpreter	115	-

Source: *Foreign Department Proceedings*. External 'A'. September 1906, Secret (E). Nos. 40-46.

Table: IV:2

Number of persons employed at the Political Officer's office/ household drawing 20 and below:

1 Jamadar on	Rs.20
3 Chaprasies on	Rs.12 each.
1 Chaprasi on	Rs.11.
1 Chaprasi on	Rs.10.
7 Oderlies on	Rs.11.each.
1 Chowkidar on	Rs.11
1 Sweeper on	Rs.14.

Source: *Foreign Department Proceedings*. External 'A'. September 1906, Secret (E). Nos. 40-46.

Table: IV: 3

Number of persons employed in different departments of the State and drawing a salary of Rs. 16 and under a month:

<u>Number of Persons</u>	<u>Designation</u>	<u>Salary in Rs</u>
2	Excise Peons	8 each
1	Forest Chaprasi	8
1	Gangtok Vegetable Garden Mali	13
1	Do	10/8
1	Do	8
1	Syce	14
1	Do	10
3	Lepcha police	12
6	Policemen	15
3	Do	11
7	Do	10
16	Do	9
1	Jail Cook	9
1	Paharia School Chaprasi	9
1	Compounder, Gangtok Dispensary	15
2	Chowkidars do	9
1	Sweepers do	10
1	Bhutia Boarding School Chaprasi	10
2	do	9
1	do Cook	10
1	His Highness's Tibetan Clerk	12
1	His Highness Chaprasi	9
2	do do	8

State Public Works Department

1	Office Peon	10
1	Road Chaprasi	9
6	do	8 each
1	Dakbungalow chowkidar	10
1	do	9
5	do	5 each
2	Carters	9 each
10	do	8 each
8	Mule Drivers	9 each
1	Lachung Garden Mali	10 each
1	Residency Garden Mali	11
1	do	9
1	Bazaar Kotwal	10
2	Bazaar Sweepers	12 each
1	Bazaar Sweeper	5
4	Forest Chowkidars	10 each.

Source: Foreign Department Proceedings. External 'A'. September 1906, Secret (E). Nos. 40-46.

Revenue administration within Gangtok was supervised by the Political Officer. The function was carried out by the public works department which collected revenue from the *bazaar* at Gangtok and the other state controlled *bazaars*. The *bazzars* were auctioned out to different contractors for the collection of municipal taxes. It may be recalled that a *bazaar* committee was appointed to supervise the markets and control the prices of common commodities such as kerosene oil, sugar, salt, rice, wheat, flour, ghee and dal. Arrangements were made for the regular supply of meat to the people of Gangtok. Weekly rate lists were received from various sub-committees and irregularities therein were promptly noticed. Other than supervising and administering revenue of the *bazzars* the public works department also assessed and realised revenue from sanitation, roads, dak bungalow, water supply,

income tax, excise, courts, house holds etc. The state engineer was made responsible for keeping the accounts of revenue collected from these sources.¹² From 1908 onwards the Agency Civil Surgeon took care of revenue accounts of medical and sanitation.¹³ In 1918 revenue and finance departments were reorganized and separated from one another. The cash account of the state which used to be kept by the state engineer of the public works department was transferred to the financial secretary and a separate banking accounts with the civil surgeon and the state engineer was discontinued.¹⁴

Under the new reformative scheme of the British, entire land of the state was divided into various estates, both big and small, which were leased to influential people for a fixed term and on conditions mentioned in the lease deed. The landlords or lessees paid to the *sirkar* a fixed sum calculated at the rate of 1 anna to 8 annas per acre depending on the class of land. Special rent of Rs.5 per maund was charged on the produce of cardamom. The estates leases were issued by the *Durbar* with the express sanction of the Political Officer in 1900 for a period of fifteen years. The last *Elakha* leases were issued by the *Durbar* in 1925 for a period of fifteen years. The leases were not transferable without the express consent of the *sirkar* in writing and were determinable at any time during the continuance of the period for which they had been granted. In the event of death of a lessee during the time of his lease the right would devolve on one of his heirs only in the male line in lineal descent and failing that on the duly recognized adoptee of the lessee, if any.¹⁵

By the end of the year 1938, altogether one hundred four *Elakhas* were created of which thirteen were managed by the managers appointed on commission by the state. The *Elakhas* had been divided into convenient blocks, each block being in-charge of a mandal. Fifteen *Elakhas* were kept as the private estate of the Maharaja. The revenue of five of the *Elakhas* used to go to the upkeep of five big monasteries of the state.¹⁶ Generally the managers were selected from amongst the neighbouring landlords and the system of collection of the land revenue adopted by these managers was on the same line as that of the other lessees.¹⁷ Of the *Elakhadars* in the state twenty one were the *Kazis*, six

were Bhutias, eight were Lepchas and thirteen were Nepalese and a domiciled Indian.¹⁸ The Gangtok *Kazi* collected land rent from Gangtok and Martam. The in the year 1904 this *Kazi* paid a sum of Rs.2, 521 as land rent to the State.¹⁹

When the Political Officer took over the administration he was also to exercise the Police and Magisterial authority within Gangtok as there was no proper jail or police force for the punishment of criminals. With the increase of population in Sikkim which was of heterogeneous character, White thought that crime would be more prevalent and therefore felt it necessary to raise a police force. The need was also felt because of continuous disturbance in the eastern border around *Nathu-la* and *Jelep-la* due to dispute with Tibet. Nolan also supported this idea of the Political Officer and thought it fair that the British Government should pay half the cost required for the maintenance of a police force. White felt that this force would suffice on the withdrawal of Indian troops from Gangtok to keep a guard at that place, to watch British property and, to render assistance in the maintenance of order in the upland. He hoped that after the creation 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.²⁰

In fact, though Sikkim had no regular police force or military force, the *Kazis* and the *Thikadars* who were the feudal lords also functioned as police officers in their respective *Elakhas*. In case of petty crimes they used to pass judgment and levy fines. Corporal punishment like flogging was also resorted to sometimes on the subjects in their jurisdiction. Only heinous crimes involving murder was dealt by the Durbar.²¹ Whipping was very old punishment for crimes in Sikkim. In spite of recommendations of C.R. Marindin, Commissioner of Rajshahi Division, the *Kazi's* power of whipping was not discontinued. In June 1907, the Political Officer by a Circular No.3004 to all *Kazis*, *Thikadars* and *Lamas* 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. In November 1922,

the Sikkim Durbar withdrew the power of whipping of the *Kazis*, *Thikadars* and *Lamas*.²²

While supplying the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling with the cost of maintaining the police force, White gave account of the functioning 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 orders in troublesome villages.

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.²³ In September 1899, two additional policemen were employed to guard the Bank opened in Sikkim by Messers, Jetmull and Bhojraj, a banking house of Darjeeling. In 1910 there were 32 policemen in the force and the ratio of police to population was 1: 3043 persons. In 1911²⁴ the strength of the police force was as under:

Post	Strength	Monthly salary in Rs.
Sub-Inspector	1	35.
Havildar	2	25.
Head Constable	6	15.
Constables –Grade A	2	14.
” ” B	1	12.
” ” C	4	11.
” ” D	3	10.
” ” E	13	9.

A police guard was posted at the palace in 1912.²⁵ Administration Report of the Year 1919-1920 indicates that the strength of the police force was increased to 1 Sub-Inspector, 2 *Havaldar*, 6 Head Constables and 28 Constables. However, the landlords continued to function as police officers

within their jurisdiction. Only important cases were reported and investigated by the State Police stationed. Up to 1920 the jail functioned directly under the police department. In May 1920,²⁶ Tashi Namgyal the then Maharaja sanctioned his approval for the separation of the jail department from the police thus giving free hand to both the departments to carry on their works independently. A jailor was appointed with separate staff under his control. The entire country was divided into two police ranges in 1922. The Eastern range with its headquarters at Gangtok looked after Rangpo, Rhenock and Gnathang. The Western range with its headquarters at Damthang controlled Soreng, Dentam, Melli and Majitar. In 1922-23, 54 persons were sent for trial out of which 36 were convicted. In 1922-1923 the total police force was 2 Sub-Inspectors, 8 Havaldars, 14 Naik and L/Naik and 44 constables. The Naik used to visit the Bhutia and Nepali Boarding schools at Gangtok to train the students in physical training twice a week.²⁷ At many places, the police was also required to render services at the post office and some police personnel were even functioning part time as Post Masters. Constables were not recruited directly but had to first serve in the Sikkim Auxiliary Force, also known as the "*Lal Phitas*" because of the red turban worn by them, for at least one year before becoming eligible to apply for the post of constable. The monthly salary of the jail staff was declared as under:²⁸

Jailor: Rs.25.

Havildar: Rs.15.

Warder: Rs.10.

For the guidance of the police force, a police guide was written by Rup Narayan Pradhan, the then chief judge in the chief court of Sikkim in 1927. In 1930 the total strength of the police force was 2 officers and 66 men. Regarding the crimes committed the report gives the following number:²⁹ Murder-1, culpable homicide-nil, dacoity-nil, house breaking with theft-1, theft-36. The Administration Report of 1935-36³⁰ reports that the worst crime consisted of theft of a few ornaments or edibles from solitary houses of agriculturists. In 1935³¹ it was decided by the Sikkim *Durbar* to apply section 367, 370, 371 and 374 of the Indian Penal Code in Sikkim territory and it also

ordered that compulsory labour be paid adequately on standardized rates. Till the early thirties, the highest post in the police hierarchy was Sr. Sub Inspector. A post of Police Inspector was created in 1934.³²

It was only in 1949 that the force came to be looked after by officers from India on deputation. The first officer in the rank of Superintendent of Police was Shri H.C. Dutta. He was posted in Sikkim for a short time of hardly a year. Shri Sheo Raj Singh came next in 1950 and continued till 1952. Given below is the statement showing the expenditure on the police force between 1907 and 1937:³³

Table: IV: 4

Statement showing the expenditure on the police force between 1907 and 1937:

Year	Expenditure in Rupees.
1907	6400
1908	6466
1909	7620
1910	7293
1911	8277
1912	8147
1913	10584
1914	10854
1915	12237
1916	11321
1917	9547
1918	9253
1919	8538
1920	10246
1921	11641
1922	20979
1923	18336
1924	24712
1925	18498
1926	18804
1927	21484
1928	21833
1929	NA
1930	23401
1931	24048
1932	21439
1936	24,400
1937	27,500

Source: *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim between 1907 and 1937.*

While appointing White as Political Officer of Sikkim, the Government of Bengal pointed out to the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling that that one of the principal questions of administration of Sikkim was rearrangement "for the settlement of disputes, punishment of crimes and protection of life and property generally".³⁴ Therefore, a need was felt by the British for initiating a proper system of judiciary in the state.

Prior to the establishment of British authority in Sikkim we do not hear of any judicial institution existing in the state. There was no code of regular procedure and fixed punishment. The trial was done by ordeal and the case was decided by traditional custom. A Tibetan code was in existence and sometimes it was consulted. The *Kazis* had some territorial jurisdiction and exercised as local magistrates. Thus there existed a very crude system of law and justice in the state.³⁵

While suggesting to the Political Officer the need to institutionalize judiciary system in Sikkim the British official circle in Bengal advised him to confine his efforts to reintroduce the system prevailing in olden days and not to introduce any complicated and difficult British legal system. Accordingly, White tried to institutionalize the judiciary system in Sikkim without disturbing the existing common or personal law. Among the few changes that were introduced mention may be made of replacement of the system of trial by ordeal by the *Kazis* in their respective jurisdiction with the system based on record of evidence, trial of important cases by the Political Officer singly or 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 punishments were flogging and fines.³⁶

Evidences throw light on the existence of several magisterial courts in Sikkim from the beginning of the 20th century. These courts were divided into three categories viz., Court at the lower level (*Kazis* and *Thikadars*), Court of the Maharaja and Court of the Political Officer. These courts tried both civil and criminal cases. There was a procedure of appeal to higher courts from lower courts. Under the new set-up the traditional landlords could still continue

their revenue and criminal functions. The Lepchas reserve of Dzongu was administered directly by the rules private office while the people of Lachen and Lachung enjoyed a kind of cantonal autonomy. The monasteries and the Lamas, however, did not fall under the jurisdiction of any of the courts of the state. The head Lama acted as the final authority in cases dealing with religious institutions.³⁷

The Annual Administration Report of the State of Sikkim for the year 1906-1907³⁸ indicates that the administration of justice was satisfactory yet, “the number of cases filed in the court of the Political Officer, and which should ordinarily be tried by the *Kazis* and the *Thikadars*, was still very large.” The number of cases tried in the Political Officer’s court dropped from 49 in 1910 to 29 in 1911. This was because of the trial of only British subjects and serious criminal offences in the higher court, other cases being tried in the court of the Maharaja and by the *panchayat* in Gangtok. Here it may be noted that in 1911, the British also introduced the Indian *Panchayat* in Gangtok. The *panchayat* consisted of four Indian and two Sikkimese as members (one Nepali and one Bhutia were chosen as members). The Indian *panchayat* was empowered to try petty civil and criminal cases in which the British subjects were the defendants.³⁹ The institution of *panchayat* was unknown to the Sikkimese before. However, it was confined to Gangtok only. The table given below throws light on the number of offences reported and dealt with in the court of the Political Officer in Gangtok, Sikkim during 1910-1911.

Table: IV: 5

Number of Offences Reported and Dealt with in the Court of the Political Officer in Gangtok.

Number of Offences reported During the year		Number of persons dealt with.								Person disposed off					Person Remaining At end of Year.
		Brought to trial						Total		Discharge without trial	Acquitted	Convicted	Committed or refused	Dir, e scaped and trasfer ed	
Past Year	Present Year	Remain- ing at the end of last Year	Are s- ted by poli- ce	U p on W ar rant	On sum mons	Vol unta ry	Ar res ted in pre sen ce of ma gis trat e	Pa st ye ar	Pr ese nt ye ar						11
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
62	29	11	11	4	15	19	..	98	49	2	..	36	..	11	..

Source : Administration Report of the State of Sikkim, 1910 - 1911.

With the introduction of Sikkim Debt law in 1910 which aimed at limiting the rate of interest, a special court was established for the trial of cases between money lenders and the cultivators. The result of the functioning of such court was a steady decline of the indebtedness of the peasantry which prohibited money lenders from lending money to be repaid in gain.⁴⁰ Around 1915-1916,⁴¹ Gangtok experienced yet another proud moment when the Chief Court of Sikkim was established under the initiative of Charles Bell the second British Political Officer. The chief court comprised of the leading and most intelligent landlords in Sikkim. It dealt with important cases and heard appeals from the landlords. It even dealt with cases which in the past were looked after by the Maharaja except for cases related to the ruler's private estates. The landlords were however, authorized to try lesser cases arising in their own jurisdictions. The Chief Court comprised of the following men in three benches categorized as 'A' 'B' and 'C' benches⁴².

- A. (i) Tassang Lama
- (ii) Rai Sahib Lobzang Chhoden
- (iii) Babu Ratna Bahadur Pradhan.
- (iv) Inchey Lama Kazi.
- B. (i) Malling Kazi.
- (ii) Norzang Kazi.
- (iii) Rhenock Kazi
- (iv) Babu Narain Dass.
- C. (i) Yangthang Kazi.
- (ii) Babu Balkrishna Pradhan.
- (iii) Song Kazi.
- (iv) Babu Raghunandan Ram.

Each bench sat for two months in rotation as per the norm laid down for their functioning. The first name in each bench acted as the president of the court during the period of their functioning.⁴³ In a letter⁴⁴ to the Political Officer the Maharaja suggested to appoint only English knowing man as the president of each group. Further suggestions were made to the Political Officer to appoint good and reliable men as head clerks for keeping the account of fees and fines recovered in the court. Thus the Chief Court functioned with 12 members and tried important cases arising in the state and the station area of Gangtok.⁴⁵ The Chief Court remained open throughout the year except for three weeks when the judge went on privilege leave. No annual vacation was observed. In 1924 Mr. Rup Narain Pradhan (B.A, B.L.T) was appointed as the Chief Judge of the Court.⁴⁶

Apart from the changes mentioned above regarding the system of judicial administration in Sikkim, some changes were also noticed in relation to the functioning of the lower courts viz., the courts of the *Kazis* and *Thikadars* were reformed and powers granted to them regarding petty cases with some revenue and criminal jurisdiction. These lower courts came to be known as the *Adda* courts. There were 57 *Adda* courts established in the state and these courts were invested with some judicial powers in both civil and criminal

cases. There were four grades of such courts. First class *Adda* courts exercised criminal powers to the limit of being competent to punish upto one month's imprisonment and could inflict fines up to Rs.100. On the civil side they heard suits up to the value of Rs.500. Second class *Addas* could punish on the criminal side to the extent of inflicting fine only up to Rs.50 and on the civil side they heard suits up to the value of Rs.300. The third class *Addas* could punish the criminal side up to Rs.25 and on the civil side, up to the value of Rs.200. Finally, the fourth class *Addas* punished on the criminal side to the extent of Rs.15 and civil side up to Rs.100. The chief court stood above these *Adda* courts whose presiding officer was the chief judge. Both original and appellate jurisdictions were exercised by him. On the original side he heard the cases which were above the jurisdiction of *Adda* courts. On the appellate side, he heard the appeals and references from *Adda* courts. The powers of chief judge both on original and appellate side was not limited. Revenue suits earlier dealt by the executive side of the Maharaja's court directly was now dealt by the chief court. But, the chief court was not the final court of justice as its decisions were appealable to the court of the Maharaja. However, the *Durbar* court had no jurisdiction in the trial of criminal cases against British subjects residing in Sikkim as these cases went to the Political Officer's court except for those cases where the Political Officer waived his right of trial in favour of *Durbar*. The Political Officer was also the Officer-in-civil Judge in respect of all claims, complaints and disputes cognizable in the civil courts and also functioned as District Magistrate.⁴⁷

The Chief Court had reciprocal arrangements with British India for the execution of its decrees and services of its processes under section 444 of the civil procedure code of British India.⁴⁸

A radical change was witnessed in the administrative history of Sikkim when Sir Tashi Namgyal was given full power of administration in 1918. Under the new set-up, the Maharaja was the source of all authority, judicial, administrative and legislative. However, the Political Officer still remained the supervisory authority. The revenue of the State was treated as

public funds in the strict sense of the term and the Maharaja appropriated to his own use a very modest civil list which was fully exhibited in the annual budget of the State. The Government of the State of Sikkim was conducted under the direct control of His Highness who was assisted by an organised secretariat on the lines of that of the Government of India. The recommendations of the departmental officers of the Durbar was issued in English by a secretary to the Government in the form of orders, proceedings or letters All the departments of administration were handled by the three secretaries besides the State Engineer, who acted also as a secretary for the public works department of the state. The three secretaries were (a) General Secretary (b) Judicial Secretary and (c) Finance Secretary. The secretaries were mostly of feudal origin. The work was simple, revenue was modest and there were little of procedural intricacies. Local administration was carried out by lessees the *Kazis* and the *Thikadars* who had their own agents for performing their duties.⁴⁹

With the creation of a secretarial establishment a complete reorganisation of Ministerial Establishment was carried out. The Maharaja introduced a redistribution of work in August 1918. Given below is the statement regarding this redistribution.⁵⁰

- (1) Judicial Branch to Judicial Secretary, Sikkim State.
- (2) Forest, General, Miscellaneous, Records branches to the Assistant of the Maharaja.
- (3) Financial Branch to the Finance Secretary, Sikkim State.
- (4) Public Works Branch to the State Engineer.

Each Department of administration was allotted specific portfolio which is stated in the following table:

Table: IV: 6
Different Departments of Administration and their Portfolios:

Name of Branch	Subjects dealt with
Judicial	H.H.Court. Chief Court. Police. Jails.
Forest	Forest Education Monasteries. Mines and Minerals.
General	Agriculture and Industries Land Revenue. External Affairs. Stationary.
Miscellaneous	Medical and Sanitation. Excise. Stamps. Income-tax. Press.
Financial	Rent Roll. Budget. Audit and Accounts.
Records	Records. Copying. Issue.
Public Works	Public Works.

Source: Finance Department File, No.20 of 1919/19, Serial No.8.

Along with the creation of Secretarial Establishment and redistribution of work, appointments of clerical staff were also made for different departments. The following table gives us an idea about the appointment of clerks in different grades and their monthly basic pay scale etc.:

Table: IV: 7

Appointment of clerks in different grades and their monthly basic pay scale etc.:

Branch	Superintendentt	Head clerk		Clerks						
		1 st grade 100-5-200	2 nd grade 75-5-100	1 st grade 50-5-75	2 nd grade 40-2-50	3 rd grade 35-1-40	4 th grade 30-1-35	5 th grade 25-1-30	6 th grade 20-1-25	7 th grade 15-1-20
Judicial	1 (one)	-	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	-
Forest	A	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	1	1
General	Superintendent	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1
Misc.	was appointed	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	1	-
Financial	to look after	-	1	1	-	1	1	1	-	1
Record	different	-	1	1	-	1	1	1	-	1
Public-works	branchces of administration	-	1	1	-	1	1	1	-	1

Source: Finance Department File, No.20 of 1919/19, Serial No.8.

As per the available records following persons were appointed in the secretarial establishment in 1918:

Table: IV: 8

List of persons appointed in the secretarial establishment in 1918:

Names	Designation	Department	Pay Scale
Babu Manbir Singh	Head clerk	Finance	100-5-125
Babu Harshalal Dikshit	do	Forest	100-5-125
Munshi Timbu Tsering	do	Records	75-5-100
Babu L.B.Thapa	do	Miscellaneous	75-5-100
Babu A.S.Giri	do	Judicial	75-5-100
Babu Dharam Nath	1 st Grade Clerk	Forest	50-5-75
Babu K.K.Roy	do	Records	50-5-75
Babu Yongden Tshering	2 nd Grade Clerk	Judicial	40-2-50
Kazi Gyaltzen	do	General	40-2-50
Babu Narsing Dass	do	Miscellaneous	40-2-50

Babu Kunzang Wosal	3 rd Grade Clerk	General	35-1-40
Babu Dilman Singh	do	Finance	35-1-40
Babu Nandalal Singh	do	Records	35-1-40
Babu Dakman Singh	do	Forest	35-1-40
Babu Bhadra Singh	4 th Grade Clerk	Miscellaneous	30-1-35
Kazi Namgyal	do	Judicial	30-1-35
Babu Atal Singh	do	Financial	30-1-35
Babu Bag Singh	do	do	30-1-35
Babu Shampalay	5 th Grade Clerk	Judicial	25-1-30
Kazi Asoong	6 th Grade Clerk	Miscellaneous	20-1-25
Lama Thamcho	do	Forest	20-1-25
Lhendup	7 th Grade Clerk	do	15-1-20
Laksmi Das	do	General	15-1-20

Source: Finance Department File, No.20 of 1919/19, Serial No.8.

Gangtok's proud moment of having a secretarial establishment was fully realized when in 1922 the construction of a new secretarial office was completed in 1922 at a cost of Rs.29, 052 which housed a host of offices such as Judicial, Forest, General, Miscellaneous, Financial, Record and Public works etc.

In a letter to the Government of India the revision of the arrangements of administration of public works in Sikkim State was proposed by the Political Officer in 1921. The following points were stated in the proposals:⁵¹

- (1) Formation of the Sikkim State Public Works Department in charge of a purely State Engineer.
- (2) Transfer of the control of public works in Sikkim to the Government of India.

(3) Treatment of the works in Sikkim as Civil Works in charge of Civil Officers on the same footing as Civil Works in Tibet and amalgamation of the two accounts under one head under the Audit Control of the Comptroller India Treasures.

(4) Employment of an Indian Temporary Engineer for civil works in Sikkim and Tibet, to be styled "Engineer Assistant to the Political Officer in Sikkim".

Thus in 1921 it was proposed to form an entirely separate State Public Works Department and to place all Government works both in Sikkim and Tibet under the care of an Indian Temporary Engineer with pay of Rs.250 per month and assisted by a technical staff consisting of six sub-overseers working under the orders of the Political Officer.⁵² The proposal fell through by 1925.

Beginning with the system of modern administration established by the first British Political Officer in 1889 Gangtok had a well developed bureaucracy by 1907. This administrative machinery was further enlarged in 1918 when in that year the *Maharaja* was granted full power. By 1922 Gangtok had well developed secretarial establishment and a secretariat building to house a host of offices. From 1918 till 1940 there were three secretaries who took care of the central administration. The number of secretaries went up to five in the early 1940s as reported by the Annual Administrative reports. Until 1918 the Political Officer was directly in control of the administration. The main features of administration set up in that period persisted until about 1947, when the services of an officer were obtained from the Government of India for appointment as *Dewan* of the state. John Lall was appointed as the first *Dewan* of Sikkim. With the abolition of landlordism and the appointment of a *Dewan* many administrative innovations were made around 1949-50. The departments were organized, and a complex hierarchical administrative mechanism was introduced. This led to the growth not only in size, but also in the performances of the bureaucracy.⁵³

Names of high officials in the Sikkim State and Residency officials, during the year 1907-1908.

Name of officers	Appointment	Remarks
Barmiak Kazi	Member of Council.	Also a steward in the Maharaja's household.
Jerung dewan	"	A Dewan in the Maharaja's household.
Lasso Kazi	"	
Yangthang Kazi	"	Also a writer in the Maharaja's household.
Tasang Kazi	"	
Rinzing Kazi	"	
Rai Saheb Haridas Pradhan	"	
J.C.White, Esq.,C.I.E	Political Officer	
A.D. Hickley	State Engineer	Was appointed as State Engineer in 1907 in succession to Mr.C.W. Dover.

Source: *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim, 1907-1908.*

Names of high officials in the Sikkim State and Residency officials, showing change in personnel during the year 1910-1911.

Name of officers	Appointment	Remarks
C.A. Bell, Esq., I.C.S.	Political Officer.	
J.N.Turner, Esq.	Civil Surgeon.	
A.D.Hickley, Esq.	State Engineer.	
Barmiak Kazi	Member of Council.	Also a steward in the Maharaja's household.
Jerung dewan	"	A Dewan in the Maharaja's household.
Lasso Kazi	"	
Yangthang Kazi	"	Also a writer in the Maharaja's household.
Tasang Kazi	"	
Rinzing Kazi	"	
Rai Saheb Haridas Pradhan	"	

Source: *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim, 1910-1911.*

Names of high officials in the Sikkim State and Residency officials, showing change in personnel during the year 1912-1913.

Name of officers	Appointment	Remarks
C.A. Bell, Esq., I.C.S.	Political Officer.	
J.N. Turner, Esq.	Civil Surgeon.	
C.H. Dracott, Esq.	State Engineer.	C.H. Dracott was appointed as the State Engineer from July 1912 in succession to A.D. Hickley.
Barmiak Kazi	Member of Council.	Also a steward in the Maharaja's household.
Jerung Dewan	"	A Dewan in the Maharaja's household.
Rai Saheb Lobxang Choden	"	(Died on 14 th July 1912)
Yangthang Kazi	"	Also a writer in the Maharaja's household.
Tasang Kazi	"	
Rinzing Kazi	"	
Rai Saheb Haridas Pradhan	"	

Source: *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim, 1912-1913.*

Names of high officials in the Sikkim State and Residency officials, showing change in personnel during the year 1913-1914.

Name of officers	Appointment
C.A. Bell, Esq., I.C.S.	Political Officer.
Mr.B.J.Gould, I.C.S.	Officiating Political Officer.
J.N.Turner, Esq.	Civil Surgeon.
C.H.Dracott, Esq.	State Engineer.
Barmiak Kazi	Member of Council.
Yangthang Kazi	”
Tasang Kazi	”
Rinzing Kazi	”
Rai Saheb Haridas Pradhan	”
Rai Saheb Lobxang Choden	”

Source: *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim, 1913-1914.*

Names of high officials in the Sikkim State and Residency officials, showing change in personnel during the year 1914-1915.

Name of officers	Appointment
C.A. Bell, C.M.G.	Political Officer.
Mr.B.J.Gould, I.C.S.	Officiating Political Officer.
J.N.Turner, I.S.M.D.	Civil Surgeon.
C.H.Dracott.	State Engineer.
K.P.Dewar	Assistant to His Highness the Maharaja.
Barmiak Kazi	Member of Council.
Lasso Kazi	”
Yangthang Kazi	”
Tasang Kazi	”
Rinzing Kazi	”
Rai Saheb Haridas Pradhan	”
Rai Saheb Lobxang Choden	”

Source: *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim, 1914-1915.*

Names of high officials in the Sikkim State and Residency officials, showing change in personnel during the year 1917-1918.

Name of officers	Appointment
C.A. Bell, C.M.G.	Political Officer in Sikkim and Superintendent, Sikkim State.
J.N.Turner, I.M.D.	Civil Surgeon.
C.H.Dracott.	State Engineer.
K.P.Dewar	Assistant to His Highness the Maharaja.
Barmiak Kazi	Member of Council.
Lasso Kazi	”
Yangthang Kazi	”
Tasang Kazi	”
Rinzing Kazi	”
Rai Saheb Lobxang Choden	”
Babu Ratnabhadur Pradhan	”
Babu Balkrishen Pradhan	”
Vishnu Dayal	Accounts Officer.

Source: *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim, 1917-1918.*

Names of high officials in the Sikkim State and Residency officials, showing change in personnel during the year 1918-1919.

Name of officers	Appointment
C.A. Bell, C.M.G.	Political Officer in Sikkim.
Major W.L. Campbell, C.I.E.	Ditto.
Capt. J.N.Turner, I.M.D.	Civil Surgeon.
C.H.Dracott, C.E.	State Engineer.
K.P.Dewar	Assistant to His Highness the Maharaja.
Babu Fakirchand Jali	State Engineer.
Barmaik Kusho	Chief Lama
Barmiak Kazi	Member of Council.
Lasso Kazi	”
Yangthang Kazi	”
Tasang Kazi	”
Rinzing Kazi	”
Rai Saheb Lobxang Choden	”
Babu Ratnabhadur Pradhan	”
Babu Balkrishen Pradhan	”
Vishnu Dayal	Financial Secretary.

Source: *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim, 1918-1919.*

Names of high officials in the Sikkim State and Residency officials, showing change in personnel during the year 1919-1920.

Name of officers	Appointment
Major W.L. Campbell, C.I.E.	Political Officer in Sikkim.
C.A. Bell, C.M.G.	Ditto.
C.O'H Teeling, I.S.O.	Personal Assistant to His Highness.
J.C.Dyer	Civil Surgeon.
Barmaik Kusho	Chief Lama
Yangthang Kazi	Member of Council.
Tasang Kazi	"
Rinzing Kazi	"
Rai Saheb Lobxang Choden	"
Babu Ratnabhadur Pradhan	"
Babu Balkrishen Pradhan	"
Vishnu Dayal	Financial Secretary.
Pestonji Jamasji	General Secretary
Babu Fakirchand Jali	State Engineer
Diley Singh	Forest Manager

Source: *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim, 1919-1920.*

II.

ECONOMY

Urban growth signifies a new form of economic structure, quite distinct from the rural setting. Such distinction is seen when a place achieves administrative, economic, geographical and political importance. It was studied in the last chapter that developmental activities in the sphere of communication basically meant to facilitate easy movement of the British troops to the Tibetan frontier resulted not only in the emergence of the capital of Gangtok as a cantonment for the British Indian army but also explored the importance of Gangtok as a route for Indo-Tibetan trade through the *Nathu-la*. The administration of Sikkim from within and the establishment of the British Residency at Gangtok further necessitated changes in the administrative, economic and social structures of Sikkim. To cater to the immediate requirements of the British administrators a steady development of the *bazaar* was noticeable. Indo-Tibetan trade and Indo-Sikkimese trade also boosted the growth of a market at Gangtok. In this connection the role of merchants was of special importance as they played a vital role in the system of distribution. Therefore, beginning from the time of the establishment of British Political Agency at Gangtok, her economic structure underwent a rapid change. With further improvements in internal communication between 1925 and 1930, enlargement of market and its civic amenities, increase in trade and commerce, Gangtok achieved a distinct economic unit.

With the extension of distributive system and establishment of direct links with the market a large number of populations of Gangtok engaged themselves in trade and industry and self-employment.⁵⁴ Self employment was noticed in the form of weaving and basketry which was practiced by a small number of populations. Besides, the urban setting led to the rise of many such crafts and occupation whose main objective was to cater to the requirement of the elites. This trend led to division of labour and to the growth of narrow specialization which might be held to be another characteristic of urban

economy. The sale of their local handicraft produce also enabled the people to purchase mill-made cloth, kerosene, sugar and the like, gradually introducing new wants.

Two most important local industries catering to the needs of the elites were the tweed and the carpet factory. As per the Administrative Report of 1906-07⁵⁵ wool was imported from Tibet and converted into tweeds in Lachung and Lachen Valley. These weaving schools were managed by the ladies of the Scandinavian Alliance Mission stationed there and received aid from the State. The school buildings and looms belonged to the state and a small annual grant was given for their maintenance. In return the State received 2 annas in the Rupee on all sales. Tweeds of Harris pattern and blankets were manufactured in these schools. The quality of the tweeds being fine the demand for them increased steadily. The value of the sales was Rs. 414-3-0 in 1910-1911 and with a view to afford a quicker outturn two of Mr. Potter's patent automatic looms were being supplied by the State. Two scholarships for Sikkim girls to learn lace making were sent by the State to the Industrial School at Kalimpong. These girls were afterwards employed as lace teachers in the schools that were opened by the Church of Scottish Mission in Sikkim.⁵⁶ A loan worth Rs 59,920 was given to Sikkim subjects to encourage the wool and carpet industry in 1907.⁵⁷ The carpet factory was begun by the *Maharani* in the Palace itself. Experienced teachers were required for teaching the art of carpet making because this industry was at a nascent stage. It was only towards the closure of 1908 the *Maharani* was able to procure two teachers from Khambajong. The cost of making these carpets was high but it was felt that with more experience and practice the cost can be reduced. Care was taken that the materials used, especially the dyes, are of the best quality. In 1908, three girls who were learning lace making at Kalimpong were employed in the *Maharani's* carpet factory at Gangtok. Thus this industry though small was in a flourishing condition giving a boost to the economy of Gangtok. A small grant from State funds was made to the *Maharaja* Kumar for opening an industrial school at Gangtok in 1908.⁵⁸ The industrial school produced goods on cane,

bamboo work and carpentry and also manufactured carpets of very high standard and artistically designed in Tibetan motif.⁵⁹ Income earned from the sale of such handicraft items was utilized for the maintenance of the state jail at Gangtok.⁶⁰ Other than these industries existing in Gangtok there were other small factories such as the bakery⁶¹ and soda factory,⁶² saw mill⁶³ and a mechanical workshop⁶⁴ as indicated by the *Administration Report* of the State of Sikkim. In the forties of the 20th century a cottage industry producing paper was established. This industry now functions as Government Institute of Cottage Industry at Gangtok. Besides these factories Gangtok had nurseries of Buk, Champ, Tuni, Walnut, Pipli seeds and rubber adding to build up the developing economy of Gangtok. Rubber was sold at Rs.111 per maund in 1912.⁶⁵ The Gangtok forest Reserve was treated as a special area.

Thus, the urban economy of Gangtok came to be occupied by a number of professional craftsmen, who dealt with wider circulation and greater consumption. In this connection the role of merchants was also of special importance. Two groups of merchants came to build up the economy of Gangtok, one the traders (traditional landlords) who carried on trade as a most favoured occupation other than traditional landlordism and the other group was traders from the plains of India, who catered to the needs of the town population apart from carrying out Trans-Himalayan trade. The Ridge Park market which was shifted to the present day market area was well expanded by 1915⁶⁶ so as to cater to the needs of the town population. But for all practical purposes the trading activity of Gangtok had visibly picked up after the completion of the cart road and the Gangtok *Nathu-la* road.

The *Kazi* aristocracy and the *Thikadars*, apart from being the regional rulers, dispenser of law and order were the agents of the Ruler in all state affairs in their localities. Apart from their household establishments in their estates, they had their residential apartments in the capital of the State. They were assigned a number of duties by Durbar. Their most favoured occupation next to the traditional landlordism was trade between Tibet and India. In such ventures, they were supported by the Ruler and the British. By virtue of their

cordial relations they were deemed, at least until 1950, as the most efficacious agency to influence favorably the pro-British policy of the Tibetan theocracy. In their transactions of the trans-Himalayan trade, they were immensely helped by the then existing system of unpaid labour. Thus the *Kazis* and the *Thikadars* also amassed wealth through trade and commerce and made investments in urban centres such as Gangtok, Kalimpong and Darjeeling.⁶⁷ The passage of goods between India and Tibet through Gangtok benefited the state directly and indirectly. Gangtok's economy received a tremendous boost from the rapid growth of tea industry in Darjeeling as it was one of the main items of Trans-Himalayan trade through Gangtok. The Tibetan demand for Indian tea resulted in a marked increase of trading from Gangtok. Returns from sales and income tax went up considerably. The indirect part that the transit of Indo-Tibetan trade played in the economy of the state was also not inconsiderable.⁶⁸

The Marwaris were infact, one of the pillars of the business activities at Gangtok. Other than their banking services, the Marwaris were the chief shop keepers at urban centres of Sikkim. Also, with the opening of communications and the cultivations of such crops as cardamom, oranges and potatoes, the Marwaris took a leading role in the development of internal trade. Buying the local products from the ryots and selling them in the chief urban centres such as Gangtok, Singtam, Rangpo, Rhenock was a regular feature of their internal commercial activity. There were 91 firms of Marwaris trading in Sikkim and 340 individual traders who were the assesses of income tax.⁶⁹ Income tax on traders was charged at the rate of 1 percent on total value of their sale and five percent on the net profit. The system of assessment was fairly equitable and was carried out by the Excise Sub-Inspector.⁷⁰

Other than the Marwari, Bihari and Newari traders there existed a small but vigorous community of Tibetan traders in Gangtok and the markets of Eastern Sikkim. The Tibetan traders were mostly engaged in the trade of wool and precious stones. With very few exceptions such as the Newars, the local people did not take up trade as an occupation.⁷¹

But a negative aspect of Gangtok's developing economy was a wide prevalence of usury. This was in fact prevalent throughout Sikkim. 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 people. The *Maharaja* complained against the prevalence of such a system at the Council Meeting held in February 1900. Sikkim State had to borrow Rs. 3,000 from a Marwari at a very high interest rate and in the said Council meeting it was decided not to allow more than 12% per annum as interest.⁷²

In 1910 Sikkim Debt Law was introduced which aimed at limiting the rate of interest. The law thus led to the steady decline of indebtedness of the people. The desirable result was accelerated by prohibiting money lenders from lending money to be repaid in grain. By this process Rs.20 was frequently repaid by grain to the value of Rs. 30 or Rs.40 six months later. Special court was appointed for the trial of cases between money-lenders and cultivators which also helped in slow decline of indebtedness by punishing breaches of the Law. Since the introduction of the Debt Law of 1910 and the institution of Co-operative societies the money lenders began to confine themselves more and more to shop-keeping business.⁷³ By the end of 1917 there were 53 shops in the whole of Sikkim, maximum of which were run at Gangtok.⁷⁴

Revenue from the market at Gangtok was chiefly derived from fees levied on vendor's licenses, the value of which was determined at the annual auction sale. The revenue of the state was derived mainly from the system of both direct and indirect taxation. Land revenue, house tax and income tax were the source of direct taxation. The entire collection of taxation was given on contract basis but not realized directly through the departmental agencies. *Bazaar* taxes were supervised by the public works department and *bazaar* contracts were leased out yearly to the contractors. Revenue earned by taxation from class 'A' bazaar was merged with the general revenues. Besides the shops, stalls and sheds in the Gangtok market, requirement of the town population was also met by the local haats which was held once a week. Rs. 2

annas per load was the bazaar tax payable by the vendors of sundry goods exposed for sale in class 'A' and class 'B' *bazaar*. In the weekly local *haat* held at the Gangtok *bazaar* people from the surrounding areas within ten to fifteen miles of distance gathered together to buy and sell the necessities of life.⁷⁵ Given below is the list of fee levied on Gangtok Bazaar:⁷⁶

- (a) Fee derived from 1st class stall selling cloth, brassware, blankets, dahi, earthenware, jute was Rs. 0-2-0 per day or 2 annas per day.
- (b) Fee derived from 2nd class stall was Rs. 0-2-0 per day.
- (c) Fee derived from 3rd class stall for goods to the value of above 0-2-0 up to 0-8-0 such as grass and vegetables was charged at the rate of 0-0-6 per day. Season ticket for first class stalls for six months was Rs.3 and for a year it was charged at the rate of Rs. 5-12-0. For 2nd class stalls season tickets for six months was charged at the rate of 1-8-0 and for a year it was charged at the rate of Rs. 2-14-0. Any cart bringing any articles and remaining in the market the whole day was charged at the rate of Rs. 0-3-0. Pony or mule bringing any articles and remaining in the market the whole day was charged at the rate of Rs.0-1-6. For sale of each animal of Rs. 50 and upwards the rate was Rs. 2-0-0, similarly for animals below Rs. 50 but above Rs. 30 the rate charged was Rs.1. Between 10 and 30 the rate was Rs. 0-8-0. Between 5 and 10 the rate charged was Rs. 0-2-0. Between 1 and 5 the rate charged was Rs. 0-1-0 and below Re. 1 the rate charged was Rs. 0-0-6. *Chattiwalas* had to pay at the rate of Rs. 0-2-0 per stall.
- (d) A sum of Rs.4 per 100 sqft. per annum was charged as ground rent for the site occupied by shops, godowns, (except wool-godowns as in Deorali).Such rent was also charged on houses, sheds etc.
- (e) Water tax at the rate of Rs.1 per month per shop opening in the bazaar street was charged. Rs. 2 per tap was charged for connection in the premises. Construction of houses, shops, godowns, kitchens, stables, huts, privy or urinals on lands within the bazaar area required the approval of plan and design by the state engineer. A stray animals in the bazaar area were impounded and they were sold by auction and the sale proceeds were submitted to the Durbar.

(f) Rules were framed for plying of carts at Gangtok bazaar. Rs 8 annas was charged for issue of license booklets and tin plates bearing cart number.⁷⁷

The sale of cigarettes under license was permitted and contracted out to different individuals annually at Gangtok. In 1927-28⁷⁸ Messrs Jetmull and Bhojraj held the contract on payment of Rs 11,150. Selling of cigarettes without license was prohibited except for few brands of cigarettes such as the English, the American and the Egyptian class imported into Sikkim by the Europeans for their private consumption.⁷⁹ In order to meet the demand made by traders at Gangtok huge amount of opium was brought to the capital. This in turn raised the revenue collection at Gangtok. The sale of opium and ganja was made through vendor contractors. Opium was sold for Rs. 91 per seer and Ganja was Rs. 45 per seer in the early 1920s. At Gangtok six shops were established for its sale. The contract for the sale of imported tobacco or indigenous product was given to one Ramadhin Brijabhukhan in 1936. A sum of Rs. 4150 was earned as revenue from tobacco in 1936.⁸⁰ Excise shops were also sold by public auction held once a year.⁸¹ Strength and prices of country liquor was fixed and maintained at Gangtok. Vendors were fined for selling liquor weaker than the prescribed strength at a penalty of Rs. 5 to Rs. 15. Excise was the one of the biggest source of revenue of Sikkim state. In 1927 Rs. 701 was earned as revenue from the import of foreign liquor.⁸²

In 1931 a slaughter house was constructed at Gangtok and was leased out to contractors at an annual contract fee to the State.⁸³ Animals brought to Gangtok from busty were asked to produce certificate from *Mondals* to the effect that animals so brought was not exposed to any infection of cattle diseases. Written certificate from the sanitary overseer or veterinary inspector was also required before animals were slaughtered. Penalty of Rs. 50 was imposed for non-observance of rule. No diseased or female animal unfit for human consumption were allowed to be slaughtered. Rules were thus laid down for the slaughter house and fees levied for slaughtering. Hides of animals slaughtered were given on contract for sale. The contractor in turn had to pay some amount of tax to the State. In 1926 Mahamad Yakubjan of Darjeeling

was given the contract for the collection of hides in Sikkim on an enhanced tax of Rs. 8105.⁸⁴ Cattle pounds were leased out to contractors and the amount of pound fees was included in the *bazaar* contract fees. Fees levied on slaughtering were as follows:⁸⁵

Table: IV: 9
Fees levied on slaughtering

Animals Slaughtered	Fee in Rs. P.
Buffalos/ Oxen	0
Pigs	75
Goats/Sheep	4. 0

Source: Judicial Department File, 1926, Gangtok.

Table: IV: 10
Cost of meat at Gangtok bazaar in 1931

Cost of Meat at Gangtok Bazaar	Cost Per Seer
Buffalo/Oxen	3-4 annas
Pork	6-8 annas
Mutton	8-10 annas

Source: *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim, 1931-1932.*

Table: IV: 11
Bazaar revenue between 1921 and 1928:

Year	Revenue in Rs.
1921	7,289
1924	17,956
1925	16,167
1927	17,857
1928	42,764

Source: *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim between 1921 and 1928.*

Table:IV: 12
Prices of food grains prevailing at Gangtok market.

Name of articles	Year				
	1903 – 1904	1904 – 1905	1922 – 1923	1924 - 1925	1931 – 1932
Paddy	24 seer per Rupee	20 seer per Rupee	13 seer per Rupee	12 seer per Rupee	---
Rice	8 seer per Rupee	8 seer per Rupee	5 ½ seer per Rupee	4 ¾ seer per Rupee	7 seer per Rupee
Kalai Dal	11 seer per Rupee	8 seer per Rupee	6 seer per Rupee	5 ½ seer per Rupee	10 seer per Rupee
Maize	32 seer per Rupee	24 seer per Rupee	10 ½ seer per Rupee	7 ½ seer per Rupee	3 seer per Rupee
Marwa (Kodo)	20 seer per Rupee	20 seer per Rupee	10 5/6 seer per Rupee	7 5/6 seer per Rupee	---

Source: Administration Report of the State of Sikkim between 1903 and 1932.

It is evident from the above that essential impetus for the development of Gangtok's economy had been generating from the beginning of the twentieth century. Other than the boost given by the trans-frontier trade the township was also developing on the basis of her few but resourceful cottage industries coming into existence in the 1920s and 1930s. With the steady development of her market and new sources of revenue being explored Gangtok gradually stepped out of some sparsely inhabited hill area into the world of a developing urban economy.

III.

Education

After taking stock of the administration and economy of Gangtok let us now turn to the institutions which took care of the education of the people of Sikkim during the 20th century.

Prior to the introduction of English education, Sikkim had its own traditional Lamaistic system of education. This system of education dealt with religious teaching and learning which was intended to prepare monks for the religious order. In Sikkim, as in Tibet, the priests were made and not born. It was after severe tests in religious education in Buddhist scriptures that a young seeker after knowledge was admitted into the order. Abundant opportunities were afforded to students of monastic education. The Sikkim students often had to go to Tibet for higher order of this monastic training. The system of religious education in Sikkim continues till date.⁸⁶

Ever since the establishment of the Political Agency at Gangtok a thought was given to the establishment of educational institutions for imparting modern education to the Sikkimese. The credit of initiating modern system of instruction in tune with the system of education in British India goes to John Claude White, the first British Political Officer in Sikkim. For the British the need for imparting modern education was to create a group of future loyalists who would represent their interest in Sikkim. They therefore aimed at educating the Royal Prince and children of the elitist section such as the Lamas and the *Kazis* who according to the British would be effective in supporting their interest in Sikkim. The beginning in this direction was seen when J.C.White sent a batch of students consisting of eighteen boys belonging to the family of Lamas and *Kazis* to Darjeeling for education. Financial aid was given to these students.⁸⁷ It was hoped that these boys after their return with English system of education would certainly not oppose colonial policy in Sikkim on the one hand and on the other they would lend support to the British to finalize the question of succession. Here it is worth mentioning that the British were

interested to install on the throne of Sikkim a king possessing the British sentiments. When J.C.White became the Political Officer, the eldest prince of Sikkim was at Tibet for education. So side by side with selecting 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 for stopping or curtailing the *Maharaja's* allowance as the only means to pressurize him. The Council members supported White's proposal.⁸⁸ 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. 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. Shew 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 not finish his education there.⁸⁹ 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 Tenduk. This proposal was approved by the Lieutenant Governor Sir Charles Elliot. Even after much opposition from the *Maharaja*, the British authority in Sikkim was successful in making arrangements for the prince's education at Darjeeling, "calculated to make him a good Raja but a bad monk." At Darjeeling the Prince was educated under Sarat Chandra Das, Babu Kali Kumar Das and Babu Ramdhuni Pande and Lama Sherab Gyatso. These teachers taught the Kumar English, Hindi and Tibetan respectively. However the Political Officer apprehended that if the Kumar continued to remain in Darjeeling he might be influenced by the Tibetans. Therefore a thought was given to shift the Kumar from Darjeeling to Gangtok and educate him under Babu Ramdhuni Pande. White submitted his proposal to the Commissioner of Rajshahi Division. But in reply to the Political Officer, the

Commissioner of Rajshahi Division stated that Kumar Sidkeong Tulku had made much progress under his master in Darjeeling and it would be unwise to make any change at that point of time. He further stated that the *Kumar* could read and write English and Hindi. He found much interest in learning both these languages in addition to his mother tongue. Therefore, he rejected the request of the Political Officer to shift the *Kumar* from Darjeeling to Gangtok.⁹⁰ But the Political Officer insisted that the *Kumar* Sidkeong Tulku be shifted to Gangtok to be educated under Surgeon Captain Ramsay attached to the 8th Bengal infantry. Dr Ramsay was reported to be eminently fitted for such tutelage for English and Babu Ramdhuni Pande for Hindi and Tibetan by a Lama. What White actually wanted was, to put the *Kumar* away from the Tibetan influence in Darjeeling and in touch with the British establishment in Gangtok and prepare the future monarch according to British interest. He further expressed the view that it would be beneficial to bring the Raja's family closer together than they were before. Nolan, the Commissioner of Rajshahi Division finally agreed to the proposal of the Political Officer on the ground that the *Maharaja* and *Maharani* though intended to make their son a monk wanted to see him very near to them. The royal couple had also firm faith and confidence in surgeon Ramsay who was proposed to be *Kumar*'s English tutor. Thus the Government agreed to bring back the *Kumar* to Gangtok and accordingly he was educated under surgeon Ramsay and Babu Ramdhuni Pande from 1896.⁹¹

It was around this period that J.C White thought of starting an English boarding school at Gangtok and began making various suggestions to the Bengal Government in this connection. The Political Officer based his suggestions on the views that if a boarding school imparting English school is established at Gangtok, the Government would be saved from spending on educating Sikkim boys at Darjeeling. White also hoped that if a school is opened in Gangtok financial aid will be granted by those families who were interested to send their sons for education. In 1895, White prepared a statement

regarding contributions that he expected from private sources (per mensem) for a boarding school at Gangtok which is present in the following table:⁹²

Table: IV: 12

Statement prepared by J.C.White representing the expected contribution for education:

Names of leading men of Sikkim State from whom White expected contributions	Number of Sons	Rupees per mensem
Shew Dingpen	1	1
Leving Kazi	2	1
Sook Singh Kazi	2	6
Song Kazi	1	3
Sunik Kazi	1	3
Renock Kazi	1	3
Yangyang Kazi	1	3
Terung Dengung	1	1
Assoo Kazi	1	3
Tassithing Kazi	1	3
Temi Pepen	1	nil
Lachung Kazi	1	nil
Lachen Kazi	1	nil
Deboo Kazi	1	nil
Lingthen	1	nil
Mongbon	<u>1</u>	<u>nil</u>
Total =	18	27

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

The proposed names of the *Kazis* and *Lamas* as shown in the table above belonged to the leading families of Sikkim whose sons were pursuing their studies in Darjeeling. Here it is interesting to understand why the British Agency put so much emphasis in educating the sons of the *Kazi* and *Lama* families in Gangtok itself. What can be argued here is that the British in Sikkim as in India wanted to spread English education to the most influential section in the society which once groomed in English ways would stand as loyalists to British administration. It was also felt that English education will minimise the

interest in monastic education which in turn would be helpful in minimizing Tibetan influence. As in the case of India the British were hesitant to spend on education from the Imperial treasury. It was therefore proposed by the Lieutenant Governor that whatever expenditure would be incurred for education will be met from the revenue of Sikkim State. The utilitarian argument thus found its place in the decision to establish English education in Sikkim.

In May 1895 the Government of Bengal requested the Director of Public Instruction to further suggestion of establishing a boarding house at Gangtok for the education of the sons of influential Lamas and Kazis.⁹³ But Nolan, the Commissioner of Rajshahi Division 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 he found that the expenses would be greater in Gangtok than in Darjeeling. The support from private sources was expected to be Rs.27 only against the estimated expenditure of Rs.400 a month.⁹⁴

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 Bengalis 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."⁹⁵

Nolan suggested that the best would be to grant the stipend of Rupees 8 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.⁹⁶

In fact, due to traditional, social, political and religious relations between Tibet and Sikkim, Nolan's anticipation might not be unjustified. The Government of Bengal did not accept Nolan's suggestion. Under the influence of White's suggestion it was felt by Sir Alfred Croft, the Director of Public Instruction that the expenses of the boarding house will be less as compared to the money spent on educating Sikkim boys at Darjeeling. What White actually had suggested was that it would be feasible if food to the boarders was supplied to them from their homes. According to White there were eighteen students belonging to the leading family of *Kazis* and Lamas pursuing their education in Darjeeling and if they be shifted to Gangtok in a boarding school provided the supply of food being made from their homes it would be very economical to teach them At Gangtok only. He further argued that since these boys are more inclined towards Lamaistic profession they would not be a liability to the Government once they complete their education. The Lieutenant Governor wanted Nolan to instruct White to draw up a complete estimate showing the following.⁹⁷

- (a) The cost of building a school and accommodation for twenty students
- (b) The cost of keeping two masters at Gangtok.
- (c) The cost of tuition.
- (d) The cost of cooking, firing, servants and contingencies, on the understanding that the boys would have their food supplied from home.

The Lieutenant Governor also 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.⁹⁸

In November 1895, the Governor 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. For the payment of the salary of Lama Sherab Gyatso, the Government sanctioned Rs.200 per month from the provincial revenue and not from the state revenue of Sikkim.⁹⁹ The Government's sanction being made in 1895, it however took almost ten years for the school to start functioning. The school saw its beginning in 1906 in the name of Bhutia Boarding School. Its location was at the present day Baluakhani area in Gangtok. The Bhutia Boarding School began functioning as a Middle English school standard. In 1907 a Nepali Boarding school was also established in Gangtok near the present day Lal Market area. The total number of students and boarders in both these schools of Gangtok in 1908¹⁰⁰ is seen in the following table:

Table: IV: 13
Number of boys in Bhutia and Nepali boarding school in 1908:

Schools	Total Roll	Boarders
Bhutia Boarding School	47 boys.	27 (24 of them supported by the State financially)
Nepali Boarding School	58.	5.

Source: *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1907-08.

The subjects taught in both the schools were: English, Arithmetic, Tibetan and Hindi. The Government encouraged children to participate in physical drill, gymnastics and other sports.¹⁰¹ The younger son of the *Maharaja* also became a student of the Bhutia Boarding School and showed special interest in drawing and philosophy. The products from these schools were sent to Government High School at Darjeeling for further education and the state supported them financially. The new system of education was imparted according to the curriculum followed in the neighbouring state of Bengal. From 1915 onwards Sanskrit was also taught to the senior boys in the Nepali Boarding School. The curriculum was reshaped after 1918 which included English, Mathematics, Tibetan Vernacular, History, Geography, Gymnastics and Physical drill in Bhutia Boarding School. Similarly English, Mathematics, Hindi, Sanskrit, Tibetan primer, History, geography, gymnastics and physical

drill were taught in the Nepali Boarding School.¹⁰² Since the very beginning a liberal policy was followed towards education and therefore the Government encouraged grant of special concessions to the students. It was around this period that the Political Officer encouraged the Kumar to complete his education in England. What the Political Officer felt was that if the young prince who was indeed an extra-ordinary man with high intelligence and a forceful personality is educated at Oxford he would bring in reformation in many fields in his own country once he comes back to Sikkim. He further viewed that the Kumar should be given a definite position and standing in the state after he completes his education in England. Thus his traditional education was but a prelude to modern education. It was therefore decided to educate Kumar Sidkeong Tulku in England. Along with the Kumar three Kazi boys viz. Nari Kazi, grandson of Khangsa Dewan, Dowgay Kazi, son of Biksithan Kazi and Kalzang, the grandson of Tatung Kazi of Samdong accompanied by J.C.White were sent to England in September 1906 to complete their education. In England the Kumar was admitted in Pembroke College in January, 1907.¹⁰³ The Kumar learnt English and other usual subjects and took practical training in electricity and electric machinery. It was felt by White that the Kumar's training in electricity will prove to be important in Sikkim because of Sikkim's enormous potentialities in hydro-electricity. Sidkeong Tulku stayed at England for two years and during this time he distinguished himself in the corporate life of the University. On his return to Sikkim in 1908, he was appointed as Vice-President of the State Council and given the charge of Forests, Monasteries and Education. Thus from this time onwards we find that the *Maharaja* Kumar with his reformatory ideas expanded the system of modern education in the state. He made the beginning by supervising the administration of the Bhutia and Nepali Boarding schools. The scholars in these schools were making fair progress and their conduct was reported to be good. The importance of these schools and the need to educate young boys was increasing felt by the *Kazis* and *Thikadars*. Therefore from this period onwards the number of students comprising of the sons and relatives of

the *Kazis* and *Thikadars* attending schools increased considerably.¹⁰⁴ In 1910 Rai Bahadur Lambodar Pradhan's son passed the matriculation examination from the Nepali Boarding School and was sent to Calcutta for further education. As per the Administration Report of 1910-1911¹⁰⁵ Nepali population showed a greater desire for education than the Bhutia and Lepcha population. This is noticeable from the comparative figures of the student population and daily average attendance in the Bhutia and Nepali Boarding Schools which is presented below:

Table: IV: 14

Comparative figures of student population and daily average attendance in the Bhutia and Nepali boarding school between 1907 and 1917:

Year	Bhutia Boarding School		Nepali Boarding School	
	Student population	Daily average attendance	Student population	Daily average attendance
1907	48	40	54	21.36
1908	47	39	58	31.36
1909	38	33	61	37.55
1910	31	26	57	48.28
1911	42	32	55	48.01
1912	45	39	66	45
1913	59	43	60	51
1914	51	34	62	47.37
1915	43	34	97	79.47
1916	47	40	71	68.86
1917	48	29.75	83	46.16

Source: *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim between 1907 and 1917.*

To further expand the facility of modern education to the general public, Kumar Sidkeong Tulku decided in a Council meeting in 1910¹⁰⁶ to establish schools in Namchi, Rhenock and Pathing. Thus Government schools were opened in these places which began functioning in 1912. In 1913¹⁰⁷ one more village school was opened at Duga. On the motion of the *Maharaja*

Kumar the Council decided that all the landlords should send at least half the number of their sons, of school-going age, for English education to Schools. In 1914¹⁰⁸ teaching of Lepcha language was also introduced in the Government Schools of Sikkim. Around this period an Industrial School was also begun at Gangtok by the *Maharaja* Thudop Namgyal to revive the indigenous art of wicker work. In 1923¹⁰⁹ the industrial school at Gangtok was combined with the Jail Department. The intention of the Government in doing so was to train the convicts in handicrafts. All sale proceeds realized from these works were credited to the jail account. To encourage female education, a school for *Kazis'* daughters was opened at Gangtok under the initiative of *Maharaja* Kumar in 1913. The subjects taught in this school were Tibetan, Hindi, and knitting. By 1918¹¹⁰ subjects like spinning and lace making were also introduced. The beginning in this school was made by enrollment of five (5) girls in 1913 which rose to thirteen in 1915. There was also one monastic school at Enchey in Gangtok known as the Enchey School. Subjects such as Tibetan grammar, reading and writing were taught. The pupils at Enchey Monastery School were young monks from different monasteries of Sikkim. The Head Lama of this school was the head of the institution. We therefore understand that other than the already existing monastic system of education the beginning of the 20th century saw the establishment of modern system of education in Sikkim. The response from the people towards English education was tremendous from the very beginning as seen in the table presented above. *Kazis* and *Thikadars* were compelled by rule to send their sons to schools. It is also evident from the above that female education was initiated by Sidkeong Tulku. Female education was later given a new shape by the Scottish Mission with the opening of a full-fledged girl's schools in 1923 at Gangtok known as the Paljor Namgyal Girls' school. From 1915 onwards the importance of modern education was being realized by the *Thikadars* and the common people. Till 1925 fourteen (14) schools were established by the *Thikadars* in different villages of Sikkim. Till 1920 the teaching faculty in the schools at Gangtok showed a nominal strength.¹¹¹ According to the Administration Report

of Sikkim for 1919-20¹¹² Kazi Dowsam Dup was the serving Head Master of the Bhutia Boarding School and Babu Rashmi Prasad Alley was the Head Master of the Nepali Boarding School. The following table shows the total strength of the teaching staff in the schools at Gangtok in 1920:

Table: IV: 15
Strength of the teaching faculty:

Schools	Number of teaching staff
Bhutia Boarding School	4 (Head Master and 3 Assistants)
Nepali Boarding School	4 (Head Master and 3 Assistants)
Kazis' Daughters School	2 (1Tibetan teacher and 1 knitting teacher)
Enchey Monastery School	1 (Head Lama)

Source: *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim for 1920.*

The system of 'surety bond' was introduced by the Council in 1915. It was started in order to bind those students who were pursuing their higher studies outside the state on Government scholarship so that they would return back to the country after completion of their selected course of studies and work for the Government. The system was implemented in view of the fact that one student studying at Darjeeling High School under State scholarship had joined the Police Department at Darjeeling itself instead of taking up employment in Sikkim State to which he was indebted for his education. Financial help was also provided to those boys interested to pursue learning on Buddhist literature and scripture. Students were sent to the neighbouring countries for such courses. In 1915 free boarders were sent to Chorpung in Tibet and Ceylon for learning Buddhist scriptures in Pali. We therefore find that other than encouraging the expansion of modern system of education the Government also tried to revive the learning of Buddhism in the state of Sikkim.¹¹³

On November 3, 1920 the *Maharaja* Tashi Namgyal reorganised the Department of Education and placed it under a Director. One Barmiak Kusho was appointed as the "Director of Education" of the Sikkim State. The Director

of Education was assisted by a "Board of Education". In 1920¹¹⁴ the Board of Education consisted of the following persons:

Maharaj Kumari Cheoni Wangmo La	President
Rhenock Kazi	Vice President
Barmaik Dewan	Member
Yangthang Kazi	"
Gellong Kazi	"
Enthang Kazi	"
Tassang Lama	"
Phodong Chotimpa	"
Rai Sahib Lamboder Pradhan	"
Babu Ratna Bahadur Pradhan	"
Babu Narain Dass Pradhan	"

The above persons of the Board of Education with the exception of its president, used to visit the State Educational Institutions occasionally for examining the students in the subjects laid down in the school curriculum and educational codes. The educational codes followed in Sikkim were similar to the system prevailing in the Darjeeling District. After examining and inspecting the schools, a note and remarks regarding individual student's intelligence, capabilities, interest, knowledge, defects etc were recorded in the visitor's book. Comments and suggestions were also made regarding the methods adopted by the school for imparting knowledge, maintenance of discipline, encouraging self-reliance and ambition, developing interest in sports and exercises and general improvement of both mind and body.¹¹⁵ Other than visiting different educational institutions of the state, the Board also used to assist the Judicial Secretary by giving advice on all important questions relating to educational and ecclesiastical matters. In 1926¹¹⁶ the members of the Board of Education were increased to Seventeen (17) and again in 1932 it was reduced to fifteen.¹¹⁷

In 1925, the two important Government schools of Gangtok viz, the Bhutia Boarding School and the Nepali Boarding School were amalgamated

into a new institution and this came to be known as The Tashi Namgyal High School.¹¹⁸Way back in 1908, this desire to amalgamate the Bhutia and the Nepali schools was expressed on grounds of efficiency but due to local objections it could not materialize at that point of time. For this purpose the military buildings at Gangtok was purchased by the Durbar at a cost of Rs. 10,031 from the Government of India. The new institution was named after *Maharaja* Tashi Namgyal to commemorate the liberal policies of the then ruler of Sikkim. The first Head Master of the school was Mr. C.E.Dudley, a capable European educationist and a graduate of Dublin University on a salary of Rs.400-20-500 per month.¹¹⁹ C.E.Dudley was also appointed as the superintendent of Public Instruction in the State. The school followed the Bengal Educational Code and curriculum. The educational standard of the school was up to the matriculation level. The school got affiliated to the Calcutta University in the year 1930. In 1931, the first batch of students of the Tashi Namgyal High School appeared for their matriculation examination.¹²⁰The school was under direct management of the Durbar. By 1926 the strength of the staff of the school was raised from 11 to 15. The pay and prospects of the teachers were materially battered. In 1926 there were 209 boys (including day boys) on the rolls, of which 40 were free borders. The average daily attendance was 169. In pursuance of the rules of the Bengal Educational Code, a school management committee was formed to especially supervise the general working of the school which had emerged out as the premier institution of Sikkim. The management committee used to meet once a month to supervise the school which consisted of eight members nominated by the *Maharaja*. The Committee also used to advise the Secretary in charge of the educational matters. The Head Master of the school used to act as Ex-officio Secretary of the committee. The committee consisted of the following 8 members in 1925-26:¹²¹

1. Mr.C.E.Dudley----- President
2. Kumar W.Polden-----Vice President
3. Rai Sahib Lobzang Chhoden --- Member

4. Mr. Rup Narain ----- Member
5. Babu Ratna Bahadur Pradhan--- Member
6. Gyaltzen Kazi----- Member
7. Norzang Kazi----- Member
8. Pundit Misrilal Pathak----- Member

From its very beginning the Tashi Namgyal High School emerged out as a premier educational institution of Sikkim. The school produced very satisfactory results in the Board Examinations conducted by the Calcutta University. Medical inspection of the pupils was also provided by the Government in all its schools and it was conducted by the State Medical Officer.¹²² Primary education in the schools under the Government was free but a very modest scale of fee was charged from the IIIrd standard.¹²³

By the year 1930 Gangtok, the capital of Sikkim could boast of being an important centre of learning in the state. It being the capital, maximum efforts was put in its overall development and naturally educational development in tune with modern system of education in British India stood as an important aspect of such development. Other than an important centre for education for Sikkim boys, Gangtok by 1925 also fared well in female education. As noticed in the above discussion the beginning in this direction was seen with the establishment of a school for Kazis' daughters in 1913.¹²⁴ By this time mission schools were also established through out different parts of Sikkim and in fact they had come into existence much before boarding schools were begun at Gangtok. The Church of Scottish Mission and the Scandinavian Alliance Missions worked actively in the field of spreading modern education throughout Sikkim. The Missionaries were in fact instrumental in female education in Sikkim. In 1930¹²⁵ a semi charitable institution was established at Gangtok by the state engineer known as the State Carpentry school. Students were taught to make furniture in Tibetan motif.

The following table gives an insight into the grants sanctioned by the Government to education between 1908 and 1932:¹²⁶

Table: IV: 16
Grants sanctioned:

Year	Expenditure in Rupees
1908	6648
1909	6417
1910	7239
1911	7618
1912	7960
1913	7031
1914	7163
1915	7839
1916	8376
1917	7994
1918	8381
1919	9115
1920	8019
1921	7432
1922	11,183
1923	9436
1924	11,328
1925	13,873
1926	20,759
1927	23,002
1928	NA
1929	NA
1930	30,654
1931	27,773
1932	27,680

Source: *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim between 1908 and 1932*

Number of schools established in Sikkim between 1889 and 1947

Schools maintained by the Government.	Schools maintained by the Scottish Mission.	Schools maintained by the Scandinavian Mission.	Schools maintained by the Landlords. (Village Schools)
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sir Tashi Namgyal Memorial, Gangtok. 2. Enchey Monastery School, Gangtok. 3. Village School Lachen. 4. Village School Lachung 5. School of Industry, Gangtok. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Temi Primary School. 2. Pakyong Primary School. 3. Soreyong Primary School. 4. Rhenock Primary School. 5. Kamlet Primary School. 6. Sadam Primary School. 7. Chakunk Primary School. 8. Vok Primary School. 9. Phabong Primary School. 10. Dentam Primary School. 11. P.N. Girls' High School. 12. Vok Lace School. 13. Namthang Primary School. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Weaving School, Lachung. 2. Weaving School, Lachen. 3. Song Primary School. 4. Rinzing Primary School. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Kaluk Primary School. 2. Heegaon Primary School. 3. Chakung Primary School. 4. Timberbung Primary School. 5. Mangalbare Primary School. 6. Sosing Primary School. 7. Namchi Primary School. 8. Mangsari Primary School. 9. Gayzing Primary School. 10. Dodak Primary School. 11. Rongli Primary School. 12. Samdang Primary School. 13. Rhenoch Primary School. 14. Sambhuk Primary School.

Source: *Annual Administration Report of the Government of Sikkim for the year 1932-33.*

IV.

Health Services

The creation of the Political Agency also saw some beginning in the sphere of institutions which took care of the health of the people of Sikkim. Such health institutions were the result of British preoccupation with health issues, the starting being made with a dispensary for the British Agency at Gangtok in 1890. From its very beginning this dispensary grew as a health centre for the public.¹²⁷ Evidences throw interesting light on how the dispensary meant for the British Agency at Gangtok grew as a public health centre. In 1891 Surgeon D.G. Marshall, the Army Medical Officer at the Gangtok Agency Dispensary felt it necessary to extend medical facilities to the public. This concern is noticed from the following letter¹²⁸ that he wrote to the Political Officer, "to make the civil dispensary at Gantak thoroughly useful to the surrounding people, it should be under charge of a Medical Officer, who could perform all necessary operations, see patients daily at the dispensary and in fact act as Civil Surgeon of Gantak and Sikkim...I am sure that the establishment of a dispensary on these lines would be of great benefit to the people of Sikkim, as owing to the long distance from Darjeeling they have up to the present been unable to secure proper surgical assistance. The building could be enlarged so as to afford accommodation for three or four in-patients, as it would be useless to attempt to treat these people unless they could be kept under observation." Reacting positively upon Dr. Marshall's letter the Political Officer wrote¹²⁹ to the Deputy Commissioner, Darjeeling, "I am of the opinion that the dispensary should be in his (Surgeon Marshall) charge and agree with him in thinking it would be a great boon to the Sikkim people to have a place where they can receive medical aid. I am willing to add to the building, if necessary, there being only one room at present, besides that in which the medicines are kept, into which patients can be placed while under treatment. I also think that whoever is in charge of the detachment at Gantak should receive some remuneration for undertaking the work of the civil hospital."

H.H.Risley's, official letter¹³⁰ to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, says, "as there is no other dispensary within easy reach of the people and as the institution now opened confers a great benefit, not only on the Civil Officers stationed there, but also on the people of the country and is likely indirectly to be of service in connection with the political administration of Sikkim." The average attendance of this dispensary in each month during the year 1891 was 60. The Deputy Commissioner's official memo¹³¹ dated the 1 March, 1891 stated, "there is no doubt that if the dispensary is regularly kept up for the public under proper supervision it will be much appreciated and that large numbers will come to it in time." The table below gives the figures of attendance at the dispensary at Gangtok from 25 January 1891 to 25 February 1892:

Table: IV: 17

Attendance at the Gangtok dispensary between January 1891 and February 1892.

25 January	to 25 February 1891.	39.
" February	" " March "	64.
" March	" " April "	62.
" April	" " May "	37.
" May	" " June "	47.
" June	" " July "	30.
" July	" " August "	33.
" August	" " September "	66.
" September	" " October "	128.
" October	" " November "	54.
" November	" " December "	81.
" December	" " January 1892	85.
" January 1892	" " February "	78.

Source: F.D.P, Extl.B, August 1892, Nos.140-157.

This gives 726 for the year. The number of attendance from 25 December 1890 to 25 January was 41. The figures for the entire 1891 show a constant increase in each month. Therefore, acting upon the above suggestions of the British Officials at Sikkim and Bengal, the Government of India placed the civil dispensary at Gangtok under the charge of the Medical Officer attached to the regiment at the station, enlarged the dispensary building and

granted a local allowance of Rs.50 per month (paid from the Sikkim revenue) to the medical officer for attending to the public. The health institution at Gangtok was thus made useful for the people of the state. The Political Officer wrote¹³² to the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling on February, 1892, “as soon as the European Doctor took up the work the *Kazis* and more well-to-do people came for attendance”. And rightly so, the newly established dispensary was wholeheartedly welcomed by the general public of Gangtok and the surrounding areas as noticed from the figures in the above table.

From the beginning of 1900, the dispensary at Gangtok was fully established as a small hospital where indoor patients were received. This was in fact the first hospital in Sikkim with provision for accommodating 8 male patients, 5 female patients and 2 special patients. Minor operations were also conducted in the hospital. Other than the Medical Officer, two civil hospital assistants were appointed for the hospital at Gangtok and the dispensary at Chidam, respectively. It may be mentioned here that in 1897 a dispensary was opened at Chidam (present day Saddam) by the Christian Missionaries in Sikkim. These assistants were Harendra Nath Mitra and Indu Bhusan Sen Gupta.¹³³ The hospital was financed by the Durbar, the British Residency and the newly established business houses at Gangtok. In 1904 Messers Jetmull and Bhojraj contributed Rs. 24 monthly which financed for the upkeep of 3 beds.¹³⁴ Given below is the statement of the cost of State Dispensary at Gangtok in 1906:

Table: IV: 18
Cost of the State Dispensary at Gangtok

Details	Cost per mensem. (Cost in Rs.)	Cost per annum (Cost in Rs.)
1. Allowances to Regimental Surgeon at Gangtok.	50.	600.
2. One Civil Hospital Assistant	43.	516.
3. Special allowance to Hospital Assistant.	20.	240.
4. Allowance to Military Hospital Assistant at Gangtok for doing the dispensary work during absence on tour of the Civil Hospital Assistant.	3.	36.
5. One Compounder.	12.	144.
<u>Menial Establishment.</u>		
6. One Choukidar	10.	120.
7. One servant	8.	96.
8. One sweeper.	10.	120.
9. Contingencies	20.	240.
Total cost	...	2,112.

Source: F.D.P, Extl A, (secret E) September. 1906, Nos.40-46.

The use of Gangtok as a strategic place for thwarting the Tibetans and a base for Indo-Tibetan trade brought in problems associated with health of the people. This is noticeable during the Mission of Col. Younghusband when due to the influx of large number of coolies into Gangtok for transport and road making the health of the people suffered. The unsanitary condition of the coolie camps caused sickness and diseases. Cholera, as an epidemic was bad during 1904-05 on this account. It spread up to the line of communication from Lhasa Tibet Valley down to the 5th mile stage beyond Gangtok before it was stamped out. Babu H.N Mitra, the Civil Hospital Assistant who also had the charge of the special hospital meant for road and transport coolies and the civil segregation camps for cholera and small pox during the Younghusband Mission, rendered valuable medical service to the people. It was mainly due to

the care and attention he devoted to his several duties that there were few deaths among coolies. In 1906¹³⁵ The Political Officer submitted his proposal for the reorganization of the medical arrangements in the Sikkim Agency and urged the appointment of an Agency Surgeon to Gangtok, the reasons which he adduced for the change were that the European population of the Station had increased considerably and necessitated the employment of a whole time medical officer. The question of rearrangement was immediately looked after and in 1908, J.N Turner was appointed as assistant surgeon or civil surgeon at the Gangtok hospital. Contribution was given towards pay and establishment of the office room of the civil surgeon by the Sikkim Durbar and the British Residency. Also, under the new arrangement the hospital assistant at Gangtok had to attend daily at the jail, police lines and schools in addition to his work at the hospital and dispensary. For carrying out such additional duties, the hospital assistance was granted an additional allowance of Rs.8 per month. Similar facility was prevailing in Bengal at that time and the entitlement was Rs.15 per month.¹³⁶

As the established policy of the state was to place the medical aid within the reach of all classes of people in the state, free medical aid and free supply of medicines were made available in all the medical institutions maintained by the state. In 1907 a budget of Rs.2300 was allocated for the maintenance of the dispensary, out of which Rs. 2235-3-2 was spent for maintenance of dispensary, dieting indoor patients and vaccination. The number of patients operated at Gangtok hospital in 1908 was 86.¹³⁷ In 1913-14 the number of outdoor patients treated in Gangtok hospital were 8,096 and 244 numbers of indoor patients were treated.¹³⁸

In addition to the dispensary at Gangtok and Chidam, a new dispensary was opened at Rangpo in 1908. These health institutions were much appreciated by the people as is evidenced by the fact that though the Rangpo dispensary was originally opened only for the Public Works Department employees, the public flocked in large numbers for treatment. Further in 1908

some *Kazis* and *Thikadars* offered to build suitable dispensaries if drugs and other facilities were provided by the Government.¹³⁹

Although the hospital at Gangtok worked well it was not used by the people as one would expect. The hill people did not freely report to the dispensary and that the patients consisted of those in whose cases charms and incantation had failed to cure. However, with the passage of time the hospital gained popularity. This is shown from the table below which shows a constant increase in the number of patients treated at the hospital:

Table: IV: 19

Number of patients treated at the Gangtok hospital between 1904 and 1925:

Year	Number of Patients Treated			Result of In-door Patients				Expenditure in Rs.	Daily Average
	Out-door	In-door	Total	Discharged	Absconding	Die d	Remaining under treatment		
1903	-	-	5,934	-	-	-	-	-	23.88%
1904	-	-	8,833	-	-	-	-	-	35.18%
1905	-	-	7,063	-	-	-	-	-	32.24%
1909	7274	218	-	192	-	13	13	2,502	38.95%
1911	7205	225	-	-	-	12	-	3415	34.52%
1913	8096	244	-	216	8	14	6	5276	39.38%
1914	8646	227	-	197	8	5	17	4901	37.40%
1915	-	215	7,940	-	-	13	-	-	37.88%
1918	8473	346	-	-	-	-	-	-	46.70%
1921	7980	217	-	-	-	-	-	-	32.49%
1925	7997	337	-	-	-	-	-	-	21.89%

Source: *Administration Reports of the State of Sikkim* from 1904 to 1925.

For the purpose of vaccination the state was divided into 5 circles with head quarters at Gangtok, Nanchi, Seriyong and Mainbong. A licensed vaccinator was posted at each centre and a fee of 2 annas was charged for each vaccinated. These circles were visited from time to time by the Civil Surgeon and the Sub-Inspector of vaccination. Lanoline lymph was used as vaccination which was obtained from the Government Depot at Ghoom (Darjeeling). In 1908¹⁴⁰ the Sikkim Durbar made vaccination compulsory and directed that it

should be carried out in the cold weather only when the people have not much work to do in their field. Every endeavour was made to push on vaccination. Beginning with the system of a licensed vaccinator, the vaccination establishment consisted of 1 sub-inspector and 7 vaccinators by 1925. Medicines were distributed in the villages by the vaccinators on their rounds.¹⁴¹ Owing to the danger of spreading syphilis, etc., the practice of arm-to-arm vaccination was discontinued. Lymph prepared in lanoline was obtained from the Government Depot at Ghoom, Darjeeling.¹⁴² Medical Officers of various dispensaries also had duties of visiting various *bazaars* on hat days and dispensing small remedies to the sick. In 1930, the former system of carrying on vaccinations by licensed vaccinators during the six months of the year was replaced by employing a permanent staff engaged on this work throughout the year. The system of charging 2 annas per head from those vaccinated was abolished in 1930 therefore making vaccination free for all.¹⁴³

The following table shows an increase in the number of people vaccinated between 1904 and 1932 which indicates Government's concern for general health of the public:

Table: IV: 20

Number of people vaccinated

Year	Number of people vaccinated		
	Male	Female	Total
1904	NA	NA	1,524
1905	NA	NA	3,220
1906	NA	NA	NA
1907	NA	NA	4,712
1908	NA	NA	5,735
1909	NA	NA	5,652
1910	3,326	2,777	6,105
1911	3,282	2,393	5,675
1912	NA	NA	NA
1913	5,279	4,301	9,580
1914	6,213	4,982	11,195
1915	4,462	3,581	8,043
1916	NA	NA	11,503
1917	NA	NA	5,928
1918	3,039	3,124	6,163
1919	3,250	3,391	6,641
1920	2,331	2,158	4,489
1921	NA	NA	5,939
1922	1,901	1,969	3,870
1923	NA	NA	3,339
1924	NA	NA	6,676
1925	NA	NA	5,085
1926	3,782	3,228	7,010
1927	NA	NA	7,137
1928	NA	NA	9,477
1929	NA	NA	7,884
1930	3,303	2,612	5,915
1931	5,027	3,352	8,379
1932	NA	NA	2,451

Source: *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* from 1904 to 1932.

The Administrative Reports of the State of Sikkim for 1917-1918¹⁴⁴ and 1925-1926¹⁴⁵ throw interesting light on the distribution of vaccinated on the basis of community, which is highlighted in the table below:

Table: IV: 21
Frequency Distribution of Patients

Year	Christians	Hindus	Muslims	Bhutias and Lepchas	Total
1917-18	10	4,678	Nil	1,475	6,163
1925-26	26	5134	1	1,849	7,010

Source: *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for 1917-18 and 1925-26.

Evidences throw light on Government's concern for public health and sanitization. Sanitary measures were carried out at Gangtok and other *bazaars* where latrines were built, sweepers were maintained and drinking water was supplied through galvanized iron pipes. A Sanitary Overseer was appointed to look after the conservancy and sanitary condition of the Gangtok Station. This officer had a small staff of sweepers under him. Phenyle, kerosene oil and buckets, etc., were supplied to all the latrines at the expense of the State. In 1920 the sanitary staff at Gangtok consisted of 1 sanitary overseer and 7 sweepers,¹⁴⁶ which rose up to 1 sanitary overseer and 11 sweepers by 1925¹⁴⁷ and 1 sanitary overseer and 15 sweepers in 1935.¹⁴⁸ The maintenance of water supply at Gangtok and Rangpo was looked after by the State Public Works Department which erected reservoirs and a network of pipe lines for supplying good drinking water. The water supply at Majhitar and Namchi *Bazaars* was maintained by the local *Elakhadars*. They were allowed to charge a water tax to cover the expenses incurred by them in laying down pipe lines. Since 1918 the contractor of the Gangtok *bazaar* was made responsible for the cleanliness and order of the bazaar area.¹⁴⁹ The general control over the conservancy staff was exercised by the Agency Civil Surgeon. Rural sanitation was attended to by the sweepers appointed in important *bazaars* of the State and supervision was exercised by the *bazaar* Inspector. From 1915¹⁵⁰ onward dog licenses were

issued and stray dogs were destroyed as a step towards maintenance of hygienic condition in the hospital and bazaar area of Gangtok.

Given below is the table showing the expenditure incurred by the Government between 1907 and 1932 on medical and sanitisation. The increase in expenditure in some years was due to the purchase of European medicines.

Table: IV: 22

Expenditure between 1907 and 1932 on medical and sanitization:

Year	Expenditure in Rupees.
1907	4389-5-6
1908	5140-5-5
1909	6015-6-9
1910	8524-14-2
1911	9655-9-0
1912	10492-11-10
1913	12686-12-2
1914	10856-15-5
1915	12571-2-1
1916	13915
1917	13928
1918	16220
1919	15872
1920	13919
1921	16726
1922	20684
1923	27284
1924	28543
1925	28070
1926	30533
1927	27722
1928	30724
1929	N.A
1930	25932
1931	28232
1932	33486

Source: Administration Report of the State of Sikkim between 1907 and 1932.

The year 1912¹⁵¹ saw the construction of a new hospital building at Gangtok. The new building was ready for use in 1917.¹⁵² It was inaugurated by the *Maharaja* on 24 September 1917. A sum of Rs 1,444 was spent on the purchase of equipments required for the hospital. In the newly constructed

administrative block, rooms for civil surgeon, medical officer, stores, dispensary, medical examination unit and two main wards were accommodated. Dr. J.N Turner continued to be the Assistant Civil Surgeon of the hospital. The new hospital was named after the late *Maharaja* Sir Thudop Namgyal and came to be called Sir Thudop Namgyal Memorial hospital.¹⁵³ Letter from His Highness *Maharaja* of Sikkim to the Political officer in Sikkim, dated 15.3.1915, Gangtok 1915.

In 1918 Sikkim Durbar took over the medical records, vaccinators, sanitary staff and other servants working under the Civil Surgeon¹⁵⁴ and in 1922¹⁵⁵ the entire medical arrangements in the state were placed under Dr. J.C. Dyer, the Civil Surgeon of the hospital at Gangtok who was also the medical superintendent. At the request of the Sikkim Durbar the Civil Surgeon undertook to supervise in addition to his own duties, the entire medical arrangements of the State such as dispensaries, sanitation, jails etc., and to attend professionally on the *Maharaja* and his family. For such duties the civil surgeon was granted an extra allowance of Rs.150 per month by the Sikkim Durbar. On several occasions, visits to the hospital was made by the *Maharaja* and sanctions of various improvement schemes were made such as providing new bed linen, blankets and night suits for patients. Work classes were organized by the Political Office with the support of the Maharani for preparation of garments for the patients.¹⁵⁶

A need was felt to further expand the hospital as it had become difficult for the hospital at Gangtok to cater to the health of the public pouring in the capital with complaints of dysentery, relapsing fever, whooping cough and influenza. Further expansion of the Gangtok hospital was therefore taken up in the early 1920s. Together with this the expansion of medical officer's quarters was also taken up. In the year 1926¹⁵⁷ a tuberculosis ward for Sir Tashi Namgyal Memorial Hospital at Gangtok was sanctioned by the Government. Provisions of 4 male and 2 female patients were made in the tuberculosis ward. A paying ward for the use of those who could afford to pay for treatment in the hospital was started in the newly established tuberculosis ward in 1928. The

charge was Re. 1 per day for bigger room and 8 annas per day for smaller room. By 1927 electric light substituted kerosene lamp in the Gangtok hospital. Water taps were provided for the hospital and concrete drain was constructed round the hospital building in 1928.¹⁵⁸ Public buildings and roads were provided with electric lights free of charge.¹⁵⁹ It is therefore observed that the growth of Gangtok entailed a host of Municipal activities in order to ensure the health of the public.

In 1935 the *Maharaja* declared to raise a memorial in the Gangtok hospital to be named after late Mr.F.Williamson, the former British Political Officer who died in Lhasa. The memorial thus raised came to be known as Williamson Surgical and Maternity Ward.¹⁶⁰ As noticed above, the opening up of Gangtok and its connection with the plains of British India had a negative influence in the general health of the public due to the inflow of epidemics to the capital. Incidents of people suffering from malaria were reported; the reason that malaria infection could not be avoided was that the infection occurred while people traveled through the Terai, which was malaria infected, to climb up the hills. Similarly cholera appeared in Gangtok along with troops, porters and with others who flocked around the capital. Water borne diseases, like typhoid-fever, diarrhea also appeared to be inflicting the people of Gangtok and the Europeans stationed there. Such diseases were also noticeable in other parts of Sikkim. During the year 1918 the people of Sikkim suffered much on account of cholera and influenza. Cholera was confined to the lower valleys towards Melli, Rangpo, Rhenock and Rongli and was responsible for 18 deaths. Prompt measures were taken to prevent infection to other parts of Sikkim and to stamp out this disease. Through the good offices of the Political Officer in Sikkim the services of two Government Sub-Assistants Surgeons were secured from Bengal. Capt. J.N.Turner, Civil surgeon at Gangtok, rendered valuable assistance. His zeal and devotion to duty averted what might otherwise have resulted in a grave situation. As was the case in other parts of India, influenza spread with lightning rapidity in Sikkim and in fact no one in Sikkim escaped a mild or a severe attack and the mortality and distress were

very severe in rural areas, notwithstanding every possible medical assistance which the Durbar could render, and as the disease spread simultaneously throughout India, it was difficult to obtain outside medical aid. The vaccination staff was engaged in peripatetic duties. Mortality rate was unparalleled and accounted for 2,767 deaths, which was 3.14 percent of the total population of Sikkim.¹⁶¹ In early 1930s. Sikkim saw the outbreak of *kala azar*, a fatal epidemic in Rangpo and the area covering Duga, Khanitar, Majhitar and Mamring which caused heavy loss of human life. The Government was however quick in dealing with the epidemic. Doctors were posted from Gangtok hospital to Rangpo for treating the patients. Aldehyde tests of blood were conducted as a detective measure. By 1935 the Government was successful in bringing *kala azar* under control. In 1935 there was an outbreak of bacillary dysentery and sporadic cases of small pox. Prompt measures were taken to counteract the spread of such diseases. There was also wide spread prevalence of cattle diseases especially rinderpest and foot mouth infection which was carried by bullocks traffic used as the main mode of transportation between Siliguri to Gangtok. Therefore, as a preventive measure, an order was issued by the Government to stop the entry of bullock traffic to Gangtok. Bullock carts were now allowed to move only within Rangpo and Singtam. This preventive measure remained in operation till early 1930s. Gangtok was once again opened for bullock traffic in 1935.¹⁶² Even in the early 1920s the Government had adopted measures for preventing the spread of cattle diseases. Therefore, it was considered necessary to register cart animals. A scheme for this purpose was approved by His Highness and registration had been accordingly affected. Forty seven cart men were furnished with registration certificates and identity discs.¹⁶³

The prevalence of cattle diseases, its cure and prevention was taken up seriously by the Government. Therefore, a veterinary hospital for sick animals was constructed in 1928. This was an extension of the dispensary for sick animals which had existed from the middle of 1920. The cost incurred for its construction was Rs.2479. Stable attached to the medical officers' quarters was

also constructed and a disinfecting shed was built up at the main hospital building at Gangtok. Constant care was taken to protect cattle against diseases. The main epizootic diseases treated in the hospital were equines, glanders, bovines-rinderpest, anthrax, avian tuberculosis, rabies and foot-mouth disease. In 1927¹⁶⁴ anthrax was detected in Turuk elakha near Melli and Ranka Forest near Gangtok. Some cases of avian tuberculosis were detected at the Residency area in 1925.¹⁶⁵ In 1933,¹⁶⁶ cattle numbering 368 were protected against rinderpest with serum injection. The supply of serum and vaccines came to Gangtok from Bengal Veterinary College, Calcutta. Acaprin, an effective vaccine for treating animals suffering from piroplasmosis was also brought from Calcutta which was found to be more effective than tryperblue the vaccine which was in use for animals. In 1926 Babu N.N.Banerjee of the Bengal Civil Veterinary Department was deputed as the Veterinary Inspector in Sikkim. The veterinary dispensary and hospital at Gangtok were maintained throughout the year. The established policy of the state was to place Veterinary aid within the reach of all classes of people in the state. With this aim in view, free veterinary aid and free medicines were available to the public in the veterinary institutes maintained at Gangtok.¹⁶⁷ The number of animals treated in the veterinary hospital in different years is given in the following table:

Table: IV: 23

Number of animals treated in the veterinary hospital, 1915-1935.

Year	Number of animals treated
1915	737
1917	114
1918	260
1925	436
1926	1289
1935	364

Source: Administration Report of the State of Sikkim from 1915 to 1935.

While talking of public health the initiative taken by Christian missionaries for establishing dispensaries and the medical help rendered to the

people of the state can never be forgotten. No wonder such initiatives were meant for enhancing their missionary activities.

A number of compounders-cum-catechist were trained by the missionaries from the native population. In 1897 a dispensary was opened in Chidam the present day Sadam under the supervision of Elatji Matiyas¹⁶⁸ Gradually medical camps were organized at different places by the missionary medical workers. By 1906¹⁶⁹ there were four missionary dispensaries staffed by compounder-cum-catechist at Dentam, Phambong, Chidam (Sadam) and Rhenock. These dispensaries were run by the Church of Scottish Mission and ewew also aided by the State. The Civil Surgeon of the Gangtok hospital used to visit these dispensaries twice a year in accordance with the orders of the British Political Officer.¹⁷⁰ The Government of India also appreciated the medical facilities extended by the missionaries in Sikkim and gave a grant of medicine for the dispensaries. Mary Scott of the Scottish University Mission at Gangtok, Miss A.Frojd and Mr and Mrs. Oleila of Scandinavian Alliance Mission rendered medical aid at Sikkim at various dispensaries in Sikkim including Gangtok hospital. Most of the dispensaries in Sikkim then were maintained by the Scottish University Mission and at Gangtok under the supervision of Mary Scott. By 1920¹⁷¹ there were ten dispensaries in Sikkim. They were Gangtok, Rangpo, Chidam, Rhenock, Soryeng, Vok, Dentam, Ringim Valley, Temi Mission and Lachung. The principal disease treated in these dispensaries were malaria, worms goiter and skin diseases. All these dispensaries were kept open throughout the year. The dispensaries at Gangtok and Chidam were maintained by the Sikkim Durbar, Government making a contribution of Rs. 1,500 for medicines. The Public works Department Dispensary at Rangpo was maintained by the Government. The Mission Dispensaries were maintained by the Church of Scotland Mission but was state-aided, who contributed Rs250. annually for medicines.¹⁷²

Social Formations

Ever since the inception of monarchical form of Government, Sikkimese social structure underwent a transformation from a crude clannist and horizontal division into a vertical bureaucratic structure. At Yuksam, the *Maharaja* created a bureaucratic order by inducting twelve Bhutias as '*Kalons*' (ministers) commonly known as *Kazis* and twelve Lepchas as the head of *Dzongs* or castles. The appointments were made from among the most influential and reputed families of the Bhutias and the Lepchas. These twelve Lepchas called the *Jongpens*, later came to be known as the Lepcha *Kazis*. The appointment of the Lepcha '*Jongpens*' and Bhutia '*Kalons*' by the first ruler in time led to the emergence of two parallel phenomena of feudalism and bureaucracy.

The *Kazis* held ministerial positions and were commanded to maintain two residential provisions: one at their provincial estate where they ruled and another in the capital around the palace of the king where they were functionaries of the Durbar. The *Kazis* were also the regional lords and as such were in charge of their territories. They adjudicated minor disputes and collected revenue on the lands within their jurisdiction. They had no proprietary right in the lands although they did have a kind of hereditary title to their offices.¹⁷³ The *Kazis* constituted a fluid social class in which intermarriage with the ruler's family was also practiced. Since they commanded the regional territories and had some tradition of religious education, they were the kinsmen of the ruler and used to offer their children as the incarnate Lamas to the important monasteries. They manned the council and the official positions, commanded the contingents against the enemies and wielded considerable authority in the realm, and indeed over the ruler himself. In fact, at times, the stronger and the more influential *Kazis* were even more powerful than the rulers. The *Kazis* thus had a parallel function of bureaucrats and feudal lords to

render to the state. They were the traditional elites and claimed the most respected place in the society.¹⁷⁴

The Kazis had a very obscure beginning. The Nepalese sources suggest that the institution of the Kazi was introduced in Nepal during the reign of King Bijoy Narain Rai (1584-1609). The History of Nepal shows how the generals elevated to the position of Kazis irrespective of caste and religion. It suggests that Kaziship was hereditary. Among such hereditary inheritors of Kaziship mention may be made of Kazi Jagjit Pande, Kazi Ranjeet Singh Thapa, son of Kazi Amar Singh Thapa, Kazi Chamn Bhandari, Kazi uder (Uday) Man Singh and Kazi Bhakwar Singh.¹⁷⁵ It may also be seen that the term is differently spelt and pronounced in Nepal: Kazi, Quazi, Kajee, Kaji. During the long period of theocratic feudalism, the Gangetic plain south of Sikkim was under the Muslim rulers who had the institution of the Kazis. In case the term was borrowed from Nepal, its broad currency and acceptance can be attributed to the transactions between the feudal chiefs of Sikkim and the representatives of their neighbouring Muslim rulers at Purneah and Dinajpur.¹⁷⁶ Among the Bhutia family of repute, Risley¹⁷⁷ mentioned 14 *Kazi* families, which might have been admitted to the sacred Pemiongchi monastery. There were eight other families which were admitted to Pemionchi monastery but only on payment of heavy entrance fees. As for the Lepchas, most of the present-day aristocratic families trace their origin to the Lepcha chief, The-Kong-Tek. A majority of the Lepcha Kazi houses such as Barmoik, Rhenock, Enchey, Rumtek, Fatong and Gangtok belonged to legendary Barphungpa stock i.e., "flowing from the high" or the Patricians.¹⁷⁸ The *History of Sikkim*¹⁷⁹ records that all these Bhutia and Lepcha families that claim aristocratic blood were inter-related by matrimonial alliances. These *Kazis* had a kind of hereditary succession to their office. They exercised limited civil and criminal jurisdiction in the area over which they had been collecting revenue. In accordance with the Tibetan tradition they were named after the localities they ruled. The size of their estates also varied. Waddel¹⁸⁰ mentioned the name of 12 *Kazi* houses, such as Lasso, Yangthang, Gangtok, Rhenock, Dallam, Barmoik, Song, Tashiding, Libing, Maling,

Simikand Pendong. It is noted in the imperial Gazetteer of India, ¹⁸¹ gives the number of *Kazis* as 21. At present, it will not be difficult to enumerate about three dozen of *Kazi* houses in Sikkim. Other than the *Kazis*, the traditional aristocracy in Sikkim also comprised of the priestly class or the Bhuddhist Lamas. The monks were drawn from the high-born Bhutias and Lepchas. It was during the reign of Chagdor Namgyal that every second son of a Bhutia family was commanded to be ordained a monk of Pemionchi monastery. A network of the Bhuddhist monasteries was established and huge estates were attached to them. These monasteries were the centres of theological training for the clergy. Some of the monasteries were maintained with the support of the state exchequer and served as administrative centres. As the revenue was accepted in kind, the monasteries served the purpose of regional centres for storage as well. In this way, the monasteries were important institutions not only from socio-ritual point of view, but also from economic and political considerations. Hundreds of nuns and monks, while they were trainees, got free maintenance of their monasteries. Unlike their counterparts in the *Hinayan* Buddhist countries like Burma and Ceylon, these monks did not teach the laity nor did they preach to the commoners. These clergymen were variously trained as painters, calligraphers, embroiders, carvers and skilled craftsmen. The monks could work in the secular fields as well. Since the rulers were also monk-incarnates constantly in transaction with the high Lamas of Tibet and the Deb-Raja of Bhutan, these monks were used as emissaries, mediators and settlers of various state affairs. In internal administration also, the monks held important positions. They were appointed to the State Council; they managed the monastery estates, administered justice and even helped the laity in fighting against the enemies. Though economically dependent, they were very much influential both in the court and in the public life. In fact, it was these clergymen who managed the affairs of the state in collaboration with the *Kazis*.¹⁸²

Phuntsog Namgyal's greatest problem was to establish a viable administrative structure. This pragmatic ruler realized that in order to

consolidate his power it is important to win the confidence of the Lepchas and the Kirati tribes. By including the Lepchas in the administrative set-up he won the allegiance of the Lepchas. Perhaps the Lepchas' acceptance of the Bhutia rule in Sikkim must have been because of the ancient blood brotherhood between Khye-Bumsa and The-Kong-Tek. The Lepchas also readily accepted the new faith. To win over the confidence of the Kirati tribes, Phuntsog Namgyal invited all the tribal chiefs to a meeting where he proclaimed that the Bhutias (the victorious Lhopas), the members of the Monpas (the Lepchas), and the Tsongs (the Yakthambas or the Limbus) were of one family. The king should be considered the father, the Lepchas the mother, and the Limbus the sons of the same family and all should unite and rule the country.¹⁸³ However, from the available evidence we come to understand that there was no Limbu representation in the Council established in 1642 A.D. The denial of their share of power perhaps explains the reason why the Limbus threw off their allegiance to Nepal thus leading to their alienation and constant strife and tension with the ruler. The Magars also did not come to terms with the Bhutias as they did not accept the new faith (Bhuddhism) and the Bhutia authority. It may be recalled that the *Kazis* used the Limbus and the Magars constantly as unpaid labours for the construction of buildings and fortifications and for the household chores.¹⁸⁴

A new factor was added to the traditional Sikkimese society from the middle of the 19th century and this was the inclusion of the Newaris within the social fabric. With the liquidation of the Newari power in Kathmandu Valley by the Gurkhas in the middle of the 18th century the Newaris expanded to the east. They settled down in the Darjeeling District by the middle of the last century. Within no time, they entered Sikkim as the monopolists of the copper mines and minting industry. It may be mentioned here that for the Lamaist *Kazis* it was a taboo to dig mines. History bears evidence to the fact that the Nepalese minted coins for Tibet, Bhutan and Sikkim.¹⁸⁵ In Sikkimese context, these Nepalese could contract lease of land from the Sikkimese administration, thus earning in course of time the title of '*Thikadars*' for themselves.¹⁸⁶ Few very enterprising *Newaris*, such as Laxmi Das Pradhan and Brothers obtained

land lease from the *Kazis*. By the close of the 19th century, the *Pradhan Newars* (the *Seyshya* or *Shreshtya*) emerged as the Nepali counterparts of the *Kazis* in Sikkim. The ethnic complexity coupled with the British subjugation made the Sikkimese ruling class therefore, to adopt many non-Tibetan elements into the social and political system. The most manifest results of this assimilation, was thus the evolution of the *Kazis* and the *Newars* both as landlords. The *Kazis* could not reconcile to the position earned by the Newari *Thikadars* as they felt that landlordism was their traditional right and should be reserved exclusively for them. This created social tension thus leading to a mild armed encounter between the *Kazis* and the *Newars* at Rhenock in 1880.¹⁸⁷

What comes out clear from the above discussion is that Sikkimese society from the time of its first monarch was stratified into two broad divisions comprising of the upper class and the lower class. The upper class consisting of the *Kazis*, the *Thikadars* and the *Lamas* and the lower class consisting of the commoners belonging to the *Bhutia*, *Lepcha*, *Limbu* and *Magar* population of Sikkim.

The opening up of Sikkim to the colonial forces brought in changes in the traditional society leading to the development of new social structures. This was practically visible after 1889. The reformative measures of the British in the field of administration, judicial, economy, social and education created a new class in the social structure of Sikkim in addition to the old structure. This new social group was the middle class which comprised of the educated people from different ethnic communities and the business people from within and without. Any commoner having access to higher education or who could acquire prominence in business climbed up the social ladder. This new category of social structure therefore transcended down community and caste rigidities. The emergence of the middle class thus led to three tier stratification of the society which was especially noticeable in Gangtok.

Under the new administrative set-up beginning from 1889, the *Bhutia Kazis* and the Newar *Thikadars* continued with their privileged position as bureaucrats and landlords. The institution of *Thikadari* was enlarged with the

addition of new *Thikadars* who were created to suit the British interest. They were called the *Thikadars*, *Mukthiyas*, *Mandals*, and *Karbaris* and exercised powers in favour of the Government. The British introduced a lessee system on contractual basis for specific period on a fixed annual rent. To realize the taxes timely the British entrusted the power for its collection to the middleman known as landlords (*Kazis* and *Thikadars*). The *Kazis* and *Thikadars* again empowered the *Mandals* to collect the revenues at any cost and send the same to the respective *Kazis* who lived in towns and enjoyed a life of luxury and very seldom visited their estates and helped the *Thikadars* whenever required.¹⁸⁸ Therefore, this class enjoyed powers and functions even under the British administration and remained at the topmost level of the social hierarchy.

The changes introduced in the field of education with the introduction of modern education through the medium of English language slowly created a class of English knowing educated people. Some of the Sikkim boys after their education in Sikkim were sent to Darjeeling and also to Calcutta for furthering their studies in different professional courses. Reforms in education thus gave to the Sikkimese an access to higher education and with the expansion of different departments of administration in 1920s these educated lot were absorbed in different professional services as doctors, engineers, teachers, lawyers etc. At the Council meeting held on 31 March 1908 the *Maharaja* submitted a proposal asking to lend the services of two competent hands in his office at the Durbar court, one with English and Tibetan knowledge and the other with good English knowledge and well experienced in office works. This shows the importance given to those with background of English education. It was decided that the services of Rai saheb Lobzand Choden and Babu Aitasingh, the Head master of Nepali School be made available.¹⁸⁹ It is worth mentioning that when the Chief Court of Sikkim was born, the *Maharaja* asked the Political Officer to appoint English knowing men as President of each group of bench. Further, it was suggested to appoint good and reliable educated men as head clerks for keeping the account of fees and fines recovered in the court. This is evident from the letter of the *Maharaja* addressed to C.A. Bell,

the then Political Officer. Reference regarding this letter has been made earlier.¹⁹⁰ In 1924 Rup Narayan Pradhan, B.A, B.L.T was appointed as the chief judge of the Sikkim chief court.¹⁹¹ In 1934, Tashi Dorji, a state stipendiary passed out from Campbell School, Calcutta and qualified himself as sub-assistant surgeon. Dr. Sambhu Kumar Pradhan was appointed as special Kala Azar Doctor along with Dr. Manorath Giri in the same year. Dr. Panchbir Singh was appointed the medical officer at Gangtok. Dr Bhawani P.Pradhan was the sub-Assistant surgeon at Sir Tashi Namgyal Memorial Hospital at Gangtok.¹⁹² And Dr.Tsering Thendup Kazi was the State medical officer and in charge of the hospital during 1926-27.¹⁹³ Bijay Kumar Pradhan was appointed as the Jailor in 1932-33.¹⁹⁴ With the establishment of British Political Agency in Sikkim, English was made the official language in the state and only English knowing people could hold important positions in the state administration.¹⁹⁵ Thus a group of professional class was created leading to the birth of a middle class in Gangtok.

Other than these professional groups, the middle class also comprised of the business community especially from the plains of British India. They were the Marwaris, the Biharis and the Bengali traders. The commercial establishments at Gangtok and other urban centres of Sikkim were chiefly controlled by them. They were money-lenders, general merchants, clothiers, wine vendors and whole-sale dealers etc. Among the business communities operating from the time of the establishment of Political Agency in Gangtok, the names worth mentioning are those of Jethmull and Bhojraj, Duli Chand, Sri Lall and Raghunandan Ram.¹⁹⁶ The Jethmull Bhojraj branch of the Somanis were originally from Hissar in Haryana. They had some business establishments in Darjeeling in the 1850s. When the British Residency was established in 1889, they came to Gangtok as the cashiers of the British forces. During the Younghusband Expedition the bank established by Jettmull & 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.¹⁹⁷ Their multiple commercial offices in Gangtok were the pay office,

Plate-8



Letter head of Jetmull and Bhoiraj the Marwari businessmen of Darjeeling who opened a bank at Gangtok in 1889.

Source: Sikkim State Archive.

state bank, state exchequer, department store, and the public treasury. They used to advance credits to the ruler, the *Kazis* and at times to the Residency. The important trade between Tibet and India was controlled by them. This state of affairs continued upto 1968, when the administration established the State Bank of Sikkim with the help of the united Commercial Bank. Ltd. of India.¹⁹⁸ Few other important business houses emerging in the early 1940s of the last century were those of Sreeram Nanduram, Ratiram Bansilall and Sree Mulchand & sons.¹⁹⁹

It may be recalled that for the Sikkimese aristocrats, the *Kazis* and the *Thikadars* it was very common to have residential apartments in the capital apart from having their household establishments in their estates. While residing at the capital they used to engage themselves in trading activities between Sikkim and Tibet and also in the Indo-Tibetan trade which in turn brought them huge profits. This was their most favoured occupation next to their landlordism. But the entrance of business people from British India into the capital town of Gangtok and other urban areas of Sikkim created social tensions as it slowly led to a shift of business activity from the hands of these traditional businessmen of Sikkim to the newly emerging business group. In 1908 the Council resolved that no Marwaris should be allowed in future to settle anywhere in Sikkim except in the *bazaars* in Gangtok, Rhenock, Rungpo, without first obtaining the leave of the Political Officer. In 1913 the Council further resolved to have one uniform set of rules throughout Sikkim regarding the settlement of Marwaris that they will not be allowed to increase the size of their shops and other building or to build fresh shops in any place without obtaining approval from the Political Officer.²⁰⁰ Such resolutions however led to more and more concentration of business population in the *bazaar* at Gangtok, Rhenock and Rangpo as the Council Order of 1908 allowed them to settle in the bazaar areas only.

During the 30s and 40s of the last century we also find few commoners climbing up the social ladder and earning the status of a middle class in Gangtok. They were people with a modest background such as manual

state bank, state exchequer, department store, and the public treasury. They used to advance credits to the ruler, the *Kazis* and at times to the Residency. The important trade between Tibet and India was controlled by them. This state of affairs continued upto 1968, when the administration established the State Bank of Sikkim with the help of the united Commercial Bank. Ltd. of India.¹⁹⁸ Few other important business houses emerging in the early 1940s of the last century were those of Sreeram Nanduram, Ratiram Bansilall and Sree Mulchand & sons.¹⁹⁹

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During the 30s and 40s of the last century we also find few commoners climbing up the social ladder and earning the status of a middle class in Gangtok. They were people with a modest background such as manual

labourers and peasants who saw a rapid rise in their fortunes within a short span of time. They emerged as proprietors of the urban establishment in the capital and were also engaged in the trans-Himalayan trade and as contractors in various construction works. It was because of their pro-Darbar leanings that this category could rise up to eminence.²⁰¹

To the third and the last category of social group emerging in Gangtok, mention may be made of the following:

(a) Artisans and craftsmen who were the primary producers in the urban setting but were accorded a low place in the society, (b) the wage earners who were required to work in the expanding urban infrastructure, (c) the service class at the lowest administrative posts, (d) the socially relevant group such as barbers, washermen and menials who worked on payment for rich clients.

One important factor which may be attributed to the emergence of this class was the developing urban amenities which offered to them better prospects for their services and labour. Handicraft items of different kinds such as carpets, baskets etc found a ready market at Gangtok bazaar since the development of a full fledged market at Gangtok. Likewise blacksmiths and goldsmiths also found urban areas more attractive for their goods. Regarding the service class we find that the expansion of different departments of administration since the beginning of the 20th century attracted little educated commoners to seek for Government jobs. These commoners were accommodated in the Government service in the lower administrative rungs as *chaprasis*, *chowkidars*, sweepers and *malis*.²⁰² The wage earners found easy employment in the public work projects of various sorts undertaken by the British administration which required their services as labourers. Coolies were also used for the purpose of transport as dandymen.²⁰³ It has been held that a British Official in the Cantonment required a number of porter everytime there was a movement to carry his goods.

Thus, by the middle of the 20th century Gangtok's society had become more complex more universalistic in its setting than it could have been so in the early decades of British administration. It was an open society, distinct from

the closed and immobile rural society. In that newly emerged urban society, the traditional caste rigidities and its predominance in determining one's social status was found to have slackened and a new orientation within the urban social scale appeared to have influenced all. Profession and expertise, thus, assumed more meaningful dimension and became instrumental in one's placement in social hierarchy.

The process of social formation also lead us to the question of demographic study of the 20th century Gangtok as it provided stimulus to both urbanization and the resultant urban society of Gangtok. The growth of population of Gangtok in particular may primarily be attributed to migration, an important aspect of urbanization. Migration was occasioned by two factors viz. 'pull' and 'push'. However, migration in the case of Gangtok may be understood in two different forms viz. migration into the capital from different villages of Sikkim and migration from the neighbouring countries of Sikkim. In the case of migration from different villages it was the 'pull' as well as the 'push' factor which prompted some villagers to leave their places of origin and settle down permanently at Gangtok. The newly developing urban amenities attracted the village folk to pour in the capital in search of better prospects of living. People qualified in professional courses were absorbed in different professions and some with little educational background could be accommodated in the Government service in the lower administrative ranks.²⁰⁴ Constant harassment under the *Kazis* and the *Thikadars* and the prevalence of forced labour and slavery however worked as an important 'push' factor.

Migration from India, Tibet and Nepal was by and large because of the 'pull' factor. The plainsmen from British India were attracted mainly for business purpose as the newly emerging urban elements offered them a chance for better profits. But their stay at Gangtok was usually temporary and they maintained a close link with their places of origin.²⁰⁵

In consequence of the Tibet Mission of Younghusband there was freer intercourse of Tibetans with Sikkim which resulted to the presence of small but vigorous community of Tibetan traders in Gangtok and the market of Eastern

Sikkim. It may be mentioned here that the settlement of the Tibetans was also encouraged by the pro-Tibetan Kazis and often by the rulers due to their religious, social and cultural affinities with Tibet.²⁰⁶

The most important 'pull' factor to have worked to enhance the population of Gangtok was labour requirement in road construction which was labour intensive. With the efforts of the British to open negotiations with Tibet and to make trade route, there were requirements of large force of labour. For these jobs the Nepalese appeared to the British to be more capable than the Lepcha-Bhutias. So, the first British Political Officer was very eager to allow the settlement of the Nepalese along the Teesta, north of the line drawn from *Penlongla* and for this he procured the favour of the *Kazis* and the *Maharajakumar*. 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 very difficult to obtain."²⁰⁷ The Nepali *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 1888-1889."²⁰⁸

Therefore, by the middle of the 20th century Gangtok's population had acquired heterogeneity in its ethnic, religious and linguistic composition. For all practical purposes it is an important aspect of urbanism or in other words the prime criterion of a city. The Bhutia, the Lepchas, the Nepalese, the Tibetans and the denizens of the plains of India who normally belonged to various communities contributed to the mosaic of Gangtok's population. Though we do not have any figures showing the increase in Gangtok's population around this period, however, the variation in the total population of Sikkim between 1891 and 1951²⁰⁹ as stated below naturally suggests the growth of population in the urban centres of Sikkim.

Table: IV: 22
Variation in population of Sikkim between 1891 and 1951

Census Year	Total population
1891	30,458
1901	59,014
1911	88,248
1921	81,721
1931	1,09,808
1941	1,21,520
1951	1,37,725

Source: Census Report between 1891 and 1951.

The above figures show an increase in the total population of Sikkim between 1891 and 1951 by a total of 1, 07,267. The first census²¹⁰ taken in Sikkim was the census of February 1891 which roughly divides the population on the basis of community and caste as presented in the following table:

Table: IV: 23
Population of Sikkim in 1891

Races or caste	Males	Females	Children	Total
Lepcha	2,363	2,399	1,001	5,762
Bhutia	1,966	1,960	968	4,894
Limbu	1,255	1,159	942	3,356
Gurung	1,108	1,047	766	2,921
Murmi	801	778	1,288	2,867
Rai, Jimdar	742	691	587	2,020
Khambu	726	648	589	1,963
Kami	626	464	580	1,670
Brahman	521	372	521	1,414
Mangar	363	346	192	901
Chetri	303	253	273	829
Newar	240	183	304	727
Slaves	124	99	103	336
Dirzi	102	92	93	287
Miscellaneous, including troops	350	72	99	521
Total	11,589	10,563	8,306	30,458

Source: Risley, H.H, *The Gazetteer of Sikkim*, Calcutta, 1894.

The census of 1891 was the first authentic information regarding Sikkim's population, in which the total population is shown as 30,458, including 5,762 Lepchas, 4,894 Bhutias, 19,560 Nepalese and 242 others. Writing some three years ahead of the fourth decennial census of 1911, White mentions, "by far the greater number of the inhabitants of Sikkim...are the Paharias (Nepalese) who number nearly 50,000 of the estimated population of Sikkim".²¹¹ The census figures for the ethnic affiliations are available for 1931, where out of the total population of 1,09,808, 13,060 were the Lepchas, 11,955 the Bhutias and the rest mainly being the Nepalese. In 1951, statistics based on religious affiliations presented an overall increased population of 1,37,725 with 39,397 Buddhists (largely the Lepchas 13,625 and the Bhutias 15,626) and 97,863 Hindus (the Hindu Nepalese inclusive of 15,991 Limbus).²¹²

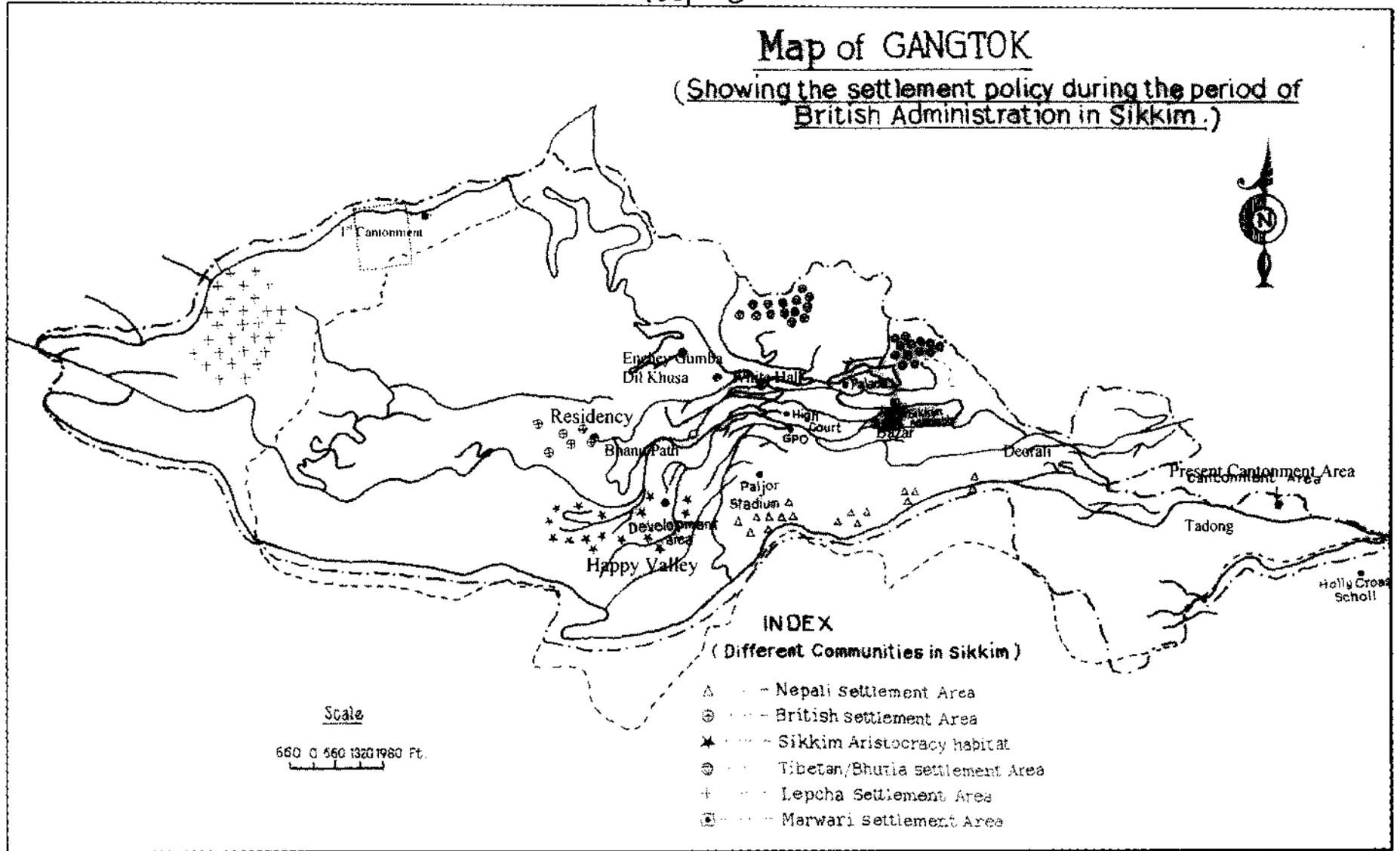
According to the Military Report of 1931²¹³ the principal centres of population were Gangtok, Singtam and Rangpo on the cart road, Rhenock and Rangli on the Tibet trade route, Namchi, Majhitar and Naya-Bazar in the western sub-division of Sikkim. The Report gives the population of Gangtok town (Gangtok station and the area covering the present day *bazaar*) as 1,533 which went up to 3,000 in 1951.

But inspite of the free and open society developing in Gangtok certain restrictions and limitations in terms of interaction between the different segments of the society appeared to have been operative. The British administrators for instance, was an exclusive class having no social interaction except with a very few royal and elite class. British exclusiveness and their racial prejudice was evident from the fact that even the town had an earmarked portion for them. The British portion of the town was situated on the ridge and slopes above the market. Even the *Maharaja's* palace stood slightly below the ridge where the Residency was constructed. As noted earlier a regulation had been brought in force in the early 20th century that the main ridge and the area skirting the ridge beyond the present day Bhanupath should be kept exclusively for British settlement and for the settlement of the Royal family only.²¹⁴ Constant care was taken to maintain the ridge at Gangtok.²¹⁵ Setting

Map-5

Map of GANGTOK

(Showing the settlement policy during the period of British Administration in Sikkim.)



apart a portion of the town exclusively for the British suggested discrimination against the natives. The native officials were pushed below the main ridge. They were settled at a lower ridge then known as Happy Valley (the Present day Development Area) Few houses were constructed in tune with the British cottage architecture to settle the native bureaucrats.²¹⁶ By 1925 most of the high ranking Government officials had their residential quarters in the Happy Valley.²¹⁷ The settlement of the business community mainly took place in the bazaar area. The settlement within the town was thus hierarchised. Outside Gangtok town the settlement was mainly clustered based on the settlement of different community in different places. The settlement of the Bhutias was mainly in the Chandmari area, the Lepchas in Ranka and the Nepalese in the Tadong area. The settlement policy thus underlined a distinct element of racism. The British settlement was scrupulously differentiated bordering on the extent of cultural isolation. It is true that the British policy to remain exclusive was suggested by their being the ruling authority.

Even between the hill men and the people from the plains there was almost no interaction which was occasioned from the fact that the plainsmen always maintained contact with the place of their origin by paying regular visits. Absence of social interaction was visible also amongst the hill men. The native elites remained aloof from the middle class and the commoners. This social isolation was the result of the feeling that they were the landlords of aristocratic origin. Enjoying the favour of the Namgyals the privileged elites thought of themselves as an exclusive class and thus remained away from others. Even different ethnic groups despite their social mobility retained their individuality in a way of preserving their own social customs and traditions.

The British used Gangtok as their administrative headquarter. Their argument was that the internal administration of Sikkim had become unstable due to the *Maharaja's* inefficiency as a ruler and therefore British Political Agency was a necessity. After the creation of the British Political agency with headquarter at Gangtok the British concentrated maximum on road building activity because they had understood the strategic, political, administrative and

commercial importance of the place although their official version was different. Throughout his tenure as the Political Officer, White transformed the internal set-up of Gangtok in terms of communication, administration, economy in such a way that by the end of the first decade of the 20th century the capital of Sikkim stood ready to cater to the British needs. This in turn gave Gangtok some elements of hill-station culture with a host of municipal activities and similar settlement policy as noticed in other hill-stations of British India.

The most important characteristics which would distinguish Gangtok from Darjeeling as a Hill-Station or any other Hill-Station of India are few but considerably significant. Unlike Darjeeling Gangtok was never visualized as a sanatorium town for the ailing British soldiers. Nor was it considered to be a Hill-Station for the family of White colonial officials. Gangtok was primarily held as a convenient mart for the Indo-Tibetan trade. Secondly it was found to be suitable as the seat of Sikkim administration. However, before the township could take off the ground in tune with the British policy the Sikkim-Tibetan border issues altered the perspective. Military considerations therefore used to dictate the process of urbanization in Gangtok with the cantonment having fortuitously turned into the nucleus of the urbanization activity of the place. Hence, the most populous area of the nascent township turned out to be the cantonment sector. While the settlement in other parts of town particularly around the Residency and the Palace was basically clustered suggested by functional requirements the nature of settlement around the cantonment township was random, cosmopolitan and was devoid of any other hierarchy than caste. Inside the cantonment a hierarchised residence was scrupulously followed both on official and racial considerations.

Notes & References

1. CPF, 5 of 1890, No.1
2. *Sikkim, A Consise Cronicle*, Gangtok, March, 1963. p. 15.
3. White, J.C., *Sikkim & Bhutan*, New Delhi, 1909. p. 95.

4. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1907-08.
5. *Report on the First Five Year Plan*, *op.cit*, p.29.
6. FDP. A.G, May, 1911. Notes 210.A.
7. *Report on the First Five Year Plan*, Govt. of India, *op.cit*, p.29. At a public meeting which was held at Gangtok on 17 August 1907 and at which His Highness was present to consider the most suitable manner of commemorating Mr. J.C White's connection with Sikkim, which he had administered for nearly 20 years, it was decided to build a Public Hall and Library at Gangtok to be named after him. The objective of such a building would be to provide a common meeting place for the *Kazis*, *Lamas* and *Thikadars* and for the different races and classes in Sikkim where they may informally discuss matters of common interest and to create a community of interest and friendly relations among themselves, and where copies of all the religious manuscripts and literature of Sikkim could be collected from the different monasteries and kept. A museum of the country's minerals, flora and fauna, butterflies, etc., could also be provided for in the building. A sum of Rs. 13,531 was thus subscribed and a suitable site was granted for the purpose by the *Maharaja*. *Administration Report*, *op.cit*, 1907-1908.
8. White, *op.cit*, p. 95. Educated at St. Paul's school, Darjeeling, Dover first served as a temporary clerk on Rs.20 per month in the office of Examiner, Public Works Accounts, Bengal, from August 1891 to February 1892 when he was given a year's leave without pay evidently to take an accounts clerkship in the office of Executive Engineer, Sikkim Division, on Rs.75 with certain allowances. In July 1892 he was appointed clerk to the Political Officer on Rs 162-8 per month. In June 1901 he was appointed Temporary Engineer on Rs.250 per mensem. From June 1904 he was styled Superintendent of roads in Sikkim. F.D.P, Notes, External 'A' 1905. Nos. 83-86.
9. F.D. Notes, External, A, 1905. Nos. 83-86.
10. White, *op.cit*,p. 95.
11. F.D.P. External 'B', April, 1907 Nos.17-18.

12. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1918-1920.
13. F.D.P. External 'B', April, 1907 Nos.17-18.
14. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1918-1920.
15. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1936-37.
16. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1933-34.
17. *Report of the Committee on land reforms*, Government of Sikkim, Department of Land Revenue, January 1975, Pp.6- 7.
18. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1933-34.
19. Proceedings of the Lieutenant Governor, Political, 'A' Category, March 1904, No. 56.
20. L.G.P.P. (J). A of May 1893, No.30.
21. *Ibid*, (J). A of May 1893, No.30.
22. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1922.
23. L.G.P.P. (J). A of May 1893, No.32.
24. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1911-12.
25. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1912-1913.
26. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1919-1920.
27. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1922-1923. The Saddar Thana or Police Station at Gangtok was built in 1917. *Administration Report*, 1917-1918.
28. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1922-1923.
29. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the years between 1927 and 1930.
30. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1935-1936.
31. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1935-1936.
32. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1934-1935.
33. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the years between 1907 and 1937.
34. C.P.F. 8 of 1889, No. 1.
35. *Ibid*, 52 of 1900, No.1.
36. *Ibid*, 8 of 1889, No.1.

37. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1907-1908.
38. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1907-1908.
39. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1911-1912.
40. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1914-15.
41. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1915-1916. The efficient functioning of Charles Bell in judicial matters prompted the then *Maharaja* to appoint him as the legal expert of the Government.
42. Extract from letter No.7-E., Dated 19.1.1915 from C.A. Bell, Esquire, C.M.G., to the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Foreign and Political department, Delhi, 1915.
43. JDF, No.1-c, 1914, serial No.3.
44. Letter from His Highness, *Maharaja* of Sikkim, to the Political officer in Sikkim, dated 15.3.1915, Gangtok 1915.
45. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1919-20.
46. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1925-26.
47. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1937-39. The *Maharaja's* Court was then known as the Supreme Court. *Ibid*, *Administration Report* between 1916 and 1936.
48. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1937-38. By the notifications of the Government of India in the Foreign Department Nos.1931, I.B. and 1932, I.B., dated 30 September 1909, the Political Officer in Sikkim was appointed as justice of the peace within the territories of His Highness the *Maharaja* of Sikkim and given the powers of a District Magistrate and a court of session as described in the Code of Criminal procedure, 1898 (V) of 1898.
49. *Military Report on Sikkim and Bhutan*, 1932, General Staff India, Calcutta, 1932. p. 130.
50. *Ibid*, p.130.
51. F.D.P.P., September, 1921, Nos. 33-37.
52. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* between 1922 and 1925.
53. Sinha A.C, *Politics of Sikkim A Sociological Study*, Delhi, 1975. p. 142.

54. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1906-1907.
55. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1906-1907.
56. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1910-1911.
57. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1907-1908.
58. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1908-1909.
59. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1929-1930.
60. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1912-1913.
61. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1910-1911.
62. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1911-1912.
63. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1930-1931.
64. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1917-1918.
65. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1912-1913.
66. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1915-1916.
67. Sinha, A.C, *Politics of Sikkim A Sociological Study*, Delhi, 1975. p. 47.
68. Report on the First Five Year Plan, Government of India, 1954. Pp. 30-87.
69. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1936-1937.
70. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* between 1918 and 1923.
71. Sinha, *op.cit*, p.
72. C.P.F. 48 of 1900. No. 1, *Administrative Report of the State of Sikkim*, 1899-1900.
73. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1910-1911.
74. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1916-1917. In 1925-26 there were 7 bazaars under the control of the State Engineer, Sikkim, viz., Gangtok, Pakyong, Rangpo, Singtam, Rongli, Soryang and Naya Bazaar.
75. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1936-1937.
76. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1925-1926. The currency in use in Sikkim is the same as that used in India. The weights and measures in British India are commonly used throughout Sikkim. In measuring cereals, however, pathis and manas were employed. The measures were of Nepalese origin.

77. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1927-1928.
78. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1927-1928.
79. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1920-1921.
80. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1936-1937.
81. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1920-1921.
82. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1927-1928.
83. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1931-1932.
84. Judicial Department File, 1926, Gangtok.
85. *Ibid*, 1926, Gangtok.
86. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1931-1932.
87. LGPP (Judicial) A Category, August, 1896. No.1.
88. CPF, 7 of 1891, No.34.
89. *Ibid*, No.4.
90. *Letter of Noln to the Chief Secretary*, Govt. of Bengal, 21 April, 1896, GBPF, August 1896, No.11
91. GBPF, No. 40-42 (K.W) December, 1896.
92. LGPP (Judicial) Category 'A' August, 1896, No.3.
93. *Ibid*, No.1.
94. *Ibid*, No.3.
95. *Ibid*, No.3.
96. *Ibid*, No.3.
97. *Ibid*, No.5.
98. *Ibid*, No.5.
99. *Ibid*, No.7.
100. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1907-1908.
101. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1907-1908.
102. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1922-1923.
103. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1906-1907.
104. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1908-1909.
105. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1910-1911.
106. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1910-1911.

107. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1912-1913.
108. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1914-1916.
109. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1922-1923.
110. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1918-1919.
111. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the years between 1912 and 1923. Nearly fourteen schools were established by the general people and Thikadars. These schools were hardly supported by the Government. Thikadar Rai Sahib Hari Prasad Pradhan established a school in 1923 and maintained it himself. Kripasalyan Rai in his writing states that Phak Tshering the elder brother of Kazi Lendup Dorjee, the first Chief Minister of Sikkim went to Ceylon as a member of Buddhist organization and returned to Sikkim and changed his name, surname etc. Therefore he took the title Rev.S.K.Jenerosa. He offered immense help towards education in Sikkim.He financially helped the Primary Schools at Kaluk, Heegaon, Timberbung, Manglabare, Sosing and Namchi. He also established a hostel in Darjeeling to accommodate the Sikkimese students from Sumin, Ralang, Song, Sosing, Gayzing and Chakhung. Rai Kripasalyan, 'Ankur' in Srastha, year 10,no.25, West Sikkim.
112. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1920-1921.
113. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1915-1916.
114. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1920-1921.
115. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1920-1921.
116. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1926-1927.
117. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1931-1932.
118. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1925-1926.
119. Synopsis of the principal events of Sikkim, Sikkim State, Notes and Orders, 1922, Judicial Department.
120. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1930-1931.
121. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1925-1926.
122. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1934-1935.
123. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1937-1938.

124. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1913-1914.
125. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1930-1931.
126. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* between 1908 and 1932.
127. F.D.P Extl. B, August 1892, Nos.140-157.
128. *Ibid*, August 1892, Nos.140-157.
129. F.D.P, Extl. B, August 1892, Nos.140-157.
130. F.D.P, Extl. B, August 1892, Nos.140-157. H.H. Risley was Officiating Secretary to the Government of Bengal.
131. F.D.P, Extl. B, August 1892, Nos.140-157.
132. *Ibid*, August 1892, Nos.140-157.
133. F.D.P, External A, secret E, Nos. 40-46, September, 1906.
134. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1904-1905.
135. F.D.P, Extl A September, 1906, Nos. 40-46.
136. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1908-1909.
137. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1907-1908.
138. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1913-1914.
139. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1908-1909.
140. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1908-1909.
141. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1925-1926.
142. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1908-1909.
143. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1930-1931.
144. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1917-1918.
145. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1925-1926.
146. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1920-1921.
147. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1925-1926.
148. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1935-1936.
149. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1918-1919.
150. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1915-1916.
151. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1912-1913.
152. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1917-1918.

153. Letter from His Highness *Maharaja* of Sikkim to the Political Officer in Sikkim, Dated 15.3.1915, Gangtok, 1915.
154. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1918-1919.
155. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1922-1923.
156. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1918-1919.
157. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1926-1927.
158. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1928-1929.
159. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1930-1931.
160. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1935-1936.
161. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1918-1919.
162. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* between 1930 and 1935.
163. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* between 1922 and 1923.
164. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* between 1927 and 1928.
165. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* between 1925 and 1926.
166. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* between 1933 and 1934.
167. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* between 1926 and 1927.
168. Sikkim Minutes, 7 April, 1897 and Mission News, May, 1898. Elatji Matiyas was Adyat Lepcha, who was converted to Christianity in 1890 against the wishes of his elder brother who was a Bhuddhist Lama. Adyat preferred to choose the name Elatji Matiyas after he was baptized. Later on he was appointed as a medical-catechist after being trained in medical science.
169. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1906-1907.
170. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1908-1909.
171. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1920-1921.
172. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1918-1919.
173. Hope, N., The Sikkimese Theory of Land Holding and the Darjiling Grant. *Bulletin of Tibetology*, Vol.III, No.2, 1966, p.48.
174. Sinha, A.C, *Politics of Sikkim, A Sociological Study*, Delhi, 1975. p.19.
175. Sanwal, B.D., *Nepal and the East India Company*, Bombay, 1965.
176. Das, S.C., *Autobiography, Indian Studies, Past and Present*, 1969, p.13.

177. Risley, H.H, (Ed) *The Gazetteer of Sikkim*, Calcutta, 1894, p. 28-29.
178. *Ibid*, p. 32.
179. Namgyal, Thutop and Dolma, Yeshey, *History of Sikkim*, (mimeograph), Gangtok, 1908.
180. Waddel, L.A., *Among the Himalayas*, New York, 1899, pp.102-103.
181. Imperial Gazetteer of India, XXIII, p. 3072.
182. Sinha, *op.cit*, Pp. 18-19.
183. Chenjong, I.S., *History and culture of Kirat people*, Part 1, Kathmandu, 1967, Pp 41-42.
184. Risley, *op.cit*, p.15.
185. Chakravarty, M.M., '*Sikkim Copper Coins*', Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, January, 1909, pp15-17. The copper mines were worked on primitive principle and entirely by the *Newari* lessees because the Bhutia, Lepchas and the Tsongs intensely dreaded all mining operations. They believed that the ores and veins of metals to be the blood treasure of the earth spirit, and that the removal of this treasure enrages these malignant spirits. The Newaris used the copper chiefly for their coinage. Waddle, L.A., *op.cit*, p101. The Newari traders were invited by the *Maharaja* Sidkeong Namgyal, in 1867 when a formal grant of lease was accorded to Luchmidas Pradhan, a Nepali Newar, for some lands by the Sikkim authority. Luchmidas Pradhan was settled for mining copper at Tukkhani above Melli in South Sikkim. Soon he and his family started mining copper from Rinchenpong, Rangpo, Pacheykhani and Namthang. In 1883, Luchmidas Pradhan was permitted to mint coins called the *chepte paise* (flat coins) in Tibetan language for the *Maharaja*. The minters were known as *Taksaris*. The Pradhan family was also used by the British to mint coins. The copper coin introduced by the Pradhan family was inscribed with *shri shri shri* in Devangari script. The principal objective of the British was to enable them to facilitate transaction with Sikkim particularly in trade and later in revenue collection by the replacement of the system of payment in kind. The Pradhans wanted the coins minted by them to be accepted also by the Government of Nepal. The Nepal Durbar of course did not respond positively to their request. It was in fact a discouragement to their minting business. But the change in British policy with regard to Sikkim currency brought in a death blow to the Chepte

Paise. To emphasise upon their sovereignty over the Sikkim Government, the British administrators found it essential that British Indian currency ought to be treated as the only legitimate currency in Sikkim. Incidentally, during the tenure of Claude White as the first Political Officer of Sikkim the Sikkim coinage minted by the Pradhans was partly discontinued.

186. Chenjong, I.S, *op.cit*, p.93-94. *Thikadar*, a word of Hindustani and Nepali origin denoting one who functions according to the terms and conditions of a contract, i.e., a contractor. *Ibid*, p.93-94.
187. Sinha, *op.cit*, p.17.
188. Sinha, *op.cit*, Pp. 17-21.
189. Council Proceeding, 31 March 1908, Gangtok.
190. *Letter* from C.A, Bell to the *Maharaja* of Sikkim, 1915, Gangtok.
191. Administration Report of the State of Sikkim for the year 1925-1926.
192. Administration Report of the State of Sikkim for the year 1934-1935.
193. Administration Report of the State of Sikkim for the year 1926-1927.
194. Administration Report of the State of Sikkim for the year 1932-1933.
195. Administration Report of the State of Sikkim for the year 1915-1956.
196. F.D.P, Secret 'E', September, 1907, Nos 177-179.
197. C.P.F, 48 of 1900. No.1 (Administration Report of the State of Sikkim, 1899-1900)
198. Sinha, *op.cit*.p.50.
199. General Department File, Sikkim State, 1947.
200. Minutes of the Maharaja in Council, 14.3.1913, Gangtok, 1913.
201. Sinha, *op.cit*,p 46-51
202. Finance Department File, No.20 of 1919/19, serial No.8.
203. Administration Report of the State of Sikkim for the year 1925-1926.
204. Finance Department File, No.20 of 1919/19, serial No.8.
205. Sinha, *op.cit*, p.49.
206. *Ibid*, p.60.
207. C.P.F.37 of 1903, No.1, *Administrative Report of Sikkim*, 1902-1903.
208. C.P.F.79 of 1904, No.1, *Administrative Report of Sikkim*, 1903-1904.
209. Census Report of the Government of India between 1891 and 1951.
210. Rislely, *op.cit*.p 27.

211. White, J.C., Sikkim and Bhutan: Twenty Years on the North-East Frontiers, 1887-1908, London, 1909, p.9.
212. Census Report of the Government of India, 1951.
213. *Military Report on Sikkim and Bhutan*, 1932, General Staff India, Calcutta, 1932. p.91.
214. *An Interview* with K.C.Pradhan. K.C. Pradhan was the Chief Secretary to the Government of Sikkim between 1989 to 1991. He is the son of Rai Sahib Bhim Bahadur Pradhan who was the Forest Manager of Sikkim State between 1919 and 1954.
215. Administrative Report of the State of Sikkim for the year 1917-1918.
216. An interview, *op.cit*, Pradhan.
217. *Administrative Reports of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1925-1926 and 1932-1933.

CHAPTER-V

Conclusion.

New technology, new education and new administrative structure coming in the wake of British rule were so pervasive that they affected nearly all aspects of urban life. There were significant changes in the morphology of towns, their demographic profile and social structure, new means of communication altered the pattern of trade and facilitated migration to urban areas, the new educational system opened avenues for new professions and new ideas. Modern education also promoted rationalist thinking and instilled humanistic values which aroused concern for social reform and initiated simultaneously the process of secularization and communalization among the educated lot. Even in a semi colonial situation as in Sikkim such changes were visible.

Urban development in Gangtok during the colonial period was largely the expression of British power and their need to fulfill various functions.¹ The initial function was administrative followed by economic importance. Therefore, starting off as a suitable seat for Sikkim administration in 1889, and a possible mart for Indo-Tibetan trade, Gangtok steadily acquired urban elements as it entered the 20th century. But, military and strategic functions were extremely important as it was located in the frontier zone adjacent to Tibet. There was a constant fear of intrusion and the strategic importance of the place was deeply felt even prior to the Lingtu incident. Infact, at the earliest phase, the township had emerged as a cantonment. Gangtok's strategic importance had remained in the minds of British administrators for initiating road construction. In this connection the *Nathu-la* road stands as a good example which was built to facilitate easy movement of the Younghusband Mission to the Tibetan frontier.² Gangtok as a potential mart for Indo-Tibetan trade was also fully explored by the *Nathu-la* road. The road also made life much easier for the pioneers to carry on with their work of improvement of the Gangtok station. (The road was meant for mule and pony and not for cart

traffic). Subsequently, when the cart road joined the capital of Sikkim with Geilkhola railway terminus, the story of her isolation became a thing of the past. This road became the life-line of the emerging township as it linked Gangtok with the plains of India.

Probably it would have been difficult for the capital of Sikkim to step on the road of urbanisation without J.C White as the first British Political Officer. It was White's knowledge in road building that proved to be immensely useful in a hilly place like Gangtok who put his best efforts for surveying and cutting lines for communication and link it up by roads and bridges with different parts of the country. Within twenty years of his stay in Sikkim the country was opened up by a system of roads, and torrents were bridged.³

A constructive programme for road building within the capital was also initiated by the first Political Officer. Till 1920 construction of roads and development in communication system within Gangtok showed a steady improvement. The Ridge road was joined with the palace, the market, the hospital and with the cart road leading to Rangpo. As the capital was opened out more roads were required for development of internal communication and something was accomplished each year. By 1930 Gangtok could boast of a labyrinth of roads within the town.⁴

Gangtok did not have any administration worth the name prior to the establishment of the Political Agency. With the creation of different departments of administration and the growth of administrative machinery J.C White was able to streamline the administration of the capital and the entire country. Special care was taken to look after the internal management of Gangtok, the development of its civic amenities, hospital, market etc. The public works department since its very inception took up such responsibilities of providing civic amenities to the people and discharged the responsibility efficiently. As early as 1907,⁵ it provided drinking water and constructed urinal in the market area. For maintenance of sanitary condition at the bazaar sweepers were appointed and civic amenities slowly expanded to other parts of

Gangtok. By 1927 the hospital, market and the Government quarters were provided with water taps, proper drains and urinals. In 1927⁶ electric light substituted kerosene lamp in the Gangtok hospital. In 1930⁷ Public buildings and roads in the capital were provided with electric lights. Therefore, by 1930s the capital of Sikkim had all possible civic amenities and people could lead a smooth life. In the first decade of the 20th century the police force had developed into a well organised defence institution⁸ and life of insecurity had become a story of the past. Security and justice was further guaranteed with the establishment of the Chief Court of Sikkim at Gangtok. The court functioned on English model under an independent and legally qualified judge.⁹

Economically speaking, Gangtok proved to be an important centre of activity for Indo-Tibetan trade. The opening up of a trade registration office at Gangtok in 1896¹⁰ the construction of a wool godown at Deorali¹¹ (a store house for wool coming from Tibet), a building for accommodating bull and stallion¹² etc., all go to show the importance of the place as a mart for Indo-Tibetan trade and after the construction of the *Nathu-la* road trade increased steadily. Indo-Sikkimese trade also received a tremendous boost because of the cart road especially in the first quarter of the 20th century. Besides, the flourishing new industries of carpet making, cloth weaving introduced new field for employment of labour. A well organized local market led to greater demand for local supplies. The increased facilities of transport brought markets within reach for the local produce¹³ and also items of Indo-Tibetan trade. Such developments introduced new sources of revenue further helping to build up the economy of Gangtok. A systematic collection of revenue from the bazaar was also introduced.¹⁴ All these led to greater circulation of money. The revenue of the state was kept partly in the Imperial Bank of India, Calcutta, and partly in the Bank of Messers. Jetmull and Bhojraj in Darjeeling and Gangtok. The former was treated as a depot for collecting all the surplus revenue of the State while the latter was appointed to recover and disburse all the revenue and expenditure of the State and thus exercise the functions of a Treasury

Office.¹⁵ The utilization of latent water-power further added good revenue to Gangtok's developing economy.

Colonial need to fulfill their various functions also found expression in the growth of modern education. For creating a group of English knowing people with English attitude who would be loyal supporters of British administration in Sikkim they followed a policy of initiating modern education in tune with the policy followed in British India. This policy found expression in the establishment of the Bhutia Boarding and the Nepali boarding school at Gangtok.¹⁶ Female education also found its beginning in 1913 with the starting of Kazis' daughters' school.¹⁷ In 1923, the Scandinavian Mission started a full fledged girls' school at Gangtok.¹⁸ The amalgamation of the Bhutia and Nepali boarding schools into the Tashi Namgyal High School further gave importance to Gangtok as an important centre of learning in Sikkim.¹⁹ Growth of modern education and also reforms in administration and economy introduced changes in the urban social structure. This change was visible in the emergence of a middle class. This middle class was not a homogenous unit but a conglomerate of educated professionals, the merchants and even the commoners who had climbed up the social ladder because of their economic prosperity. The birth of middle class led to the stratification of the society from two-tier division consisting of the upper and the lower class into a three-tier division, viz., the upper class, the middle class and the lower class. Besides, a hierarchical division of settlement within the township set apart a portion of the town exclusively for the British. The native officials were pushed below the earmarked portion of White settlement. The business community settled in the bazaar area. The relationship between the different rungs of official hierarchy and the official and non-official communities was dominated by a feeling of disdain. The English settlement enjoyed facility of market and domestics. The Ridge Park market was infact exclusively established by the British for catering to their exclusive wants. This policy had manifested even in the growth of civic amenities first in the area of their settlement which suggests discrimination against the natives. Their air of superiority also resulting out of the fact that

they were the rulers, limited their social interaction with the ruled except with the royal family and few elites.²⁰

British preoccupation with health issues resulted into yet another aspect of urban development and that was the establishment of a centre for health. Beginning as a dispensary catering to the health needs of the British at the station, the Gangtok dispensary within no time turned out to be a public health centre.²¹ The establishment of a civil hospital at Gangtok²² with modern amenities in the second decade of the 20th century brought relief to the general health of the people of Sikkim. With constant care shown by the Government for its maintenance and expansion, the hospital had by 1930 different wards to cater to the health of the people, such as, a maternity ward, a tuberculosis ward and a general ward.²³

Thus, Gangtok did not end up by being a mere administrative headquarter of the British or functioning as a place catering to economic and strategic needs of the colonial Government. Although it started off with such functions yet within a short span of time Gangtok gained importance of its own by performing many other functions. However, one must not forget that whatever functions Gangtok had for the British, they would not have been realised if there were no roads. Things had definitely improved for Gangtok after the construction of the cart road. From 1925²⁴ this road was slowly opened for vehicular traffic. In 1940s when the cart road was fully opened for mechanical traffic²⁵ Gangtok's urbanity was justified in the modern sense of the term.

The study has led me to come to a decision about the final shape which Gangtok has taken in terms of the colonial model of urban growth. True, Gangtok cannot be fitted in its entirety into the straight-jacket hill-station framework, as a neighbouring Darjeeling would be done. It seemed to have survived more in its ethnicity than in the metropolitan ambience that was imposed on it. Nevertheless, it has taken to some of the features of a colonial city, and in the process it assumed some cultural and organisational approximation to the satellite hill-stations that grew due to the British penetration in the lower ridges

of the Darjeeling hills. So, Kalimpong and Kurseong turn out to be unavoidable analogies for Gangtok to understand the intricate network of its inner cultural dynamics and the fabric of the physical existence inspite of the strong presence of the British Raj.

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Glossary

<i>Adda</i>	Minor Courts
<i>Amban</i>	Chinese Resident in Tibet
<i>Anna</i>	Six Paise
<i>Bakshis</i>	Gift
<i>Bazaar</i>	Market
<i>Bhanjyang</i>	A Pass
<i>Bhutta</i>	Maize
<i>Bhutia</i>	One of the ethnic tribes of Sikkim
<i>B Zo-lung</i>	A tax on forest produce
<i>Champ</i>	A kind of tree
<i>Changzod</i>	Prime Minister
<i>Chaprasi</i>	Guard
<i>Chogyal</i>	Dharmaraja or king of righteousness
<i>Chowdree</i>	Tax collector
<i>Chowkidar</i>	Watchman
<i>Dak</i>	Posted materials
<i>Dandy</i>	Coolies used as a mode of transportation
<i>Demazong</i>	Valley of rice
<i>Dewan</i>	Chief Minister
<i>Dharni</i>	Two and a half seers
<i>Durbar</i>	Royal Court
<i>Dzong</i>	District
<i>Elakha</i>	Estate
<i>Ferangi</i>	A European
<i>Gaddi</i>	Throne
<i>Ganja</i>	A kind of narcotic substance
<i>Goomba</i>	Monastery
<i>Guddi</i>	Liquor shop
<i>Guru Rimpoche</i>	Honoured Buddhist Saint, founder of the Ningmapa Sect

<i>Haat</i>	Local Market
<i>Havildar</i>	Rank Constable
<i>H Bah- pa</i>	A type of land tax
<i>Jamadar</i>	Rank Constable
<i>Jharlangi</i>	Forced unpaid labour
<i>Jhulas</i>	A type of suspension bridge
<i>Jongpen</i>	Governor
<i>Kailons</i>	Bhutia minister belonging to one of the chief clan of Sikkim
<i>Kalo Bhari</i>	Black Load
<i>Karbari</i>	Assistant of Headman
<i>Karkhana</i>	Workshop/ local industry during the Muslim Period
<i>Kazi</i>	A Minister belonging to chief Bhutia clan
<i>Kham</i>	Tibet
<i>Khola</i>	River
<i>Kodo</i>	Millet
<i>Kotwal</i>	Inspector
<i>Kumar</i>	Crown Prince
<i>Kuruwa</i>	Forced labour in attendance at staying points in anticipation of officers and tourists
<i>Kutchu</i>	Rough, weak
<i>Lama</i>	Bhuddhist Priest
<i>Lakhang</i>	Altar
<i>Lal Pathi</i>	A Police force weareing red turban
<i>Lepcha</i>	One of the ethnic tribes of Sikkim
<i>Lhopas</i>	The victorious Bhutia
<i>Limbu</i>	A sub caste of Nepali Comunity
<i>Magar</i>	A sub- caste of Nepali community
<i>Maharaja</i>	King with dignified powers

<i>Maharani</i>	Queen with dignified powers
<i>Mali</i>	Gardener
<i>Mana</i>	Approximately half seer
<i>Mandal</i>	Headman
<i>Mantra</i>	Words that rejuvenate inner being (mind, spirit etc.)
<i>Mani</i>	Wheel repeating Mantras
<i>Monpas</i>	The Lepchas
<i>Muktiyar</i>	Judicial head of the estate
<i>Murwa</i>	A kind of local liquor
<i>Namgyal</i>	The ruling clan of Sikkim
<i>Nazar</i>	A tax in the form of newly gathered crops
<i>Nepali</i>	One of the ethnic community of Sikkim
<i>Newar</i>	Business class of Nepali community
<i>Paddock</i>	Halting place for bull and stallion
<i>Pagla</i>	Insane
<i>Paharia</i>	Hill-men
<i>Panchayat</i>	Assembly of representatives or local self Government
<i>Pathi</i>	Approximately four seers
<i>Parao</i>	Halting place for carts
<i>Pipli</i>	A kind of tree
<i>Pucca</i>	Concreate
<i>Pujah</i>	Prayer
<i>Raja</i>	King
<i>Raiyat</i>	Peasants
<i>Sarais</i>	Rest houses for travelers
<i>Sarkari</i>	Belonging to the Government
<i>Seer</i>	Approximately one and a half kilogram
<i>Siar</i>	A bazaar tax
<i>Sanad</i>	A document of approval

<i>Tasongs</i>	Pure Monks
<i>Thana</i>	Police outpost
<i>Thikadar</i>	Landlord on contractual basis or lessee
<i>Ters</i>	Treasures
<i>Tsang Depon</i>	Tibetan official
<i>Tsong</i>	A cattle or yak merchant and butcher in Sikkim (Limbus)
<i>Yakthamba</i>	Yak herders or traders. The Limbus called themselves as Yakthamba

Appendix - I

Some of the important constructions and other developmental activities undertaken at Gangtok during 1889 to 1950

Bank operated by M/s Jetmull and Bhojraj came into existence	1889
Dispensary was opened at the station area	1892
Dilkhusa Bunglow built	1895
Sikkim Police came into existence	1897
Gangtok-Nathula- Chumbi Road opened for mule	1904
Bhutia Boarding School established	1906
Nepali Boarding School established	1906
Political agency office	1907
Quarters for clerks in the agency office	1907
Lace School at Gangtok opened	1907
Two pucca latrines at Gangtok bazaar	1907
Drinking water supplied through galvanized iron pipes	1907
Sweepers were appointed for the maintenance of sanitation system	1907
Construction of drains and metalling of roads for Better sanitation in the Gangtok Bazar	1907
Foot ball ground constructed at Gangtok. Prior to that, this game was played at the Military Parade ground	1907
Cherry building	1907
New alignment of Gangtok- Chumbi Road	1908

Civil surgeon appointed at Gangtok hospital	1909
New approach road to palace	1909
Widening and leveling of the Nepali boarding School compound	1909
Hillock below the Dak bungalow and the North entrance of the bazaar cut away	1909
Special ward with 8 male, 5 female and 2 special Patients constructed at Gangtok Hospital.	1909
Civil surgeon's quarter	1910
Bakery at Gangtok Bazar	1910
Construction of conservancy road	1912
Quarters for sweeper	1912
One seven seated latrine at Political officer Residence	1912
One two seated latrine at civil surgeon's house	1912
One two seated latrine at the house of Superintendent Agency office	1912
Re- construction of latrine at palace	1912
One two seated latrine at Dil Khusa.	1912
One four seated latrine for female at Gangtok Bazaar.	1912
Latrine for Bhutia and Nepali Boarding School	1912
Soda factory at Gangtok Bazar	1912
Hostel for Kazi's daughters	1913
Quarter for Civil Surgeon's staff	1913
Kitchen for Police lines at Gangtok	1913
Trace was cut for Gangtok - Sherathang -Kupup road	1913

New tank with larger pipes provided for water supply at Gangtok	1913
Latrine was provided for His Highness Guest house	1914
Re- Construction of Enchey Gumpa	1914
Gangtok bazaar	1915
Printing Press	1915
White Memorial Hall	1916
Sir Thutob Namgyal Memorial Hospital	1917
Construction of New Secretariat building started	1917
Forester's quarter	1917
Industrial School	1917
Improvement work of Ridge at Gangtok along with dressing of slopes and planting of trees	1917
Protective works of Bazar Jhora	1917
Halting place for carts called Pardo with sufficient rooms to accommodate 26 carts at a time	1917
King Edward memorial Hall	1917
House for Sikkim State accounts Officer	1918
Sadar Police Station	1918
Construction of Enchey Gumpa completed	1920
Vetenary Hospital at Gangtok opened in the temporary shed at military compound	1921
Military building at Gangtok was purchased for operating the classes of two amalgated principal Schools at Gangtok	1924

Construction of New Palace started	1925
First Motor car plied on the road between Teesta Bridge and Gangtok	1925
Headmaster's Quarter of TNH School	1925
Leapers ward at STNM Hospital	1925
Meat Market at Gangtok	1926
Motor car road from palace to Garage	1926
Widening of Gangtok – Chumbi road	1926
State Engineer's quarter	1926
Pipe fitters quarter	1926
Metalling of road below Dilkhusa bungalow	1927
Headmaster's quarter of TNH School	1927
Galvanised corrugated sheets screen in the Jail building was provided	1927
Water taps was provided in meat market, STNM Hospital, Vetirinary Hospital	1927
Fountain and flower vases was provided at the Ridge	1927
Cement concrete tank for water supply was provided in the State Jail	1927
Telephone connection was provided to Ranikhola Power House, PWD office, State Engineer's bungalow and Electrician's quarter	1927
Ferro concrete sentry box was provided at Gangtok bazaar	1927
Quarter for warders	1927
New tuberculosis ward at STNM Hospital	1927
Billiard room at Palace	1927

Disinfecting shed provided at STNM hospital	1927
Cement concrete drain round the STNM hospital	1927
South road from Bazar to Secretariate	1927
Rani Khola Power House commissioned	1927
Road branching from Southen end of Gangtok Bazar and meeting Deorali road	1927
Approch road to old printing press	1927
Capacity of water reserviour was raised to 41000 Gallons per day and two new water reserviours were constructed. Water supply pipe line was extended to Deorali.	1929
Tashi Namgyal High School was affiliated to Calcutta University	1929
New Darbar hall at Gangtok	1929
State Carpentry School	1930
Saw mill at Gangtok	1930
Station circular road round the palace	1930
New Palace	1930
Latrine for Vetenary inspector's quarter, Excise sub-Inspector's quarter and tuberclosis ward	1930
Quarters for flume line Chowkidar	1930
Barbed wire lightning conductors at lower Palace	1930
Track of 4 feet width between meat Market and camping ground.	1930
Hospital for sick animals	1930

Stable attached to New Secretariate	1930
Six units servant quarter at lower Palace	1930
Surface treating of road below Enchey Monastery with Colfix	1931
Metalling of road from Bazar to Babu Dilman's Quarter	1931
Electric lights were provided in all the State buildings	1931
New operation instruments for STNM Hospital	1931
Leaper ward at STNM Hospital was renovated and converted to tuberculosis ward	1931
Road leading to Chief Judge quarter remetalled	1931
Dharmasala Building at Gangtok purchased so as to Convert it to Sadar Police station	1931
Beaf Market below Gangtok Bazaar	1931
State building occupied by Pucca Guddi at Gangtok renovated	1931
New slaughter house at Gangtok	1931
Road from Cart road junction down to state quarters in the station	1931
Sanitary drains at Gangtok Bazar	1931
Quarters for civil servant at Happy valley	1933
Williamson surgical and maternity ward at STNM hospital	1935
Truck office at Gangtok	1944
(Truck office was later on converted to Sikkim Nationalized Transport)	

Appendix – II

KHANGSA BROTHERS

The First British Political Officer Mr. John Claude White's Reminiscences of Khangsa Dewan and Phodong Lama, the Shoe Dewan and Kazis when he visited Gangtok for the First time in November 1887.

“I first saw the Kartok Lama, a son of the Khangsa Dewan and head of the Kartok Monastery. Situated a few hundred feet above Pakhyong. He was a headstrong youth, with a not very good record, and had to be admonished for some of his latest escapades, but he took it all in very good part, and although I have since, on several occasions had to talk very seriously to him, we have always been on good terms.

On reaching Gangtok we pitched our tents on the ridge, close to the *Maharaja's* palace, then covered with jungle now a site of a flourishing bazaar, with post and telegraph offices, dak bungalow or rest-house, charitable hospital and dispensary, and many large and flourishing shops, including that of the State bankers.

Mr. Paul was soon obliged to return to Darjeeling, but I, with a guard of Gurkha Police, remained for another fortnight, hoping the *Maharaja* would either return himself or send some communication, but as he did neither I also went back to Darjeeling. During the time I was there I made the acquaintance of some of the head men and notabilities of Sikkim who came to pay their respects and to receive us on our arrival. First were the two brothers, the Khangsa Dewan and Phodong Lama, men of strong individuality and character, to whose wisdom and good sense Sikkim owes much, as they practically ruled the country for years during the prolonged absences of the *Maharaja* in Chumbi.

The Phodong Lama, although the younger brother, was the ruling spirit. He personally knew every one, constantly travelled over the country collecting information at first hand, was ever ready to give advice as, well as assistance, and though always genial in his manner, was unfailingly strong and just to all, and was consequently universally liked and respected.

His elder brother, the Dewan, was of a more retiring nature and remained more in the background, but his influence was equally felt and the

administration during the absence of the *Maharaja* was carried on in the joint name of the brothers.

Next the Shoe, or Poorbu Dewan one of the courtly men I have ever met, a true gentleman in mind and manners and a staunch and loyal friend. In appearance he was tall and spare, with an unusual type of face rarely met with in these hills with its high cheek bones and rugged outline more nearly resembling that of the Red Indian. Behind a very quiet and retiring demeanour was hidden a fund of information which made him an excellent advisor.

Possessed also of an unusual amount of fact and good sense he did much, probably more than any one else, towards the welfare and advancement of the State especially when the brothers were, growing old and in failing health. He was a man looked up to and respected by all and whose advice was eagerly sought and followed. In my own case I consulted him on all sorts of questions and his opinion and advice were always to be considered and respected. In camp he was an excellent companion and many a many pleasant hours have I spent sitting by camp fire talking to him.

All three of these men are now dead, and the deaths of the Phodong and the Shoe Dewan meant an irreparable loss to Sikkim. The younger generation, good fellows enough in their way, are of a different stamp, and there is no one to fill the palces of the older men. The Phodong Lama lived to the age of sixty-eight and remained active and at work till within a comparatively short time of his death, but Shoe Dewan was cut off at the early age of fifty-five.

Here also I first met the old Gangtok, Tassithing, and Entchi Kazis as well as many of the younger generation. Though these Kazis belonged to the leading families who had come into the country in the retinue of the Sikkim Rajas, they were, at the same time, of very little account, belonging to the old school, not caring much for anything that went on an given to getting very drunk; but not withstanding they were good-natured and ready to do anything that was wanted of them to the best of their ability.

Source: *Sikkim "An Independent Fortnightly"* Tuesday, 18 January, 1972

Appendix – III

Council Meeting Dated the 16th November 1892

The Shew Dewan explained that the Jerung Dewan was unable to come in time owing to his having to collect rent.

1. Proposed and carried that the following sum be paid for maintenance of the Darjeeling Tumlong road:-

From Tumlong to Dickchu	Rs.	12.00
From Dichchu to Penlong	Rs.	30.00
From Penlong to Gangtok	Rs.	25.00
From Gangtok to Ronyechu	Rs.	15.00
From Rumtek to Teesta	Rs.	25.00
From Teesta to Damthang	Rs.	15.00
From Damthang to Namchi	Rs.	25.00
From Namchi to Rangeet	Rs.	25.00

Total	Rs.	172.00
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2. That the Nyerpa at the Raja's palace at Gangtok be allowed pay at the rate of Rs. 7/- a month.

3. That the Gangtok required repairing and a sum of Rs. 400/- was passed for that purpose.

4. Also one man along with the Nyerpa at a monthly pay of Rs. 4/- to look after the State guns.

5. It was also settled that a pipe 1" should be laid down to the Bazaar so as to ensure them having a good water supply. The half of the cost to be paid by the State and half by the shopkeeper in the bazaar. This was to be recovered by levying a higher house rate till the amount was paid off. This was also agreed to by the Kayahs etc. in the Bazaar.

6. Settled a cardamom dispute between the Barmiok Kazi and Dharam Das. The latter obtaining possession of the field.

7. It was also decided that any stolen property seized by any of the Kazis and the owner of which could not be found should be sold by auction by the State and the proceeds divided between the State and the finder.

Source: *Sikkim "An Independent Fortnightly"* Monday, 7 September, 1970

Appendix – IV

Extracts from the minutes of Council Meeting

1. Council Meeting dated the 13th September 1893

The sepoy of the 8th having asked permission to build a temple on a piece of ground in the Bazaar and having obtained permission now asks for a lease of the ground.

It was decided to give them the lease for so long as they kept the temple in proper repairs. A nominal rent of Rs 1/8/- a month being charged. This piece of ground being liable to be further taxed if found desirable and if the rents of the Bazaar were increased, Should the temple fall into disrepair the lease to be canceled.

Formerly a piece of land at Tumlong known as Phodang Gangyap was given up in order to keep the Raja's Palace in Tumlong in order. This now being found a good place the land is reserved by Government who will pay for any repairs necessary. There are 20 houses of which 5 houses have been given to the Khangsa Dewan for life. The remainder 15 houses the under the Shew Dewan...

2. Council Meeting dated the 16 November 1893

The death of the old Gangtok Kazi (a member of Council) was taken into consideration with reference to a successor. It was considered that Phari Kazi was the most likely person to put in his place but he brings absent in Tibet nothing final was settled...

Source: *Sikkim "An Independent Fortnightly"* Monday, 18 January, 1971

Appendix – V

COUNCIL MEETING DATED THE 4TH FEBRUARY 1896

1. It was decided to make the weights and measures the same as in Darjeeling, the only difference being that in Sikkim patties can be used, viz, 1 patti-4 liquid seers, 1 manna-1/2 liquid seers it was decided to bring up six sets of,

1 maund

1/2 maund

1/4 maund

1 seer

1/2 seer

1 Patti (4 seers)

1 liquid seer

1 manna 1/2 seer,

and to keep one at each of the following places, Gangtok, Rangeet, Rhenock, Chakung, Singla and Linghyam.

Printed notices to be prepared and sent out as soon as ready, with notices to the effect that two months after date of issue, all traders must use these weights and measures under penalty of fine.

2. Question of EXCISE.

The Lasso Kazi, Lambodar Newar and Lachminarain were called in to give evidence.

Jerung Dewan, Lambodar and Lasso Kazi all objected to the stopping of distilling liquor altogether. They pointed out that the case of Sikkim was different to that of Darjeeling, where most of the population worked at regular work on tea-gardens; whereas in Sikkim the population were chiefly cultivators.

It was finally decided to allow distillation of liquor but to enforce a house tax to include all liquors. Chowkidars to be kept at Keuzing, Malli, Rangeet, Singla, Rammam, Bodang, and Daramdin to see that no liquor passed into British territory. These Chowkidars to be appointed by the Newars, Lasso Kazi and Jerung Dewan and paid by them. The pay to be recovered yearly from

Government.

The following rates are fixed, --

The rents of Chakung	2750/-
Daramdan	763 /-
Namchi	2150 /-
Tinkutam	Rs 2/8/- per house
Wak, Rayong	
Tsidam	} 3500/-
Kitam	
Namthang	
Between Rishi to Kulhait	2 /- per house
Kulhait to Ralong	8 /-
Ralong to Wak	12 /- per house
Barmiok to Namphak	2 /-per house
Pendum	1/8/-per house
Song to Siillik and Brang	1/8/ per house
Pakyong	2/-per home
Taza etc to Chuzachen and	
Rhenock	1-8-0.
Gangtok valley	1-8-0.
The remainder	0-8-0.

The above to take place from the 1st April and notice to be sent out accordingly.

Source: *Sikkim "An Independent Fortnightly"* Monday, 26 October, 1970

Appendix - VI

Exports into Tibet across the Sikkim- Tibet Frontier FROM 1ST APRIL 1904 TO 31ST MARCH 1905

Cotton goods					
Piece-goods, white	...	Yards	...	200,248	33,378
Ditto, blue	...	do	...	137,634	22,839
Ditto, other colours	...	do	...	36,202	7,711
Ditto, Chinese	...	do	...	2,970	570
Ditto, Nepalese	...	do	...	1,120	140
Ditto, printed and fancy	...	do	...	62,988	19,255
Drills, white	...	do	...	64,313	17,585
Do., dyed	...	do	...	120,375	57,930
Velveteens	...	do	...	644	560
Cambrios	...	do	...	524,448	29,127
Towels	...	Pieces	...	13,766	2,020
Shawls	...	do	...	40	350
Dhurries	...	do	...	270	790
Cotton, yarn, white...	...	Maunds	...	143	4,992
Ditto, dyed	...	do	...	115	4,774
Cotton thread	...	do	...	88	4,992
Do. Wool	...	do	...	31	961
Woolen and Cotton Mixtures-----					
Woolen and cotton mixtures	...	Yards	...	13,802	8,726
Woolen Goods ----					
Cloth	...	Yards	...	59,898	1, 16,395
Metals ----					
Brass sheets	...	Maunds	...	70	3,342
Copper do.	...	do	...	148	7,704
Copperware	...	do	...	44	2,481
German silver sheets	...	do	...	106	9,315
Do. Silverware	...	Value	...	....	250
Do. Silverware	...	Maunds	...	11	936
Iron ware	...	do	...	136	2,130
Solder	...	do	...	7	650
Tinned plates	...	do	...	12	254
Tin ware	...	do	...	46	1,031
Metal, old	...	do	...	46	436
Sundries----					
Ambal	...	Value	...	...	590
Barley	...	Maunds	...	9	51
Beads	...	do	...	125	3,986
Betel-nuts	...	do	...	4	40
Bicho-demar	...	do	...	3	386
Beans	...	do	...	21	120
Brass foils	...	Value	...	...	550
Butter	...	Maunds	...	62	2,135
Buttons, brass...	...	Dozens	...	220	56
Candles	...	Maunds	...	9	272
Caps, Chinese...	...	Pieces	...	1,250	3,490
Cattle	...	Head	...	49	1,282

Chinaware ...	Maunds ...	244	12,030
Cigars and cigarettes ...	Value ...	...	10,185
Clocks and watches ...	Pieces ...	169	2,218
Clothing ...	do ...	825	2,560
Cocoanuts ...	do ...	32	762
Coral ...	Value ...	...	79,950
Do. Imitation ...	do ...	...	23,343
Cutch ...	Maunds ...	365	7,794
Dyes, Aniline ...	do ...	63	6,971
Embroidery ...	Value ...	...	3,100
Enamel ware ...	Maunds ...	33	1,685
Fish, dried ...	do ...	7	455
Flour ...	do ...	282	3,285
Fruit, dried ...	Maunds ...	273	3,204
Do. Fresh ...	do ...	251	1,106
Glass window ...	do ...	18	222
Glass-ware ...	Value ...	...	460
Gram ...	Maunds ...	506	2,767
Ground-nuts ...	do ...	3	45
Hides ...	Pieces ...	46	23
Incense ...	Maunds ...	77	1,124
Indigo ...	do ...	199	24,926
Knives ...	Pieces ...	4,744	1,037
Lamps and lanterns ...	do ...	42	66
Lard ...	Maunds ...	5	126
Madder ...	do ...	4	24
Maize ...	do ...	4,049	21,067
Matches ...	Gross ...	4,856	4,988
Mirrors ...	Pieces ...	63,410	1,923
Needles ...	Maunds ...	21	995
Nutgalls ...	do ...	6	60
Oil mustard ...	do ...	51	1,172
Oil Kerosine ...	Cases ...	359	3,647
Paints ...	Maunds ...	106	2,858
Pearls ...	Value ...	...	5,000
Pigs ...	No. ...	222	4,110
Park ...	Maunds ...	108	1,700
Poultry ...	No. ...	250	263
Raisins ...	Maunds ...	25	452
Rattans ...	Do ...	8	40
Rice ...	do ...	947	7,148
Sandal wood ...	do ...	16	492
Sateen ...	Yards ...	5,872	3,328
Seaweed ...	Maunds ...	3	325
Seeds, murwah ...	do ...	43	223
Do. Sesamum ...	Do ...	23	349
Sharks, fin ...	Value ...	...	530
Shells, conch ...	Maunds ...	14	863
Silk; Chinese ...	Yards ...	11,408	23,350
Do, tussore ...	do ...	7,851	8,711
Soap ...	Maunds ...	57	1,329
Soy ...	Maunds ...	18	470
Spices ...	do ...	24	1,148
Stores, oilman's ...	do ...	148	4,000
Sugar ...	do ...	1,232	19,568

Do. Candy	...	do	...	10	176
Spectacles	...	Pairs	...	536	84
Toys	...	Value	...	...	120
Tobacco	...	Maunds	...	2,294	33,469
Turquoise	...	Value	...	...	7,460
Umbrellas	...	Pieces	...	4,740	4,485
Vegetables, dried	...	Maunds	...	3	180
Ditto, fresh	...	do	...	22	165
Vermicelli	...	do	...	10	330
Vermilion	...	do	...	26	3,492
Sundries, unremunerated	...	Value	...	...	5,126
Total				...	7,38,946

Import from Tibet across the Sikkim-Tibet Frontier
FROM 1ST APRIL 1904 TO 31ST MARCH 1905

Blankets	...	Prices	...	727	1,893
Books, Tibetan	...	Value	...	...	400
Boots	..	Pairs	...	135	385
Bristles	...	Maunds	...	5	450
Caps, Chinese	...	Pieces	...	122	344
Cheese	...	Maunds	...	30	304
Cloth, woolen	...	Yards	...	21,687	12,802
Clothing, Tibetan	...	Pieces	...	36	788
Curiosities	...	Value	...	...	2,110
Felt	...	Pieces	...	180	540
Fish, dried	...	Maunds	...	12	166
Flour-barley	...	do	...	12	110
Horns, deer, young...	...	Value	...	...	490
Incense	...	Maunds	...	11	595
Matts, Woolen	...	Pieces	...	22	120
Mules	...	No.	...	155	19,130
Musk	...	Tolas	...	1,934	32,646
Mutton	...	Maunds	...	6	108
Ponies	...	No.	...	419	29,470
Sheep	...	do	...	620	1,610
Silk, Chinese	...	Yards	...	746	2,500
Skins (Furs), Burhel	...	Pieces	...	130	65
Ditto Fox	...	do	...	1,120	2,720
Ditto Lomb	...	do	...	11,600	1,640
Tea bricks	...	Maunds	...	78	3,851
Turquoise	...	Value	...	...	3,250
Wax, sealing	...	Maunds	...	2	20
Wool	...	do	...	15,776	2, 68,192
Yak tails	...	do	...	570	24,095
Total				...	4, 10,794

Source: *Administration Report of Sikkim State 1904-05*

Appendix - VII

Municipal Rules for the Bazars in Sikkim

WHEREAS it is expedient to frame rules to regulate and control the sanitation object and arrangement of Sikkim bazaars, it is hereby enacted as follows:-

- I. These rules shall apply to all bazaars under the direct control of the Sikkim Darbar at present or which may hereby fall under their control. The rules shall be in force from the date of assent of His Highness the *Maharaja*.
- II. The following bazaars are under the direct control of the Darbar at present, namely-Gangtok, Deorali, Tadong, Singram, Rangpo, Pakyong, Rangoli, Naya Bazar and Soryang.

CHAPTER I

Disposal of offensive matter, rubbish, and dead bodies of animals.

No occupier premises, house or shops shall deposit or collect any kind of rubbish or to her refuse inside his premises. Any such rubbish shall only be collected in the dust-bins provided for the purpose.

- I. All occupiers of shops or houses situate in the bazaar area shall provide themselves with tins or receptacles with proper lids for keeping sweepings and washing of the kitchen. Such tins or receptacles shall not be exposed to public view and the contents thereof shall be caused to be
- II. removed by the owner, at least once in twenty-four hours, to a place set apart for the purpose.
- III. The occupier premises shall remove or cause to be removed the dead bodies of animals dying within his premises to a place set apart for the purpose. The removal shall be effected within four hours after death of the animal, or if death takes place after sunset, within four hours after sunrise.

CHAPTER II

Privies or Urinals

- IV. (a) Every owner or occupier of a house or premises wishing to construct a privy or urinal in the premises shall submit an application in writing, on a prescribed form, to the State Engineer. On sanction of application, such privy or urinal

shall be constructed on such site, and according to such plan or design, and with such specification as may be approved by the State Engineer.

- V. No animal or poultry shall be stabled or kept permanently or temporarily underneath the floor of any shop or house.
- VI. All sheds or stables in existence before the promulgation of these rules may be cause to be demolished by the Darbar, if the same are considered to be undesirable and unsuitable. The owner of a shed or stable demolished under this rules may apply for the erection of a new shed or stable under rule V.
- VII. No person shall let loose or allow his cattle or other animal or poultry to go about astray in the bazaar area. Stray animals found in the bazaar area shall be impounded; pings and poultry if found straying in the bazaar area shall be destroyed or sold by auction, and the sale proceeds thereof credited to the Darbar.
- VIII. All bullock carts, pack or riding ponies or miles shall after unloading be removed and camped, or stabled at such place as may fixed for the purpose.
- IX. No person shall tie or cause to be tied any animal to any lamp post, railing, or other road fences in the bazaar area.
- X. All owner of sheds or stabled used for the accommodation of animals or poultry either permanently, or temporarily, shall keep the same in a sanitary condition, and no stable litter, etc, shall be allowed to be discharged from such stable or shed to any drain rater course or public road. All stable litter shall be removed to a place set apart for the purpose.

CHAPTER IV.

Shops, houses, and godown, etc., in the Bazar area.

- XIV. No person or persons shall build or cause to be built any shop, house, godown, kitchen, stable, hut, shed, etc., on any piece of land within the bazaar area without first obtaining the written permission to the State Engineer, Sikkim.
- XV. Persons requiting sited for building a shop, house, godown, hut, shed, etc., should apply to the State Engineer, Sikkim, in the prescribed form which can

be obtained from the Bazar Contractor or the office of the State Engineer, Sikkim, on payment of Rs. 1.4 per form.

XVI. Shops, houses, godown, etc., or any portion thereof in existence before the promulgation of the rules may be caused to be demolished by the Darbar, if the same are considered to be undesirable and unsuitable. The owner of a shop, house, or godown, etc., demolished under this rule may apply for the erection of a new shop, house, godown, etc., under rule

XVII. Every owner of a shop, house, godown, etc., shall keep the same in a state of good repair, and shall carry out such repair as may be required by the Sikkim Darbar from time to time.

CHAPTER V

General.

XVIII. No owner or occupier of any house or shop, etc., shall store or cause to be stored any fuel, wood, charcoal or other noxious articles underneath the floor of shops or houses.

XIX. No person shall foul any lane, street, alley of the bazaar, or commit urine or attend to call of nature in a jingle or open space situate within the bazaar area or other prohibited area outside the bazaar area.

XX. No person shall place or hang or cause to be put or hung any cloth or other substance whatsoever on the bazar street lamp-post, or on trees standing in the bazaar.

XXI. No person shall obstruct or cause to be obstructed any lane, walk, bye-path or other thoroughfare by accumulating any articles or substance, or by expensing article for sale on any part of such lane, bye-path, or thoroughfare.

XXII. All occupiers or owners of shops, houses, or premises shall keep the same in a sanitary condition and free from jungle growth.

XXIII. No person shall make or cause to be made a vegetable garden within the bazaar area either in his own land or in land belonging to the Darbar without he permission, in writing, of the State Engineer.

XXIV. No person shall bathe or wash any cloth, wool, leather, skins, cooking, utensil or other dirty and offensive things, or any other work erected for the supply of drinking water.

XXV. No person shall obstruct any authorized servant or official of the Darbar from examining the pipe and water connection, with a view to ascertain any wastage or misuse of water supply.

XXVI. In a bazaar where water arrangements exist or may be made in future any person desiring a water connection to be laid on his premises may apply for it on a prescribed form to the State Engineer. The Darbar shall charge a water tax of Rs. 2 per month, and the connection shall be given at the applicant's expense.

Note: Application forms can be obtained from the office of the State Engineer Sikkim, or payment of Rs. 2 per form.

XXVII. Any infringement of any of the rules in Chapters I to V shall be punishable with a fine which may extend to Rs. 100.

Approved. These rules should come into force 1st April 1925.

TASHI NAMGYAL
Maharaja of SIKKIM.

Source: *Administration Report of Sikkim State, 1925 - 1926.*

Appendix – VIII

Rules for the Management of and Discipline in the Hostel of Sir Tashi Namgyal High School, Gangtok.

Management:

General Instructions-

- (i) The hostel shall be under the control of the hostel authority, which shall be identical with the school committee; the discipline of the hostel shall rest with the headmaster.
- (ii) The hostel shall be under the immediate supervision of one or more resident superintendents to be appointed by the hostel authority.
- (iii) The superintendents of the hostel shall live in bachelor quarters within the hostel itself, so arranged as to secure a certain amount of privacy without permitting the superintendents and the boarders to be in any way cut off from one another.
- (iv) Subject to the approval of the headmaster, the superintendent may appoint one or more monitors from among the boarders. Monitors shall act under the orders of the superintendents. But the existence of monitors, in no sense, exonerates the superintendents from responsibility.
- (v) Roll call shall be held at 6 a.m and 7 a.m.
- (vi) Evening preparation shall be from 7 p.m till 9.30 p.m.
- (vii) Morning tea shall be at 6.30 a.m.
- (viii) Breakfast shall be at 8.30 a.m
- (ix) Dinner shall be at 6 p.m.
- (x) Lights shall be out at 9.30 p.m.

Duties of the headmaster-

The general supervision of the hostel shall be a part of the ordinary duties of the headmaster. He shall be responsible for the control and supervision of the hostel and boarders, and for seeing that the superintendents and others perform their allotted duties.

Duties of the superintendent-

- (i) To be immediately responsible to the headmaster for the maintenance of good discipline and morals among the boarders.
- (ii) To call the roll at fixed times.
- (iii) To bring to the notice of the headmaster, without delay, any moral delinquencies or breaches which he is not himself empowered to deal with.
- (iv) To see that the hostel is conducted in strict accordance with the usages and customs of the society to which the boarders belong.
- (v) To see that the necessary preparation is carried out.
- (vi) To control the menial establishment of the hostel.
- (vii) To supervise the dietary arrangements of the boarders.
- (viii) To join the students in their games and to supervise their conduct in the playing field.
- (ix) To perform such other duties as may be assigned to them by the headmaster.

Hostel Discipline-

Major offences:

- (i) Absence without leave from the hostel during the night punished with corporal punishment or expulsion for the offence and invariably with expulsion for the second.
- (ii) Use of drugs, tobacco or intoxicants.
- (iii) Indulgence in any form of gambling.

Minor offences:

- (i) Indulgence in noise calculated to disturb the hostel.
- (ii) Unpunctuality at meals or study
- (iii) Keeping of keys to text books.
- (iv) Spitting in the rooms or verandahs.
- (v) Disfiguring the hostel by writing on the walls or otherwise.

Minor offences shall be dealt with by the superintendents, who shall inflict a suitable punishment for each offence. Any boarders who have been found guilty of a minor offence three times in one month must be reported to the headmaster, who shall inflict corporal punishment.

By order of His Highness the *Maharaja* of Sikkim.

Gangtok, The 19th October 1926.

N.L. Calicotey,

Judicial Secretary to

His Highness the

Maharaja of Sikkim. (Offg)

Source: *Administration Report of Sikkim State, 1926*

Appendix – IX

Rules Regarding Dog Licenses

1. Every owner, or possessor, of a dog is required to take out a license for the same and get it renewed every year in the first week of April from the office of the Veterinary Inspector.
2. All dog owners are expected to see that their dogs wear a collar.
3. The Police and the Veterinary Inspector have orders to destroy all astray dogs, and dogs without collar are likely to be mistaken for stray ones. The Durbar take no responsibility, if any dog without a collar gets so destroyed.
4. All dogs are expected to be kept chained if they are not properly tamed, or show signs of indisposition.
5. Every case of rabies, or severe indisposition, shall be reported to the Veterinary Inspector without delay.
6. The license fee is annas 8, per year, per dog. Pups not yet weaned from the mother dog shall be charged at annas 4, per pup.
7. New licenses should be applied for as soon as a dog is kept, and renewals of licenses should be obtained at the commencement of every year, (April). The Durbar is not bound to give notice to the owners, or possessors, of dogs to have their licenses renewed.

No penalty would be charged during the whole month of April and licenses should get renewed by the end of that month at the latest.

A penalty upto 1 anna per day of default shall be chargeable from such owners, or possessors, of dogs who fail to get out a license by the end of the month of April.

Owners or possessors of dogs guilty of the infringement of rules 4 and 5 shall be liable to a punishment of fine which may exceed up to Rs.20.

Issue of Dog license was managed by Sanitary Overseer at Gangtok. License fee was Rs 8 annas per dog per year. Fees for the pups not yet weaned from the mother were charged at the rate of 4 annas per pups per year. Fine of Rs 20 was imposed if the owner of the dog infringed the rules regarding dog license.

Source: *Administration Report of Sikkim State, 1928*

Appendix - X

Rules Regarding Plying of Carts in Sikkim.

1. The owners of carts intending to ply the same in Sikkim shall have to take out a license from the Veterinary Inspector's office after paying the fee (prescribed in paragraph 3 below) in the State Bank.
2. The licenses for plying carts shall be renewable at the commencement of every financial year.
3. A fee of Rs.2 per cart, shall be charged before a license is issued and the same fee shall be payable at every annual renewal of the license.
4. The animals intended for plying of licensed carts shall be produced before the Veterinary Inspector and passed being fit.
5. A description of the animals shall be given in the licenses issued for the carts and the animal marked. "S" as being declared fit for cart driving.
6. At the time of renewal of licenses, the animals shall be brought over for inspection to the Veterinary Inspector who shall give a remark in the license about the fitness of the animals.
7. If, at any time, it is found that unfit animals are being worked by the cart pliers the Durbar shall confiscate the license.
8. The name of driver shall be mentioned in the license and he shall satisfy the officer issuing the licenses that he is acquainted with the rules of road and other principles of cart driving.
9. Whenever an owner of licensed cart changes the driver, he shall have the name of his new employee inserted in the license.
10. A charge of annas -8 shall be made for the supply of license, booklets and tin plates bearing the cart number.
11. The driver of carts shall observe the following precautions:
 - (a) Proper strings are tied to the head of animals or nose strings are used if the animals are frisky;
 - (b) They should never let the cart go on without themselves being on it; and
 - (c) They should provide themselves with hanging lights if carts are being plied after sunset.

12. All annual renewals of cart licenses shall take place in the month of March every year.
13. If at the commencement of the year (April) a cart license is found unrenewed, the cart shall be treated as being plied without license.
14. Whoever keeps the cart in working order shall have to take out a license for it and it would be no excuse to plead for the non-taking of a license that bullocks of the cart have died or been sold off.
15. Any carts that are not intended for traffic and for whom no license is intended to be taken out shall be kept with their wheels off (not in working order).
16. The cart owner shall apply within a month from their date of publication of these rules, for a license for the current year.
17. Any cart discovered without a license after the lapse of period of grace (vide rule16) shall be treated as carts without license.
18. Carts discovered without licenses in Sikkim shall be stopped from the traffic and their owners prosecuted for breach of rules.
19. Any breach of the above rule shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding
Rs. 25.

Source: *Administration Report of Sikkim, 1927– 28.*

Appendix - XI

Revenue Income (In thousand) from Public Works between 1906 & 1932

Year	Income
1906	4,161
1907	5,108
1908	4,877
1909	4,146
1910	4,620
1911	4,983
1912	4,610
1913	3,566
1914	3,915
1915	5,579
1916	13,067
1917	13,065
1918	12,502
1919	18,826
1920	13,059
1921	12,849
1922	12,840
1923	22,038
1924	20,420
1925	22,184
1926	23,573
1927	25,960
1928	35,489
1929	30,374
1930	31,435
1931	38,087
1932	38,300

Source: *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* from 1906 and 1932

Appendix - XII

Sikkim Police Guide

I. In every Police Station, (out-post included) there shall be present an officer, in order to record, at any time of day or night, any complaint received.

The complainant shall not be directed to bring their complaints in writing.

Every information, incident, or accident which comes to the knowledge of O.I.C. shall be recorded in the manner of complaints.

Complaints and all other information received shall be recorded in the daily diary register. A copy of this register shall be forwarded daily to the head of the Police.

II. The O.I.C. shall take out all his force for drill and parade in the morning at 9 A.M.

The O.I.C. shall see that the uniforms are spick and span and his force is in good health to perform the duties of the day.

After drill the O.I.C. shall detail out the duties for the day to the individual members of his force and write them down in the duty register.

The Daily Diary Register (First Information Report Register) shall be closed at sunset with a red line marked underneath by I.O.C. himself. Occurrences reported during night shall be deemed to have occurred on the date next following.

Copies of the daily diary register shall be prepared at sun set, after the close of the register for the day.

The O.I.C. shall convey in a special copy any emergent or important report lodged, to the head of the Police.

III. The O.I.C. shall keep a register of Badmashes (Bad characters) residing in his jurisdiction and have their movements specially watched. In this register he shall enter the names of persons residing in his jurisdiction and convicted of any crime by any court. The head of the Police shall keep a register of Bad Characters and convicted people in Sikkim. This register shall be amended every year by statements received from outposts register of Bad Characters.

IV. The O.I.C. shall see that all sentry duty is performed standing and ealking from one prescribed and to another.

All police force on active duty shall wear full uniform and when off active duty a belt and cap only officers of above the rank of Havildars may go about in Mufti.

All police force shall distinguish the call of the police whistle, and obey the call with promptness. No member of the police force can be ever off duty (day and night). They are either off active duty or on active duty.

The O.I.C. shall be entitled to "black mark" his subordinates for any acts of insubordination, indiscipline, or disregard of duty. Such "black marks" shall be entered in the "Conduct Register" kept at every police station and outposts.

A monthly statement from the Conduct Register shall be forwarded to the head of the Police.

The subordinate thus black marked shall be called upon for such explanation and may be subject to such punishment as the head of the Police may deem just.

The O.I.C. may also 'quarter guard' a subordinate below the rank of havildar for less that twenty four hours for any acts of insubordination, indiscipline or disregard of duty.

Such 'quarter guard' shall consist o shutting up the offender in s silitary cell and depriving him of food for that period.

The O.I.C. is the only person who can give direct orders to his subordinates in the police station or outpost. All orders from officers not belonging to the police force, must be addressed to the O.I.C. except in emergent cases when the O.I.C. must be informed.

V. The following are, amongst others, some of the duties, which the police force is usually called upon to do.

a. To execute all warrants, summons, and orders issued by any competent authority.

b. To collect and communicate all sorts of intelligence affecting the public peace.

- c. To prevent the commission of offences and public nuisance.
- d. To detect offenders and prosecute them.
- e. To take in custody all person for whose custody sufficient grounds exists, and who are suspected to have committed some offence into which the police is authorized to enquire.

Note: For offence into which the police is authorized to investigate, see schedule No. 1 (attached).

f. It shall be lawful to enter and inspect (without a warrant from a Magistrate) any drinking spot, gaming house or other places where loose and disorderly characters resort to, for the purpose of doing any of the above police duties.

In case or class of offences into which the police is not authorized to investigate (vide schedule No 1), the O.I.C. may lay any information before the chief court or before the people Magistrates (vide schedule No.2) and apply for a summons, warrant, search warrants, or such other process as can be lawfully issued.

The O.I.C. shall have all unclaimed moveable property taken charge of as may be found in his jurisdiction and get orders regarding its disposal from the head of the Police, who will issue a proclamation and invite claimants to establish their right in court within six months from the date of proclamation, after which period the said property will be sold out, and the sale proceeds placed at the disposal of the Darbar.

It is lawful for any police officer to take into custody, without a warrant any person who within his view commits any of the under mentioned offences. Any person thus apprehended shall within twenty-four hours be conveyed before a Police Magistrate for such orders as he may deem just or he may be released on bail to appear before such Magistrate. Any person, who on any road or in any street, thought fare, or open space and to the obstruction, inconvenience, annoyance, risk, danger or damage of the residents or passengers,

- a. Slaughter any cattle or cleans any carcass,

- b. Rides or drives any cattle recklessly or furiously: or breaks any horse or other cattle,
- c. wantonly or cruelly beats, abuses or tortures any animal,
- d. keeps any cattle or conveyance of any kind standing longer than is required for loading or for taking up or settling down passengers or who leaves any conveyance in such a manner as to cause inconvenience or danger to the public,
- e. Exposes goods for sale without a license,
- f. Throws or lays down any dirt, filth rubbish, or any stones or building material: or constructs any cowshed, stable or the like, or causes any offensive matter to run from any house factory, dung keep or the like,
- g. Is found drunk or riotous or who is incapable of taking care of himself,
- h. Willfully and indecently exposed his person or any offensive deformity or disease or commits nuisance by easing himself or bathing or washing in tank or reservoir not set apart for that purpose,
- i. Neglects to fence in or duly protect any well, tank, or other dangerous place or structure.

VI. Investigation into crimes. For police purpose offences are classed into two kinds

1. Cognizable

2. Non-cognizable

Cognizable offences are those crimes into which police may investigate and a list of such offences is given in schedule No.1

Every police officer must interfere and prevent the commission of any cognizable offence. He may arrest, without a warrant, any person designing to commit a cognizable offence, if it appears that the offence callout otherwise be prevented.

He must interfere to prevent any injury attempted to be committed in his view to any public property, or any public landmark.

The Officer-in-charge may, without a warrant, enter any place for the purpose of inspection or searching for any weights or measures or instrument, for weighing if he has reason to believe that such weights, measures or instrument are false.

No police officer shall investigate a non-cognizable case without the orders of a police magistrate, and shall refer the complainant to such Magistrate,

If, on the orders of a police Magistrate, the police enquire into a non-cognizable offence, there shall be no arrest with out a warrant.

On beginning investigation into a cognizable offence the Officer-in-charge shall also send a report of the same to the landlord of his jurisdiction. He shall proceed in person, or shall depute one of his subordinate officers not below the rank a Naik, to proceed to the spot to investigate the fact and circumstances of the case and to take measures for the discovery and arrest of the offenders.

Investigation, he may not investigation the case. He shall notify to the complainant the fact that he will not investigate the case, and make a report to that effect in his first information report register. O.I.O. shall be authorized to require the attendance before himself of any person who appears to be acquainted with the circumstance of a case under investigation.

The investigation police officer may examine orally any person supposed to be acquainted with the facts and such person shall be bound to answer all questions put to him. The person making it, if reduced into writing, need not sign the statements made to the police.

No copy of such statements taken down by the police shall be given to the public.

No investigation officer shall offer any inducement, threat or promise to any person in the course of his investigation but he shall not prevent by caution or

otherwise any person from making any statement which he may be disposed to make of his own free will.

An investigation officer may search, or cause search to be made, for anything necessary for the purposes of an investigation such a search may be made in any place, and, as far as practicable, by the police officer himself.

If entry into a place cannot be obtained by notifying the fact to any person residing in, or being in-charge of, such a place, then the police officer may break open any outer or inner door or window of any house or place and effects an entrance.

If such place is an apartment in the actual occupancy of a woman, who according to custom does not appear in public, the police officer before entry shall notify to the woman to withdraw and afford her every reasonable facility for withdrawing.

Whenever a person is arrested he shall be invariably at once searched and all articles, except the necessary wearing apparel found on his person, be placed in safe custody and a list made.

Whenever it is necessary to search a woman, another woman shall make the search with strict regard to decency.

Before making a search, either of a place or of a person, it shall be necessary to call upon two or more respectable person of the locality to attend and witness the search, which shall be made in their presence and a list of all things seized in the course of such search and of the places where they are found shall be prepared. The witnesses shall sign the list.

Any police officer may without an order from a magistrate and without a warrant, make an arrest in the following cases:-

- (a) Any person concerned in cognizable offence,
- (b) Any person having in his possession any implement of house breaking,
- (c) Any proclaimed offender,
- (d) Any person found in possession of property regarding which suspicion of stolen property lies

- (e) Any person who abstracts a police officer in the execution of his duty, or who has escaped from lawful custody,
- (f) A deserter from the Army & Navy of His Majesty the King-Emperor,
- (g) A person who is suspected of having committed an offence outside Sikkim for which he may be liable to be arrested on extradition,
- (h) Any person found taking precautions to conceal his presence under suspicious circumstances with a view to committing a cognizable offence,
- (i) Any person having no apparent means of subsistence, or who cannot give a satisfactory account of himself,
- (j) Any person who is by repute a habitual robber, housebreaker or thief or habitually puts persons in fear or injury,
- (k) Any person who having been accused of committing a non-cognizable offence refuses on demand to give his name and address which the officer thinks to be false. When the true name and residence of such a person has been ascertained he shall be released on bail to appear before a Magistrate, if required.

If a person released on bail does not belong to Sikkim, his bail bond shall be belonging to Sikkim, his bail bond shall be secured by persons residing in Sikkim.

A police officer may pursue, for the purposes of arresting any person whom he is authorized to arrest, into any place within Sikkim.

A police officer making an arrest without warrant shall at once take bail, if the offence for which he has been arrested is billable. (For Bilabial and non-billable offences see schedule No.1) and if the offence is non-bailable, he would exercise his discretion to admit the arrested person on bail.

No arrested person shall be detained in custody by a police officer for more than twenty-four hours from the time of arrested, (exclusive of the time necessary for journey from the place of arrest to the Magistrate's court). If not let out on bail, an arrested person must be produced, before a police Magistrate for such orders as he thinks fit. Officers- in -charge of police Judge, the cases of all persons arrested without warrant within the limits of their respective stations whether such persons have been admitted to bail or otherwise.

No person who has once been arrested by the police shall be discharged by the police except under the orders of his own bond or bail but the final order of discharge can only be passed by a police Magistrate.

Whenever any person is arrested and detained in custody and it appears to the police officers that the investigation cannot be completed within the period of twenty four hours, he shall for the with transmit a copy of the First Information Report as well as forward the accused to the nearest police Magistrate for the purposes of remand into custody or such orders as the said Magistrate may think fit.

When any police officer subordinate to the senior Sub-Inspector of police has conducted the investigation, he shall report the result of such investigation to the senior Sub-Inspector of police,

If, after investigation, it appears to a police officer that there is not sufficient evidence or reasonable ground of suspicion to justify Chelan (forwarding) of the accused to a court, then he shall for the with release the accused on bail and send his report of the result of investigation to the chief court in order to obtain the final order of discharge.

If, on investigation, it does appear to the investigation officer that there is sufficient evidence or reasonable ground of suspicion to justify chalan of the accused to a court, he shall forward the accused under custody or on bail (according to his discretion) to the police magistrate of his Ilaka and his absence to the chief court for trail.

The investigation officer forwarding the chalan of an accused person to a court shall annex a list of persons acquainted with the circumstances of the case i.e. witnesses of prosecution.

Every police officer making an investigation shall day by day enter his proceedings in the investigation forth the time at which the information reached him, the time at which he began and closed his investigation (day by day) the place or places visited by him (day by day) and a statement of circumstances ascertained through his investigation (day by day).

Such diaries of investigation of cases shall not be forwarded to the court with the chalan or the discharges report (as the case may be): but they shall be sent to the court Inspector to enable him to conduct prosecutions or get order of discharge from the court or get order of discharges from the court as the case may be and in case the of police magistrate trying the case O.I.C. shall conduct the case personally.

Every chalan of an accused person shall be forwarded to the court I a prescribed form (see schedule No III) known as "Police Chalan Sheet".

VII. An O.I.O. on receiving information that & person

- (a) Has committed suicide,
- (b) Has been killed, or by machinery, or by an accident or
- (c) Has died under circumstances raising a reasonable suspicion that the death is unnatural should immediately give intimation thereof to the nearest police magistrate and have an inquest held.

Inquests are held in presence of two or more respectable inhabitants of the neighborhood, and the magistrate.

When for any reason the police officer considers it expedient t have the hurts of an injured person medically examined or a dead body postmortemed, he shall forward the person or body to the nearest medical officer for such examination.

When any person dies if the custody of the police, a police magistrate shall at once be informed and an inquest held.

Whenever the police intend to disinter a corpse in order to discover the cause of death an order from a police magistrate shall have to be obtained before a body can be disinterred and examined.

Source: Sikkim State, *Judicial Department* File, 1928.

Appendix – XIII

The New P. O.

Before the 1950 Treaty, the title P. O. was invariably understood as a Political Officer those 'White Colonial Sahibs' preferred to be known as '*Bara Sahibs*' locally, to signify supremacy of the higher Hill Top at Gangtok.

Now, the 'Brown Sahib' has shown no efforts discard the colonial coinage which appears to hang on till it is no longer comfortable. If the old system of 'Residency' can be changed to 'India House' then why not the P. O.? May be the acquired traditions do not die but just fade away slowly.

Since the 1950 Treaty, the title P. O. was often mutilated as Political Office for disbursement of 'Sinking Fund" to local political parties. This is harmless compared to their active participation to excite any local political parties or neighboring Papers to denounce the Sikkim Government, which is showing a rapid self-generating economy.

Then again, some referred simply as Post Office because of their irregular communication to their magnum boss at the South Block. But recently with the incident of Rotary Club at Gangtok, Sikkim students' scholarships and foreign travels one cannot help appreciating the latest name Political Obstacles.

Every time we ask something not to their taste, they say that the 'Happy Document' does not possess such recipe us. But P. O. and his office are also outside the document.

Under such poor records, chalked by his fellow Foreign Service members, should not be over-enthusiastic for a bigger and brighter change in the near future. In spite of for Brown Sahib's willingness to sympathies with the local people's aspirations, he must still carry out the *Bura Hukum* of the magnum *Bura Sahibs* from Delhi.

Constantly, this Hill Top assignment has been self promoting ground. The records show all P. O.s received their Joint Secretary status before they descended this ivory tower.

This is applicable also to his Secretaries, for their confirmation to Frist Secretaries' ranks.

Now, the P. O. enters the Barakothi humbly with such known climates of the past. He appears to be capable of changing the past bad records. And if he can even change some-thing worth while for the Sikkimese then we must kowtow and declare, "You are a better man-Shriman Gangadin ✎".

Source: *Sikkim "An Independent Fortnightly"* Tuesday, 22 September, 1970.

Appendix - XIV

Expenditure on public works during the year 1907-08

Discription of works	State fund			Imperial civil & Military fund		Provisional fund		
	Original works	Repair works	Total	Original works	Repair works	Original works	Repair works	Total
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Buildings	16039	5976	22015	5888	8490	...	...	...
Roads and bridges	18480	7962	26442	7537	63212	...	9793	9793
Misc. public Improvements	...	...	639	...	...	...	...	...
Minor works & repairs	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dakbunglows	...	...	290	...	...	...	...	...
Establishment	...	...	2833	...	...	...	...	293
Miscellaneous	...	...	3140	...	...	...	...	467
Total	...	...	55359	...	...	...	...	10553

Appendix - XV

Expenditure on public works during the year 1908-09

Discription of works	State fund			Imperial civil & Military fund		Provisional fund			Remarks
	Original works	Repair works	Total	Original works	Repair works	Original works	Repair works	Total	
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
Buildings	11731	5577	17308	7180	7236	This figures include expenditure on Dakbunglow
Roads & Bridges	9200	11111	20311	15946	49428	3473	6558	10031	
Misc. public improvements	...	...	1050	...	...	...	...	...
Minor works & repairs	...	...	242	...	...	...	...	...
Dakbunglows	1986	1818	3804	...	...	...	...	...
Establishment	...	...	3462	...	...	...	...	15894
Miscellaneous	...	...	11445	...	...	...	...	...
Total	22917	18506	57622	23126	56664	3473	6558	25925	

Appendix - XVI

Expenditure on public works during the year 1910-11

Discription of works	State fund			Imperial civil & Military fund		Provisional fund			Remarks
	Original works	Repair works	Total	Original works	Repair works	Original works	Repair works	Total	
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
Buildings	5672	5446	11118	22678	1724	...	...	...
Roads and Bridges	2370	10037	12407	2842	48497	4798	7776	12574	
Misc. public Improvements	2093	453	2516	...	...	...	...	...
Minor works & repairs	...	1000	1000	...	4944	...	...	...
Dakbunglows	...	1593	1593	...	...	...	...	...
Establishment	...	...	4592	...	...	...	...	6341	24.5% Estb. charges on Imperial Militaty & Civil works
Miscellaneous	...	...	11390	...	...	...	...	...
Total	10135	18529	44616	25520	55165	4798	7776	18915	

Appendix - XVII

Expenditure on public works during the year 1912-13

Discription of works	State fund			Imperial civil & Military fund			Provisional fund		
	Original works	Repair works	Total	Original works	Repair works	Total	Original works	Repair works	Total
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Buildings	7267	4960	12227	2240	7102	9342	...	...	...
Communications(Road & Bridge)	9816	9871	19717	...	42582	42582	35	12281	12316
Misc. Public Improvements	1459	365	1824	...	...	...	...	...	...
Establishments	...	...	6561	...	...	14004	...	...	...
Miscellaneous	...	...	5918	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dakbunglow	...	1858	1858	689	5206	5895	...	...	...
Total	18542	17054	48105	2929	54890	71823	35	12281	12316

Appendix - XVIII

Expenditure on Public works during the year 1914-15

Description of works	State funds			Imperial Military fund		Imperial civil fund			Provisional civil fund		
	Original works	Repairs	Total	Original works	Repairs	Original works	Repairs	Total	Original works	Repairs	Total
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Buildings	1684	4578	6262	3503	4100	1257	2077	10937	...	...	...
Communications	4652	8648	13300	...	...	15319	41139	56458	19704	10434	30141
Misc. Public Improvements	9165	596	9761	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Workshop	...	2962	2962	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Agriculture	...	604	604	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Municipal	...	820	820	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mules accounts	...	156	156	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tools & plants	...	648	648	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Emergency repairs	...	587	587	...	...	...	...	...	686	1339	2025
Total	15501	19599	35100	3503	4100	16576	43216	67395	20390	11773	32166

Appendix - XIX

Expenditure on Public works during the year 1916-17

Description of works	State funds			Internal Military fund		Internal civil fund			Provincial Fund		
	Original	Repairs	Total	Original	Repairs	Original	Repairs	Total	Original	Repairs	Total
	works			works		works			works		
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Buildings	30,595	3,582	34,174	...	2,021	2,757	4,121	8,899	...	...	...
Communications	18394	13267	31661	...	...	8597	54924	63521	...	...	...
Dakbunglow charges	...	2198	2198	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Misc. Public Improvement	...	331	331	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Work shop											
Agriculture											
Upkeep of Bazar	...	1111	1111	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tools & plants	...	504	504	...	...	...	...	...	401	596	997
Establishment											
Contingencies	...	813	813	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Stock											
Miscellaneous											
Grain compensation allowance	...	139	139	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cattle & House Breeding											
Total	48984	21945	70929	...	2021	11354	59045	72420	401	596	997

Appendix - XX

EXPENDITURE ON PUBLIC WORKS DURING 1917-18

Discription of works	State fund			Imperial Military fund		Imperial civil fund			Provisional civil fund		
	Original works	Repair works	Total	Original works	Repair works	Original works	Repair works	Total	Original works	Repair works	Total
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Buildings	28206	5126	33332	...	1758	...	2285	2285	...	...	...
Communications	1338	16421	17759	...	...	1421	28225	29646	...	6232	6232
Misc. public Improvements	8100	1125	9225	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Workshop	...	3470	2370	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Agriculture	2425	1850	4284	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Up-keep of Bazar	...	715	715	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tools & plants	...	387	387	...	...	...	...	...	136	1013	1149
Emergency repairs	...	1500	1500	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Minor works	...	763	763	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Establishment	...	6850	6850	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Contingencies	...	1239	1239	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dakbunglow charges	...	3220	3220	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Stock	...	2028	2028	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Miscellaneous	...	914	914	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Grain compensation allowance	...	179	179	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cattle and horse-breeding	...	1258	1258	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	40069	45954	86023	...	1758	1421	30510	31931	136	7245	7381

Appendix - XXI

EXPENDITURE ON PUBLIC WORKS DURING 1918-19

Discription of works	State fund			Imperial Military fund		Imperial civil fund			Provisional civil fund		
	Original works	Repair works	Total	Original works	Repair works	Original works	Repair works	Total	Original works	Repair works	Total
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Buildings	16306	6120	22426	...	577	4932	2325	7834	...	...	...
Communications	1994	13925	15919	...	876	2696	37870	41442	...	6510	6510
Misc. public Improvements	2054	879	2933	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Workshop	...	1154	1154	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tools & Plants	...	581	581	...	...	...	...	...	30	1059	1089
Dakbunglow charges	...	1325	1325	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Stock	...	1609	1609	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Up-keep of bazar	...	655	655	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Contingent charges	...	901	901	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Grain compensation allowance	...	72	72	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Agriculture	...	2285	2285	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Horse & cattle breeding	...	261	261	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Industry	...	717	717	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	20354	30484	50838	..	1453	7628	40195	49276	30	7569	7599

Appendix - XXII

Expenditure on Public works during the year 1922-23

Description of works	State funds			Central Military fund			Central civil fund			Provisional Civil Works		
	Original work	Repairs works	Total	Original works	Repair works	Total	Original works	Repair works	Total	Original works	Repair works	Total
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Buildings	25376	4603	29979	...	3630	3630	3368	14238	17606	...	...	...
Communication	6734	17323	24057	...	...	...	9125	56355	74483	...	...	...
Misc. Public Improvement	40	2634	2674	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dakbunglow charges	...	2387	2387	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Upkeep of bazar	...	1240	1240	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tools & plants	...	826	826	...	...	...	...	...	...	607	380	...
Grain compensation allowance	...	111	111	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Contingencies	...	769	769	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Miscellaneous	...	12	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	32150	29905	62055	...	3630	3630	12493	79593	92089	607	380	...

[808]

Appendix - XXIII

EXPENDITURE ON PUBLIC WORKS DURING 1923-24

Discription of works	State fund			Central Military fund			Central civil fund			Provisional civil fund		
	Original works	Repair works	Total	Original works	Repair works	Total	Original works	Repair works	Total	Original works	Repair works	Total
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Buildings	47117	5837	52954	...	1637	1637	414	3692	4106	...	...	...
Communications	15561	17038	32599	...	2104	2104	19587	56809	76396	...	...	...
Misc. Public Improvements	6739	3052	9791	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dakbunglow charges	...	2922	2922	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Up-keep of Bazaar	...	296	296	...	...	...	...	...	...	769	55	824
Tools and plants	...	1044	1044	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Grain compensation allowance	...	103	103	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Contingencies	...	1265	1265	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Miscellaneous	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	69417	31557	100974	...	3741	3741	20001	60501	80502	769	55	824

[309]

Appendix - XXIV

Expenditure on public works in Sikkim during the year 1925-26

Description of works	State fund			41-Central Civil Works			New supply T & Plants	Repairs & carriage	Post & telegraph	Total
	Original works	Repair work	Total	Original work bldg.	Repair works	Repair communi- cation				
Buioldings	Rs. 46436	Rs. 5153	Rs. 51589	Rs. 12683	Rs. 11579	...	...	...	...	...
Communications	35766	18536	54302	23665	65938	...	...	...	769	...
Misc. Public Improvements	48502	4431	52983	...	...	...	...	...	..	...
Up-keep of Bazars	...	1067	1067	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tools and plants	...	1586	1586	...	...	...	729	74	...	...
Grain compensation allowance	256	256	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Contingencies	1918	1918	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Misc. (Manufacture of lime, collec- tion charge of Dakbunglow fees and training of overseers)	...	995	995	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	130704	33942	164646	36348	77517	...	729	74	769	...

Appendix - XXV

Expenditure on public works in Sikkim during the year 1926-27

Description of works	State fund			41.-Central civil works.						Grant in aid.	Total	
	Original works	Repair works	Total	Original works	Repair works	New supply of tools & plants	Repairs & carriage	Post & telegraph				
								Original	Repair			
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Buildings	74407	4699	79106	4499	6423	...	...	3410	59	131	...	...
Communication	48239	23641	71880	7859	150236	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Misc. Public Improvements	82210	8944	91154	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Up keep of bazar	...	440	440	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tools and plants	...	2805	2805	...	...	1573	62	...	...	...	...	...
Grain compensation allowance	...	240	240	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Contingencies	...	1812	1812	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2494	...
Misc. (collection charges on Dak bungalow and training of student as an overseers)	...	783	783	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	204856	43364	248220	12308	156659	1573	62	3410	59	131	2494	176696

[311]

Appendix - XXVI

Expenditure on public works in Sikkim during the year 1927-28

Description of works	State fund			41-civil works-central			Repairs and carriage	Post and telegraph
	Original works	Repair works	Total	Original work	Repair works	Tools and plants new supply		
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Buildings	35887	6053	41940	4492	4913	...	...	...
Communications	58860	22280	81140	27022	246848	...	...	...
Misc. public improvement	3641	8431	12472	...	...	...	...	...
14-A.-Electric charges	24797	...	24797	...	...	...	...	...
Up-keep Of Bazars	...	1001	1001	...	...	...	...	...
Tools & plants	..	2007	2007	...	...	2024	71	...
Grain compensation allowance	...	212	212	...	..	...	...	...
Contingencies	...	1871	1871	...	...	...	...	...
Misc.(collection charges of D.B. fee & training of Overseer)	...	706	706	...	....	...	...	...
Total	123185	42561	166146	31514	251761	2024	71	...

Appendix - XXVII

Expenditure on Public works during the year 1929-30

Service head	Original works		Repair works		Total	
	1928-29	1929-30	1928-29	1929-30	1928-29	1929-30
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Buildings	13,512	42,451	6,713	6,116	20,225	48,567
Communications-						
a) Roads		40,827	22,932	29,048	79,554	69,875
	56,622					
b) Bridges		19,256	...	...	...	19,259
Miscellaneous Public Improvement	9,738	2,522	7,868	3,078	17,626	5,600
14-A-Electric Installation	10,369	1,936	4,172	4,993	14,541	6,929
Water supply at Gangtok	...	775	...	1,070	...	1,845
Tools & Plants and Machinaries	...	1,583	2,983	735	2,983	2,318
Establishment	...	...	16,255	13,692	16,255	13,692
Total	90,241	109,350	60,923	58,732	151,184	168,085

Appendix - XXVIII

Expenditure on Public works during the year 1930-31

Service head	Original works		Repair works		Total	
	1929-30	1930-31	1929-30	1930-31	1929-30	1930-31
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Buildings	42,451	28,110	6,116	7,195	48,567	35,305
Communications-						
a) Roads	40,827	29,180			69,875	58,751
b) Bridges	19,259	15,381	29,048	29,562	19,259	15,381
Miscellaneous Public Improvement	2,522	7,030	3,078	6,051	5,600	13,081
14-A-Electric Installation	1,936	987	4,993	2,652	6,929	3,639
Water supply at Gangtok	5,925	4,779	1,070	890	6,995	5,669
Upkeep of Bazar	...	...	530	985	530	985
Tools & Plants and Machinery	775	701	735	185	1,510	886
Establishment	...	...	13,692	16,041	13,692	16,041
Total	1,13,695	86,177	59,262	63,561	1,72,957	1,49,738

Appendix - XXIX

Expenditure on Public works during the year 1931-32

Service head	Original works		Repair works		Total	
	1930-31	1931-32	1930-31	1931-32	1930-31	1931-32
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Buildings	28,110	31,943	71,95	5,740	35,305	37,683
Communications-						
a) Roads	29,189	23,336	29,562	33,200	58,751	56,536
b) Bridges	15,381	14,831	...	...	15,381	14,831
Miscellaneous Public Improvement	7,030	4,601	6,051	2,823	13,081	7,424
14-A-Electric Installation	987	979	2,652	1,397	3,639	2,376
Water supply at Gangtok	4,779	...	890	994	5,669	994
Upkeep of Gangtok and Singtam Bazar	...	...	985	3,184	985	3,181
Tools & Plants and Machinery	701	1,438	185	208	886	1,616
Establishment	16,641	17,345	16,044	17,345
Total	86,177	77,128	63,561	64,891	1,49,738	1,42,019

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