

Chapter 4

Growth of Modern Education under Hereditary Monarchy

Bhutan is among the few surviving monarchies of the world. The hereditary kingship is not a very old phenomenon in Bhutan. In fact, hereditary monarchy was established there at a time when the institution of monarchy was already passing through a rough time. However, Bhutan maintained a unique monarchic system for a long time. Its distinct geographical location, isolationism and the cultural uniqueness helped it in maintaining such a system. The institution of monarchy has been an important force in the growth of Bhutanese nation state. For a longtime, the monarchy was identified with the Bhutanese state. However, it has not been possible to keep the country aloof of the winds of change. The monarchy has been constrained to open the country to the forces of change, a result of which was in the modernization and progress of the country where the Kings played a prominent role.

Emergence of hereditary monarchy

Bhutan became a unified kingdom under the leadership of Ngawang Namgyal (1594-1651) who had established a theocracy. The Abbot was the chief of religious matters and the King became the head of the religious laws. Both came to be known as *Shabdrung* and *Druk Desi*.¹ As because of the dual authority there was overlapping of powers and it often led to a conflict between the two. The lack of a central power resulted in a struggle between various groups. The prominent among them were two rival factions headed by *Penlops* (Governors) of Paro and Tongsa. Having realized the futility of internal conflict, the state councillors and the state functionaries decided to do away with the diarchy of *Dharma Raja* and *Deb Raja* and selected the Tongsa *Penlop*, Ugyen Wangchuck as the hereditary King of Bhutan.² Ugyen Wangchuck had firmly established his influence in the whole country. In the foreign policy also, Ugyen Wangchuck proved to be a man of vision, he maintained close relation with the British Indian government and in the year 1903 accompanied Younghusband to Lhasa. In Report on the administration of Sikkim and the relations between the British Government and Bhutan during the year 1903-1904 there is a letter from Ugyen Dorji, Bhutan Agent to the Commissioner, Rajshahi Division mentioning that, "The Bhutan Government is glad to have good terms and faith with the British Government

and hopes to be so in future also.”³ The British Government also realized the importance of this man and in 1905 a British mission was deputed under J.C. White, the Political Officer in Sikkim, to present Ugyen Wangchuck with the insignia of Knight Commander of the Indian Empire (K.C.I.E.).⁴ In 1905 he was invited by the British Government to attend the reception of the Prince of Wales in India. On December 17, 1907 Ugyen Wangchuck was unanimously elected as the hereditary King of Bhutan.⁵ Thus ended the five decades of perpetual civil strife. In 1910, the King signed the treaty of Punakha with the British Government by which British Government agreed to pay an annual grant of Rs 100,000 to Bhutan and also not to intervene in its internal affairs. Bhutan agreed to be guided by them in regard to its external affairs.⁶

Contribution of first hereditary King Ugyen Wangchuck in the growth of modern education

Ugyen Wangchuck was well educated in Bhutanese literacy and monastic education.⁷ He was a capable administrator and a wise diplomat. His many reforms in the country intended at the welfare of the people. He was more than a lama⁸ and a great patron of learning. In the year 1911 the King was invited to be present at the Delhi Durbar held in honour of the King Emperor of the British Empire, George V. Ugyen Wangchuck travelled to Delhi and the King Emperor decorated him with award of K.C.S.I. (Knight Commander of the Star of India).⁹ The visit to India by the King was the precursor to the modernization of Bhutan. The King throughout his stay in India was so impressed with all that he saw there, that on return, he made plans to introduce modern education in Bhutan. While the King had many projects in his mind, lack of adequate resources prohibited him from implementing these. In his endeavor to develop the condition of education of the country, King’s perfect ally was Ugyen Dorji, a trader from Kalimpong who had the unique distinction of being the British agent for Bhutan and also the trade agent of Bhutan. He was promoted to become the King’s Chamberlin, taking the title of *Gongzim* and the Monarch decreed that all offices held by him would pass on to his son on succeeding him.¹⁰

But before we venture into details of Ugyen Dorji’s role, which will be considered at length elsewhere, it is necessary to see the first western report on Bhutan in relation to education. A letter from the Deputy Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign and Political department to the Political Officer in Sikkim

dated Simla, the 27th May 1914, sheds light on the King's interest in introducing modern education. It states, "It appears that His Highness wishes in the first instance to restrict education to the sons of the leading families, and that the education should be of a technical character."¹¹ Political Officer in Sikkim, in his letter dated Gangtok, the 18th June, 1914 replied that, "Raja Ugyen Dorji informs me that the present intention of the Bhutan Durbar is to make a start on the simplest possible lines. With this object in view he has arranged that some 20 or 30 boys shall be assembled at Ha during the present summer...."¹² *Gongzim* Ugyen Dorji took the tasks of familiarizing the Bhutanese with the learning of English. Ugyen spent half of the year in Bhutan and half in Kalimpong where he had come into contact with Dr. Sutherland, the principal of Scottish University Mission Institution (S.U.M.I.) and other missionaries. He was also impressed by his reliable friend, Dr. John Graham who had founded the St. Andrew's Colonial Homes (later Dr. Graham's Homes) School in Kalimpong. Ugyen Dorji wanted to know about mission workers and their services. When the service of the mission – teaching, preaching and learning was explained to him he asked Dr. Sutherland if he could send teachers to Bhutan to open school.¹³ Dr. Sutherland told him that two teachers would be sent at first to Haa in Western Bhutan who would open a school there and it would be a very noble service to Bhutan. In the year 1914 Dr. Sutherland sent Ugyen Chirring and Dawa Namgyal Targyen to Haa and first school was started. The next step to introduce with modern education was to put 46 Bhutanese students into the S.U.M.I.¹⁴ who were from Haa School and came down to Kalimpong in winter months. By 1918 some other teachers were sent to Haa to teach new students- Kiran Kumar Sarkar, R.S. Karthak, S. Sitling, H. Pradhan and Joseph Stein.¹⁵ A mobile school¹⁶ attached with the Royal Court was established under the direct initiative of the King in Bumthang in 1915, the crown prince and other seventeen children were enrolled.¹⁷ A Sikkimese teacher Phento was selected to teach Hindi to the crown Prince Jigme Wangchuck and his 17 friends.¹⁸ In the Annual Report on Bhutan for the year 1915-1916 the following is mentioned by Charles C. A. Bell, Political Officer in Sikkim, "A school has been opened at Bumthang (in Bhutan), the residence of His Highness the Maharaja, where English is taught to the Bhutanese boys besides their mother language, which is Tibetan.... Another school has been in existence for the last two or three years at Haa in Western Bhutan and here there are 46 boys."¹⁹ Father William Mackey, the Canadian educationist in Bhutan, mentioned in his note (in 1995), 'How it all began' about first King's mobile

school – “Like the monks, clever young men were selected by His Majesty and were given experience in dealing with money, solving local problems, directing villagers to take responsibility in improving the surroundings of the villages”.²⁰ They became the local administrators and were appointed as *Dzongpens* and *Poenkhags* (district functionaries). By 1919-1920, 21 students were studying at Bumthang and 38 at Haa.²¹ Out of the Bhutanese students who went to Scottish Universities Mission Institution, Do Thinle, appeared matriculation examination in 1923 and passed in the first division. F. M. Bailey, Political Officer of Sikkim in his letter to the Secretary to the Government of India dated 16th June 1924 wrote that, “There are 17 boys at the Bumthang School They made satisfactory progress. One Bhutanese boy passed the matriculation examination in 1923. He is working as a school teacher at the Bumtang School.”²² Again Bailley wrote to the Foreign Secretary, Government of India in 1926 “There are ten boys at the school at Bumtang. It is reported that they made good progress during the year. They are taught English and Hindi. The Agent to His Highness the Maharaja of Bhutan has again opened a school at Ha for the education of small boys. There are 17 boys on the roll. They are taught Hindi. There are now only 5 boys studying at Kalimpong High School. 8 more boys have passed the matriculation examination, making a total of 11 who have passed since the batch of 46 were sent to Kalimpong about 1915. Out of these eight four have already been sent for training in the following technical lines-

- (a) One as Mining Engineering at the Bengal Engineering College
- (b) Two as Veterinary Assistants at the Bengal Veterinary College in Calcutta and
- (c) One as Forest Ranger at Dehradun.

It is also intended to send the other four for training as under-

- (i) Two as Teachers at the Training School at Bhagalpur and
- (ii) Two as Sub-Assistant Surgeons in the Campbell Medical School in Calcutta.

It is also intended to train two boys as Tanners at the Harness and Saddlery Factory, Cawnpore. One of them is matriculate. One more boy has appeared in the matriculation examination, but the result is not yet out.”²³ The King wanted that the students should be trained in different technical fields so that their services could be utilized for initiating economic development in Bhutan.²⁴

The King of Bhutan wrote a letter to the Viceroy of India through the Political Officer in Sikkim dated 5th September (He had written in Dzongkha, Political Officer in Sikkim sent a translated version of it in English) that, “By undertaking the training of our first lads to be educated along the modern lines and by giving them an equipment for beginning their work in Bhutan, Your Excellency will set us on the way towards a new and more hopeful national future. By increasing our subsidy, you will enable us to carry on the work which you will have begun and which will require an ever increasing expenditure until the various resultant enterprises themselves can produce their natural fruits.”²⁵ Lord Ronaldshay, Governor of Bengal visited Bhutan in November 1921 and submitted his proposal to the Viceroy of India Lord reading dated November 18, 1921, “to grant the Maharaja financial and other assistance in training Bhutanese lads in various professions with a view to the development of his country. His Highness estimates that this will cost 1, 30,000, the expenditure being spread over a period of 7 to 10 years and also to increase the Bhutan subsidy from one lakh to three lakhs.”²⁶ In 1923 the Government of India announces to provide an amount of Rs 49,629 to assist the Bhutanese in the improvement of their country by training selected Bhutanese students in various technical subjects.²⁷ While an official tour to Bhutan, F.M. Bailey, Political Officer in Sikkim, wrote on July 20, 1922 that the crown prince knew a little English and spoke Hindustani.²⁸ As the first hereditary monarch, with little or no knowledge of neither Hindi nor English, possibly he might have realized Hindi would be a good instrument as a communicating link with the British functionaries in India.²⁹ It was chosen as the medium of learning also because of the ready availability of inexpensive textbooks in Hindi from neighbouring India. Although it was neither an international language nor a language of Bhutan, the language seemed a useful one in the beginning of modern education.³⁰ So in the two modern schools founded by him, Hindi was taught as a major subject.

John Graham, Principal of the famous St. Andrew’s Colonial Homes (later Dr. Graham’s Homes) in Kalimpong had a very cordial relation with the King. D. Macdonald, Political Officer of Sikkim, in his Annual Report on Bhutan for the year 1920-1921 mentioned that, “In October 1920, His Highness the Maharaja of Bhutan wrote to Mr. Bell (Political Officer of Sikkim in 1920), requesting him to obtain necessary permission for Dr. Graham of Kalimpong to go to Bhutan for the purpose of inspecting the schools there.”³¹ The Proceedings of the Government of Bengal of

the year June 1921 recorded that Reverend J.A. Graham of Kalimpong was granted permission to visit Bhutan.³² F.M Bailey, Political Officer in Sikkim in his Annual Report on Bhutan for the year 1921-22 recorded, “At the invitation of His Highness the Maharaja, Dr. J.A. Graham, C.I.E., of Kalimpong paid a visit to Bhutan during the summer of 1921.”³³ It was during this visit that the King, Graham and S. T. Dorji drafted a plea for the Indian Government to help in the modernization of Bhutan and the plea ‘stressed the need for education’.³⁴ Four years later Dr. Graham sent a seven page long typed letter to H.H. the Maharaja of Bhutan on June 25, 1925 proposing the royal children to be sent to India and England for education. The letter begins with “---that no less than 7 of the Bhutanese boys in the (Graham’s school)³⁵ have just passed matriculation examination of the Calcutta university-----with these well trained boys you should now be able to carry out some of your plans for the future (development)”.³⁶ But before he could take any further step in developing the condition of modern education, the first hereditary King of Bhutan passed away in the year 1926.

The initial opposition and aversion of the guardians and religious establishments towards modern education were overcome after the initiatives of the King himself.³⁷ Those who had initially opposed modern education in time accepted that it was a better system. It is true that Ugyen Dorji emphasized the need of English and the first King visualized this, is remarkable.

Thus the establishment of hereditary monarchy under Ugyen Wangchuck invigorated the country to move forward. The first hereditary King visualized that westernization and modernization of the traditional social life of Bhutan through educational and cultural intercourse with British India could start all round development of the country. He and his able Agent to the government of Bhutan, Kazi Ugyen Dorji, had realized that monastic education alone may not be adequate to develop the country nor to foster links with other countries. Keeping in mind the local sensitiveness to preserve indigenous way of life as well as to usher in modernism the first school was opened in Bhutan and initiatives were taken to send some students to India for studies and training in various fields. Ugyen Wangchuck can truly be called the pathfinder because it was he, who sowed the seeds, under his direction Bhutan saw the light of modern education for the first time.

In 1906, a British Military Intelligence Report recorded the state of literacy in Bhutan in such a way, “Education is practically non-existent. Even amongst the ruling classes it is exceptional for one to find a man who could read and write”.³⁸ Ugyen Wangchuck brought a change of this situation and laid the beginning of modern education though the progress was very slow.

Second hereditary King Jigme Wangchuck’s role in the growth of modern education

Born in 1905 Jigme Wangchuck was the eldest son of Ugyen Wangchuck. He was brought up in strict discipline and was taught in both traditional and modern education. His attendance at the palace school which his father had set up for him in Bumthung resulted in him acquiring some proficiency both in English and Hindi³⁹ to the extent that he was somewhat articulate in Hindi. This resulted in his refreshing ability to hold discussions in Hindi with both Indian and British officials.⁴⁰ At the same time various Buddhist masters gave him religious instructions and discourses on sacred mantras, rituals and local literacy skill. It is said that he was a diligent student.⁴¹ In 1923 he became the Tongsa *Penlop*. During the time of death of his father he was barely 21 years old and on 14 March, 1927 he was enthroned as the second hereditary monarch of Bhutan.⁴² Colonel Bailey, Political Officer of Sikkim attended the coronation ceremony on behalf of British Indian Government and presented the King with the medal of Companion of Indian Empire.⁴³ This was the assurance of British friendship to the King. The British again conferred him the title of the Knight Commander of the Indian Empire (K.C.I.E.) to him in 1931.⁴⁴ In continuing the relation of friendship the King visited Calcutta in the year 1934.

The ruling period of Jigme Wangchuck may be well described as a period of integration and consolidation of Bhutan. For the wellbeing of people he initiated legal and administrative reforms and also made modest efforts at modernization through establishment of schools and training of military personnel. In all his ventures the King was always assisted by his chamberlain, *Gongzim* Sonam Tobgay Dorji who had inherited his father’s post and was educated in the western style school in Darjeeling.⁴⁵ The King and his Chamberlain maintained some of the momentum given to education by the founding monarch. The schools and their curriculum at Haa and Bumthang that had been opened earlier, continued to function and provide education

to more children beside the heir apparent. The Bumthang School consisted of 15 boys. They were taught by Babu Phento, Babu Tashi and Babu Karchung on subjects such as from Hindi to Geometry. The evening classes consisted of lessons on military, taught by Jamder Chencho and Jamder Kado. The medium was Hindi.⁴⁶ In the 1930s Haa School was well ahead of its time. The Haa School continued under the supervision of Sonam Tobgey Dorji. Based in the old Haa *Dzong*, the school was co-educational and had boarding facilities and taught English and Dzongkha. Lopon Dhago, a teacher with a 1922 matriculation certificate from S.U.M.I., Kalimpong, was deputed by the King Jigme Wangchuck to the Haa School as the pioneer educator of the country. Lopon Paegey, the other teacher in the school, handled the *Dzongkha*. In the years that followed, the Haa School became a launching ground for many students who pursued higher studies in the hill station schools of India. Children from the western and central parts of the country also enrolled in the school heeding notifications sent to all the *dzongkhags*(districts) inviting students.⁴⁷ F. Williamson, Political Officer in Sikkim in his Report on Bhutan State for the year 1934-35 mentioned that, “The progress made by the Haa and Bumthang is reported to be satisfactory.”⁴⁸ Sonam Tobgey Dorji also looked after the children sent to India for receiving higher education.

Political Officer in Sikkim, Col. J.L. Weir, wrote to the Foreign Secretary, Government of India, in April 12, 1931 with a ‘note’ on Bhutan and its problems, reported that the Maharaja was an extremely intelligent and anxious man. He found His Highness could speak, read and write Hindi very well and had a very good grounding of English and he occasionally made some apt remarks in English. The Maharaja’s son was also reported to speak Hindi fluently. The ‘note’ informed the Government of India that education in Bhutan was inadequate. There was a school at Haa run by Raja Dorji, where some 20 boys received tuition in Hindi and English and another school for teaching Hindi was run by the Maharaja at Tongsa and in Bumthang during the summer.⁴⁹

A few students of Bhutan who were receiving education in Kalimpong continued to proceed for further studies in other places and institutions in India. As proposed by the King, a few selected Bhutanese who had passed matriculation examination were imparted training in different technical institutions in India. Two of them were trained as teachers at the Training School at Bhagalpur, two as Sub-

Assistant Surgeons at the Campbell School of Calcutta, two as Tanners at the Harness and Saddlery Factory at Cownpore, three as Rangers at the Forest School of Dehra Dun, one as a mining engineer at the Bengal Engineering College at Shibpur in Calcutta, two as Veterinary Assistants at the Veterinary College of Calcutta and two received training in lac cultivation in the Palamu district of Bihar. Besides these, the Bhutanese Government also sent two non-matriculate boys for military training at its own expense, who were later attached to the Gurkha Rifles at Shillong.⁵⁰ The king's focus was "conservation of forests, improvement of communications, suppression of the more extravagant forms of feudalism and adoption of a system of taxation that would provide revenue for reforms including a system of education."⁵¹ But the paucity of funds was the main hindrance behind the development of the country. The King made request to Viceroy of India through the Political Officer in Sikkim on 20th February, 1936 for aid mentioning that, "A system of education is requisite to remove ignorance and overcome hurtful and expansive traditions. That requires money too. The beginning which was made on these lines some years ago has not succeeded to the extent we had fondly hoped because we lacked the means to develop it."⁵² Finally in 1942, the British subsidy was doubled and increased to rupees two lakhs.⁵³ In that year thirty boys were selected for education in India: fifteen boys from Mangde and fifteen from Shar Dar Gyed.⁵⁴ Some of them went to Kalimpong to study medicines, agriculture, forestry and education. But out of the subsidy of 2,00,000, Rs 79,000 was provided to the monastic community, Rs 24,000 was earmarked for court officials, Rs 40,000 for palace administration and only Rs 57,000 for general state expense.⁵⁵ As such there was very little funds available for education or development purposes.

In 1948, the King sent a delegation to New Delhi to discuss Bhutan's relations with independent India, and ultimately a treaty was signed on 8th August, 1949 at Darjeeling. By which-⁵⁶

- a) India enhanced the annual grant to Bhutan to Rs 5, 00, 000.
- b) India assured of not to intervene the internal administration of Bhutan.
- c) Bhutan agreed to be directed by the advice of the Government of India in regard to its external relations.

Education gained momentum from 1950 onwards as the King set up many schools throughout the country.⁵⁷ In 1952, at the last part of the reign of second King,

schools were started in the interior at Paro, Thimphu, Wangdiphodrang, Tongsa, Lhuntshi, Mongar and Tashigang and in southern Bhutan at Samchi, Chirang and Sarbhang. Some of these schools were run by the government and some by the local people. All the schools were Hindi medium primary schools where English was taught as a subject. After completion of primary level brighter students were sent to Kalimpong for secondary and higher education.⁵⁸ Thus Jigme Wangchuck, second hereditary King of Bhutan took Bhutan's dreams of modern education many steps further. The initiatives taken by the first hereditary King were not only continued but were complemented by the second hereditary King and his *Gongzim* Sonam Tobgey Dorji.

But still during the reign of second hereditary monarch, Bhutan followed a centralized feudal social and political order. Government bodies were scattered and isolated, administration was limited to a few officials. There were a small number of trained people. Students in the newly established schools were very few and there was in a broad sense the presence of almost universal illiteracy. Schools were unattended because teachers were not paid and had to find other means to supplement their income.⁵⁹ Compounding this was the distance the students had to travel from scattered villages miles and hours walk from schools. It must also be added that there were some amount of scepticism amongst parents in sending young children to acquire education that was alien and something untried and untested.

Role of third hereditary King Jigme Dorji Wangchuck in the development of modern education

Jigme Dorji Wangchuck, son of Jigme Wangchuck was born in Tongsa in the year 1928. He received his initial schooling from the tutors of the royal family while attending school at Haa and Bumthang.⁶⁰ B.J. Gould, Political Officer in Sikkim, in his Annual Report on Bhutan state for the year 1942-43 states that, "The school at Bumthang is reported to be making good progress. Jigme, eldest son of the Maharaja is being taught English and is making good progress."⁶¹ He was also taught with local literary skills and other Buddhist subjects like dialectics, metaphysics, drama, astrology, poetry and composition. Later he went to Kalimpong to study and then to England. Jigme Palden Dorji, the eldest son of Sonam Tobgey Dorji accompanied the prince. Perhaps, the second King could have seen the benefit in having him study with

his son, and this reflects the trust he had on Jigme Palden Dorji and his ancestors who served the monarchy with all their loyalties.⁶²

After returning from England Jigme Dorji Wangchuck became the Paro Penlop in 1949. After his father's death in 1952 he ascended to the throne of Bhutan as the third hereditary King.⁶³ The King was fluent in Hindi and English and also spoke a little French. His Majesty was educated in a British manner and went on to visit many foreign countries, in particular Scotland and Switzerland where he got ideas of modernizing his kingdom and found inspiration to choose elements that were suitable for Bhutan. He was a monarch with clear vision. His rule may be considered as the beginning of a new epoch in the history of Bhutan. He made slavery and serfdom illegal and abolished capital punishment. Exposed to democratic systems in Europe and India he undertook one of the most historic reforms in the country by establishing the *Tshogdu* (National Assembly) and *Lodroc Tshogde* (Royal Advisory Council) in 1953 and 1965 respectively. In the year 1968 he established the Judiciary and also entrusted the National Assembly with the power to pass the vote of no confidence and remove the ministers and the king.⁶⁴ This was an unprecedented move.

Gongzim Sonam Tobgey Dorji died in 1953 and his son Jigme Palden Dorji became the Prime Minister and also the principal advisor to the Third King. Like his father *Gongzim* Sonam Tobgey Dorji and grandfather *Gongzim* Ugyen Dorji he also served the King and Bhutan with great fidelity.

In 1954, the King accompanied by a team of officials visited India and returned being fairly impressed by the progress India had made in the fields of agriculture, education, health etc. In 1958, the Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru visited Bhutan at the invitation of the King. Nehru promised assistance to Bhutan in economic development and thus the first five year development plan was launched in 1961.⁶⁵ The King further opened the country to the world when Bhutan joined the Colombo Plan in 1962 and became a member of the United Nations Organization in 1971.⁶⁶

In the growth of modern education although some initiatives had been taken by the first and second monarchs, the overall progress was very slow. Many of the Bhutanese parents loathed sending their children to schools and they came out with all kind of excuses. One of the most prominent excuses was being poor and not able to

provide rations for their children. The richer ones often bribed the government officials who travelled the villages to pick up the children for schools. According to the 1958's census, there were just 72 people in the entire kingdom, who could read and write English.⁶⁷

Jigme Dorji Wangchuck felt that a nation could no longer prosper in the old traditional fashion.⁶⁸ He put emphasis on the development of secular education. Numerous development projects were initiated as part of the five year plans. Investments were made in health, education, communication, forestry, agriculture, animal husbandry, banking etc. With the beginning of the first five year development plan from 1961, third King commanded that due priority should be given to education. From the perspective of nation building, mass public education was recognized as an imperative. The 13th session of National Assembly passed a resolution to impart modern education to Bhutanese children. Another resolution in the 17th session decided to establish two high schools in the country.⁶⁹

The Prime Minister Jigme Palden Dorji, a good diplomat and development strategist stood by the King in the process of developing country's education. The King decided to implement English as the medium of learning in the schools, not only because it was a convenient language but because it was already a lingua franca of the world.⁷⁰ Prime Minister asked the Jesuit Brothers at St Joseph's School, Darjeeling, in 1962 with a view to helping Bhutan in this regard. Consequently, Father William Mackey was invited to found English medium schools. In 1961 Department of Education was also established by the monarch.⁷¹ New English medium textbooks were developed for the secular schools and these new course books replaced the Hindi textbooks in 1964.⁷² Gradually existing Hindi medium schools were converted to English medium system. On the guidance of the King, Dawa Tshering, the then Director of Education travelled to Kerala in India in 1962 and brought many teachers to teach in the schools.⁷³ In 1961 the King decreed that *Dzongkha* would be the national language of Bhutan and attempt was made to modernize the national language. In 1971, the *Dzongkha* Division of the Department of Education was established in order to develop materials for instruction in *Dzongkha*. Textbooks and learning materials in *Dzongkha* were developed at a rapid pace for both primary and secondary level of education.⁷⁴ Prime Minister in playing a very positive role in

implementing modern education also brought the Italian Don Bosco fathers from Shillong to start the Kharbandi Technical School in Phuentsholing.⁷⁵

The King himself was very keen in opening new schools. He travelled the whole country and took the necessary initiatives in establishing primary, junior high and high schools. Due to the King's farsightedness and modern vision a residential public school called 'The Thimphu Public School' was established at Thimphu in 1965 which provided boarding, lodging, tuitions, uniforms and books.⁷⁶ In its initial stages classes were from Pre-Primary to IV. First high school was established in Kanglung in Eastern Bhutan in 1968 named 'Sherubtse High School' where the King performed the opening ceremony of the High school. Delivering the inaugural address, King emphasized the importance of education in the development of Bhutan. He stated that "While religion alone had been adequate in the past to ensure the happiness and wellbeing of our people, education had become essential in the modern world if our independence was to be safeguarded and if the country was to achieve prosperity".⁷⁷ He stated that in this respect the students of the country had a vital role to play as the future of the country lay in their hands. He urged them to study as hard as possible in all fields so that they could become useful citizens of the country in the future. He congratulated Dantak, Indian Border Roads Organization, for building the school. He thanked Father William Mackey for his great contribution to education in Eastern Bhutan.⁷⁸ The Royal Technical School located at Kharbondi in Phuentsholing initially known as Don Bosco Technical school was founded on the 1st of May 1965 at the initiative of the King. He visited the school on 6th January, 1969 and congratulated the staff for their dedicated service to the boys and country in the area of academic, technical and moral education. He advised the students to derive maximum benefits from the various skills imparted to them by the teachers.⁷⁹ The King must have realized the value of teacher education as students from the earlier schools in Bhutan who had completed at least class VIII were sent to Kalimpong to get basic training in teaching. As a result a Teacher Training Institute was founded at Samtse in Western Bhutan on 29th May, 1968, which was later renamed as National Institute of Education. The King personally graced the inaugural ceremony of the country's first Teacher Training Institute.⁸⁰ These are the some examples of King's endeavour and passion to modernize the country in the field of education.

In 1971, it was felt that the population being sparse and scattered in the Himalayan kingdom, attendance in the schools would not reach the requisite standards unless boarding facilities were provided for the students. Hence King and the Department of Education decided to gradually close down the primary schools in places where attendance was low, and to open instead junior schools and central schools at suitable places with boarding, library and science teaching facilities. In 1970-71 there were 81 primary schools, 15 junior schools, 4 high schools and 2 public schools.⁸¹ Curriculum of modern education was secular consisting of subjects such as History, Geography, Mathematics, Sciences and Literature. The desire of the King was to create administrative and technical workforce needed for the improvement programmes.

Thus the third King is fittingly called the 'Father of Modern Bhutan'. He took the kingdom's modern education to a new level. It was during his reign that Bhutan's education saw dramatic changes the momentum for which can be attributed to his farsightedness. He realized the needs of the time and opened many schools for the purpose of teaching the skills, language and technology appropriate for the new development culture.⁸² But the King passed away at an early age of 44 in 1972 and the people lost the architect of the country.

Contribution of the 4th King Jigme Singye Wangchuck in the development of modern education system

King Jigme Singye Wangchuck, the fourth hereditary King of Bhutan was born in Thimphu on 11 November, 1955.⁸³ He started both his Buddhist and modern education at the age of seven. For some period he received his early education at St. Joseph School, Darjeeling. In 1965, he was sent abroad to school first at 'Summerfield' in Hastings and later to 'Heather Down' at Ascot in the United Kingdom.⁸⁴ His schooling in the United Kingdom was one of the best times for him that he later recounted to his schoolmate Gregson, "Those four years spent studying in England were a tremendous experience for me. I have very happy memories of those times, playing football and rugby."⁸⁵ The stint abroad also helped the prince in broadening his horizon and learning the importance of development.

King Jigme Dorji Wangchuck wished to see his royal son study at home, but the Queen went all her way to make him study at least some years in the U.K. His

Majesty often expressed, “the modern education is useful only if it do not override the traditional values and ideals that Jigme gain at home”.⁸⁶ The King used to advise the prince “You must go abroad for studies, but it is also important that you do not neglect what you have learned at home. Eventually, the way you serve the people will be important”.⁸⁷ The third King also said, “It is not just what one can learn in the school, but how one can think and act logically. One is otherwise as useless as being uneducated”.⁸⁸ The prince returned home from his school in the U.K. on 24th July, 1969. He continued his studies in Tashichodzong. In 1970, the young prince and twelve boys moved to Ugyen Wangchuck Academy at Paro, which was established in that year for the prince to continue the next stage of formal education.⁸⁹ Mr. Stuart Philby, taught them English and Geography, Mr. Ganga Ram taught them Mathematics and Sciences and Lam Pamela taught them *Dzongkha* language. A retired Dronyer Jangtu trained them in social and cultural etiquettes. Contrary to the syllabus in schools abroad, this school in the country offered the prince with the blend of traditional and modern curriculum and “this was his most formative period in learning the craft of leadership, as it was at this time that the crown prince acquired much knowledge from his beloved father”.⁹⁰ The crown prince accompanied his father, the King, on his visits around the country, to arrive at a wholesome and diversified education.

On May, 1972 the prince became the Tongsa *Penlop* and in July succeeded his father although he was formally crowned only on June 2nd, 1974.⁹¹ He was an able statesman. In all the five year plans during his tenure, Bhutan’s development in various spheres under his leadership was unprecedented. He wished to follow the policies of his father but ultimately he surpassed the achievement of his father and ushered Bhutan into a golden age. In every sphere of social, cultural, legal, environmental, economic and political development, the achievements under his leadership has been unparalleled.⁹²

In December 1974, the King made his first ‘state visit’ to India, accompanied by his sister, Ashi Dechen Wangmo Wangchuck. During the course of this visit, the King discussed the plans for economic development for Bhutan with various ministries in India.⁹³ This visit strengthened the existing bilateral relations between the two countries.

In 1981 the King announced his long term dream of the kingdom becoming a full-fledged democracy with the power devolving to the people to enable them to actively participate in the governance of the kingdom. The country was divided into 20 districts and 196 blocks.⁹⁴ The institution of District (*Dzongkhag*) Development Committee in 1981 and Block (*Geowg*) Development Committee in 1991 laid the foundation of decentralization process.⁹⁵ In 1982 the Royal Civil Service Commission was constituted which was responsible for appointments, transfer, promotion and discipline of civil servants of the kingdom.⁹⁶ His Majesty also put into motion a comprehensive set of legislations and amendments to the existing laws to cater to the changing socio economic conditions in the country.⁹⁷

This advanced national policy of the fourth King had an immense impact on the development of modern education of the country. Decentralization came to national prominence in the 1990's. Due to decentralization process power and task of decision making, choice of development actions, plan and prioritization of needs increasingly fell on the shoulders of the people, even on students had a say in educational policies. The local leaders could plan and decide on the nature and the number of schools they liked in their locality. Educational leaders of different levels found space to discuss issues of common concerns.⁹⁸

The first National Education Policy was completed and approved in 1976, which was very brief. The revised education policy, a much more detailed document was approved by the Cabinet towards the end of 1985. It was the King who commanded that the Education Policy needed to be revised to meet the needs of changing times.

Throughout the reign of the 4th King, the social sector received great attention from the government, particularly the education sector. In order to establish a firm base in the spheres of education emphasis was added in the Third Five Year Plan. But still at the culmination of the Third Five Year Plan in 1976, the literacy rate was low not because the government did not set up adequate number of schools but because the illiterate parents, who faced labour shortage at homes, were unwilling to send their children to study. The King directed *Dzongkhag* officials to travel into rural areas and encourage the villagers to send their children to schools: "Our people are illiterate and they will not know the importance of providing education for their children. It is the

sacred responsibility of the government officials to go to them and explain the benefits of education”.⁹⁹

In fact some of the communities were located far away from the schools, making it difficult for many parents to provide the logistic needs for their children. The government responded by providing them free boarding facilities and inviting the international organizations like WFP and UNICEF to provide mid day meals and to support water and sanitation schemes.¹⁰⁰

Thus during the time of the 4th King the education system was strengthened with greater emphasis on quality rather than quantity. In fact, the heavy investments made on education sector repaid the country well. From what was a bleak situation in the 1970's, the education status became well advanced during the nineties. The period between 1980's and 1990's can be counted as a stage of evolvement of the Bhutanese Education system. The results are evident in the students returning after higher studies taking important decisions regarding education policies, plans and programs. During the nineties the enrolment rate went to up high and parents began to realize the value of education. They no longer bribed the educationists to spare their children from going to schools like those of the period of 60's and 70's. It had been recorded that “In 1990 there were 156 primary schools with a total enrolment of 48,051 students (29582 boys and 18469 girls). In addition, there were 46 community schools known as extended classrooms (ECRs) with an enrolment of 3,978 students (2460 boys and 1518 girls). In 1990, there were 21 junior schools and 10 high schools with enrolment of 11517 and 4467 students respectively”.¹⁰¹ The qualifying level was Indian Certificate of Secondary Education(ICSE) for class X and Indian School Certificate(ISC) for class XII. Higher education was imparted in the Sherubtse College, which had an enrolment of 345 students in 1990; the college was affiliated to Delhi university.¹⁰² Establishment of a university was in the planning stage. The National Institute of Education at Samchi catered for higher education like Post Graduate Certificate in Education and had an enrolment of 174 students.¹⁰³ There was a Teacher Training College at Paro and in 1990 with an enrolment of 59 students.¹⁰⁴ Most of the students in schools and college lived in hostel for obvious reasons. They were provided with free boarding and lodging at government expense. The medium of learning was English while teaching of *Dzongkha*, the national language was actively promoted. Every year a number of students were sent abroad for higher education for

which bulk of the expenses were met by the government. Since there was a scarcity of educated and trained manpower in every field, unemployment amongst the educated lot was unheard of. During the ruling period of Jigme Singye Wangchuck, as an outcome of modern education system, the pattern of occupational employment underwent a corresponding change. There were some institutions for technical and vocational training where students trained for diploma courses. Thus due to the initiative of the King the secular education was spread on modern lines and gradually Bhutan became self reliant.

The King had special concerns for the teachers and students. He used to visit schools and talk to them. For example, when meeting with the students of Zhemgang Central School in 1977, he enquired about their problems and told them that the government was trying hard to provide them a free education without allowing the financial constraints to come as hurdle to meeting the education sector's goals.¹⁰⁵ In the year 1987 he faced with the staff and trainees of the National Institute of Education, Samtse. He told them that "the quality and standard of teaching is of permanent importance as these factors will determine the quality and standard of students. It is teachers who will play a key role in moulding our younger generations into disciplined, dedicated and loyal Bhutanese citizens".¹⁰⁶ The King met with a group of 15 heads of educational institutions on February 29, 1988, and expressed that it had become imperative to utilize country's educational institutions to develop loyal and dedicated Bhutanese citizens to serve the country faithfully and ensure its future well being. He also conveyed his gratitude to the committed and able non-nationals who had served as heads of the schools and institutions. In view of the great importance attached to the teaching cadre, he said, "The Royal Government has decided to enhance the prestige and status of teachers and to increase their benefits and facilities. While the previous starting grade for a teacher was grade 17, the new starting grade will be grade 11. Where it was previously possible for a teacher to rise up to grade 5, teachers will now be able to rise up to grade 2."¹⁰⁷ In the meeting he also pointed out the significance of the role of women in Bhutan's development process. He said the eight lady teachers of the group that he had special expectations from them because their success as heads of institutions would provide an inspiring example to Bhutanese women not only in teaching profession but also in all other walks of life. He said, "In order to fulfill our national aspirations and successfully

implement our developmental objectives it is of paramount importance to harness the active participation of women who comprise 49 percent of country's population.”¹⁰⁸

In 1989 the King made a tour of seven Dzongkhags- Tongsa, Bumthung, Lhuntshi, Mongar, Pemagatshal, Tashigang and Samdrupjongkhar. He met with the teachers and students of various schools and talked with them about the objective of sixth five year plan. Regarding the problems faced by the education system in Bhutan, the King told that the country suffered “from the shortage of qualified teachers and instructors and the need to better management and administration”.¹⁰⁹ During his meeting with the students and lecturers of the Sherubtse college, he expressed that the Royal Government was giving a very high priority for developing Sherubtse into an institution that would be equal of the finest colleges in the world. His Majesty expressed the view that “Sherubtse College should not merely be a place for students to obtain certificates and degrees. It must become an institution that will also give the final touches to the building of dedicated citizens. To this end the courses in the college should have direct relevance to our national goals and objectives”.¹¹⁰ The king also visited the Khaling Blind school, he inspected all the classrooms and spoke to the students, encouraging them to work hard and to fully utilize the opportunities provided by the school to make them more self reliant and independent. He also visited the Royal Bhutan Polytechnic in Deothang and declared to spend Nu 40 million to re-equip the institution with proper training facilities. The king said “The technical cadre has a very important role to play in nation building for they will be the backbone of the country's modernization process”.¹¹¹

In all his meetings in schools and institutions, he repeatedly pointed out to the students that “the future of the nation lies in the hands of our younger generations. It is therefore crucial that they live up to our high expectations and ensure the continued wellbeing and security of our nation. To this end it is our education system that has vital role of moulding our younger generations into loyal and dedicated citizens.”¹¹² He stressed that even the best possible education was insufficient devoid of appreciation and understanding of the Bhutanese values. He stressed that students “...must become fully aware of our national goals and aspirations and take keen interest in the policies and programs of the Royal government”.¹¹³ Again during his tour in Tongsa in May, 1991, the King expressed his deep concern over the relatively poor educational facilities there and pointed out that the *dzonkhag* had the third lowest

enrolment rates in the whole country. People representatives in the district reported him that Tongsa urgently needed a full-fledged high school to augment the existing junior school. The King assured that in the seventh five year plan Royal Government had plans to improve educational establishments of the whole country.¹¹⁴ During the royal tour to Paro Dzongkhag in July 1991 the King visited Paro High School, Shaba Junior High School, Teacher Training College and Wochu Primary School and said that education sector has given more importance in the seventh five year plan with the expectation that “every educated Bhutanese will serve the nation and contribute towards its development. While it was not difficult to recruit trained people and professionals from outside, it was far more important for Bhutanese citizens themselves to strive to achieve a high standard of education and professionalism to serve their country”.¹¹⁵ In April 1992 he and the Queens visited schools and institutions in Trashigang Dzongkhag such as Sherubtse College, Trashigang Junior High School, Jigme Sherubling High school, the primary school, the Blind School in Khaling and Wamrong High School, Shaba Junior High School and spoke to the students and the staff and enquired about their problems.¹¹⁶

The King met with the students of Simtokha Rigshung, the centre of traditional learning in November, 1993 and expressed his satisfaction with the overall interest which the Simtokha students had shown in the well being and future of the kingdom. He announced that Simtokha Rigshung would be upgraded to a junior college in 1994. He also instructed the Education Department to take up the construction of a new dormitory, a new playground and sports facilities for the school. He said to the students that it was most important for every one of them to build his or her own capability by taking advantage of the facilities and opportunities which were given to them and that they must serve the country with loyalty and dedication and contribute towards strengthening its rich cultural and national heritage.¹¹⁷ In the first week of December 1993 the King and the queens met with the students of Yangchenphug High School and Motithang High School in Thimphu and announced that the education budget in the Seventh Plan had been increased by about 123 percent from the Sixth Plan.¹¹⁸ The King said that Bhutan’s youth must work hard and strive to achieve the academic excellence. For admission into class XI and XII, the King explained the Education Department’s limitations and the shortage of seats, with Sherubtse College and Yangchenphug High School being the only institutes admitting

students into class XI and XII, but the problem would be alleviated with the opening of four more junior colleges by July, 1994. He also explained that the Royal Government had always encouraged the establishment of private schools. While there were only six private schools then, he said that he hoped for more private schools to be established. Besides the fact that good private schools would create a healthy competition with the government schools, they would also provide an alternative for all the students who were being sent outside the country. The King expressed that “it is more important for the students today to continue with their studies and strive to their academic and professional qualifications. Bhutan needed its citizens to serve in all sectors of growth and it is therefore important for the students today to strengthen their capability in professions and services. The Royal Government had been a parent to every Bhutanese child, providing free education and looking at their welfare and careers”.¹¹⁹ Even during the execution of seventh five year plan the King granted a special fund of Nu 200,000 to two Sanskrit *Pathsalas* of Sarpang *dzongkhag* 1996.¹²⁰ He explained that the special grants should be used to improve the institutions and strengthen the teaching of Sanskrit for the benefit of the masses in the district. The King also commanded that a special grant of Nu. 1.00 million would be allocated to develop the *pathsalas* in southern Bhutan and to strengthen Sanskrit education.

Of the numerous factors one that pushed the growth and development of education, was the King’s visits to schools which acted as ethical support to the students and the teachers and also on the entire education sector. He always tried to mix with the students and understand their needs. In the words of Bikrama Jit Hasrat he was a ‘shrewd statesman with qualities both of head and heart---.’¹²¹

The fourth King’s vision of education is reflected by the activities done by him during his 34 years of his reign. Actually in the 1980’s he had propounded a theory of Gross National Happiness which values sustainability over materialism. Education sector under his direction also got a new light, which approaches for sustainable development ensuring balancing modernity with tradition. This was the pillar of the fourth King’s success in modernizing the country. According to him Gross National Happiness is more valuable than Gross National Product. In this theory of happiness propounds the satisfaction in non material needs and in emotional and spiritual growth. So we see that the thrust for the speedy development in education was initiated by the fourth King by offering a tribute to the existing

tradition. His policy of sustainable development made education to achieve laudable progress. So Jigme Singye Wangchuck's reign saw a golden era for education. During his reign, hundreds of schools took the light of learning to all corners of the country. Under his proper guidance, education was taken to remote villages by hundreds of teachers, who were mostly Bhutanese.

Thus the hereditary monarchs ushered a new era of modern education in Bhutan. But if we examine meticulously the ideas and actions of first four hereditary kings of modern Bhutan, we will find differences from first to second king, second to third and the last. The difference was connected with time. It was the specific time and accompanying conditions which actually shaped the outlook of the successive kings. For examples, the first King was definitely a progressive ruler from the point of view of his ruling period. He took a cautious path in ushering modern education because he felt that traditional and conservative section of the masses may not support his gesture or an overactive approach. Obviously his approach to modern education was a guarded one. Apart from this, the financial position and infrastructural condition was not such that he could accelerate the progress of modern education. Nevertheless, the first monarch had laid the beginning of modern education. Naturally, the second King got almost a prepared field to chart his plan. Despite the prepared field to launch his educational programme he had also inherited the fragile economy of his predecessor. During the last decade of his reign the wind was changing everywhere and Bhutan could not be a mere spectator to the waves of changes. Apart from this, the international situation had changed with India's independence in 1947, and with a friendly new nation the King found a golden opportunity to modernize the system of education by tapping the generosity of a friendly neighbour. The Indo-Bhutan treaty of 1949 increased India's annual subsidy to Bhutan to rupees 5 lakhs which ensured the process of progress of the country including education. The real architect of modern education was the third King. His eagerness, the contemporary situation, and his good relation with India gave him opportunity to spread modern education and much of the development must be credited to him. Similarly, the fourth King, a product of western education, fully understood the writings on the wall. He felt that Bhutan could not modernize herself unless she spread rapidly the modern system of education in every nook and corner of the country. He also felt that the regional disparity of education due to communication

and other reasons should be removed as far as possible. The chariot of modern education reached a major milestone, as far as my study period is concerned, in the 4th King's reign which is reflected in the ultimate symbol of Bhutan's achievement in education when the Royal University of Bhutan was founded in 2003.

Notes and References:

1. Majumdar, A.B, *Britain and the Himalayan Kingdom of Bhutan*, Bharati Bhawan Publishers and Distributors, Patna.1984, p. 7.
2. Sinha, A.C., “Dynamics of Bhutanese Polity and Emergent Foreign Relations” in B. C. Upreti (ed.), *Bhutan, Dilemma of Change in a Himalayan Kingdom*, Kalinga Publications, Delhi, 2004, p.47.
3. *Report on the administration of Sikkim and the relations between the British Government and Bhutan during the year 1903-1904*, Confidential Political File, Government of Bengal, File No-79, Serial No-1-7. 1904, p.12.
4. White, J. Claude, *Sikkim and Bhutan, Twenty one Years on the North-East Frontier (1887-1908)*, Edward Arnold, London, 1909, p.282.
5. Hasrat, Bikrama Jit, *History of Bhutan, the Land of Peaceful Dragon*, Education Department, Royal Government of Bhutan, Thimphu, 1980, p.123.
6. *Ibid.* p.125.
7. Dorji, Lham, *The Wangchuck Dynasty, 100 Years of Enlightened Monarchy*, The Centre for Bhutan Studies, Thimphu, Bhutan, 2008, p.3.
8. White, J. Claude, *op.cit*, p.165.
9. Sood, Maj Gen (Retd) Shubhi, *Bhutan, 100 Years of Wangchuck Vision*, SDS Publishers, Noida, 2008, p.70.
10. *Ibid*, p.52.
11. *Question of the industrial development of Bhutan. Proposals for the spread of education on modern lines in Bhutan*, Foreign and Political department, External-A, Government of India, Letter No. 459-E.B., Proceedings No. 6 July 1914.
12. *Ibid*, Letter No. 477-T, Proceedings No. 7.
13. Simick, B.C., “Centenary of S.U.M. Institution, Kalimpong, 19th April 1886-1986”, in Subba, B.K.(ed.), *SUMITE, Centenary Souvenir (1886-1986)*, Scottish University Mission Institution, Kalimpong, West Bengal, 1986, p.9.
14. Michael, Aris, *The Raven Crown*, Serinda Publications, London, 1994, p.104.
15. Subba, B.K., *op.cit*, p.9.
16. The school used to be shifted from one place to another after a certain period of time.

17. Kinga, Sonam, *Polity, Kingship & Democracy*, Ministry of Education, Royal Government of Bhutan, 2009, p.198.
18. Tashi, Tshering, *Gongzim Ugyen Dorji, The King's Aide and Diplomat Par Excellence*, The Centre for Bhutan Studies & GNH Research, Thimphu, Bhutan, 2013, p.46.
19. Tashi, Tshering, *15 Gun Salutes, British Reports on Bhutan from 1905-1945*, Bhutan Publishing House, Thimphu, Bhutan, 2015, p.88.
20. Tashi, Tshering, "How it all Began", the story of the education system in Bhutan as recorded by Father Mackey, *Kuensel*, November 17, 2012, p. 23.
21. *Annual report on the relations between the British Government and Bhutan for the year 1920-21*, Proceedings Nos. 288-290, Secret- External, Foreign and Political, Government of India, June 1921, p.2.
22. *Annual Report on the relations between the British Government and Bhutan for the year 1923-24*, Foreign and Political Department (Secret), Government of India, Letter No. 317-A, File No. 405-X, June 1924.
23. *Annual Report on the relations between the British Government and Bhutan for the year 1925-26*, Foreign and Political Department (Secret), Government of India, Letter No 290/P, File No. 79 X, May 1926.
24. Singh, Nagendra, *Bhutan, A Kingdom in the Himalayas*, S. Chand & Company (Pvt.) Ltd., New Delhi, 1985 (1972), p.185.
25. *Request of H. H. the Maharaja of Bhutan to assist him to develop his country*, Sikkim Agency, Foreign and Political Department, File No. 8, Serial No. 7, 1921.
26. *Arrangements for the training in India of Bhutanese boys in different subjects for the development of Bhutan, Provision of Funds connected with the expenditure*, Foreign and Political Department, Government of India, No. 261-X-External, Serial Nos. 1-9, 1923.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Sinha, A.C., *Himalayan Kingdom Bhutan (Tradition, Transition and Transformation)*, Indus Publishing House, New Delhi, 2004(2001), p.192.
29. Sinha, A.C., *Ethnic Identity and National Dilemma*, Reliance Publishers, New Delhi, 1991, p.163.
30. Driem, George Van(ed.), *Languages of the Greater Himalayan Region*, Research School CNWS, School of Asian, African and Amerindian Studies, Leiden, The Netherlands, 1998, pp.7-8.

31. Tashi, Tshering, *15 Gun Salutes, British Report on Bhutan from 1905-1945*, *op.cit*, p.123.
32. *Proceedings of the Government of Bengal*, Political Department, File No. 8-B-2, Progs. B. 287(12 years).
33. Tashi, Tshering, *15 Gun Salutes, British Report on Bhutan from 1905-1945*, *op.cit*, p.1.
34. Wangyal, Dr. Sonam, ‘Daddy Graham and Bhutan’ in *OGBs Reunion Souvenir*, Dr. Graham’s Homes, 110th Birthday Celebrations, OGBs Association, Kalimpong, 2010, p.54.
35. It must have been the Scottish University Mission Institution, Kalimpong since Bhutanese students enrolled in Dr. Graham’s Homes only after the 1960s.
36. Sinha, A.C., *Himalayan Kingdom Bhutan: Tradition, Transition and Transformation*, *op.cit*, p.192.
37. Tashi, Tshering, *Gongzim Ugyen Dorji, The King’s Aide and Diplomat Par Excellence*, *op.cit*, p.46.
38. Tashi, Tshering, “How it all Began, The story of the education system in Bhutan as recorded by Father Mackey”, *op.cit*, p.23.
39. Michael, Aris, *op.cit*, p.115.
40. Ura, Karma, *Leadership of the Wise, Kings of Bhutan*, Centre for Bhutan Studies, Thimphu, Bhutan, Second Edition, 2010, p.46.
41. Dorji, Lham, *op.cit*, p.32.
42. Hasrat, Bikrama Jit; *op.cit*, p.128.
43. Kinga, Sonam, *op.cit*, p.199.
44. Sood, Maj Gen (Retd) Shubhi, *op.cit*, p.80.
45. Dorji, Khandu Om, *The Women of Bhutan House* , Independent Study in Sociology & Anthropology, The College of Wooster, United States of America., 2000-2001, p.54.
46. Pelgen, Ugyen, “Rinzin Dorji alias Captain Ram Singh” in Dorji, Dr. Tandin (ed.), *Trailblazers (1907-2008)*, A Bhutan Times Publication, Thimphu, Bhutan, 2008, p.74.
47. “From first regular school to highest enrolment in northern Bhutan”, *Kuensel*, Vol. VII, No.27, July 11, 1992, p.4.

48. Tashi, Tshering, *15 Gun Salutes, British Report on Bhutan from 1905 to 1945*, *op.cit*, p.278.
49. Sinha, A.C., *Himalayan Kingdom Bhutan: Tradition, Transition and Transformation*, *op.cit*, pp.192-193.
50. Singh, Nagendra, *op.cit*, p.186.
51. Collister, Peter, *Bhutan and the British*, Serinda Publications, London, 1987, p.197. These words are those of King Jigme Dorji Wangchuck in the National Assembly of Bhutan in 1971.
52. *Financial position of Bhutan. Proposal to increase the subsidy*, Foreign and Political(External), Government of India, File No 159 X(Secret), Pros./Serial Nos. 1-6, 1936.
53. Michael, Aris, *op.cit*, p.137.
54. Dorji, Lham, *op.cit*, p.40.
55. Sinha, A.C., *Bhutan, Ethnic Identity and National Dilemma*, *op.cit*, p.149.
56. Hasrat, Bikramjit, *op.cit*, p.129.
57. Tobgye, Sonam, “The Trashigang school – One of the many schools opened in the reign of second King”, *Kuensel*, July 21, 2012.
58. Singh, Nagendra, *op.cit*, p.186.
59. Sinha, A.C., *Bhutan, Ethnic Identity & National Dilemma*, *op.cit*, p.178.
60. Sood, Maj Gen (Retd.) Shubhi, *op.cit*, p.95.
61. Tashi, Tshering, *15 Gun Salutes, British reports on Bhutan from 1905-1945*, *op.cit*, p.340.
62. Dorji, Lham, *op.cit*, pp.51-52.
63. Hasrat, Bikrama Jit, *op.cit*, p.130.
64. Dorji, Dr. Tandin (ed.), *op.cit*, p.11.
65. Hasrat, Bikrama Jit, *op.cit*, p.135.
66. Dorji, Dr. Tandin(ed.), *op.cit*, p.11.
67. Lham Dorji, *op.cit*, p.64.
68. Dorji, Jagar, *Quality of Education in Bhutan, The Story of Growth and Change in the Bhutanese Education System*, KMT Publisher, Thimphu, Bhutan, 2005(2003), p.9.

69. Kinga, Sonam, *op.cit*, p.249.
70. Dorji, Jagar, *op.cit*, p.11.
71. Lham, Dorji, *op.cit*, p.64.
72. Driem, George Van (ed.), *op.cit*, p.8.
73. Solverson, Howard, *The Jesuit and the Dragon, The Life of Father Mackey in the Himalayan Kingdom of Bhutan*, Robert Devies Publishing, Quebec, Canada, 1995, p.127.
74. Driem, George, Van (ed.), *op.cit*, p.8.
75. Wangchuck, Kesang Choden, “A tribute to my beloved brother Lyonchen Jigme Palden Dorji”, *Kuensel*, April 5, 2014, p.11.
76. Singh, Nagendra, *op.cit*, p.188.
77. “Opening of Sherubtse High School”, *Kuensel*, Vol. II, No.10, 31st May, 1968, p.2.
78. *Ibid.*
79. “His Majesty the King Visits Don Bosco Technical School”, *Kuensel*, Vol.III, No.1, 15th January, 1969, p.1.
80. “National Institute of Education”, *Kuensel*, Vol.XII, No.18, March 1, 1997, p.9.
81. Singh, Nagendra, *op.cit*, p.187.
82. Dorji, Jagar, *op.cit*, p.12.
83. Hasrat, Bikrama Jit, *op.cit*, p.139.
84. Sood, Maj Gen (Retd.), Shubhi, *op.cit*, p.123.
85. Gregson, Jonathan, *Kingdom Beyond the Clouds*, Macmillan, London, 2000, p.365.
86. Dorji, Lham, *op.cit*, p.81.
87. *Ibid.*
88. *Ibid*, p.82.
89. Gulati, Colonel Mn, *Rediscovering Bhutan*, Manas Publication, New Delhi, 2003, p.166.
90. Dorji, Lham, *op.cit*, p.83.
91. Hasrat, Bikrama Jit, *op.cit*, p.141.

92. Kinga, Sonam, *op.cit*, p.260.
93. Sood, Maj Gen (Retd.) Shubhi, *op.cit*, p.125.
94. Gulati, Colonel Mn, *op.cit*, p.169.
95. Namgyel, Singye, *Quality of Education in Bhutan, Historical and Theoretical Understanding matters*, DSB Publication, Thimphu, 2011, p.63.
96. Sood, Maj, Gen (Retd.), *op.cit*, p.129.
97. *Ibid*, p.137.
98. Namgyel, Singye, *op.cit*, p.64.
99. Dorji, Lham, *op.cit*, p.109.
100. *Ibid*.
101. Gulati, Colonel Mn, *op.cit*, p.284.
102. *Ibid*, pp.284-285.
103. *Ibid*, p.285.
104. *Ibid*.
105. Dorji, Lham, *op.cit*, p.110.
106. “His Majesty tours Southern districts”, *Kuensel*, Vol.2, No.2, May 23, 1987, p.2.
107. “Teachers to play a growing role”, *Kuensel*, Vol.3, No.9, March 5, 1988, p.1.
108. *Ibid*, p.12.
109. “His Majesty tours seven dzongkhags”, *Kuensel*, Vol. 4, No.17, May 13, 1989, p.1.
110. *Ibid*, p.12.
111. *Ibid*.
112. *Ibid*.
113. *Ibid*.
114. *Kuensel*, Vol.VI, No.18, May 11, 1991, p.2.
115. “His Majesty visits schools and institutions in Paro”, *Kuensel*, Vol. VI, No.28, July 20, 1991, p.1.

116. "Their Majesties visit schools and institutes in Tashigang Dzongkhag", *Kuensel*, Vol.VII, No.16, April 25, 1992.
117. "His Majesty meets students of Simthokha Rigshung", *Kuensel*, Vol.VIII, No.47, November 27, 1993, p.1.
118. "His Majesty holds meetings with Thimphu students", *Kuensel*, Vol.VIII, No.48, December 4, 1993, p.1.
119. *Ibid*, p.12.
120. "Special grants for Sanskrit Pathsalas", *Kuensel*, Vol. XI, No.51, December 21, 1996, p.1.
121. Hasrat, Bikrama Jit, *op.cit*, p.14.