

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



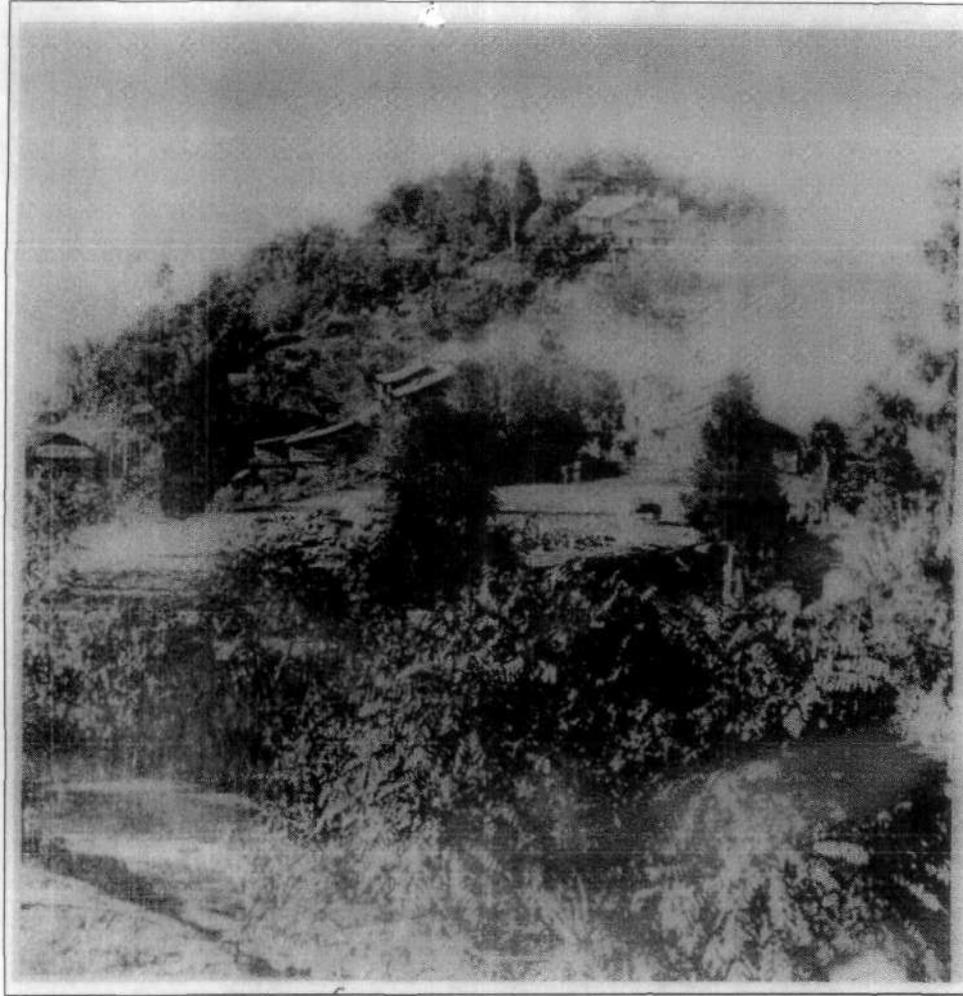
The British Residency, Gangtok

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.

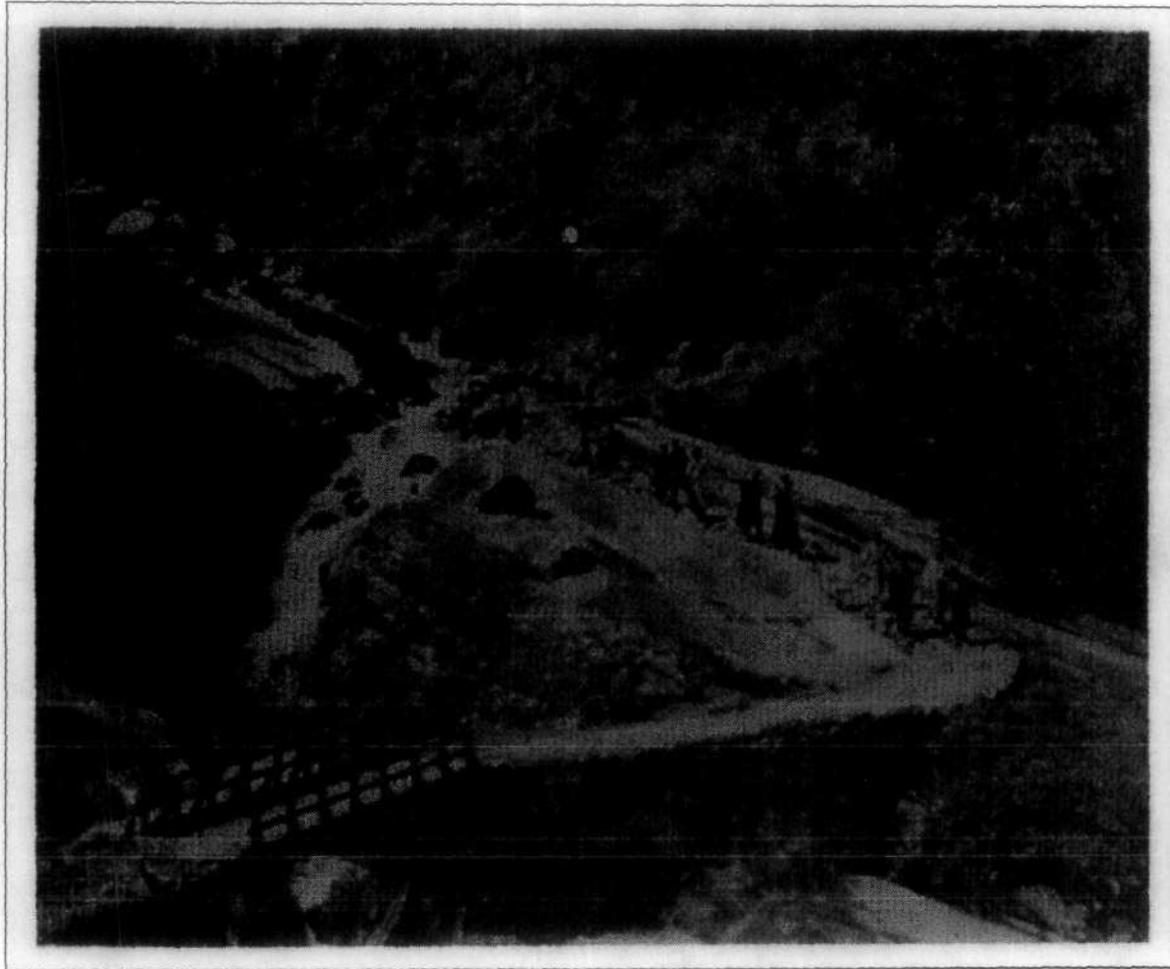
An interesting fact that is evident from the above is that ever since the Lingtu incident Gangtok gained in importance not only as a centre of political and economic activities but also as a military base for the British Indian Army. Though the initial objective to shift the capital of Sikkim to Gangtok 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.

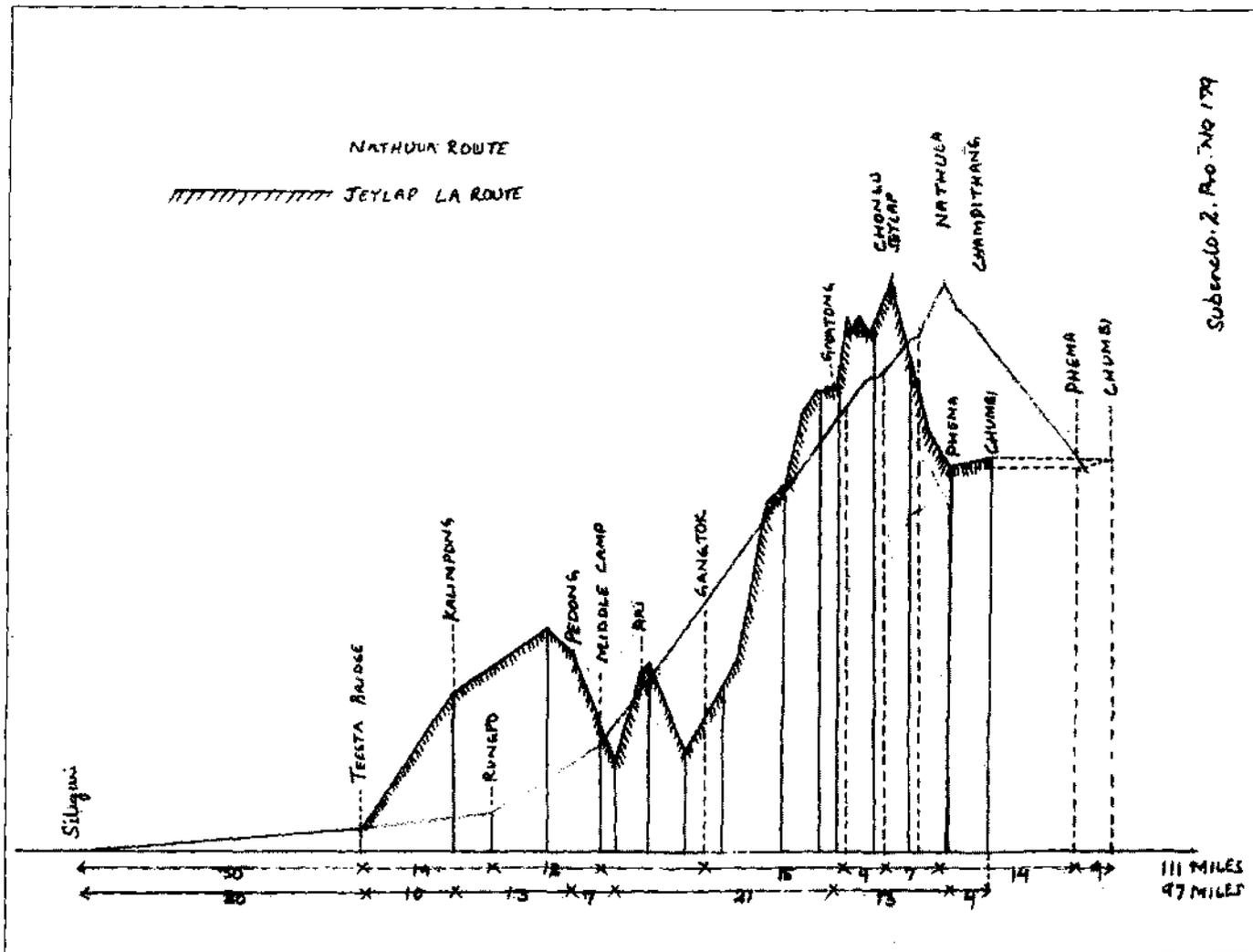
Principle *bazaar* is Gangtok. Tibetan traders will find facilities here. In addition trade from Tibet via Khamba jong and the Lachen and Lachung valley finds its way here.

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

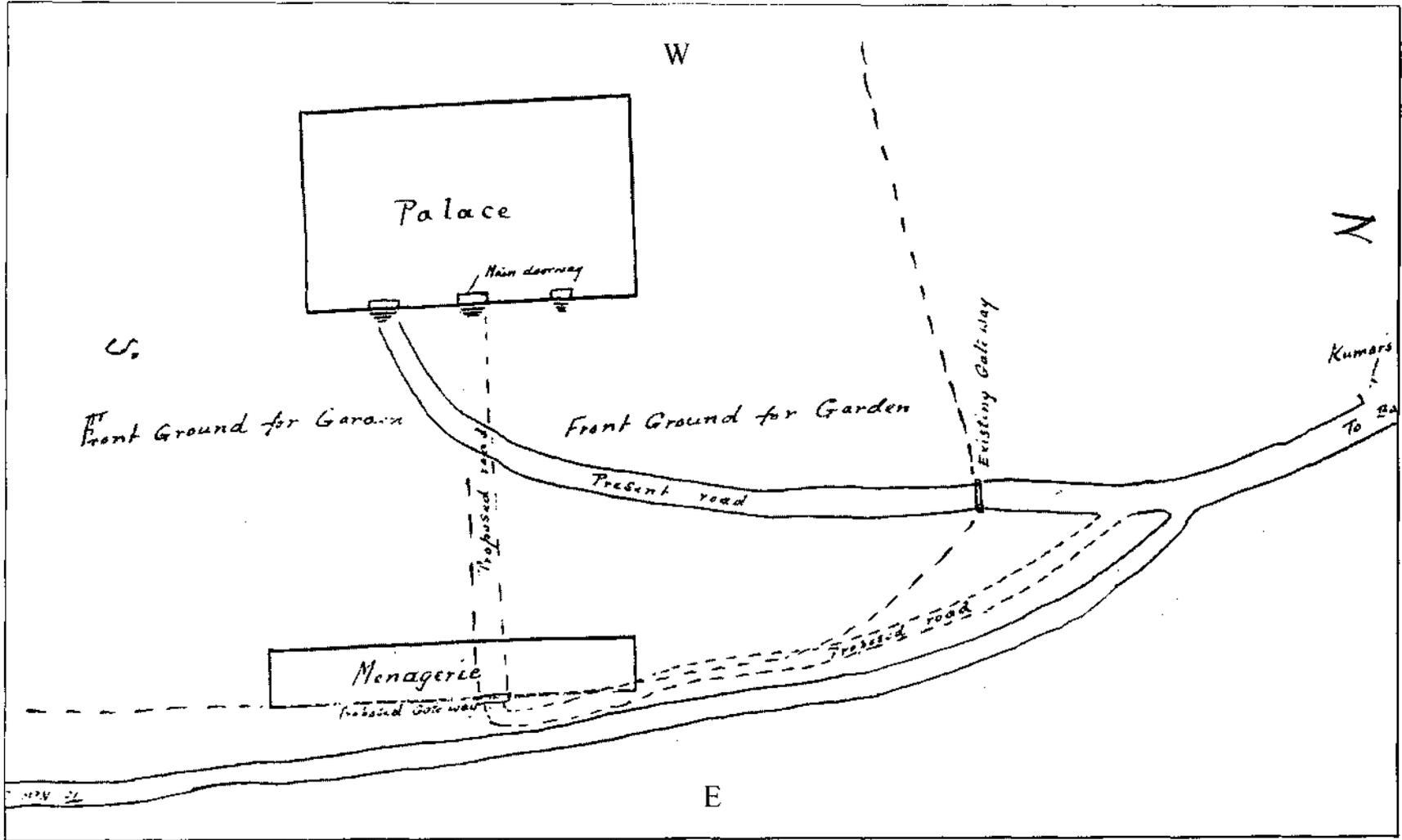
Going into the question of the relative value of the two routes into the Chumbi Valley, it was felt by White together with other British Official Circle (Military General Locke Elliot's letter to Lord Kitchener also expressed the view that the *Nathu-La* route was to be preferred to *Jelep* route because 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:

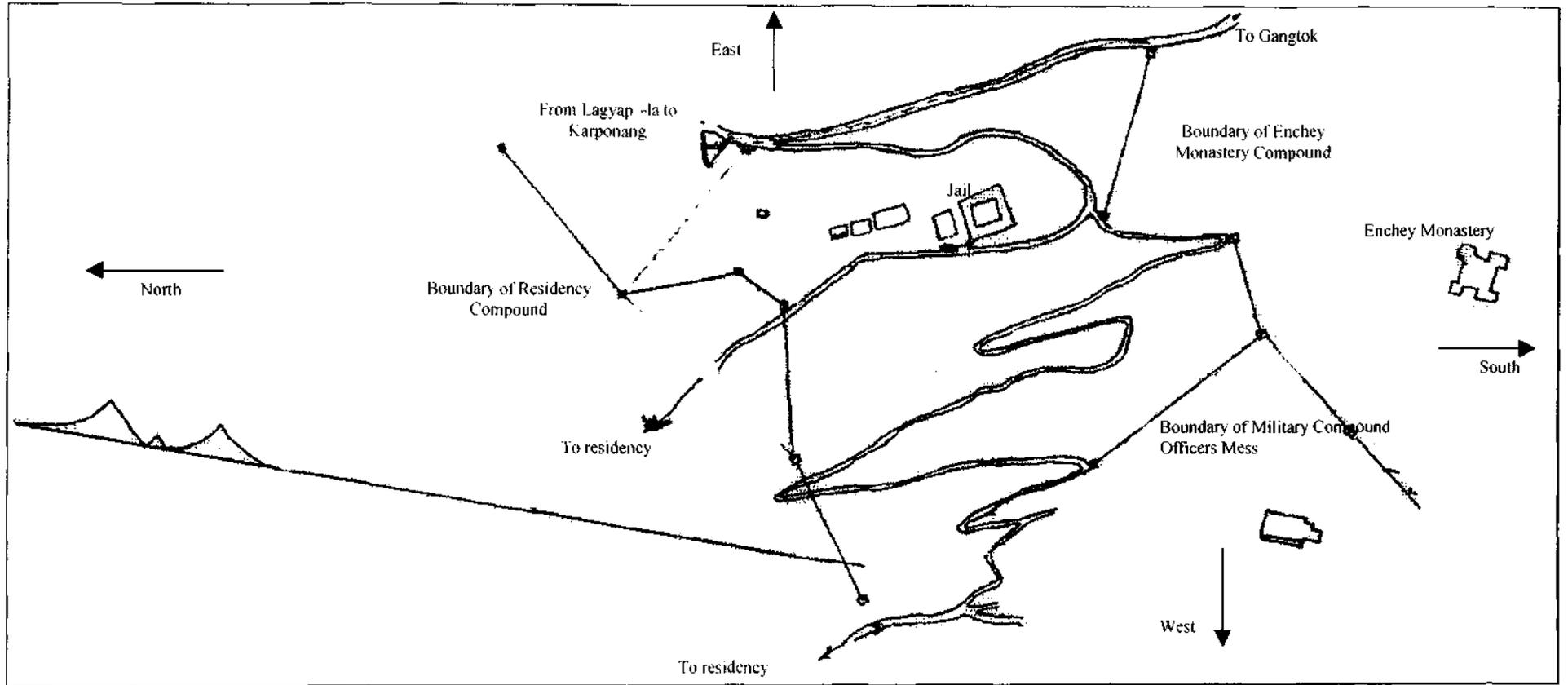
- (a) A road-joining Residency to *Penlong-la*, a strategic line of communication.
- (b) From the Residency lines joining the Residency compound with the hospital, the supply godown and the *bazaar*.
- (c) A road joining Residency compound to the Palace.⁸²
- (d) A road joining the palace to *Dilkusha*.⁸³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

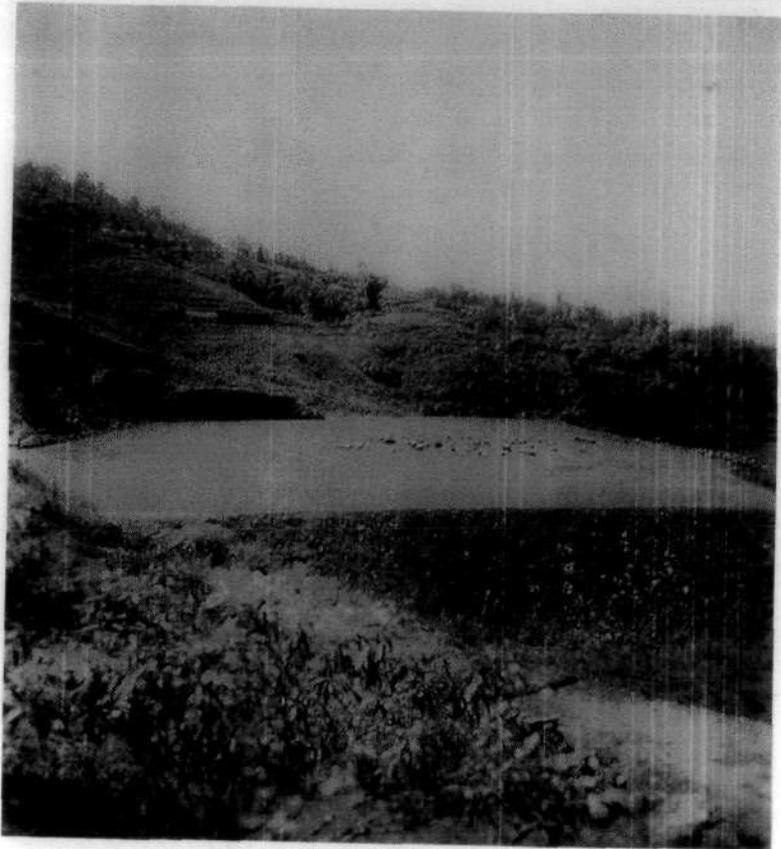
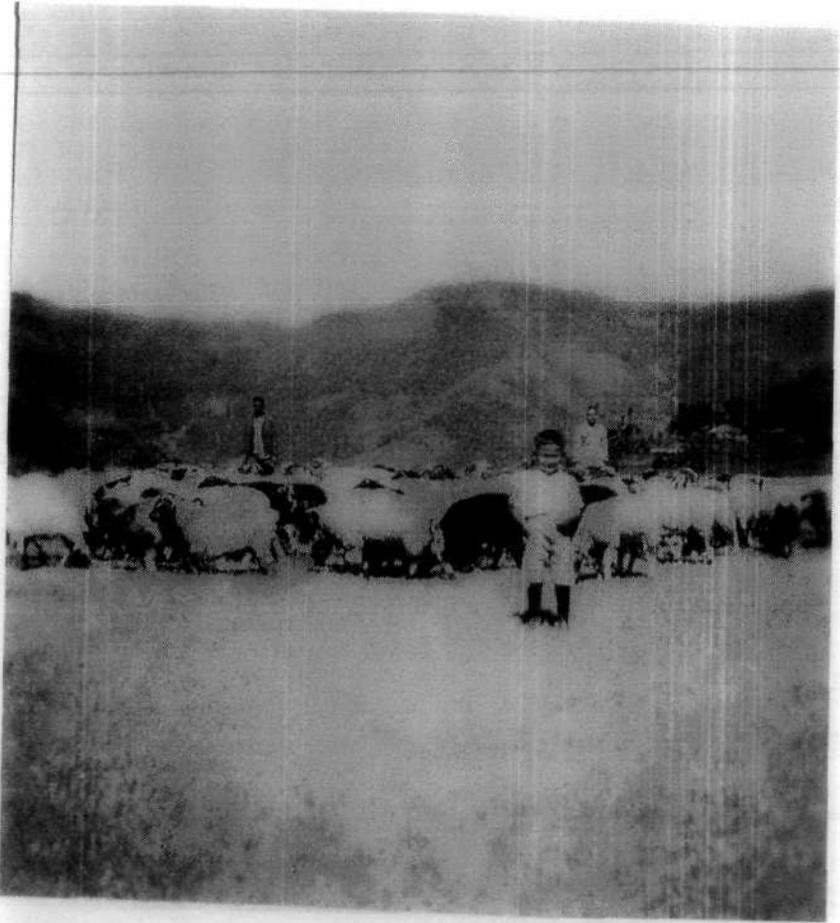
Source: *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim between 1906 and 1925*

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

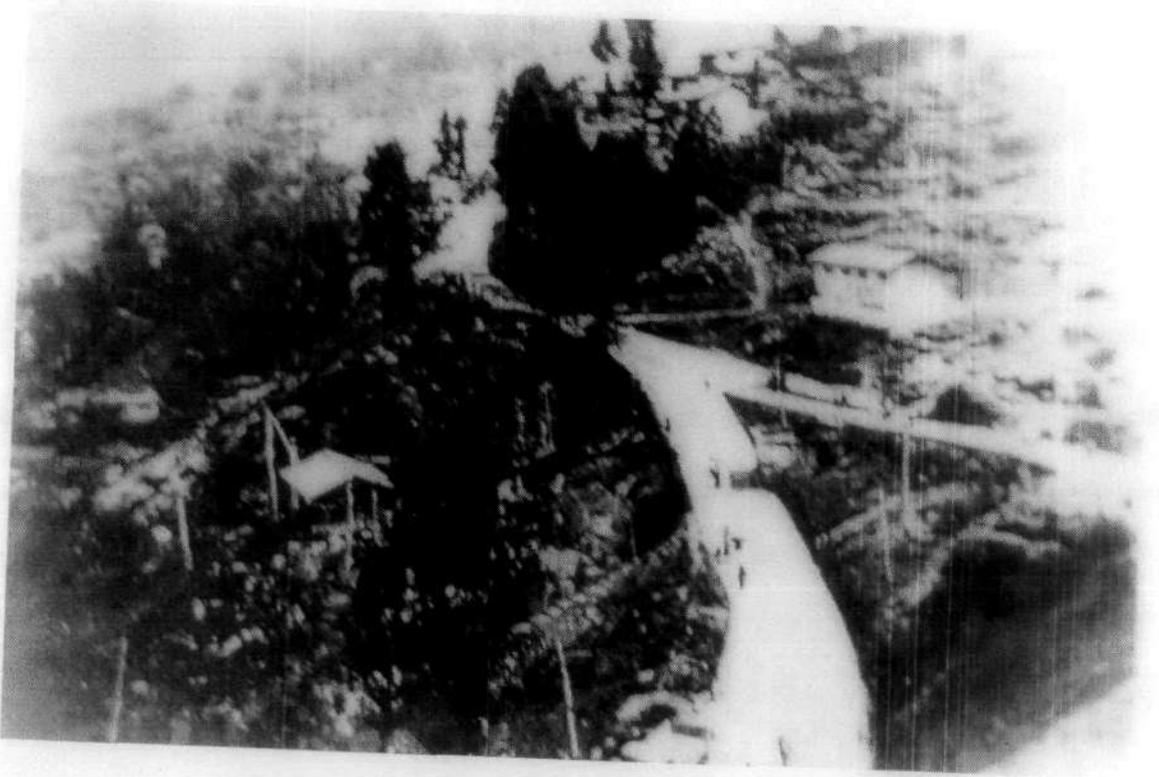
Plate - V



Polo Ground - September 1941

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

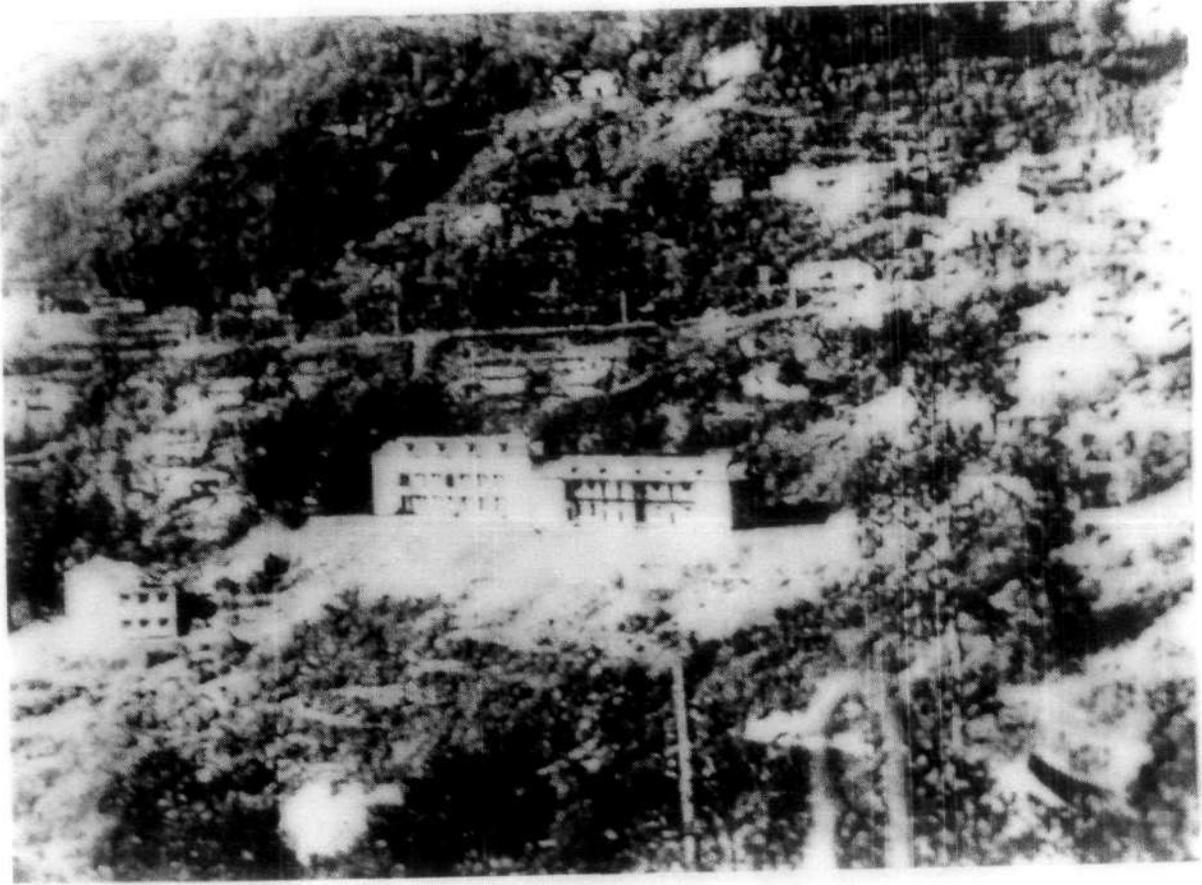
Plate - VI



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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19. *Ibid*, May 1869, 145-47 (K.W)
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23. *Ibid.*, Risley, p.vi.
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33. Quoted in *Overseas Expeditions,Ibid*, n.34. p.61.

34. *Ibid*.p.61.
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69. Report on the First Five Year Plan,1954,Government of India.p.28
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73. O'Malley, *Darjeeling District Gazetteer*, pp.137-138.
74. C.P.F.79.of 1904, No.1.
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77. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim for the years 1913-1914.*
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.*

79. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* for the year 1904-1905. One bridge was constructed and 126 miles of road repaired by the state; 202 miles were repaired by the Imperial Government. *Ibid*, 1904-1905.
80. *Foreign Department Proceedings*, Secret E. 1907, September. Nos.177-179.
81. *Ibid*, Secret E. 1907, September. Nos.177-179.
82. *A Letter from His Highness the Maharaja of Sikkim to C.A. Bell, the Political Officer in Sikkim*, Sikkim Durbar File, No.37, 1908.
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*.
84. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim* between, 1927 and 1930. Construction of a road from Tokal to Dikchu along the Teesta river connecting the newly constructed bridge over the Tista at Samdung (Mangkatar) was taken up in 1908. Doners were Lambodar Pradhan, Lachminarain Pradhan, Tulsidas Pradhan, Rumtek Lama, Roza Subhan, Shyamlal Modi, Ramchandra Mintri, Dulichand Srilall, Ganesh Das, Joharmal, Sew Karan, Jetmull Bhojraj, Chogmull Sewbuksh, Sewnath Ramprasad, Dewan Chand, Kalu Gurung, Jongtoh Jongpon, Shobagye, Prasad Singh, Rai Ugen Gyatso Bahadur .This was one of the important and direct trade route between Tibet and Sikkim via Khambajong .
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86. *Ibid*, General 'A' Notes 210. May, 1911.
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88. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim for the years 1906-1907.*
89. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim for the years 1907-1908.*
90. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim for the years 1909-1910.*
91. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim for the years 1913-1914.*
92. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim for the years 1927-1928.*
93. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim for the years 1912-1913.*
94. *Military Report on Sikkim and Bhutan, op.cit p.142.*
95. *Ibid, p.143.*
96. *Ibid, p.144.*
97. Report on the First Five Year Plan, 1954, Government of India.p.28
98. *Ibid, Pp.28-29.*
99. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim for the years 1909-1910.*
100. *Military Report on Sikkim and Bhutan, op.cit p.108.*
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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.*
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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.
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143. C.P.F 79 of 1904, No.1.
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147. *Administration Report of the State of Sikkim for the years 1904-1905.*
148. *Military Report, op.cit.* p. 105.
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