

CHAPTER IV

Urbanisation of Gangtok

I

Administration

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table: IV: 1

Salaries of Officers and clerks under the Political Officer

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

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

Table: IV:2

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

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

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

Table: IV: 3

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

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

State Public Works Department

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

When the Political Officer took over the administration he was also to exercise the Police and Magisterial authority within Gangtok as there was no proper jail or police force for the punishment of criminals. With the increase of population in Sikkim which was of heterogeneous character, White thought that crime would be more prevalent and therefore felt it necessary to raise a police force. The need was also felt because of continuous disturbance in the eastern border around *Nathu-la* and *Jelep-la* due to dispute with Tibet. Nolan also supported this idea of the Political Officer and thought it fair that the British Government should pay half the cost required for the maintenance of a police force. White felt that this force would suffice on the withdrawal of Indian troops from Gangtok to keep a guard at that place, to watch British property and, to render assistance in the maintenance of order in the upland. He hoped that after the creation of the Sikkim police force, the thirteen constables from Darjeeling sanctioned under the Darjeeling Superintendent for use of Sikkim might be withdrawn and so the extra expenditure would not be very high.²⁰

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

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

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

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

The Government of Bengal recommended and sanctioned the appointment of a police force consisting of one *Jamadar* and eight Constables with order that the charge would be met from the revenue of the Sikkim State.²³ In September 1899, two additional policemen were employed to guard the Bank opened in Sikkim by Messers, Jetmull and Bhojraj, a banking house of Darjeeling. In 1910 there were 32 policemen in the force and the ratio of police to population was 1: 3043 persons. In 1911²⁴ the strength of the police force was as under:

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

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

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

Jailor: Rs.25.

Havildar: Rs.15.

Warder: Rs.10.

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

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

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

Table: IV: 4

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

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

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

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

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

While suggesting to the Political Officer the need to institutionalize judiciary system in Sikkim the British official circle in Bengal advised him to confine his efforts to reintroduce the system prevailing in olden days and not to introduce any complicated and difficult British legal system. Accordingly, White tried to institutionalize the judiciary system in Sikkim without disturbing the existing common or personal law. Among the few changes that were introduced mention may be made of replacement of the system of trial by ordeal by the *Kazis* in their respective jurisdiction with the system based on record of evidence, trial of important cases by the Political Officer singly or sometimes with the help of the council. The Maharaja also sometimes tried cases, but adopted the old procedure. As there was no proper jail in Sikkim, usual punishments were flogging and fines.³⁶

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

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

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

Table: IV: 5

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table: IV: 7

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

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

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

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

Table: IV: 8

List of persons appointed in the secretarial establishment in 1918:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

II.

ECONOMY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But a negative aspect of Gangtok's developing economy was a wide prevalence of usury. This was in fact prevalent throughout Sikkim. The Marwaris by lending money at usurious rate of interest, and against agricultural produce, ranging from 75 percent to 150 percent, caused widespread indebtedness among the people. The *Maharaja* complained against the prevalence of such a system at the Council Meeting held in February 1900. Sikkim State had to borrow Rs. 3,000 from a Marwari at a very high interest rate and in the said Council meeting it was decided not to allow more than 12% per annum as interest.⁷²

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table: IV: 9
Fees levied on slaughtering

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

Source: Judicial Department File, 1926, Gangtok.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

III.

Education

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

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

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

interested to install on the throne of Sikkim a king possessing the British sentiments. When J.C.White became the Political Officer, the eldest prince of Sikkim was at Tibet for education. So side by side with selecting the Council, he became very worried to bring the eldest prince Tchoda Namgyal from Tibet where he was growing under Tibetan influence "before his sympathies become entirely Tibetan." But the *Maharaja* was completely opposed to it and White suggested for stopping or curtailing the *Maharaja's* allowance as the only means to pressurize him. The Council members supported White's proposal.⁸⁸ The Government of Bengal approved White's suggestion and advised the Commissioner of Rajshahi to forbid the pro-Tibetan Kazis from approaching the *Maharaja* in future. White, Paul and Raja Tenduk, the Manager of the Kalimpong Government Estate, asked the *Maharaja* to bring his eldest son from Tibet to be educated in Indian school. Shew Dewan, a member of the Council, threatened the *Maharaja* that in future the British might annex Sikkim if the princes did not behave properly. But the *Maharaja* refused to comply with until the prince did not finish his education there.⁸⁹ Naturally, the British authorities turned towards the second son of the Raja, Sidkeong Namgyal. In March 1892 when the *Maharaja* was detained at Darjeeling, it was proposed to bring the second prince at Darjeeling for education under Tenduk. This proposal was approved by the Lieutenant Governor Sir Charles Elliot. Even after much opposition from the *Maharaja*, the British authority in Sikkim was successful in making arrangements for the prince's education at Darjeeling, "calculated to make him a good Raja but a bad monk." At Darjeeling the Prince was educated under Sarat Chandra Das, Babu Kali Kumar Das and Babu Ramdhuni Pande and Lama Sherab Gyatso. These teachers taught the Kumar English, Hindi and Tibetan respectively. However the Political Officer apprehended that if the Kumar continued to remain in Darjeeling he might be influenced by the Tibetans. Therefore a thought was given to shift the Kumar from Darjeeling to Gangtok and educate him under Babu Ramdhuni Pande. White submitted his proposal to the Commissioner of Rajshahi Division. But in reply to the Political Officer, the

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

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

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

Table: IV: 12

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nolan found that, if an English school was opened at Gangtok, the expense of a boarding-house there would be same as at Darjeeling, while that of tuition would be far greater. Besides, Nolan had doubt if any scholar would attend the school to learn English. Nolan observed: "The inducement which exists in Bengalis wanting in that state, where those who know English have not a monopoly of the more attractive careers in life, and the natural bent of the people is towards monastic training, for which abundant opportunities are afforded."⁹⁵

Nolan suggested that the best would be to grant the stipend of Rupees 8 a month to four boys of the rank for studying in Darjeeling which would not be a strange place to them as many of their countrymen were settled there and even some of them were educated in English. If this measure resulted in success, then only the funds of Sikkim should be utilized to erect a boarding house at Gangtok.⁹⁶

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

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

The Lieutenant Governor also considered that the salary proposed to be given to the English teacher was higher than the Sikkim State could afford if it was debited to the school alone. So he recommended that it might be partly charged to the school and partly to the education of the second prince, as was suggested by the Director of Public Instruction.⁹⁸

In November 1895, the Governor of Bengal sanctioned the construction of a school at Gangtok, a boarding house for twenty students and quarters for two masters at an aggregate cost of Rs.656, and to the annual expenditure of Rs. 3,500 for the maintenance of the school and boarding-house, including the pay of two teachers, according to the estimates submitted by

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table: IV: 14

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table: IV: 15
Strength of the teaching faculty:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table: IV: 16
Grants sanctioned:

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

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

Number of schools established in Sikkim between 1889 and 1947

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

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

IV.

Health Services

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

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

Table: IV: 17

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table: IV: 19

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table: IV: 20

Number of people vaccinated

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

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

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

Table: IV: 21
Frequency Distribution of Patients

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

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

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

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

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

Table: IV: 22

Expenditure between 1907 and 1932 on medical and sanitization:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table: IV: 23

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

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

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

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

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

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

Social Formations

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Plate-8



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

Source: Sikkim State Archive.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The most important 'pull' factor to have worked to enhance the population of Gangtok was labour requirement in road construction which was labour intensive. With the efforts of the British to open negotiations with Tibet and to make trade route, there were requirements of large force of labour. For these jobs the Nepalese appeared to the British to be more capable than the Lepcha-Bhutias. So, the first British Political Officer was very eager to allow the settlement of the Nepalese along the Teesta, north of the line drawn from *Penlongla* and for this he procured the favour of the *Kazis* and the *Maharajakumar*. The admission of the Nepalese to this tract, White hoped, "would certainly help the state and make it very much easier to obtain labour and supplies up the Teesta, where both are very difficult to obtain."²⁰⁷ The Nepali *Thikadars*, Lambodar Pradhan and Tulsidas Pradhan rendered immense service to the British in the Younghusband Mission to Tibet by supplying with coolies for road construction and transport work and special credit was given to Lambodar Pradhan whose father Luchmidas Pradhan had also helped the British in the expedition of 1888-1889."²⁰⁸

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

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

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

Source: Census Report between 1891 and 1951.

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

Table: IV: 23
Population of Sikkim in 1891

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

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

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

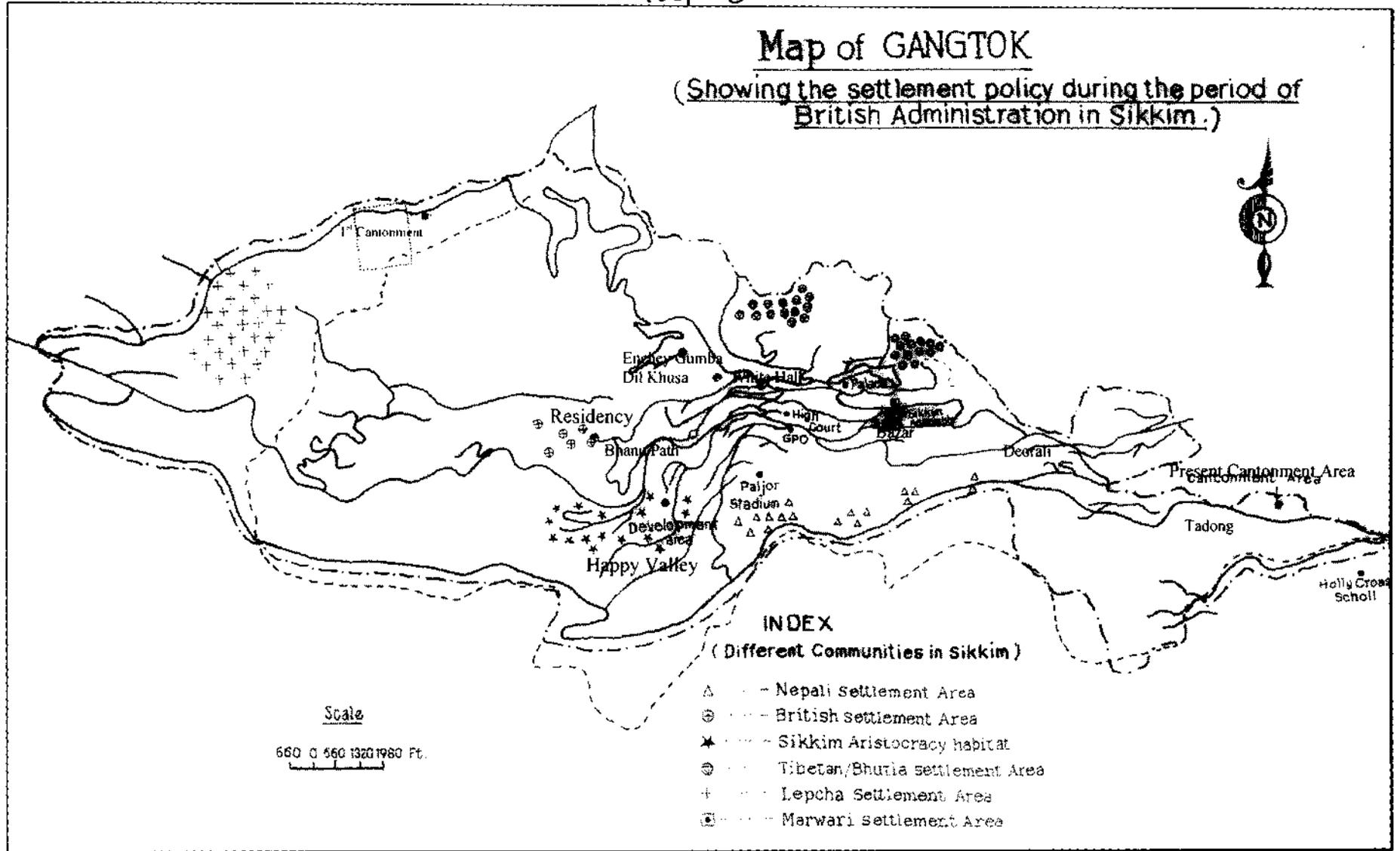
According to the Military Report of 1931²¹³ the principal centres of population were Gangtok, Singtam and Rangpo on the cart road, Rhenock and Rangli on the Tibet trade route, Namchi, Majhitar and Naya-Bazar in the western sub-division of Sikkim. The Report gives the population of Gangtok town (Gangtok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

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

Map-5

Map of GANGTOK

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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