

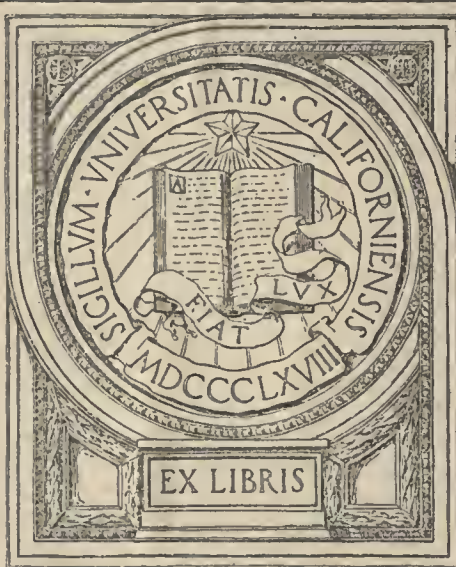
REPORT OF A MISSION
TO
SIKKIM AND THE TIBETAN FRONTIER

WITH A
MEMORANDUM ON OUR RELATIONS WITH TIBET

BY COLMAN MACAULAY.



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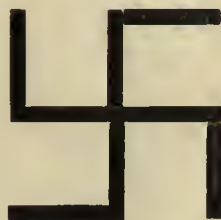
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REPORT OF A
Mission to Sikkim and the
Tibetan Frontier

WITH A
Memorandum on our Relations with Tibet

BY
COLMAN MACAULAY,
OF THE BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE,
SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL
AND
MEMBER OF THE BENGAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.



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Capitulum

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INTRODUCTION.

I WAS deputed to Sikkim and the Tibetan frontier by the Lieutenant-Governor in October last with a triple object. (1) To discuss with the Maharaja certain pending questions concerning the administration of his State and his relations to the British Government; (2) to visit the Lachen valley to see if a trade route could be opened up in that direction, with the province of Tsang in Tibet; (3) to endeavour to meet, and to establish friendly relations with, the Tibetan authorities of the district adjoining Sikkim on the north. The first and third points have been discussed in separate reports, and I am conscious that the diary of my tour, apart from the record of the proceedings at Tumlong, the capital of Sikkim, and at Giagong, on the frontier, contains little of practical interest. As, however, photographs were taken on the journey, and the diary may possibly be found of some use as an itinerary, I have, by the Lieutenant-Governor's desire, published the latter as it was written. I must ask for indulgence for the shortcomings of the diary on the ground of the difficulties under which it was written. Owing to the very limited time at my disposal, I was obliged to make the longest marches I could induce the coolies to undertake, and, except at Tumlong and at Giagong, I was unable to halt for a single day. The diary was written, *currente calamo*, every night after a long journey, which, owing to the necessity of moving as rapidly as possible, had afforded few opportunities for observation. Incidents of little interest to any one not concerned in them, were recorded while they were fresh in my mind, and it is only because I am aware that if I once began the process of excision, I should leave but

little text to accompany the photographs, that I have reproduced the diary in its entirety.

I wish to record my acknowledgments of the excellent service rendered throughout this expedition by Baboo Sarat Chandra Das and Lama Ugyen Gyatso, and by Nimsering, the interpreter of the Deputy Commissioner's Court at Darjeeling, whom Mr. Oldham kindly deputed to accompany me to render general assistance.

Temi.

tap. I gave the Kazi a robe of honour. As we rode along the shoulder, preceded by the band playing and drumming vigorously, we all enjoyed the lovely view of the Rungeet like a streak of light blue paint, far down in the valley between Rinchinpoong and the Timbi La, as it flowed south after its junction with the Ratong under Tassiding. At Namtchi we were met by the Lama and the full chapter of monks, dressed out in their smartest mitres, and blowing trombones and trumpets, and clashing cymbals. Some of the trombones (like those I saw last year at Tassiding) were many feet long, and gave forth most sepulchral tones in response to the vigorous efforts of the performers. The Lama, an old acquaintance of mine, presented me with a scarf, and led the way into the Gompa, where prayers for our safe journey were chanted, as we sat on Tibetan rugs and sipped murwa. Drops of rain began to fall as we rode up the steep side of Tendong above Namtchi, and I became aware of a tall, gaunt, hard-featured person in a monk's dress, who offered to hold an umbrella over my head. On reaching the summit of the shoulder, I ascertained that this was a Lama of Pemiongchi monastery, who had joined us at Namtchi and wished to go in our train to Tumlong. I recognized, as we marched along the shoulder, the path by which I ascended in 1882 and 1883 to the cone of Tendong (8,676), where the head Lama of Namtchi spends the months of the rainy season. The tradition is that in a great flood the whole world was immersed except the top of Tendong, and that a Lepcha man and woman, the only survivors of the deluge, took refuge there. At the beginning of the rains accordingly, the Lama proceeds to the summit and prays continuously that a repetition of the disaster may be averted. Food is supplied to him at intervals from the monastery, and it is said that he has the power, at this time and place, of curing grievous diseases of pilgrims who visit his lonely cell. As we reached the point where the path to Temi leaves the road to the Timbi La, and descends the northern side of the mountain, night was closing in fast and a heavy mist was coming up. We had 3,000 feet to descend, and the path, though not very steep, was incredibly slippery,—far more so than it was seven years ago when Croft and I struggled down the

same descent at the close of the same march. The Lama,—who had been staring at me with an expression of mingled curiosity and reverence at every available opportunity, since our parley at the top of the rise from Namtchi,—began to pray vigorously in a monosyllabic chant ending every now and then in a long drone. Alpenstocks were soon found to be a delusion, and hobnailed shooting boots a snare. The flicker of the lantern only served to illumine our mishaps. Every two or three minutes one of the party would be seen suddenly accelerating his pace, and brandishing his alpenstock as he staggered forward into the darkness: then the Lama prayed louder and louder, till a double-knock on the ground announced that the performer of the involuntary evolution had finally come to grief. It was past 9 o'clock when the unearthly yells set up by Furchung and Dadji reached the camp, and men with lanterns and torches set out to meet us. We found that Oldham had sent to meet us two hours before, but that the men had returned saying it was impossible for us to get beyond the Namtchi monastery tonight.

Lingmo.

LINGMO, *Tuesday, 21st October.*

Hot and uninteresting march to Lingmo. Before leaving Temi, I sent for the son of the Barmie Kazi, who had taken much trouble in laying out the camping ground, and presented him with a robe of honour. The descent from Temi to the Teesta valley was slippery, but the morning was bright and clear. The bridges over the different streams in the valley had been repaired. I noticed that the flat of Shingchu Thang (*Shing* wood; *Chu* water; *Thang* flat), which had been cleared for cultivation in 1877, was overgrown with low jungle. The mundle of Ben met us here with the usual preparation of an arbour, and oranges, milk and murwa. He explained that what I had noticed was due to the dispute about the settlement of the Nepalese between the Phodang Lama and the Pemiongchi Lamas, which has now been set at rest. Under Yangang an arbour had been prepared by the Lamas of the Gonpa. Ugyen Gyatso, who is himself a Lama, is the great man here,—he owns the living, in fact, of the monastery,—and he introduced the

Sillingthang.

head Lama, who is really his own nominee. I gave presents to the monastery and to the Bhutia and Lepcha headmen. Reached Lingmo in advance of the tents at 5 P.M. This is an exasperating march, with ups and downs which about equalise each other. Many of the former we negotiated by clambering after our ponies, holding on by their tails. They evidently prefer this arrangement to being ridden. View of Tumen monastery across the Teesta.

SILLINGTHANG, *Wednesday, 22nd October.*

It rained heavily during the night, but the morning was fresh and clear. After a march of a couple of miles, reached Samdong, the cane bridge across the Teesta (1,480). The river was not fuller than in 1877, when our ponies swam across, held up by men on a raft which was passed from side to side by a rope of cane. There was, however, no raft ready, and no sign of ponies or mules from the Raja, as had been sent on the previous occasion. The Tehsildar, Tendook, tried to excuse the Yangthang Kazi, who had gone ahead to make arrangements, and the Gnerpa who has charge of the bridge, saying that the flood was too strong. I told him that I should cross by the cane bridge and march on to the camping ground at Sillingthang, but that he would be personally responsible that our ponies were crossed, and that I would not see the Yangthang Kazi till a satisfactory explanation of the absence of proper arrangements had been offered. Tendook evidently knew, and saw that I knew, that this was only a manoeuvre on the part of the Kazi to gain time, and I told him that such obstructiveness could not be tolerated, and must only bring trouble on the person who had caused it. After a steep climb on the other side of the river, we lunched at the Yeung Mendong, whence there is a lovely view of the valley, and reached Sillingthang before sunset. Here we had a fine view of the black jagged peaks of Kirsong, and of the noble snowy mass of Liklo, or D2 (22,520), further to the right. As the sun went down, we saw a large column of rock like a round tower standing out beside the eastern face of Liklo. At dusk the ponies duly appeared, and soon afterwards the Yangthang Kazi from Tumlong was announced. I declined to see him. I caused



1.—THE TEESTA VALLEY FROM SILLINGTHANG.

a letter to be written by the Tehsildar to the Kangsa Dewan, saying that I should proceed to Kubbi next day, and that, unless a satisfactory explanation was there given, I should consider whether I should visit the Raja at Tumlong at all. Oldham fully concurred in the advisability of this step, and the Tehsildar said that it would have a very salutary effect.

Tumlong.

TUMLONG (5,290), *Thursday, 23rd October.*

Rather an eventful day. Paul took a photograph from Sillingthang, with the Lama in the foreground, before we started. Magnificent cliffs above the road before the descent to the Dikchu is reached. Saw some gigantic black bees' nests far up on the face of the precipice. No leeches; in 1877 they gave us a great deal of trouble at this part of the march. At the Dikchu we found ponies from the Raja, which, however, I declined to use yet. After a sharp rise from the Dikchu, we reached the rich slopes of Kubbi, the brazen crest of the Raja's house at Tumlong gleaming in the sun far up on the opposite hill across the Ryott. Here we found a deputation from the Raja waiting for us. We sent the Tehsildar forward to ascertain their message. He returned with the information that the Kangsa Dewan himself had been sent by the Raja to convey to me his apologies for the ignorance and remissness of his officers which he much regretted, and to beg that I would overlook it. I thought it as well, under the circumstances, not to see the Dewan at this stage; so we sent back the Tehsildar with an intimation that, in view of the explanation offered, I would proceed to Tumlong, after luncheon, and would see him there. The Dewan and his party, after the indispensable preliminary of sending us choongas of murwa, then went off down the hill, the former a very picturesque figure. He was dressed in a Tibetan hat, and a sort of jacket of purple satin over his long robes, and an attendant held a crimson umbrella over his head. Shortly afterwards we went down to the Ryott, where I remembered a clear pool for bathing. We nearly lost Oldham here. The stream was much higher than it was when I was here before; the clear pool had become a boiling eddy, and below it the water was rushing down among and over the huge rocks

Tumlong.

in a furious torrent. He seemed, as he entered the shallow water, to rush forward (he had really stumbled) in order to get into deep water. He steadied himself for a moment, and then again moved forward. Could it be that he was mad enough to try to swim against that raging flood? In another moment we were horrified to see him swept out into the current and carried towards the first rapid. With admirable presence of mind, he kept his feet with the stream, and only used his arms to steady his course. Down he went over the first fall, and onward through the foaming waters below it. About 30 yards further on was a large rock out in the stream, of which the top was not fully submerged. If he could grasp that we might save him: if not, he must be dashed to pieces in a few seconds. We saw him catch the rock and swing round with the force of the current. The hungry river made another effort to hurry him on with it to death; but his hold was firm, and the only question now was whether he could maintain it in that icy water till we could come to his aid. Between the rock and the nearest rock of the shore was a distance of about 10 feet with a deep and rapid current between. In an instant two of his chup-rassees had cut down bamboos with which they began, with the best intentions, to prod him and poke him in the eye. We delivered him from their hands and used the bamboos to pass him the end of two pugrees knotted together, and ultimately we dragged him by main force across. It was a bad quarter of an hour for all of us. After luncheon we crossed the spur between the Ryott and the Rathu which unite a few hundred yards further down, and then began the long ascent to Tumlong. We were met by people with murwa three times. A few hundred yards below the palace we were met by the Kangsa Dewan with a score of soldiers, dressed in uniform of red jackets and the plaited hats (like the brimless tall hat which the Irishman in Punch, always wears), and armed with muskets, and a very enthusiastic band of drummers, fifers and cymbal players. He presented me with a scarf. A tent had been pitched for us to change our clothes, at the place where we put on our uniform in 1877. Here I had some conversation with the Dewan and his brother, the Lama of the royal monastery of Phodang (the Richelieu of Sikkim). As it was

already dark, I proposed that we should defer our visit to the Raja till tomorrow. They readily agreed. As we passed the gate of the Maharajah's house a salute of bombs was fired. As soon as I reached my tent, a letter was brought to me from the Maharajah, wrapped in a scarf of flowered blue silk, begging that I would excuse him for the shortcomings of his officers, and accept his hospitality. I replied that I would pay him a visit in the morning.

Tumlong.

TUMLONG, *Friday, 24th October.*

Spent the morning in preparing the presents. Fixed 11 o'clock for formal visit to Maharajah. At this hour the Kangsa Dewan came up from the palace to conduct us. We formed procession, and entering the palace enclosure marched round it by the left. The Sikkim army was drawn up to receive us in the courtyard. At the door of the chapel, on the ground floor, we were received by the Maharajah and his half-nephew, the son of the old Chanjed. After we had shaken hands with him, and Oldham and I had received scarves from him,—and Evans, Paul and Gordon from young Chanjed,—the Maharajah led the way to the chapel on the upper floor, where the interview was to be held. On the left of the altar we sat in order—myself, Oldham, Evans, Paul, and Gordon. Opposite to me on the other side of the altar the Maharajah sat cross-legged on a high throne, young Chanjed occupying a low seat on his right. To his right again were the Kangsa Dewan, the Bir Gnerpa and others, all standing. As we took our seats a salute of bombs was fired outside. At my request the Phodang Lama, who can speak Hindustani, acted as interpreter between the Maharajah and myself. I made the usual formal enquiries after his health and his mother's health and about his journey from Choombi, and answered similar enquiries regarding my health and our journey. I then said that the Lord Sahib had asked me to make special enquiries regarding his health, and to present some tokens of his friendship. The presents were then brought forward and displayed. I explained the use of the graphoscope, and first showed him through it a photograph of the Lieutenant-Governor. He expressed much satisfaction. During the interview an attendant kept filling our cups with some

Tumlong.

excellent hot buttered tea and a liquor which tasted like whisky and water flavoured with orange, which was also poured out of a teapot. We were also served with bowls of mutton stewed with strips of macaroni—a very palatable dish, but not easily eaten with chopsticks. There were no dumplings, such as we had in 1877, but there were capital twisted biscuits. At my request the Maharajah then conducted us to the lower chapel, and there we took our leave of him and marched back, preceded, as before, by the Kangsa Dewan. After our return a deputation appeared with a fine short horn bull, a flock of sheep and several baskets of rice, murwa, sweetmeats, vegetables, brick tea, salt, &c., for our use.

At 1 o'clock the Maharajah paid his return visit. We had opened one of the tents and put up a shamiana. The Maharajah sat on my left and beyond him Chanjed; the others standing. On my right were Oldham, Evans, Paul and Gordon. After compliments a khillut and blankets were brought forward and placed before each of us. Mine contained a robe of the royal yellow satin with a royal hat. Oldham had a very handsome dress with the red military hat. Two ponies were also produced for Oldham and myself. The topics of our health and the weather were soon exhausted, and after I had produced a present of some bottles of curaçoa and tins of biscuits for his mother (I made no reference to the Maharani, as he did not speak of her), the Maharajah withdrew. I should have liked very much to have a photograph of the Durbar taken. The Sikkim people were all dressed in their smartest and looked very picturesque, while Gordon and I were in full uniform. But the Maharajah is so sensitive about his harelip, and so anxious to conceal the deformity, that I thought it kinder not to make any suggestion about a picture. I afterwards received Chanjed, the Phodang Lama, Kangsa Dewan, the Dingpens and Gnerpas, and gave the former a revolver, the Lama and Dewan two robes each, two for Purba Dewan and one each for the others.

In the evening Evans, Paul and I (Oldham was tired and Gordon sketching) went to Labrang monastery just above

Tumlong, where we were received by the Kapgain, to whom I gave two robes. The Kapgain is the spiritual head of the Sikkim church and an avatar. The present man, however, has not much influence, as he is believed to have little regard for his vows. From Labrang we went to Phodang (a mile off), where we were received by the Lama, who showed us the most lovely vestments belonging to the monastery, and regaled us with excellent murwa. On our return we visited a convent containing a huge prayer wheel or column which is pulled by the old women of the neighbourhood. They are occasionally superintended by the nuns of a convent on the other side of the valley under the Emde La. There are three nuns, the abbess being the sister of Cheeboo Lama. The view from Phodang and the road thence back to Tumlong was very picturesque. Smoke rose from the homesteads among the well cultivated fields on the opposite slopes of Kubbi and Fensong; the sleek cattle wended their way home from the pastures; the Ryott, which so nearly proved fatal to Oldham, wound its way along the valley between Kubbi and Fensong, and then joining the Rathu and afterwards the Dikchu, flowed away to the south; the amphitheatre was crowned by the forests of Emde La and Fieungong and the snows of Dependi and Chola. The valley had a look of Arcadian comfort and peace, and recalled Schiller's description of the cantons of Uri and Schwytz in Wilhelm Tell.

Tumlong.

At Phodang I mentioned to the Lama that I should like to have a confidential interview with him and his brother the Kangsa Dewan, before receiving the business visit of the Maharajah, and settled with him to come to me at eight tomorrow morning.

TUMLONG, *Saturday, 25th October.*

This morning I received the Lama and Dewan in my writing tent overlooking the palace, only Tendook and Sarat Chundra being present. These two brothers are undoubtedly the most considerable men in Sikkim, and they are both affable, shrewd and enlightened. From the first we were on good terms, and I was able to get them to

Tumlong.

speaking out their minds frankly and unreservedly. The first question discussed was the appointment by the Maharajah of a representative to administer the State during his absence. I ascertained that the appointment of Kangsa last year, and this, was only temporary, and I could see that he himself was indisposed to accept any permanent appointment. The reasons were soon apparent. In the first place he was unwilling permanently to supersede young Chanjed, who, though now too inexperienced, must be counted with hereafter. In the second place he and the Lama were both evidently averse to any arrangement which would stereotype the present system of an annual sojourn of the Maharajah at Choombi. I asked them to speak their minds quite openly and fearlessly on this point. They then with marked eagerness said that if I could persuade the Raja to reside permanently in his own territory there would be a great improvement in every respect. They urged that his influence is weakened in Tibet by his residence there as a private individual, that his money is squandered there by Tibetan underlings, and that he loses both the opportunity and the inclination for looking closely into the administration of his own State by these periodical absences. They said every one would be gratified, if he could only be induced to reside among his own people, and that he would be much better able to promote our views in regard to the development of trade and of friendly relations with Tibet. I suggested that he might make his summer residence in the uplands of the Lachen or Lachung in his own territory, and they eagerly supported this view. They assured me that, if we were firm, we could get the Raja to agree to the abrogation of the Choombi clause in the treaty, and that if this were done the whole administration would work cordially for the promotion of the good of the State and the policy of the British Government. In the course of this conversation they referred several times to the views of the other leading men and to their custom of consulting one another. I accordingly asked them how a small Council consisting of themselves, the Purba Dewan, Lama Tulku and ultimately Chanjed, with Kangsa as President at first, would work under the Raja. This suggestion gave them evident satisfaction, and they said that if they could

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2.—MAHARAJA'S HOUSE AT TUMLONG. CAMP ABOVE.

TO VIND
ABROGLAO

only keep the Raja among his own people all would go well. A hint was thrown out that the Raja wished to build a new house, and that, if any assistance could be given, it might be made conditional on his agreeing not to leave Sikkim. The Lama also suggested that the Raja should be told that the question of increasing his allowance would not be entertained on any other terms. He said laughing, that there was no good giving him money to spend out of Sikkim among people who cared nothing about it.

Tumlong.

The Nepalese settlement question was fully discussed. The Phodang Lama himself, who is evidently progressive in his policy, with the Guntuck Kazi, made a tour last year in connection with it, and I think our wishes have been fully attended to. The Paharias pay revenue in cash, the old Bhootea and Lepcha ryots still paying in kind, and the result has been found satisfactory.

As regards transit duties, I was assured by them that no attempt would be made to revive them. I gave them clearly to understand that this must be regarded as out of the question, and I believe there is no idea of acting against our wishes in this respect.

Neither of them appeared to think that the Nepalese had had much to do with the stoppage of the trade at Phari. They said that the Tibetans had done so because they saw that trade was increasing so much, and that so many people were going backwards and forwards, that they were afraid of some complications arising. But they said that in spite of any prohibition the people *would* trade now that the railway had been opened and the road cleared. "They may cut their throats," said the Lama with an appropriate gesture, "but the people will trade." I asked if they believed that the trade had increased. They said it had increased, and that laden ponies and mules were coming down in crowds, and that it would continue to increase in spite of all obstructions. I gathered that the Tibetans levy 4 annas a head from such persons as they allow to pass, taking 3 annas a head on their return. There is no system of duties on the merchandise itself on

Tumlong.

the Sikkim frontier of Tibet—a very different state of affairs from that which prevails on the Nepalese frontiers, both north and south. I then spoke of the Lachen route, and asked them their opinion. They said that, wherever there is a high road, happiness disappears, and that Sikkim would gain nothing, but would probably suffer from sickness spread by the travellers (there is a rooted idea that congregations of human beings are unhealthy, and this is the reason given for the absence of any village or bazaar at Tumlong). But, they added, there can be no doubt that such a road would lead to a great increase of trade. I wished to ascertain their real opinion, and pressed them to explain themselves more fully. We know, said the Lama, that all the trade of Kambajong and Tashilunpo would take this route, and that there would be many traders, and therefore we spoke of the danger of sickness. I asked him if he was sure traders would take this route and would not go round by the Jeylep. Certainly not, he said. Why should they make the detour by Phari? “Bahut, bahut, awega.” I pointed out that the villages of the Lachen valley, which are now cut off for months every year from the rest of Sikkim, would get an outlet for their produce. He said there was no doubt of this, but that they had only given expression to their conservative idea of keeping things as they are and avoiding mischief. He himself could see the advantages from our point of view of opening up communications, and if it was the desire of the British Government the Durbar would loyally carry out their wishes. I explained that we should make the road and bridges, and that they would only have to supply labour to repair it and rest-houses. He said they would gladly do this if we would lend them picks and implements.

As regards the general question of our relations with Tibet, they both said that the Durbar would do all in their power to forward our views. An expression which the Lama let fall threw some light on what he had said about the Lachen route. “We should be only too glad,” he said, “to bring you together, because we feel that, while we are between you, you may think we are intriguing against you with them, and they may think we are intriguing against

as, indeed,
They are, in the
absence of adequate
sanitation.

them with you. If you were once friendly together and corresponded, we should be in no danger." Now by the Jeylep route hardly any part of populated Sikkim intervenes between Tibet and British territory, whereas a road from the head of the Lachen would run through the heart of Sikkim. I said that my visit to the head of the Lachen would afford an opportunity of conversing with the Kambajong authorities, that I had no intention whatever of crossing the frontier without their consent, and that if a man of suitable rank came to meet me I should be glad to converse with him. They said they were sending the Kesong Dingpen (Captain) with me with instructions to send messengers ahead to Kambajong. As regards going round by the Cholamoo Lake in order to return by Donkia and the Lachung, they said the Tibetans would not stop me, but would probably ask me not to go, and that whether I went or not was really in my own hands. I said I should like it to be made clearly understood that I would in no way insist, that my primary object was to have a friendly interview with the Tibetan authorities, and to endeavour to remove misapprehensions, and that though it would be very convenient for me if I could go round by Cholamoo, I should not think of disputing the right of the Tibetan Government to debar strangers from passing their frontier. "The fact is," said the Dewan, "all would go on well if they did not fear that the English would take their country." I then referred as usual to our policy in regard to Nepal, Sikkim and Bhootan, and to the friendship which the Tashi Lama himself cultivated with Warren Hastings, and the friendly action of the latter in building a Buddhist temple on the banks of the Ganges as well as the expenditure which our Government had incurred in repairing the ancient Buddhist temples at Gya. I then said that the Tibetans must surely see in the plan of constructing a road up the Lachen valley a guarantee of our good faith, because if we wanted to invade Tibet our present road by the Jeylep would afford a short and easy route, whereas a road through the Teesta valley and up the Lachen could not possibly be intended for any military purpose. They seemed struck by this, and said that they would do all they could to carry out our policy. They expressed a hope

Tumlong.

Tumlong.

that with the new *regimé* of the Raja living among his own people, and cordial relations between us, all would go well.

After an interview which lasted $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours, and during which we conversed freely and openly, I dismissed these two gentlemen, much impressed with their sagacity, their amiable manners and their love of their little country.

At 2-30 I received the Maharajah's business visit. He came attended by Chanjed, the Lama and the Dewan. As regards Choombi, he said he was willing to do what we pleased, but he hoped that we should allow him to go if his health failed him. The Lama suggested that the experiment might be tried for a term of three or four years. I said that I thought the Lieutenant-Governor would insist on the Raja recognizing that his primary duty lay towards his own State, and that his dignity and influence both within and without it would be enhanced by residence among his own people. I said that a term of four or five years might be fixed, but that, if his health failed, he must try a residence in the high lands of Sikkim, say in Lachen or Lachung, before asking for leave to go to Choombi. He agreed. As regards his Council, he said the Kangsa Dewan was his first man, Purba Dewan his second, Kangsa Tungi (the Dewan's brother) third, and a Tibetan Secretary his fourth, and that he would always consult them. I said this would be approved, and that now that his residence was to be permanently fixed in Sikkim, the question of appointing a representative would not arise. I noticed that my friend the Phodang Lama, the ablest and most powerful of them all, was not mentioned, because he is a priest. He took this as a matter of course, but he did not hesitate to interpose his own remarks during the interview, his keen eye particularly brightening when the question of the Raja's residence at Choombi was mentioned. The question of the stoppage of the trade was then discussed. He said he had sent a representation to Lhasa, to which no reply had yet been received, that he was a small man compared with the Tibetan authorities, but that he would do his utmost to have the stoppage removed. Meanwhile it was repeated that traders were coming and going in spite of

the efforts of the authorities. He agreed to keep up the Lachen route under the treaty, and to continue to keep up the Jeylep road. I then said that Government laid stress upon his travelling about and seeing his own dominions (I believe he has never been to Western Sikkim), and that his influence as well as the happiness of his subjects would thus be increased: and he agreed to do so. Finally, I gave him to understand that, though I could promise nothing definitely, I could say that the increase of the allowance was contingent upon his taking measures to improve the internal administration of his State, and to promote trade and friendly relations between India and Tibet, and that if the Lieutenant-Governor was assured by me of his honest desire to forward these objects, I thought that he would probably take a favourable view of his application.

Tumlong.

I then gave him a sword, and he rose to take his leave. He turned, and placing a scarf in my hands, he asked that the remissness of the Yangtang Kazi and the Gnerpa of Samdong in regard to our journey might be overlooked and forgiven. I at once said that as he had personally interceded for them, the matter would of course be passed over. He and the others expressed much gratification, and wishing us a pleasant journey up the Lachen (regarding which he said a letter had been despatched to the frontier) he took his leave.

TUMLONG, *Sunday, 26th October.*

The rain which began last night was falling in torrents; so, to our great disgust, we had to make up our minds to a further halt of a day. At noon there were signs of a change, and afterwards the sun came out fitfully and enabled us to do something in the way of drying. I sent word to the Dewan and Lama that I should like to have a further talk. When they came we first discussed the Choombi business. I had heard that the journey was always made the occasion of levying a tax, and that this was one of the chief causes of the disfavour with which it was regarded. They said that the ryots of the Crown lands were required to help in carrying the Raja's effects,

Tumlong.

and that the others throughout Sikkim were made to pay Rs. 2 a house, except in cases of great poverty. I said that any future permission to visit Choombi would probably not be given without an assurance that this impost would not be levied. I said that it was very desirable that the Raja's visits hereafter should not be made the occasion of harassment to his own subjects, and that in any case they should not be recognized as an annual institution. Permission to go to Choombi would certainly not be given under any circumstances until the Raja had given some substantial proof of his determination to promote our policy of opening friendly relations with Tibet, and it was probable that the Lieutenant-Governor, if he recommended an increase to the annual allowance, would make the continuance of such increase dependent upon this. I said that everything was in the Raja's own hands. If he took measures for the good of his own people, and loyally helped us by making known our policy and intentions to the Tibetans and trying to bring us together, I thought I could promise that his application for an increase would be favourably considered. We then passed on to speak of the views of the Tibetans themselves in regard to us. Both the Dewan and the Lama had been to Tashilunpo and Lhasa. They said that both the people and the officials were in favour of admitting us, and that the policy of exclusion was enforced by Chinese influence, but, even more, by the influence of the Lamas, who feared that their privileges would be curtailed if the country were opened out. "The people," said the Lama, "are very much harassed and ground down: they would be very glad if you would take the country altogether." I said that he was well aware that we had no such intention. He said he knew this, and that he only meant to emphasize his statement that they were no parties to our exclusion." "The officials at the passes," he said, "would not stop you if they were not afraid of being punished." I pointed out that the monks of Sera and Depung monasteries at Lhasa are themselves great traders. "Yes," he said, "they are; some of them even went down to Calcutta this cold weather: but they want to keep everything in their own hands. The Lamas are great tyrants in Tibet." This part of the interview closed by their promising to do their utmost to

keep the Raja up to his promises of forwarding our policy by every means in his power. I then asked them if they had anything particular to say. The Lama rose and took a scarf in his hands. After compliments he said that the Bhootia Bustee monastery is an offshoot of Phodang (a son), that as he was very busy with the affairs of the Durbar he could not visit it, and that the service was not properly attended to. All this led up to a request that some assistance might be given to it. I saw that he had heard of the stipend given to Sherap Gyatsho at Ghoom, and, as it is clearly our interest to keep so powerful a man our friend, I accepted the scarf (which means that the request will be favourably considered), and said that I would recommend the Lieutenant-Governor to see if something could be done. He also spoke of the land attached to the temple, a part of which had been taken for the wakil's house. I said I would ask Oldham if separate land could be given by the municipality for this purpose (Oldham afterwards said he could manage this). The Lama then sat down, and the Dewan rose with a scarf and went through the same preliminary compliments. He then said that in former days Sikkim was well represented at Darjeeling. First there was Cheboo Lama, an able and distinguished man. Then came Lassoo Kajee, also a leading man, who had lands near Darjeeling, and was thus able to bear the expense. Now they were represented by an inferior and stupid man, the Yangtang Kazi, who also complained that the allowance of Rs. 50 per mensem did not enable him to meet the extra expense. Now that there was to be a new departure and closer relations were to be established, they would like to depute one of their very best men, and they hoped that we should raise the allowance and make it suitable to his rank and expenses. I took the scarf and said that Government would like nothing more than to see Sikkim represented by a really good man who would understand the importance of his post and work cordially for our common interest, and that if the new policy was being carried out, and such a man was sent to assist it, I had no doubt Government would increase the allowance. I said, however, that he, as a man of affairs, would readily understand

Tumlong.

Tumlong.

that before such a step could be taken we must see some substantial advance towards the accomplishment of our wishes and know who would be the delegate. This, like other matters, I said, rested in the Raja's own hands. Let him show his willingness to make a real new departure and to help us, and our Government would not be backward in helping him to place a suitable representative in immediate and constant communication with us. The initiative, however,—and a substantial initiative,—rested with him. The Dewan expressed his satisfaction with this reply. He said that as for Tibet we should soon see that they were really doing something, and that they would hold a council to nominate a suitable representative. I asked him why the Sikkim leaders did not send their children into Darjeeling to be educated. He said they could not pick up English, though he greatly desired it. I got Tendook to describe his wonder and astonishment at his visit to Calcutta. They said they would see if some of the sons of the leading men could not be sent in, and I said that if they would write to me, through Sarat or Tendook, I would see what arrangements could be made. They seemed much pleased.

I then called up the Yangtang Kazi and the Gnerpa of Samdong, and gave them each a robe. I said I wished to show that I had really pardoned them at the Raja's intercession. I said that I could not refuse any such request made at his own capital by the Raja himself, who had shown us so much attention; but that I hoped that they and the other Kazis and officers would see that it was advisable in future to make proper exertions to receive, in the manner which the Maharaja himself would desire, any officer deputed by the Lieutenant-Governor to confer with him. This word in season had been privately suggested to me by the Dewan, and on being translated, caused a visible impression on the individuals addressed, and on the other officials who had joined the circle on these two being called up. I said I was myself sorry that it had been necessary to notice their remissness; but that nothing more would be thought of it. They were both rather dejected when they were called up; but they now beamed with smiles and withdrew.

I continued my confidential talk with the two brothers for some time, and they went away saying that, out of regard for me personally, they would work their best to show some results in regard to Tibet before many months.

Ringun.

RINGUN, *Monday, 27th October.*

Evans and I decided to go to Ringun by the longer road by Tingcham in order to take our ponies with us, Paul and Gordon going on foot over the Mafila. We had sent on some of the coolies the day before. The Dewan and the Lama came to say good-bye as I rode out of camp. We passed over the Phodang monastery and over the village of Rangong. As we were on the inner circle we were soon nearly opposite the junction of the Dikchu and the Teesta below Sillingthang, or rather Radong. We passed above the Gonpa of Dethang. At Namoo the Dingpen Kesong, who accompanied us, pointed out a road which branches off from Mangshi, and by which Tibetan traders from Lachen and Lachung go down to the Dikchu and up to Radong. The view here was very picturesque. On the opposite side of the Teesta we saw Singtam, and in the distance to the north-west the monastery of Giatong. After passing Tingcham, which is now inhabited, we had a terribly hot and trying climb to the spur above the Ron-Ron-Chu, which flows down a valley lined with landslips from the Mafila. At the top we saw the other party moving along a path below and west of a huge landslip near the village of Nampatam. The descent to the Ron-Ron was very difficult, as the black soil was greasy and slippery to the last degree after the rain. After a not very difficult ascent from the Ron-Ron, we found the Tatang Kazi's son waiting with murwa at a place where a most comfortable bench of bamboos had been prepared for us at the top. Thence we rode nearly all the way into Ringun, where we found the tents pitched on an open fallow piece of ground below the monastery. The camping ground was covered with short wormwood, and everything was cheerful and clean.

NANGAMA, *Tuesday, 28th October.*

Choonthang.

Ringun to Nangama. Lovely views from Maling and Simm Mendongs up the Talung Chu with Lingchen monastery on the opposite spur. The Simm Mendong is on the height about 500 feet above Singtam, whence Hooker's view is taken. It was unfortunately snowing at the head of the valley and we could see neither Liklo nor Kinchinjunga. Within a few paces of the point where this view was obtained another is found up the Teesta valley as far as Chakoong, with a part of the Chola snows standing out. At a point beyond Singtam the road became so bad that Evans and I had to send back our ponies. At Sinchik a shed had been erected and the never-failing murwa appeared. My Lama, now known among the servants and coolies as "Lamba Lama," has become quite a character in the camp. He carries my map, field glass, courier bag, &c., and is exclusively responsible that the luncheon cooly is always within hail. He knows the country thoroughly, and he is evidently impressed with the idea that my great ambition is to learn Tibetan. When he is not praying on the march, he amuses himself by telling me the Tibetan names for different objects. His capacity for luncheon is unlimited.

CHOONTHANG (5,070), *Wednesday, 29th October.*

At dawn I was awoke by Furchung, who said that all the Bhootea coolies were bolting. I found that nine had gone. The others complained of heavy loads and double marches and short food. I found that they had had a seer of rice served out at Ringun, but none here. I said they would get what they might want at Choonthang, but they must march on there. After long parleying one man spoke out. I recognized him as one of my dandymen of last year. He said they did not want to behave badly. They only wanted justice, and they knew I would give it. "We will go to Choonthang today anyhow," he said, and took up his load. The others at once followed his example and the difficulty was over. Took a photograph looking west with a bit of the river below, a waterfall opposite and Narsingh looking over the shoulder of K. The march was a very picturesque one. As far as Chakoong

3--THE TEESTA VALLEY FROM NANGAMA, LOOKING SOUTH. NARSING IN DISTANCE.



THE
VALLEY OF
NARSING

TO VIBU
ANSONLIAO



4.—THE TEESTA BETWEEN CHAKOONG AND CHOONTHANG.

it ran in the shade a little above the river, of which we got some grand views as it boiled along a rapid descent. At Chakoong (4,400) there is a flat. We marched on sometimes above the river, sometimes in the bed, till we reached a lovely piece of shade in the bed of the river under a cliff near the Ong-chu. Here we lunched and took a photograph. After crossing the Ong-chu we reached the Ryott-chu. On the flat between it and the river was a fine grove of small timber that looked like cover for pheasants. At length we reached the junction and could look on the Lachen and the Lachung in reality. After we had crossed the Lachung by a new bridge of fresh cut trees, the Lama of the Choonthang monastery met us with cymbals and trumpets, and escorted Gordon, Evans and myself to the Gonpa.

Choonthang.

The Gonpa is a picturesque little structure, which has been re-established within the last year or two. It has a fine image of the deity of the Diamond Sow (Dorjee Phagmo) over the altar. This deity is supposed to be the wife of Tamdin, a terrible form assumed by Chenressig when he is subduing demons. The monks first chanted a prayer of welcome, the Lama leading in a grand bass voice, and then, at my request, another prayer, which turned out to be a prayer for our long life. Meanwhile we were seated on carpets drinking murwa. It appeared that the Lama had just returned from Tashilunpo, where he had seen our friend the Minister. He said that there were reports of the Tashi Lama having appeared near Shigatse, some said in Shang, some said in Tanak, but that nothing was settled about it. The Lama is a cousin of Ugyen and a distinguished student of Pemiongchi. He seemed very intelligent, and I saw that he would be a useful friend. I said that I would present Rs. 50 to the monastery because I had heard that he was a friend to us, and I believed he would continue to be so. He was very grateful, and said he would serve us faithfully, and that whenever we wished to communicate with Shigatse he would guarantee that our letter would be conveyed there. As regards our journey, he had only heard of it on his arrival two days before, and thinking we should go by Lachung, had given orders regarding that road.

Lachung.

The Lachen people had not yet come down, and he feared the bridges had not been repaired, but he would at once despatch men to do the work.

Sir Joseph Hooker says that the Tibetan frontier was originally at Choonthang, and that it was moved back up the Lachen, first to Zemu Samdong, then to Tallum Samdong, and then to the Kongra Lama pass. I suspect the Tibetans never cared for this low-lying damp spot.

Gave the coolies each a glass of rum, except four of the ringleaders in the morning's disturbance. These were made to stand aside, and see the others get their dram poured into the wooden cups, which each produced from his bosom. I called the faithful dandywalla up first, and gave him a rupee and a double tot of rum. Rain at night.

LACHUNG (8,790), *Thursday, 30th October.*

The first thing this morning I enquired about the Lachen road. The Lama had sent men with torches last night, and the report was that the bridges would take some days to repair. With much regret I was thus compelled to deviate from my plan of seeing the Lachen first and only doing the Lachung if we could get across at the head or had time to spare. It would be useless to waste time at Choonthang waiting for the repairing of the bridges while the Lachung road was open, and there was a chance of getting across the Sebu La. So I gave the order to proceed up the Lachung. The Lama said we could not go as far as Lachung in one day, but I offered the coolies double pay if they would do it, and they started as cheerfully as possible. The Lama paid me a visit and brought a fine old image of Tara, the divine mother, and a China cup with brass saucer and cover. He said he would send off a special messenger at once to Kambajong to tell the Jongpen to come down to meet me and would himself go up the Lachen to make preparations. I think I did well in making a friend of him. Several people suffering from goitre were brought to me, and I gave them biniodide of mercury out of the medicine



5.—VIEW IN LACHUNG VALLEY, LOOKING SOUTH.

chest Dr. Cowie made up for me, and told their friends to rub it in in the sun.

Lachung.

The morning was fresh and clear after the rain. Just beyond the camp we were shown a chhorten at the foot of which a stone bearing a foot-print of a holy Lama was built in. The road first runs for a couple of miles up the west bank. It then crosses by a plank bridge below the cane bridge where Hooker lost his dog. From this point a sharp rise brings us to the flat on which Keadum stands. In the flat one gets the first glimpse of the snows at the head of the valley. We sat in the shade of a house at Keadum, and I saw the young Tateng Kazi speak to a man in red who disappeared suddenly round the corner. I said in Hindustani, "Is that the Mundle?" without any idea beyond curiosity. "Yes," said the Kazi, "but he did not know your Honor was coming; he has now gone *to fetch it.*" 'It' turned out to be murwa! and what was much better, some peaches which, though they had little flavour, were very palatable, as, like everything out of the sun in this lovely valley, they were cold as ice. A charming little lass with laughing eyes also brought us some cucumbers. Beyond Keadum the road again crosses the Lachung by a plank bridge, and from this point it is as easy as possible, passing over patches of turf and through groves of oak and rhododendron. We were all in raptures with the beauty of the scene, with the russet grass on the moraines of the west bank, the magnificent forest on the east bank, with autumn tints of yellow, brown, and purple of all shades, the glorious red cockscomb thickly sprinkled among patches of rich yellow millet, the patches of red virginian creeper scattered, here among the dark green pine woods, there among the grey rocks, the whole crowned on each side with snow. Behind us the Tukcham range closed the valley and showed snow on the trees down to quite 8,000 on the west and north flanks. Before us up the valley glistened Changokang and above and around him was the blue that seems the special property of the mysterious land beyond the snows. The air got clearer and crisper as we got higher. At length we reached Lachung with most of the coolies at sunset. The camp was being pitched on a flat west of the river. The

Yeumthang.

village consists of about 50 houses built on substantial stone platforms, and the greater part of it is on the east bank. As we sat round the fire waiting vainly for tea, which had been left behind, the Phipun brought murwa and yak's milk. The latter was most delicious, like light cream. The Phipun gave us the first orthodox Tibetan salutation we had received, putting out his tongue and almost touching his feet with his hat which he held in both hands. A bitter wind came down the valley, and as we waited for dinner we all curled ourselves up in our posteens and fell asleep. It was 9-30 when we were informed that the kitchen things were nearly all with the few coolies who had been left behind, and that we had to dine off tinned soup, sausages, patè de foie, Californian fruits and yak's milk, with knives, forks, and *one teaspoon!*

YEUMTHANG (11,920), *Friday, 31st October.*

We were late in leaving Lachung, as arrangements had to be made for ponies and also for yaks which would carry up firewood from Yeumthang to Momay Samdong and take the place of such coolies as had no snow shoes. The ponies were sturdy little things with very short bridles and small high-peaked Tibetan saddles. The stirrups were broad and comfortable. It was useless to try to guide the ponies with such bridles; but they were very clever and sure-footed. At Yakcha the road takes the valley to the left. Magnificent pines here of great height and girth, many yellow. Are these a separate kind, or are they only autumn-tinted? The other valley (of the Sebuchu) leads to the Ghora La. The view up it was magnificent, as it seemed to lead to a complete amphitheatre of snow. Paul had used both the plates that were in the slide at Lachung in the morning, so that we could not get a picture. At the Ponie-chu there is a lovely flat with the "Pulpit Rock" rising quite 3,000 feet sheer on the right, Gnaream looking very grand and white in the distance in front, and the Tankra (18,750) bathed in sunlight on the left, all covered with snow. We found snow lying in patches at 10,700, and as we continued to ascend through fir, larch and rhododendrons, and over one or two moraines, we found it

6.—CAMP AT LACHUNG, LOOKING NORTH.





7.—YEUMTHANG, SUMMER QUARTERS OF LACHUNG VALLEY (11,920).

thicker on the ground. From about 11,200 it was continuous and covered the floor of the forest fully a foot deep. The road after the fine day was sloppy and wet in consequence. Opposite a flat called Chachusah (hot-water place) we saw on the opposite bank the hot springs which are covered with a roof on the east bank, but we did not cross the bridge to see them, as evening was closing in. A few hundred yards further we came to the flat on which Yeumthang stands. Everything was covered with snow, and the houses had been locked up and left by the yakherds, who had gone down to Lachung. We took possession of one, made another over to the servants, while the coolies scattered themselves among the rest. While we were making our arrangements the yaks arrived and were picketed in the snow. They were a very picturesque sight. We had a fine fire in what may be called the ante-room, but we made none in the room we occupied ourselves, as it would have soon brought down water from the foot of snow that was lying on the roof. The sides of the house we hung with waterproof sheets to keep out the wind.

Lachung.

LACHUNG, *Saturday, 1st November.*

It froze hard last night, and the water in the tumblers even in the room in which the four of us slept was frozen hard. The morning was glorious and the glistening snow as hard as a board. Magnificent glacier coming down very low on the other side of the river. The Lachung men volunteered to try to get to Momay Samdong with us, but they said the attempt would probably fail and that we should certainly not be able to get to the Donkia La. The fact that snow was about 18 inches deep at Yeumthang (11,920), and that it softened as the day advanced, showed that there was reason in this. The Darjeeling coolies, with the exception of two, declined to go up, some on the ground that they had no snow shoes, some on the ground that they had nothing to protect their eyes from the glare. The Lachung men, on the other hand, were found to be only 32 in number, and, as it would therefore be hopeless in any case to try to cross the Sebu La into the Phallung valley, I determined not to jeopardize the Lachen visit by further delay, and gave the order to return to Lachung. I got a very good photograph

Lachung.

of the snow-covered flat of Yeumthang with the yaks in the snow and the corner of Donkia looking over the shoulder of the bend up to Momay. While I was absent the Darjeeling and Lachung men had a row (the former being the aggressors), and word was sent to me. I found that Gordon had only just saved one of the former, who had assaulted the old Phipun with a stick, from being beaten to death. In the object which I saw sitting dejectedly near the fire in the ante-room of our hut I recognized with grim satisfaction the ringleader of the mutineers at Nangama. A present of a bottle of rum to the Phipun and an order publicly given that the two ringleaders (the second had also tried to promote the escape from Nangama) should be dismissed at Choonthang settled the matter. On our return Gordon and I crossed the river to visit the hot spring. The Kazi, the Lama and Dadji jumped right into the basin in the hut about 8×6 and 3 feet deep and began to drink freely. We tasted the fluid, which was like a mixture of bad eggs and hot water. I resisted the Kazi's entreaties to wash in it and drink freely of it and thus be young for ever. He said it was better than any doctor's medicine. Above the hut there is a cleft whence the stream issues. Smoke was coming out of it and the rock was coated with a salt sulphurous powder. Within 10 feet is an icy cold rivulet. The bridge across the Lachung was very ricketty and had no rail. It was made in the usual fashion of these large plank bridges, the centre span resting and lashed to two others which project upwards.

We could enjoy the view down the valley better than we had been able to do on the up journey. At Ponie flat we waited for the photographic apparatus and got a picture. We could not, however, take in the magnificent Pulpit Rock on the right, as it rose too sheer from the flat. We lunched at the south end of the flat on the bank of the Ponie-Chu. Our Lachung men, who were attending the ponies, begged hard for our bottles. I gave my attendant, a particularly shrewd good-humoured good-looking fellow, a tot of whisky, which he forthwith divided with the others to their great satisfaction, so I gave a larger supply. After lunch we offered them some Pilsener beer. The Lama tried it first, but at once pulled a wry face and spat it out. The others took it

religiously, because it was drink, but they evidently thought it very poor stuff. When we reached Lachung the sun was nearly setting. I counted 110 yaks on the hillside to the west. They were being driven down for the night, and the way the more lively ones came down the steep slopes at a run, larking with one another, was very amusing. While the tents were being pitched, we challenged the village to "put" a heavy stone, and beat them easily, the best of the Lachung men being a bad third. Then Paul and Gordon each picked a man for a match at spear throwing. They did capitally and got each a tot of rum.

Choonthang.

CHOONTHANG, *Sunday, 2nd November.*

This morning at Lachung I went after a flock of snow-pigeons and got three. A shikari, who has attached himself to us, remarked to me, after I got a right and left, that I should kill a great number if I would only fire at them sitting. This piece of information is the only service he has yet rendered in any capacity. Afterwards the Phipun came with the villagers to pay their salaams and present a sheep, a basket of red potatoes and some most excellent butter. I gave him in return two bottles of Exshaw for himself, and Rs. 20 for the general benefit. Much lolling out of tongues and salaaming followed. I then had a long talk with him about trade. He said very few through traders from Tibet to Darjeeling passed that way, as the Donkia is a bad pass, and it is easier to go by the Lachen. He said all the Lachung people generally go to Tibet twice a year. They have not yet been this year because cattle disease has been specially bad in Tibet, but they mean to go next month as soon as the snow has melted and hardened. They will take timber (shing) (I saw many trees cut into planks by the roadside), tchen (Paharia "Manjit") (a creeper which gives a red dye) and some cinnamon, to Shigatse and Gyantse. I saw baskets of tchen made up as loads. They get Rs. 5 a load for tchen at Shigatse. They will fetch back tea (cha), salt (tcha), wool (pe), blankets (nambu), some pottery (tamoo), sheep (lug) and goats (rha). Some may take sheep and wool to Darjeeling *direct* from Gyantse by Phari and the Jeylep, and will fetch back to Lachung

Choonthang.

tobacco, raw Assam silk and copper vessels. Others will go down from Lachung into Sikkim with Tibetan salt, which they sell as far as Garh and Lingmo, and will fetch back Indian-corn, murwa and rice. I find that the Lachung people do not go to Darjeeling *via* Tankra pass and Choombi as I have heard said. The Phipun said the Tankra pass is very difficult. I asked if they bought no cutlery from Darjeeling (showing my knife) or piece-goods or tea. He said they had not money enough for cutlery, much as they would like it, that they had no need of piece-goods, and that Darjeeling tea was not so wholesome as China brick tea.

The people of Lachung and Lachen are called Ha-Pa, the tradition being that they migrated from a tract called Ha in the north of Bhootan. They are more like Tibetans than the Hlo-Pa (south people) or Bhooteas of Sikkim. Tibetans proper are called Bod-pa (pronounced Peu-pa). I found that the Phipun of Sir Joseph Hooker's time was killed by a fall from a tree. The Raja appoints a man every year. The present man was appointed three years ago. The Phipun has no allowances, but he has a great deal of authority, as we clearly saw. He says the revenue paid to the Raja is a seer of butter for each milch yak, and a blanket and a seer of salt for each house. He says the Raja is a good man, but they are worried by his officers, who come round each autumn to collect the revenue, and by the Pagla Dewan. It appears that the former fetch and the latter sends brick tea and other articles to be disposed of at some fixed price which has to be made good.

Paul took two photographs of the village and moraines with a group. I particularly wished to get in the moraines, as Sir Joseph Hooker describes them so fully, and I hoped to send him a photograph to compare with his own picture of Lachung and to remind him of the place.

Started at about 10 o'clock for Choonthang. Found larch at 8,000. (Blandford says he first noticed it above Lachung at 10,000.) Glorious views across the valley, the fir trees



8.—LACHUNG VILLAGE, WITH ANCIENT MORAINES ABOVE.

interspersed with yellow-leaved trees and enlaced in places with virginian creeper. At about a mile and a half below Lachung we came to a flat called Tamchi. Right across the valley was a grand pine-clad gorge flanked on both sides by high terraced moraines and backed by snowy peak east of the Tankra pass. Westward was an open rocky valley flanked also by high moraines and backed by snowy heights. Below this we came to the Bichu flowing between high moraines. The southernmost is the great moraine which closes the view down the valley from Lachung. Just under this great moraine was some fallow ground at a place called Lema. Lunched at the stream below this (7,950). Further on was Leuten, where two or three out of half a dozen huts were inhabited by yakherds. Splendid pasture. Next Danga and Habla Chu. Then the flat of Beumo. Below this, after a rather steep descent, the road crossed the Lachung by two plank bridges. After a couple of hundred yards it descends abruptly to the Tibichu just under Keadum. At Keadum visited a curious little temple with all sorts of images of Buddha carved in the stones and then painted over. Below Keadum came to cane bridge where Sir Joseph Hooker lost Kinchin. Most of the coolies crossed by it. About 250 yards further down a good tree bridge had been made for us. I was sorry we had used both our dry plates at Lachung, as I should have liked to take a photograph of the bridge for Hooker. While resting on the east side of the bridge (6,025) we saw our presentation sheep from Lachung, which a man had been driving with much difficulty, appear at the top of the notched bamboo that led down to the river. After much struggling and coaxing the man took the sheep on his back bodily and carried him down. I sent Lamba Lama across to help him in negotiating the bridge. The Lama held the rope while the man took the sheep up by the fleece and lifted him step by step, the sheep lying down each time with his feet between the branches which formed the bridge. In the middle, where the bridge was shaky, operations came to a standstill, when suddenly Furchung appeared. He at once seized the sheep by the fleece of the back with his two hands and carried him in front of him right over the bridge, and across the boulders on the west bank—a splendid

Choonthang.

Latong.

feat of strength, which we duly applauded. Reached Choonthang at about 5.

LATONG, *Monday, 3rd November.*

The Lama of Choonthang brought news this morning that some 20 Lachen men had been to Kambajong and back for trade, and that the road in the upper valley was thus evidently open. He said the special messenger whom he had sent would reach Kambajong to-morrow, and that he had himself made arrangements for repairing the bridges and clearing the road to Lamteng. We started at about 9 up the Lachen. About a mile and a half beyond Choonthang, after marching for some way on the rocks below the east bank, we crossed by a fine new plank bridge. Then we had a terrific scramble up about 400 feet to the Tumlong flat. The first part of the ascent was up notched bamboos, and the remainder was so steep that one had to hold on by the shrubs at the side. At some corners the path overhung the roaring river, and a false step must have been fatal. On the flat were a few huts, but apparently none were inhabited. A couple of hundred yards further on the road descended to the river. In one place we had to scramble across a sort of bridge (without handrails), which led over a precipice on the side of the hill—very ticklish work indeed. The road then lay in the bed of the river and led immediately to what seemed to be a huge moraine coming down a valley from the snowy peak marked K. The boulders were terrific. At the extreme north end we came to a small stream with a very sharp gradient called the Phinchu. In flood, however, it must be a terrific torrent, as the evidence of its operations showed. The stream must have been blocked up and diverted by the boulders, for it had turned nearly north and cut clean through the spur which divided it from the Lachen, throwing a huge mass with trees still growing on it aside like a plaything. It must then have carried down such a quantity of matter as to force the Lachen over to the east bank, for we found the river bed studded with trees, which had ceased to put forth leaves, but were still struggling bravely with the stream. Meanwhile, the obstruction had made the Lachen cut in on its west bank with its backwater, and we saw



9.—YAMDO CHU RIVER IN THE LACHEN VALLEY.

THE
MOUNTAIN

some yards out in the stream the remains of piles which, when Harman was here (so the Dingpen's brother said), formed the supports of a gallery along the steep bank. We were told that the cataclysm occurred about seven years ago, and that the changes in the channels had been going on ever since. I should have liked to get a photograph, but could not get a view taking in the whole scene.

Lamteng.

From this point the road ran for some miles partly over the rocks at the water's edge, partly over level ground through forest. We lunched at the Yelchu. Further on we passed many berbery and walnut trees and *tipsi* trees (acid dwarf apples). We saw also wild buckwheat. The Latong flat was overgrown with rank grass and scrub jungle, and the huts were apparently deserted. There was some turnip cultivation, and a woman disposed of some to our men. The turnips were smaller than the Lachung ones, but of the same red colour. About half a mile further we came to the Yamdo Chu fed entirely by a magnificent waterfall. We timed the fall of the water from the top, and found it to be 6 to $6\frac{1}{2}$ seconds. The waterfall came from a deep cleft in the rock under the forest, and we could see two small falls, each ending in a cup above the great drop. In flood it must be a magnificent sight. The rock had been fluted out all down its course, and at the foot the rebound had hollowed it out quite 20 feet above the water as we saw it. I waited for the camera and tried two pictures, one of 6 and the other of 10 seconds' exposure; but as the glen was gloomy and heavy clouds were about, I am afraid they will come to nothing. Half a mile further we crossed the Lachen by a good plank bridge, about 30 yards below the old cane bridge, and found camp being pitched at 6,950 feet. Room for three tents above and two below.

LAMTENG (8,880), *Tuesday, 4th November.*

Ground covered with hoar frost at Latong this morning. Started at about 9 o'clock. Road rises with bamboo ladders and platforms, and then descends to the Takroom river (7,400), which takes its rise on the west side of the snowy mountain, with peaks which we noticed from the Lachung

Lamteng.

valley south-west of the Pulpit Rock. The river is almost a waterfall, and is said to carry away the plank bridge every year. Enormous boulders. After this the road ascends steeply, and then descends to the Lachen, which is crossed by a cane bridge. Then comes an ascent of 300 feet, and then the ordinary ups and downs, crossing the Pen Chu (Lepcha "Tulung") or Frog river and the Chaka Chu, wooden platforms being in places built along the face of the precipice where the ledge of rock fails. From the Pen Chu a very steep ascent then leads to the top of the Chateng spur, but by this time we have come to pines and grass, and the work is easy. Lovely view south, with the river below, glorious pine forests rising on either side (with less colour interspersed than on the Lachung valley), and the snowy peak of Gnaream in the distance closing the view.

Clouds covered Gnaream before the camera came up. From Chateng we descend in order to circumvent two spurs with lovely *Abies Smithiana*, and then mount rapidly. At the head of the ascent I found the Lachen Phipun with carpets spread and boiling buttered tea ready. Further on, I met the ex-Phipun (and actual headman) of the valley, who presented a scarf and gave me more tea. We then turned a corner, and saw the village of Lamteng nestling under Tukcham or D 3. I got a photograph. The ex-Phipun, Kunchuk by name, then asked us to go to his house to drink tea. Scarlet cloth was spread on the ground for 20 paces from the door, and then through the house, and up the notched plank that served for a stair into the reception room. Here a divan of Kamba rugs was spread beside a low table, on which were four cups. We heard churning going on outside, and then our host appeared with a huge tea-pot from which he poured most delicious buttered tea. Ugyen (who was given a separate seat) said grace, and then we drank, I am afraid to say how many bowls of tea. The evening was very cold, and the hot tea extremely grateful. Barley flour was meanwhile brought in and placed before me, and Ugyen proceeded to show us the use of it by making a fine ball of dough with the flour and tea. Evans and I made good attempts; Gordon and Paul hideous viscous messes. This represents the cake

10.—LAMTENG VILLAGE, HEAD-QUARTERS OF LACHEN VALLEY (8,900).



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11.—SIRCHUM, IN LACHEN VALLEY (11,200), WITH CHOMIOMO TO RIGHT.

of these tea parties. Next appeared the head Lama of the monastery with *his* teapot, and a request that I would take tea with him. I did so accordingly to the tune of two bowls. I then thanked our host and the Lama (who both put out their tongues several inches), and declining the offer of the former that we should take possession of the house, we returned to our tents. Later on the Lamas of the monastery came with a sheep and a teapot, and after some conversation I gave them ten rupees, a present which led to the utmost protrusion of tongue that they could manage. We had also some talk with the ex-Phipun about Sir Joseph Hooker. He says he was a child when Hooker was here (being now 43). His father was Phipun. I asked him if any one had ever been to the top of Tukcham. He said Hooker had tried, but he had gone alone. The ex-Phipun had been to Talung monastery, and there saw a small brass chorten over the ashes of the father of the present Raja. Did not notice others. Edgar's Raja's corpse was burnt and not taken to Talung. The bodies are *not* embalmed, but burnt. Freezing hard as we went to bed.

*Tallum
Samdong.*

TALLUM SAMDONG (11,480), *Wednesday, 5th November.*

Everything frozen at Lamtang this morning. Gave out medicines to some people before we started; also gave money to some monks from Shiyari monastery in Tibet, who are collecting subscriptions for its repairs. They asked me to sign the subscription list and put my seal to it. An hour's march or so took us to Zemu Samdong (8,970), the second frontier of Tibet. Met many women (very buxom and simple) with yaks fetching down household goods to Lamtang for the winter. The bridge across the Zemu rests on a huge boulder and only one-half is ever carried away. From the Zemu there is a rise of about 1,000 feet to a grassy flat with a small lake, and then again a point above, whence the road up the Lachen trends away along the side of the hill. Road very good. As we rested at the top we had a superb view of Tukcham (19,200) which was due south of us on the other side of the Zemu. Great snow-fields and two fine glaciers, with masses of broken green ice. At Zemugal some wooden huts of yakherds. Phipun brought

*Tallum
Samdong.*

present of delicious yak milk, and I shot two snow-pigeons. Further on view of Birrum river coming down from the east between magnificent cliffs to join the Lachen. At Praimkar found ponies and rode. At Pangri found Tibetan traders with two tents, taking down lambskins and blankets to Darjeeling. About a mile further on, took bearings of a fine snowy peak, which the people called Migdeh, 77 degrees; Chomiomo up the valley, 352. At Sirhum¹ (11,200) got photograph above flat with Chomiomo in distance. The nomad Dopas here had prepared buttered tea and boiled potatoes, of which Gordon and I partook. While we sat on Kamba rugs drinking tea, I saw a pretty little girl in the crowd with incipient goitre, and told her mother to fetch her to the camp tomorrow morning. Two wandering mendicant Tibetan monks from Takarchen near Sakye sang a hymn with double drums. A man and his wife sang and danced to a fiddle, which I promptly bought for Rs. 2. Arrived at Tallum Samdong, the third frontier of Tibet, at about 5. At Kunchuk's suggestion decided to remain. Tents pitched on fine flat above river. Took photograph looking south. Afterwards sent for Kunchuk to my tent, and had a long talk with him and Sarat Baboo. He expressed great wonder at the Tantalus, and suggested that it should be sent in as a present to the Tashi Lama's tomb. If he has not been found it would be placed among his relics; if he has, it would be kept for him. He then surprised me by saying that the present would be appreciated as coming from Her Majesty's representative, the Governor of Bengal, as she is considered in Tibet to be the incarnation of Tara, the divine mother, who is the tutelary deity of the line of the Tashi Lamas or Penchen Rimboochay. He said every one in Tibet knows of the pearl necklace which Warren Hastings sent in to Penchen Rimboochay. He took it to Peking, and presented it to the Emperor Kien Lun, who was so delighted that he gave him a seat beside his own, and gave the Tashi Lamas a position and dignity which even the Talé Lamas envy. He said people now say that it was sent to Penchen Rimboochay by his tutelary deity. I was much struck on hearing all this said spontaneously by this simple mountaineer. It shows how traditions spread and last among people who have

12.--TALLUM SAMDONG, WITH LACHEN TO RIGHT, LOOKING SOUTH (11,480).



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13.- TUNGU, SUMMER QUARTERS OF LACHEN VALLEY (12,750).

little contact with the outer world. As regards the road, he said the people would be delighted to have one, as they are now cut off from Sikkim from the end of the 4th to the end of the 9th month. If a road, open all the year, was made, this valley would be the high road of Tibetan trade, as the Kongra Lama pass is only closed for a few days twice a year, and even then not effectually closed. Traders, he said, prefer this route not only because it is more direct, but also because no duties are levied as at Phari. (No doubt, however, if the trade developed, duties would be started at Kambajong also.) He said trade had already much increased during the last two or three years to his knowledge, and, indeed, we had evidence ourselves that the Tibetans were ready to take the earliest opportunity of going down as soon as the road was open. He then made a curious remark that the only drawback to our taking the valley would be the question of pasture, as they understood that very little pasture was reserved at Darjeeling. I explained that we had no idea of taking an inch of land from Sikkim and Tibet, and that, indeed, one of the objects of the Lieutenant-Governor in sending me in to see the Maharajah was to make him even a greater man than before in his own country. At this he salaamed profusely and put out his tongue with evident satisfaction. I learned from him that there are about 80 families in the Lachen valley. If a murder or very serious offence were committed, the culprit would be taken to the Maharajah either at Tumlong or at Choombi. Never knew a murder to be committed. Cases of theft are investigated by the elders headed by the Phipun. If found guilty, the culprit is flogged by the Mangpá. Hard frost at night and high north wind.

*Siphu Rocks
above Tungu.*

SIPHU ROCKS ABOVE TUNGU (13,600), *Thursday, 6th November.*

Went with gun over the crackling ice, and got a snow-pigeon. The woman I spoke to yesterday brought her child, and I gave her some biniodide of mercury. She was very grateful and at once set about applying it. We started at about 9 and arrived at Tungu in thick snow and through blinding glare at about 12. Glare was intolerable on the

Giagong.

flat on which the village (all houses empty) lies; so we went on to the southerly face of hill above, which is nearly free of snow. After lunch, saw some *tar* far up on the mountain above us. I went up 1,200 or 1,300 feet after them, but had to go to windward and saw 15 of them, splendid beasts, make off over the crest out of range. Took a photograph of the village after I came down, including the huge rock which Hooker considers must have dropped through a crevice in the glacier which once filled the valley. Marched on about a mile to the Siphu Rocks. Hopeless to get coolies on further. Tents pitched on snow a foot thick under shelter of rocks. Tibetans went in and danced war-dance on the snow, headed by Kunchuk, the Phipun and Furchung, and gradually reduced it to hard surface. Then laid juniper branches; then pitched tents. Fireplace dug in the middle. I focussed a photograph in the snow, and left Sarat to take it. Icicles from rocks close to my tent. One quite 12 inches in diameter. Keen frost and lovely view in the moonlight of the mountain which forms the south-east pillar of the gate of the Phallung valley covered with snow.

GIAGONG (15,700), *Saturday, 8th November.*

Two days' diary to write. Started at 9 yesterday for Giagong with Kunchuk and Furchung. Crossed Lachen after about 300 yards; then approached great moraine. Everything frozen and snow three feet deep on both sides of the path. At one point Furchung suddenly called my attention to a pair of huge footprints going due west from the track towards the Hlonok range, and visible for a long way across the snow. He said these were the footprints of wild men who live in the snow. Kunchuk said the same, and they both told me that the wild men are covered with hair and that people never travel alone at night in the valley for fear of them. They are never seen, however, but are only heard. There is the same idea all over Sikkim. The footprints were certainly remarkable, very large and very broad, quite twice the size of a man's. I suppose they were a bear's. After crossing the first part of the moraine, we came to the last trees we saw, apparently stunted willow and rhododendron. Asked Kunchuk, whom I had christened the Duke

14.—CAMP AT SIPHU ROCKS, ABOVE TUNGU (13,600).



TO VNU
ABRORUAD



15.—CHOMIOMO (22,290) AND GLACIER.

of Westminster, because he seemed to be far the richest man in the valley, about how many sheep and yaks he owned. He said about 5,000 sheep and 500 yaks. At Chomiom Chu we got a magnificent view of Chomiomo (22,290), with precipices of solid ice above black cliffs hung with gigantic icicles and a stupendous glacier broken into a sea of blocks coming down between the main mass and a more southerly peak. Paul took a photograph. As we went on up the valley I suddenly saw (11-30 A.M.) a curious effect of the sunlight to the east on the snow-field on the ridge of hills between the Phallung and Lachen valleys. There was a pink light running on either side from mauve to purple and then blue. One would have fancied it was sunset instead of midday. I called the attention of the others to it, and we watched it till it disappeared in a few minutes. Further on, we had a grand view of Kinchinjow (22,509). It looks a square mass like Chomiomo, with top covered with ice hundreds of feet in thickness. Below ice, perpendicular precipices of black rock, then snow fields, one of which was traversed by a great crack which seemed to point to a gigantic avalanche about to occur. Met Tibetan traders going to Darjeeling with wool, blankets, and brick-tea. Arrived at Sittong, where found planks cut, brought up from below, ready for export to Tibet. Decided to push on to Giagong. Arrived at flat under Giagong (keeping Lachen flowing under ice on right) at about 6 o'clock. Small bare patch here under a snow drift. Saw some Tibetans on spur ahead of us. Four of them brought dried cowdung and made a small fire, which lasted only a few minutes and was quite useless. Intense frost; moustache frozen. Walked up and down to keep ourselves alive. Paul done up. When night closed in, I proposed going back to meet coolies. Gordon declared Paul unable, and proposed going up to Tibetans. I went back with Furchung to meet coolies, but, after a couple of hundred yards, we got off the track and nearly up to our necks in snow. I was glad to scramble back on to the track, and at Furchung's entreaty returned to the patch of bare ground where the others were. Prospect of spending night walking up and down. Boots frozen hard. Nothing in luncheon basket but some tinned oat-cakes, a paté de foie, a couple of glasses of whisky and

Giagong.

Giagong.

a bottle of green Chartreuse. No light. At last heard hallooing, but only the Sikkim Dingpen and Denzing arrived to say that the coolies had thrown themselves on the ground at Sittong and declined to move. Servants had fallen several times and said they would die. At about 10 o'clock saw lanterns gleaming across the snow, and five coolies (heavily bribed by Sarat) arrived with some firewood and our wraps. Lighted blazing fire and settled down round it, Furchung warming my snow shoes and taking off my frozen boots. Spread our waterproof sheets on the ground with our feet to the fire. Old Phipun Kuncluk behaved like brick, and wrapped me up splendidly. Gave them and coolies the bottle of Chartreuse, and heard them smacking their lips over it before they curled themselves up altogether to keep themselves alive during the night. Moon rose over Kinchinjow. Wind coming down the pass cut through posteens and blankets. No sleep for bitter cold. Watched the icy crest of Kinchinjow gleaming in the moonlight lying on my back on snow—different from prospect from Darjeeling.

Turned out early this morning, others declining to move. Here we are right through the Himalayas and on the true Tibetan plateau, with Kinchinjow and Chomiomo, the two icy sentinels of the Lachen pass, actually south of us. The coolies came up gradually. Paul took a photograph. After tea, Evans and I went for a stroll to frontier. Stroll turned out to be over a mile, over frozen Lachen, and then through deep snow in places over our knees. Grand view of green ice on northern crest of Kinchinjow. Saw that what appears to be snowy top is firm ice, as sun shone upon it. At frontier found Dingpen and his men, who had slept under rock on spur. Dingpen gave me a scarf. I said I had no desire to be disagreeable, but that I had come to meet a man of suitable rank. He made a suitable apology for want of preparation. Said yaks with tents for me had started, but been delayed by heavy snow. He said he had every reason to expect the Jongpen today, and I said I would remain to-day, and then decide whether I should go on to Kambajong or not. I asked him if he had any objection to our spending the day, and going a few miles



16.—GIAGONG (15,700), WHERE WE SLEPT OUT. ARRIVAL OF COOLIES NEXT MORNING (8TH NOVEMBER 1884).

TO VIND
ABSTRACT

towards Cholamoo lake and back. He said I was master and could go if I liked, but that his throat would be cut if I went. I told him about Hooker. He said Hooker's Dingpen had had his throat cut. I said I knew that was all fudge, but that I had no idea of putting him into trouble, and would wait to see if the Jongpens arrived. He *salaamed* profusely and put out his tongue. As we turned back to camp, his men pointed to yaks in the snow coming down the Kongra Lama, and said they were the Jongpens. After return to camp and breakfast, began to prepare presents. Saw yaks deploying on spur in distance, and heard officials had arrived. Their black yak-hair tents were pitched in the snow some way north of ours. At 4 o'clock I sent word that I was ready to receive them. Heard Monk Jongpen unwell, and only other had come. Received them in my tent; rugs spread for Jongpen, Dingpen (who has button on his hat) and two others on left, Evans, Paul and Gordon on right. Jongpen had hat like Raja of Sikkim and large white glass button from China. At entrance to tent the Jongpen produced presents of two rugs, four goats, nine sheep, barley-flour, eggs, &c., and he gave me a scarf, the Dingpen giving to others. I motioned them to sit, and tea and brandy were produced and discussed. I then asked his position. He explained that he was an officer of the third class as his button showed, and had full powers of Jongpen in absence of his chief, who is Chanjed Nup, and treasurer of the Tashi Lama at Shigatse. Then, in accordance with etiquette, the Sikkim Dingpen asked him the cause of the delay in his arrival. He explained that the delay was caused by his colleague's sickness and the fact that many of their yaks were employed elsewhere, and he begged that I would excuse him. I said that the explanation was sufficient. He then asked the customary questions regarding our journey and so forth; but he still seemed nervous and constrained. I went on to ask questions about the Minister, Singchen Rimboochay, whose reputation for wisdom and enlightenment was well known to the Government of India. I also asked him about the late Tashi Lama or Penchen Rimboochay, and enquired when his successor would be found. He said that it was believed that the child had been found, but that it would take some time before the ceremonies of identification could be completed. I then said that I wished

Giagong.

Giagong.

him to take charge of a letter from me to the Minister, Singchen Rimboochay, and of some presents for him. He said he was very sorry he could not do this, as it was not the custom for the Tibetan authorities to receive letters from, or send letters to, the British authorities. I pointed out that the letter and presents were mere matters of courtesy and signs of the respect of the British Government for the character and position of the Minister, and I said that, as a previous Governor-General and a previous Penchen had been on terms of intimate correspondence, the present Governor-General was naturally interested in what concerned Tibet, and wished that his officers and the Minister should be on terms of friendly correspondence. I urged that the mere fact that I had asked him to take charge of them instead of proposing to cross the frontier myself showed that we sought nothing more than friendly intercourse. Still he was obdurate, and said he could not act contrary to custom. The position was extremely critical. If I accepted this refusal, all attempts to open correspondence would end with our interview, all our trouble would be fruitless, and all hope of a substantial advance must be abandoned. On the other hand I knew that if I could only induce him to take charge of the things in the name of his master, Tibetan politeness would necessitate a reply being sent, and, from what I had heard from Sarat of the character of the Minister, I had every reason to hope that the reply would be a cordial one. I thought I saw a plan for placing my friend on the horns of a dilemma. I asked him if he had the authority of the Minister to refuse the letter and presents. He said that he had no such authority, as he had had no time to get a reply from Shigatse to his message announcing that I was coming. I then said that as he had appealed to custom I must do so also. I explained that I had been charged with a certain duty, and that it was not the custom for a British officer to return without fulfilling the duty assigned to him. I should be leaving my duty unfulfilled if I took a refusal from a person not authorized to give it; and this I could not do, as it would be breaking our custom. He must see that I had no desire to break their custom. I maintained that the correspondence between Warren Hastings and the

Penchen Rimboochay, and afterwards between him and the Regent Chanjo Cusho and the Sapon Choombo, showed that the real custom was not such as he had described it. Now I had not crossed the frontier, because I knew they would not like it, and it was not the custom; I should return at once if he would take charge of the letter and presents. If he still refused to take them, I must ask him to send off a messenger at once to Shigatse to ascertain the Minister's wishes. Meanwhile I should either remain at Giagong, or as it was an exposed place, move on perhaps to Kamba Jong itself. The responsibility for the breaking of the custom would rest with him, and not with me. He then begged that I would go back down the Lachen to Tungu or Tullum Samdong, where the climate was milder, pending the receipt of a reply from Shigatse. I said my position would not allow me to do this. I could not go back, and if I could not remain where I was, I must go forward. All this difficulty, I reminded him, would disappear if he could take charge of the letter and presents. My friend was now fairly nonplussed. There could be no doubt what would happen to him if a sahib with a large retinue went in to Kamba Jong; he had done his best to act in the spirit of his orders, and now he must give in. After a hurried consultation with the Dingpen, he said he would take charge of the things, and of a letter from me to the Minister. I then had the presents brought forward and explained to him. There was a Tantalus of three cut-glass bottles in a handsome alabaster frame enamelled with flowers, a very powerful binocular by Ross and Company, a nest of cups in electro-plate, and a monocle with a number of coloured views, pictures of flowers, and photographs, amongst others one of Her Majesty and one of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. He was greatly interested with these things, and his coldness and reserve disappeared as we examined them. I then gave him some presents, including a revolver and a helmet and shield of Sealkote work, for the Chanjed Nup, his immediate superior. Then came a revolver, several pieces of broadcloth, boxes of biscuits, and bottles of brandy and Chartreuse for himself, and smaller presents for the Dingpen and the Zimpen. Then came more tea and brandy. There was rather a ludicrous incident here. It is the custom for a Tibetan if he cannot finish what he

Giagong.

Siphu Rocks.

has in his cup to pour the contents into his servant's cup. Every one carries a wooden cup in the folds of his dress. The Jongpen took very little brandy, and after I had given him the two orthodox pressings to take some more, he looked round, a hand appeared under the wing of the tent, and the remains of his brandy were poured into the cup which it held. The Dingpen had disposed of his first supply, an electro-plated champagne glass full, and it had been renewed. He saw that the time had come when he must follow the Jongpen's example, and a hand was similarly produced; but as the Dingpen turned to go through the remainder of the ceremony, we saw that he emptied his glass as quick as lightning, and then pretended to pour the contents into the servant's cup. Things had now been placed on a much more satisfactory footing, and the Jongpen promised to pay me an informal visit next morning. The interview broke up by my presenting him with a scarf. At going he made profuse apologies for being unable to ask us to dinner, as his camp equipage was too small. It was now near sunset, and bitterly cold. After dinner Sarat came to tell me that the Jongpen had made him share his meal, and that he, Sarat, had told him about his previous visit to Shigatse. The Jongpen, he said, was delighted with all that had passed, and had asked many questions about us all. Sarat had told him that Evans was the great law officer of Government, and got Rs. 10,000 a day, while Gordon had been transformed into a General, and Paul had been promoted to be Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling. No words could be found to describe my greatness as the head of an expedition so composed. He had told the Jongpen about our photographing, and the Jongpen had sent him to ask if I would have a photograph of the group taken in the morning. Of course I gladly agreed.

SIPHU ROCKS, *Sunday, 9th. November.*

This morning I kept my tent standing in order to have a photograph of the group taken. The others were struck very early, as we had a long march before us to Siphu rocks. The Jongpen and his people all took the greatest interest in the proceeding, the Dingpen particularly arrang-



17.—GROUP AT GIAGONG ON THE FRONTIER.

ing himself and his belt of reliquaries with much care so as to make a good show. Kunchuk and the Sikkim Dingpen and his brother stood behind us. First Paul took a picture, and then he joined the group, and Sarat became photographer. In the interval between the two sittings the Jongpen's matchlock, with a sort of pennant fixed to the muzzle, was brought to him. He was evidently very anxious to be taken with the matchlock in his hand. Afterwards I had a long talk with him in my tent, Sarat only being present to interpret. I asked him first what was the cause of the suspicion with which the Tibetans regard us, and why they were so anxious to avoid all contact with us when we only sought their friendship and the promotion of trade which must be profitable to one side as well as to the other. He said that there was no real dislike or suspicion of us among the people, and that, on the contrary, the knowledge is spreading every day that the "Maharani's" subjects are governed with justice and are very rich and happy. I asked him why, under these circumstances, the policy of isolation was so rigorously maintained. He said that there were two parties in Tibet, and that the views of one party were in the ascendant. When I pressed him to give me further information, he said that a man might have different ideas in his private character from those which he had to adopt and support in his official capacity. I said that my object was to learn what were the real views on this important question of a man of intelligence and culture, as I saw he was, and that if he would speak out his mind quite freely, he might be under no apprehension of any harm coming to him, as I would regard what he said as confidential. I myself, I said, took a very keen interest in all that regards Tibet and its people, and in its religion and customs, and, in particular, in the line of the Penchen Rimboochay, and I asked him to speak to me as one private individual to another. He said that he was very gratified to find that I took so much interest in his country, and that he would speak as a private individual and not as an official. He then said that most of the officials and all the people would like to see all restrictions on communication with us removed, and that every day the desire for intercourse with India was increasing. They were beginning to know what wonderful things we were able to

Siphu Rocks.

Siphu Rocks.

produce, and they knew quite well that we had no intention of taking their country from them. The only party really opposed to us are the monks of the monasteries at Lhassa,—Sera, Depung, Gahdan, Mulu and the four “Lings” (Kenduling, Chemeling, Checheling and Tankyaling),—who are afraid of losing their influence and also afraid of losing the practical monopoly which they now hold of the trade through Darjeeling. The monks have it all their own way at present, and he and other officials have to obey orders. The only power that could now reverse this policy would be China. I gathered from him that Chinese influence was paramount in Tibet. He even said that if we could get an order from the Emperor, under his seal, he and others would have no hesitation in letting traders pass as all must obey it. I asked him what he thought of the proposal of constructing a road through the Lachen valley for the convenience of traders. As an official, he said he could not say he would like to see it made ; as a private individual he would be glad. I asked him if it would lead to increase in trade. He said that it would certainly do so, if traders were allowed to pass. People are now most anxious to trade with India, and are most eager to get English goods, particularly broadcloth, cutlery, and piece-goods. “Now-a-days,” he said, “whenever a man gets an article of English manufacture, a hundred people come to look at it.” He said, however, that there would be no use in making a road while the present policy is upheld, as he would be forced to prevent people from using it in large numbers. I asked him if he levied any duty now on traders, such as I had met in the Lachen valley. He said, he had no orders to levy duty, but he had strict orders not to let many people pass Kamba Jong, and he had had before this to turn people back for fear of getting into trouble. If he had an order of the Emperor of China to allow free passage to all traders, which he could show, it would be different. In the same way at Phari, he believed it was a matter more of prohibition than of taxation. He did not believe in the pretext of the Bhootanese and Nepalese difficulties so far as the question of the trade by the Jeylep (the eastern pass) was concerned. The Sera and Depung monks are keen traders, and they have influence enough to cause difficulties to be thrown in the way of their

competitors. I asked him if he and others of the same views had any hope of seeing a change in the policy of exclusion. He said that if we could only get China on our side, the present was an excellent opportunity. The riot of March 1883 occurred during the grand prayer meeting, when the police of Lhasa is every year given over for a month to the charge of the monks under a Provost called Tshog-chhen-shal-no. The quarrel originated in the maltreatment of a Tibetan lady by some Nepalese shop-keepers. The Sera, Gahdan and Depung monks all took part in the disturbance because the Nepalese are rival traders. The Sera and Gahdan monks had the additional incentive of a desire to discredit the Depung monks, who, they complain, monopolise the appointment of Provost. The Gesub, who tried to quell the tumult, had to take refuge in the Talè Lama's palace, and afterwards tendered his resignation of the office. The outcome of the matter was that the Lhasa Government had to pay Nepal an indemnity of 10 lakhs of rupees. They have this year asked China to send four Ampas instead of two, in order to support their authority against the monks. This he said, was an excellent opportunity for us. The Lhasa Government, he assured me, are themselves liberal and friendly, and if the Chinese would allow us to approach them and the monks were suppressed, trade, he was confident, would be freed from all restrictions. I asked him if he was well acquainted with Singchen Rimboochay, the Minister, and said that I knew all about him from Sarat, and that he was not more anxious to learn English and European science and to see European products than I was to learn Tibetan and to know all about its history, religion and customs. He said he was himself a disciple of the Minister, and that he had formerly been a monk at the Narthang monastery, which is directly under the Minister. This is the great printing establishment of Tibet near Tashi Lunpo. He said the Minister was known to be a man of great intelligence and learning, and that he had convinced many of the desirability of cultivating relations with us. Though himself an avatar, and holding one of the highest places in the Buddhist hierarchy, he was the leader of the advanced school and had a following even among the Shaffés or Secretaries of State at Lhasa. He particularly

Siphu Rocks.

Siphu, Rocks.

mentioned Sawang Ranpa, one of the Shaffés, and one of the grandees of Tibet. "Sawang" is a title only given to great landholders, apart from their official position. I had also a long talk with the Jongpen about the Tashi Lamas. He was well acquainted with the story of Bogle's and Turner's missions, and said that every villager in Tibet knew of the pearl necklace which the Governor of India sent to the Tashi Lama or Penchen Rimboochay. He also spoke quite seriously of the belief that Her Majesty is the incarnation of the Divine Mother Tara, who is the special protectress of the Penchens. The monks at Lhassa, it may be observed, have tried to spread the belief that she is the incarnation of Mag-jorgyamo, the Goddess of War, but throughout Tsang, and in a great part of U, the other view is held. He was very much surprised and pleased at even my limited stock of information regarding Tibet and its religion, but he was aware that the Indian Government are tolerant towards Buddhists, and that it had even expended money on repairs of Buddhist monuments. He also knew that Warren Hastings gave the Tashi Lama a piece of land on the Hooghly for a Buddhist temple. My interview with the Jongpen was cordial in the extreme, and he repeatedly asked Sarat Baboo to say that he had never hoped to see a Peling (European) with so much sympathy for Tibet and its people. He promised warmly to do all that he could to promote correspondence between me and the Minister, and said that any letters that I might send to him he would always have duly forwarded to Tashilunpo. He suggested that if I ever wanted to send him a private letter, I should send it through the ex-Phipun of Lachen, in whom he had full confidence. He was very anxious to know how soon I could send him copies of the photograph, and I promised to lose no time. He said he would let me know at times news of interest about the reappearance of the Penchen, and any other matter of importance. About half past nine our interview came to an end. The Jongpen's attendants, many of whom were armed with short swords, were standing in a crowd some way from the tent when we emerged. I ascertained that they were 106 in number, and I ordered them a present of a rupee each. When they heard this they set up a lusty cheer. We then all

shook hands with the Jongpen and started on our downward journey. There were clouds about Chomiomo and the lower part of the valley, and it looked as if it was going to snow.

Lamteng.

I had ample material for reflection on the march down. I could feel that the success that had been secured exceeded my most sanguine expectations. The Jongpen, who was almost afraid to look at me yesterday, and who, though polite, could only say "non possum," is to-day an active ally. Yesterday he seemed to be wrapped up in all the coldness of an official who is determined, for his own interest, to present an impassable barrier to a dangerous, but pertinacious, enemy. To-day he reveals himself as a man of broad and liberal views, who really dislikes the duty his official position involves. When success or failure was hanging in the balance yesterday, I little thought that this morning my talk with the Jongpen would be that of two men intent on the same object and calculating on the forces available for its attainment. Some reply *must* now be sent to my letter, and from what I know of the Minister, and have seen of the Jongpen, there can be little doubt that it will be a friendly one. Thus, at last, after 100 years of silence, an official letter will be received from Tashilunpo and the way opened for further correspondence. As Evans says, the photograph taken this morning; the first ever taken of British and Tibetan officers side by side, is likely to be historic. The march down was slushy owing to the thaw, and when we reached Siphu we had every prospect of an uncomfortable evening. However, there was still deep snow, and juniper branches cover a good deal of damp. We therefore pitched our tents in the same place, and at night-fall the clouds disappeared, and we had a clear sky and keen frost. As I write the snowy pillar of the Phallung Gate is again shining in the bright cold moonlight.

LAMTENG, *Monday, 10th November.*

Not much to note to-day. Every thing frozen hard at Siphu this morning; still it felt like summer after Giagong. I was sorry, as I walked down to Tungu in the

Choonthang.

keen clear air and bright sunshine on the pure crisp snow, to think that we should soon be back on green grass again. At Tallum Samdong found some of the servants, who had begged to be left there on Thursday. They seemed to have spent the interval gorging themselves by the fire in a house belonging to the hospitable ex-Phipun. Took a photograph at the bridge. As we marched down, in places on the flat sward beside the babbling Lachen,—looking the perfection of a trout stream,—we had better opportunities than we had marching up for admiring the magnificent snowy peaks, Migdeh, Giamtong, and others, in the range between the Lachen and the Lachung. The views up the side valleys, particularly of the Birrum and the Migdeh, were superb. Reached Zemu Samdong in the evening and took a photograph, with my Lachen pony standing on the southern bridge. The valley was becoming gloomy, and I am afraid the picture may not succeed. Paul here pointed out a good site with solid foundation for a suspension bridge a little way below the existing bridge. At Lamteng found camp pitched, and letters from Darjeeling waiting for us. Evans and I made several merry jests about the Rent Bill papers which had been forwarded to him, and a number of official letters which had found their way to me. There is no room for thought on such subjects in the Lachen valley. The young Kazi brought me a fine musk deer, which he had shot on Tukcham.

CHOONTHANG, *Tuesday, 11th November.*

Left Lamteng at about 9, after formerly presenting Kunchuk with a fowling-piece in case, his great ambition, as Sarat told me before we started. Reached cane bridge at 11-30. Enjoyed again the lovely view of the Lachen from the southern crest of Chateng. Descent to the Pen Chu very steep and slippery, as the grass was very dry. Might not the road, with blasting, be kept near river bank and go below Chateng? Or might it not be carried across the Pen Chu higher up and cross the Chateng spur nearer the main range, descending slightly to Lamteng? The latter course ought to be quite practicable. From the Pen Chu to the cane bridge is about four miles. Temporary bridges

18.—ZEMU SANDONG, BRIDGE OVER THE ZEMU, ABOVE ITS JUNCTION WITH THE LACHEN.



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only are required for the Chaka Chu, Chumam Chu, and Ben Chu. The road excellent in places, and requires very little improvement on this section. No difficulty whatever. At cane bridge waited some time for the camera, but had to go on before it arrived. Walked from cane bridge to the Latong bridge in an hour and twenty minutes, including a wait of a quarter of an hour at the Takroom for Gordon. Did Takroom from cane bridge in 35 minutes. Road rather steep, but not really difficult. Could it not be kept down, crossing the Takroom nearer its junction with the Lachen? The Takroom is a difficult river owing to its terrific fall and impetuosity. Excellent foundations on each side of the Lachen at Latong bridge. Examined the bridge (lately made for us) with much interest. The way the different sections are made to work as levers, lashed together with cane and bark, is very ingenious. Lunched at the Yamdo Chu. Afterwards hurried on to the Phin Chu to get a photograph. The road in places goes down into the river bed to circumvent great cliffs, and must be submerged when the river is high. It should be possible to carry it above with blasting. Getting dusk as I took a picture at the Phin Chu. Found the ascent to, and descent from, the Tumlong flat much easier than when we came up. The Choonthang Lama's people have improved the path wonderfully since we left. The east bank of the Lachen is certainly very precipitous between Latong and Choonthang; but it ought to be possible to blast galleries along the cliffs to make a good road once for all, and thus avoid crossing the river twice, and, above all, avoid the climb up to Tumlong and down again, and then that most impracticable Phin Chu and the sea of boulders it has brought down. Only one bridge across the Lachen would thus be required between Lamteng and Choonthang, and that would be at the present cane bridge, where there are two great high rocks on either side for supports, and not more than 50 feet would have to be spanned. Overtook Evans at the bridge below Tumlong. Night came on as we were still doing the mile of boulders between the bridge and Choonthang. The Lama, however, sent men with torches, and, of course, murwa, to meet us. Found blazing fire in the shed at the camping ground and Paul getting tea ready. Gordon had got on before us and

Choonthang.

Sinchik.

gone to the monastery. Paul interviewed him and found him prepared to spend the night on rugs supplied to him by the monks. After tents were put up and dinner was at length served, we sent messages to him, but in vain. This was a very long march, and the coolies have done wonderfully well to get in at all. A few have not turned up, and are believed to have bivouacked among the boulders.

SINCHIK, *Wednesday, 12th November.*

Got the coolies to make a tremendous march to-day, as I want to see if I cannot make Tumlong in two days from Choonthang and five from Giagong. Before leaving, I had a long talk with the Choonthang Lama and the Phipun and ex-Phipun, Kunchuk of Lachen. The former was very anxious to get a written order from me confirming the arrangement under which he combines authority over the two valleys with the charge of the monastery. I said that I could not do anything which would imply that our Government claimed the power of superseding the authority of the Raja in such matters; but that I had no objection to state in writing that I had found that the arrangement was working satisfactorily, and was acquiesced in by the people of both valleys. I found that the Phipuns cordially approved of it, so long as the present Lama rules Choonthang. There is a curious history connected with this matter, which shows how revolutions can be effected in these remote valleys, as well as elsewhere. Seven years ago, Larip Dechan was Lama of Choonthang monastery, and had jurisdiction throughout Lachen and Lachung. He tyrannised over the people in every way, made them give free labour, and extorted money and goods from them on every sort of pretext. At last the men of the two valleys determined to take the law into their own hands, and at once to put an end to his tyranny, and to provide against a repetition of it by rendering Choonthang desolate and "a joy of wild asses." One day they met in the rice field near the junction of the rivers, and below the monastery. Each valley brought a bull yak. The yaks were then slaughtered and the people, dipping their hands in the warm blood, swore a great oath never to own allegiance to the Lama of



19.—THE MEETING OF THE WATERS, LACHEN AND LACHUNG, AT CHOONTHANG.

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20.—THE TEESTA BETWEEN NANGAMA AND CHAKOONG.

Choonthang, or to pay taxes to him, or to send their sons to be monks of the monastery, or to cultivate any land connected with it. Then they streamed towards the monastery shouting and beating drums and cymbals. Larip Dechan, however, had come to know what was going on, and did not await them. He escaped down the other side of the hill and fled across the Lachung to Chakoong, and thence to Ringun, where he now lives. He has never since set foot in Choonthang. For six years the monastery and the village were deserted. Last year the Raja and the Lamas of Pemiongchi sent the present Lama to re-establish the Gonpa and to try to win over the people. The Phipuns say that they have consulted the Lamas of their own little monasteries at Lamteng and Lachung, and that it is generally agreed that their oath is not binding on them now that Larip Dechan has been rooted out and a good man has been appointed Lama. They showed me the very spot where the ceremony took place, and my friend Kunchuk, who had officiated on the Lachen side, grew very earnest in the graphic description he gave me of what occurred. I could see that the Lama and he were really on friendly terms, and I fancy the example made of Larip Dechan will not soon be forgotten. I gave the Phipun a robe of honour for his services and then bade farewell to these good people, and to these two lovely valleys, with much regret. After crossing the Lachung by the usual bridge of branches, I cleared a space whence I took a photograph of the meeting of the waters. Lunched at Chakoong. A bridge, with about 35 feet of waterway, would be required across the Chakoong Chu, which comes down from Gnaream. Good foundations on each side. Between this and the Rhi Chu, I took a photograph of the river. Magnificent rocks in, and on the banks of, the stream. The Rhi Chu would be easily bridged. There is a huge boulder in the middle of the stream, and the larger space would not be more than 20 feet. Good foundations on both banks. At Nangama the old Mundle, with his three wives, had a seat ready for us with murwa. Evening was coming on, so we pushed ahead. At the top of the sharp rise above the Meong Chu, it was nearly dark, and rain began. Further on, Evans and I, who were the last, were met by men with torches. Pouring in torrents when we reached Sinchik.

Sinchik.

Sheta. Two sheds ready with blazing fires. Tents at last put up, and dinner served at 10 o'clock.

FOREST ABOVE SILLING, *Thursday, 13th November.*

Some delay in getting coolies off this morning. Found my pony waiting near Singtam. There are two small houses here built over huge prayer wheels with water trained by bamboo spouts to turn them. They are real "Om mani padme Om" mills. From Singtam sharp rise of about 500 feet to Simm Mendong. Magnificent view up the Talung valley to the Guicha La between Pandim and Kinchin. Cut away jungle and waited for camera. Meanwhile clouds gathered over the snows and obscured Pandim, Kinchin, and Liklo before I could take the picture. From Simm to Maling Mendong road is easy; then down sharp, but short, descent to Ringun. There are three roads hence to Tumlung. Ponies went by the lower, the one by which Evans and I came. The upper and middle roads meet at Nampatam. From Nampatam there is a very steep descent to, and ascent from, an affluent of the Ron-Ron. Then the road runs along part of a new landslip, with trees and rocks mixed up together, to the Ron-Ron. Here we lunched. Thence we went up the face of a huge landslip quite 400 feet to Silling. The people say that the *âebacle* has been steadily coming down for six or seven years. The whole village of Silling threatens to follow. The coolies here declared they could not get on to Tumlong, the ladies, as they have been throughout the expedition, being the loudest murmurers. Gordon had already gone on. Evans, Paul, and I came on here, and had ground cleared for camp, the coolies condescending to come so far.

SHETA, *Friday, 14th November.*

We had a pleasant march across the Mafi La this morning. The gradient is very easy, and the air was deliciously fresh. At the top there is a magnificent view of the Teesta valley, Tendong, and the Singalé range. Thence the descent to Tumlong is easy. We turned off above the Labrang Monastery and came on to Phodang.

21.—KINCHINJUNGA AND THE TALUNG RIVER FROM A POINT ABOVE RINGUN. TESTA TO LEFT.



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22.—MAHARAJA'S HOUSE AT TUMLONG.

Here we found our letters from Darjeeling, and a supply of champagne and beer, which we were glad to see after having for some days had to drink whisky and water, a nauseous drink out of metal. Found a note from Gordon to say that he had slept in the monastery and gone on. The Lama and the Dewan came to ask how we had fared, and we had a final talk. Lunched at the Ryott: then crossed Kubbi, leaving the road to Sillingthang on our right, and went down to the Dikchu, here a small stream. From the Dikchu a short ascent brought us to Sheta, where we found Gordon. I had a talk with Sarat as we came along about the Sikkim Raja's family history. It appears that when he was born some of the Lamas wished his father to give him away to some poor family on the ground that a man with a hare-lip could not have brains or strength enough to rule. The old Raja refused, and now the Raja is said to be paying more attention to his work every day and to be becoming a really capable administrator. This village of Sheta was visited by cholera last year, the only instance in Sikkim that I have heard of.

Dikkeling

DIKKELING, *Saturday, 15th November.*

After leaving Sheta this morning, we went up a fairly easy rise to the Penlong La. Here we cut down several trees to get a clear view of the snows. Nursingh, Pandim, Kabru only just visible over Pandim's shoulder, Kinchin, Liklo and K. Not a cloud was visible. Paul and I took two photographs to make sure. As we took off the lens, however, we found that it was fogged. The Rajah used to have his stud on the southern slope of Penlong. We descended to the Ronye, then ascended to Barkup. The march along the hill from this to Guntuck is very pleasant. The valley of the Ronye is beautifully cultivated, and prosperous villages are studded all over its sides. Opposite is the range, on the other side of which we marched, after crossing the Teesta, to Sillingthang. They showed me the direction of two roads across it from Yeumthang near Sillingthang, one over the Cheu La to Lyung and another over the Merig La to Barping. Near Guntuck we were met by men sent by the Kazi with murwa. The Kazi himself, with the Lama of

Kalimpung.

Ench Monastery, which looks very picturesque perched on the hill above, received us at Guntuck. Thence we went on by an excellent road to Tantong, near which we lunched. View of Barpheuk Gonpa away to the left. From Tantong we had rather a hot descent to the Ron-Ron, near its junction with the Ronye. The Runtik monastery on a spur on the other side of the Ronye was visible all day. After leaving the Ron-Ron, the road runs over grass and through forest without undergrowth, and crosses the Tikcham Chu. The march was very pleasant, with the alteration of glens and glades, the evening sun lighting them up till it went down behind the wooded mass of Ondiphorong on our right. Passed the Pakyong Mendong and reached Dikkeling after dark.

The more I see the more satisfied I am that the road to connect northern Sikkim with Darjeeling should go over Tendong and along the Teesta valley to Ringun, either by Garh or by Sillingthang and Tingcham. The Ronye valley is very rich and comparatively easy, but no Tibetans will make such a detour as this merely to get a good road. They will take the lower road at Ringun by Tingcham whatever we do, and our policy should be to improve the road and make bridges by the route that they will in any case follow.

KALIMPUNG, *Sunday, 16th November.*

I was forced to get up before daybreak this morning at Dikkeling by a pony getting among my tent ropes and threatening to bring the whole thing down upon me. Beautiful sunrise over the Chola range with the Linkui Monastery on the crest of hill in the middle distance. Kartok Monastery on the hill just above us. I was due in Darjeeling yesterday according to my arrangement with the Governor; so I determined to try to do the whole march to-day, a good 50 miles. The fates, however, have been against that. Started early and descended to the Rarhi. Here the Newras,

Luchmi Das and his brother, had an arbour ready with delicious green oranges. They took me over their copper smelting furnaces. Thence went for about half a mile along the Rarhi to the bridge. This would be a fisherman's paradise. The fall of the river is very slight, and it bubbles over a gravelly bed with pools every few yards. In the pool under the bridge I saw quite a dozen marsya, which rose at once to take the Indian corn that we threw them. From the bridge we mount the Rhenock spur by a capital road which Luchmi Das keeps in order. Paul showed me the scene of the fight in 1880 between the Pemiongchi Lamas and the Phodang Lama's people about the Newar settlement, when one Lama on the former side was killed. At Rhenock the Kazi had oranges and murwa waiting for us, our last taste of the simple hospitality of Sikkim. Here we struck Edgar's road from the Jeylep and descended to the Rishi. The pull up from here to Pheydong is long, though, as the road is beautifully aligned, it is nowhere steep. The road seemed much improved since I saw it in 1877. A dogcart could be driven along it. Halfway up we saw a tremendous cliff. The story is that a man dropped asleep on the top and fell over, but, for some reason unknown, picked himself up at the bottom of the precipice unhurt. I was saving my good pony for the latter part of the journey, so I rode for the first time the pony the Raja gave me from the Rishi—a sorry beast. Passed many traders with laden donkeys and mules going to Darjeeling, with wool, blankets, and yaks' tails. Lunched late at Pheydong and then pushed on. I had not time to go to call on Pere Desgodins, but I saw his neat little house and church. Crowds of Tibetan traders on the road, drinking tea and playing a game like draughts with shells, but with a great number of squares. Our ponies were done up, and it was sunset when we reached Kalimpong far ahead of the coolies. Found Oldham in the inspection bungalow. He has given us dinner. Compared notes with him. He has been up to the Chola range, and prospected for the new road to the Jeylep by the Richi La. He reports it impracticable. Edgar's road is all that is required for this part of Sikkim. A few coolies coming in. The great majority are far behind.

Kalimpong.

DARJEELING, *Monday, 17th November.*

Darjeeling.

Rode in by Teesta bridge and Peshoke. Mr. Munro of Peshoke most kindly lending ponies, as our syces, after waiting at the dak bungalow for five days, went back with our ponies to Darjeeling this morning. Telegraphed arrival and result of meeting at Giagong to the Governor.

LETTERS RECEIVED FROM THE MINISTER OF THE GRAND
LAMA, OR PENCHEN RIMBOOCHAY, OF TASHI LUNPO.

[See pages 41 and 78.]

A.

[LITERAL TRANSLATION.]

To the great and most opulent
Governor, who turns the
wheel of power all over this
wide world, Ruler of Asia
and Pillar of the Faith, to
his Throne.

WITH reverence and with the full three mundane essentials (the heart, the speech, and the body)—

This most humble and insignificant self, who from his infancy, applying himself to study, has acquired only a minute jot of learning, such as may be compared with an insect's mouthful of water, has been favoured with a golden robe of honour that there is a reward of Rs. 2,500 for him, for which he presents his most cordial thanks.

This year there has appeared the incarnation of that divine personage who is the crown ornament of this world of men and gods. Next year His Holiness' incarnation will be identified. This humble self has been discharging with the utmost zeal and devotion all the religious duties of the Penchen Rimboochay as the Minister of the Great Buddhist Church, and moreover as the representative of the late all-knowing Penchen, in upholding, protecting, and propagating the religion of the Victor. Together with this piece of news he respectfully sends scarves and the mitre of the late Penchen for acceptance.

Dated Tashi Lunpo, the 5th of the 10th Lunar Month, Wood-monkey year.

[Corresponding with the 22nd November 1834.]

B.

[LITERAL TRANSLATION.]

To the lotus chair of the GREAT SAHEB MACAULAY, the Minister (Chanzo) of the Lord Governor of Bangala (which is in the Eastern quarter), who turns the wheel of power.

WITH the three essentials, body, mind and speech—

This humble self has been as it were decorated with a golden robe, being presented with a fine jade stand with three bottles in it, a magnifying glass with very handsome and excellent pictures, 87 in number, and a binocular of superior quality, with case, for which he offers many many thanks.

This humble self is devotedly engaged in the work of propagating the sacred and undefiled religion of the Victor as the representative of the late all-knowing Penchen Rimboochay. The religious services of the entombment of the remains of the late Penchen are favourably progressing. This year the incarnation of the Penchen has been born. Next year it will be identified. With this piece of news about the Penchen for the great Saheb, this humble self of Maha Singhe presents the neck amulet of the Penchen and scarves for acceptance.

Dated the 5th of the 10th Lunar Month of the Wood-monkey year.

C.

To his Most Precious Greatness LORD DUFFERIN, Great Governor of India in Bangala, whose exalted dignity and great power are recognized by all dwelling between Heaven and Earth. —To His Exalted Majesty's lotus feet.

WITH profound salutation and great respect begs to petition. On receiving the Great Viceroy's most gracious letter containing the news of his precious honour's health, the information that his great honour continues to rule with moral merit, like Kansika (the Lord of Heaven), and his kind presents,* this humble Sing-chen has been thrown into great ecstasy. He receives the precious commission on the crown of his head.

* String of pearls (110), emeralds (13) and Rs. 2,500.

As regards the land near Calcutta on the bank of Ganga which was formerly granted to Kyab-Gyan Paldan Yeshe (Tashi Lama) by Lord Hastings, it was his (Sing-chen's) greatest desire himself to apply spontaneously for its restoration; but this being a matter in which the Lamas and Ponpos (chiefs) of the country of Tibet are concerned, and he (Sing-chen) having to remain in Tibet as the basis of his religion, felt it difficult to risk the opening of the question, as such interference on his part might offend them, and as there is no certainty if it would not create religious enemies. Now, however, the time is not far distant when he may be able to discuss the details in a personal interview. Graciously forgive, graciously forgive.

With the enclosures, an image of Senge-da, the God of Lion's roar, a sacred silk fringe, and a scarf with figures of Gods.

Dated the 3rd of the 2nd Lunar month of the Wood-bird year, from the capital sanctuary of Tashi Lhunpo [19th March 1885].

D.

To the GREAT LORD SAHIB, the Governor of Bengal in the East, protector of life and property.—To the lotus of his feet.

WITH GREAT RESPECT BEGS TO STATE—

This humble self, owing to his residing in the interior of the country of Tibet, through ignorance formerly failed to send letter, &c., to your great honour. He begs your honour will not take any umbrage at this or ruffle your mind on account of it. Now this humble Sing-chen sends a little present—a scarf with figures of Gods and a sacred fringe—as tokens of his high regard for your great honour.

Dated the 3rd of the 2nd. Lunar month of the Wood-bird year [19th March 1885].

E.

To the GREAT MACAULAY SAHIB, the Chyandso of the Government of Bengal in the East, who is possessed of many noble virtues.

WITH much respect begs to petition. The news that your honour being possessed of good health is controlling state affairs like the all-powerful sun is most welcome. This humble self is also dwelling happily in the illusive mortal frame.

Agreeably to your honour's desire, he has acknowledged the receipt of the gracious presents from the Viceroy, the powerful one of the land, and stated the reason for his inability at present to complete his prayer for the land, and he begs your honour will kindly forward his letter to the

110 pearls, 13 emeralds,
and a letter.

Viceroy. Your greatness will not refuse kindness to Sing-chen. He has through his messengers received an excellent gilt six-chambered revolver with five boxes of cartridges, a very handsome musical box with two figures, a very curious lamp clock, a telephone, seven pictures, an excellent plated bread-basket, seven oblation glass cups, a Tibetan-English dictionary, my patron's likeness, a bowl with cover, and Rs. 2,500. These presents he receives on his head. These tokens of kindness, and above all the gracious expressions contained in the letter, have caused him such an accumulation of delight that, as the saying is, he cannot distinguish night from day. He will treasure these expressions in his innermost heart. Again there are a few things necessary to this humble one—

A book of English transliterated into Tibetan, with a glossary to enable him to learn English easily and quickly.

An English-Tibetan Dictionary, or any book that will help him to learn English.

Some apparatus for rapid photography.

Some medicine to counteract the poisonous effect of quicksilver upon the faces of gilders.

Hindi-Tibetan Dictionary.

A book to learn English without a master.

Some excellent perfumeries and oils to make the complexion soft and fair.

If it pleases your honour to send these things through Phurchung, this humble self will not long afterwards avail himself of the opportunity to personally thank your honour. He cannot describe his thanks. With a bell with Dorje, a pair of cups containing eight auspicious marks, two yellow and blue scarves with figures, and a life scarf of this humble self (Sing-chen), respectfully presents this letter from Tashi Lhunpo.

Dated the 3rd of the 2nd Lunar month of the Wood-bird year [19th March 1885].

P.S.—Up to this date the Panchhen Rimboochay has not been identified. As soon as he is identified, news will be sent by a messenger.

MEMORANDUM ON OUR RELATIONS WITH TIBET.

I

IT is difficult for those who have always been accustomed to look upon Tibet as a closed land for Europeans, to realize that a century and a half ago a Christian Mission was established at Lhasa. Now-a-days a solitary English traveller, approaching any of the passes, finds himself confronted by a party of guards who point to an inscribed board planted on the frontier pillar, and proceed to execute a pantomime, of which the unmistakable purport is that, if he crosses the boundary, their throats will be cut. The number of Europeans who, since the beginning of this century, have set their eyes, much less their feet, upon Tibetan ground,—at any rate in the provinces of U and Tsang, or Tibet Proper,—might almost be counted on the fingers of the two hands. Yet in the beginning of the last century, missionaries passed freely backwards and forwards between India and Tibet, and for many years preached the gospel under the very shadow of Potala. Two Jesuits, named Desideri and Freyre, travelled over the Mariam-La pass to Lhasa in 1716, and Desideri remained there till 1721. In his journal, which was discovered at Pistoia in the end of 1875, Father Desideri states that he openly gave out at Lhasa that he was a foreign Lama come to convert the people; that he was received with much toleration; and that the king [*i.e.*, the Nomenkhan or Gesub Rimboochay, the head of the temporal Government of the Talé Lama] was so much struck with a pamphlet of his that he arranged for a religious discussion to take place between him and some great Lamas. A revolution, however, intervened; the “king” was assassinated; and the discussion fell through (*Geographical Magazine*, 1st September 1876). Again Father Horace della Penna, with 12 Capuchins, reached Lhasa by way of Nepal in 1719. In 1735 he returned to Rome for reinforcements, and in 1740 he again reached Lhasa with nine companions.

He died in Nepal in 1747, but other missionaries remained at Lhasa, till they were expelled about 1760. As Mr. Clements Markham, in the admirable introduction to his edition of the Narratives of Bogle and Manning, says:—“The way in which Horace della Penna passed to and fro between Tibet and India proves that the intercourse was free and unrestrained, and that the traffic was protected by the enlightened policy of the Lamas of Tibet and the Newar Kings of Nepal.” It was the supersession of these two authorities,—the extension of Chinese influence in Tibet, and their assumption of the control of the foreign relations of the Lamas on the one hand, and the conquest of the peaceful and enlightened Newars by the turbulent and ignorant Goorkhas on the other,—that led, first to the discouragement, and then to the prohibition, of intercourse. These two causes acted and re-acted upon one another till the present state of affairs was brought about, and while Nepalese and Cashmeerees hold their own in the market places of Shigatse and Lhasa, British subjects, Indian or European, are, as such, unceremoniously turned back almost within sight of the smoke of our locomotives.

2. The event to which Desideri refers when he speaks of a revolution occurring, was the first of a train of circumstances which led to results more disastrous to European intercourse than his own disappointment at the loss of a triumph over his Lama opponents. The storming of Lhasa and the murder of the Gesub by the Zungarians in 1717 was followed by Chinese intervention, and from 1720 two Chinese Ampas were permanently stationed at Lhasa. At first they do not seem to have had very much authority in Tibet. Their presence, in fact, would appear to have called into being a national party, headed by the Gesub, which jealously watched all their attempts to assert the authority of China. At length a catastrophe occurred which, though fatal to the actors in the tragedy itself, led to a great increase in the influence of China. About the middle of the last century the Ampas, Pou and Li, wished to increase the Chinese garrison, on the pretext of a movement among the Nepalese tribes, and interfered more and more in the government of the country. The Gesub and the national

party offered an uncompromising opposition to them, and the Ampas had the Gesub assassinated before their eyes. The result was an outburst of popular fury; the Ampas were torn to pieces; and a general massacre of the Chinese in Tibet ensued. The Emperor Kien Lun sent an army to re-establish Chinese authority, and for some time afterwards the Gesubs, instead of leading a national party of opposition, were completely the creatures of the Ampas. Mr. Clements Markham gives 1749 as the date of this revolution. Huc and Gabet say it occurred in the 35th year of Kien Lun, which would be 1770. It is to be observed, however, that Bogle, who visited Tashi Lunpo in 1774, refers to it as antecedent to the death of the Talé Lama, Lossan Kalsang, which took place in 1758. Mr. Markham's date would therefore appear to be correct. At any rate it is clear that the change in the relations between the Ampas and the Tibetan Government was closely followed by the expulsion of the European missionaries. As long as there was a party to keep the Chinese in check, the missionaries were unmolested. As soon as the Chinese got the power into their hands, they were expelled. It is curious to note the points of resemblance between the position of Huc and Gabet in 1846, and the position of the Capuchins a century earlier. In both cases we find tolerance and kindness from Tibetans, and bigotry and hostility from the Chinese. Huc and Gabet were treated with marked attention and respect by the Regent Pe-Chi, or Shaffé, Shété, who did his utmost to protect them. It was Ki-Chan, the Chinese Plenipotentiary, anxious to regain credit after his disgrace at Canton, who insisted on their expulsion.

3. While Chinese influence was thus gaining a remarkable accession at Lhassa, events were in progress in Nepal, which were destined to culminate in the complete severance of Indian intercourse with Tibet. As long as the chiefs of the Newar dynasty ruled the petty kingdoms of Kathmandoo, Patan and Bhatgaon, a flourishing trade was carried on through Nepal between High Asia and the plains. Mr. Clements Markham notices that as early as 1583 a traveller named Ralph Fitch gave an account of it. Mr. Bogle, writing in 1775, says:— "Every encouragement was given

to trade. A very moderate duty was levied on goods; the country, populous and well cultivated, easily furnished the means of transporting them, and the merchants, free from spoil or exactions, settled in Nepal, and contributed to enrich it at the same time that they improved their own fortunes." Mention has been made above of a movement among the Nepalese which gave the Ampas, Pou and Li, a pretext for increasing the number of the Chinese troops in Tibet. This was no doubt a phase of the dissensions between the Newars, which gave Prithi Narayan, the Chief of the Goorkhas, an opportunity of intervening, and of finally, in 1769, subduing the whole of the Nepal valley. The Goorkha conquest was fatal to trade. A military despotism succeeded to the mild and enlightened sway of the native chiefs. A standing army was maintained to overawe the people, and grinding taxes were imposed to defray the expenses. "The merchants," wrote Mr. Bogle, "subject to heavy and arbitrary fines upon the most frivolous pretences, and obliged to purchase the protection of a tyrannical Government by presents scarcely less oppressive, quitted a country where they could no longer enjoy that freedom and security which are the life of commerce. Only two Kashmiri houses remain, and the Rajah, afraid of their also abandoning him, obliges them to give security for the return of such agents as they have occasion to send beyond the boundaries of his dominions." It will be pointed out further on that to this day heavy import and export duties are levied on the frontiers of Nepal.

4. Meanwhile, to the eastward, Deb Judhur of Bhootan had invaded Cooch Behar, and stopped all trade with Tibet through these channels. There remained the road through Demo Jung, now known as Sikkim, and Mr. Bogle says that "the fakirs, when expelled from Nepal, generally frequented this road; but being esteemed unhealthy, it was not adopted by any creditable merchants." It was soon closed altogether by the Goorkha Raja invading the country.

5. The third quarter of the 18th century, therefore, saw Europeans expelled from Tibet by Chinese influence, after residence extending over nearly half a century. It

also saw trade paralysed, and the road from India closed by the turbulence of the intervening States.

6. But, though the fair prospect was overcast, it was obscured only by clouds that might pass away. There was to be yet a gleam of sunshine before it disappeared in the darkness of the long night that was to follow. In 1774 the Tashi Lama, or Penchen Rimboochay,* sent to Warren Hastings his memorable letter of intercession for Deb Judhur. Lossan Paldan Yese was the 13th of the illustrious line of Avatars which, beginning with Subhuti, the Stavira, one of the favourite disciples of Buddha, has, after intervals of varying length, established the continuous dynasty of the Penchen Rimboochay or Tashi Lamas of Tashilunpo. The first four incarnations took place on this side of the Himalayas, and the Penchens have always been conspicuous for the reverence and affection with which they regard the holy places of the land of Aryavarta. Mr Mayers, of the Consular Service of China, in a paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain in April 1869, said: "Joint heir with the Dalai [Talé] Lama of the spiritual inheritance derived from Tsungkaba, the Panshen Erdeni is believed by the Tibetans to be worthy of the higher degree of adoration, his office and functions being the less contaminated by worldly influences." The Tashi Lama, or Penchen Rimboochay ordains, or is ordained by, the Talé Lama, or Gyow Rimboochay, according as one or the other is the elder. The immediate predecessor of Lossan Paldan Yese was formally invested by the Emperor Yung Ching with the sovereignty of the whole of Tibet west of the Painam, and he himself was destined to raise even higher than before the reputation of the dynasty for sanctity, wisdom and strength of character. Warren Hastings seized the opportunity of the Tashi Lama's letter of intercession to endeavour to remove the obstacles to trade. He dealt leniently with the Bhootanese, and sent George Bogle as his ambassador to the Lama. Bogle's narrative shows that his journey was retarded, and the object of his mission

* He is called Penchen Irtinni in China, "Irtinni" in Mongolian (Sanskrit *ratna*) signifying Gem, as "Rimboochay" does in Tibetan.

thwarted, by the jealousy of the Gesub and the influence of the Chinese. It also brings out very strongly the wonderful power, dignity and liberality of the Lama's character. Two expressions quoted by Bogle from the Lama's conversation are instructive. "As to me," he said, "I give encouragement to merchants, and in this country they are free and secure." But, speaking of the Gesub as the representative of the policy of Lhasa, he said "his heart is confined, and he does not see things in the same view as I do." He clearly saw that it was essential to remove the objections of the Chinese before anything effectual could be done to establish free intercourse between India and Tibet, and he promised to continue his efforts to this end. He subsequently visited China at the invitation of Kien Lun, and was received with great demonstrations of respect, the Emperor himself advancing to meet him and placing him on a seat beside his own. The Lama lost no time in broaching the subject of communication between India and China, and the Emperor promised, at his instance, to write a letter of friendship to Warren Hastings. All hope of success in this direction, however, was destroyed by the sudden death of the Lama from small-pox. Still something had already been gained. Warren Hastings had won the confidence of the Lama's brother, the Chanzoo Cusho, who became Regent upon his death, and Bogle had succeeded in inducing the Deb Raja to allow native merchants to pass to and from Tibet through Bhootan. As soon as the Regent announced the reappearance of the Penchen, Mr. Hastings deputed Captain Turner to convey his felicitations to Tashi Lunpo. Turner had an interview with the child and confirmed the friendly relations with the Regent. But, like Bogle, he was debarred from a visit to Lhasa by the jealousy of the Gesub. He wrote in his report: "I have obtained the Regent Chanzoo Cusho's promise of encouragement to all merchants, natives of India, that may be sent to traffic in Tibet, on behalf of the Government of Bengal. No impediment, therefore, now remains in the way of merchants, to prevent their carrying their commercial concerns into Tartary. Your authority alone is requisite to secure them the protection of the Regent of Teshoo Loomboo; who has promised to grant free admission into Tibet to all

such merchants, natives of India, as shall come recommended by you ; to yield them every assistance requisite for the transport of their goods from the frontiers of Bhootan ; and to assign them a place of residence for receiving their commodities, either within the monastery, or, should it be considered as more eligible, in the town itself." Subsequent reports showed that these measures bore excellent fruit. Purunghir Gossain, the companion of the late Tashi Lama on his visit to China, and the bearer of many letters from Warren Hastings to Tibet, was sent to Tashi Lunpo by the great Governor-General with despatches announcing his approaching departure for Europe. Captain Turner communicated Purunghir's report of his journey to Mr. Macpherson, the Acting Governor-General. "It is with infinite satisfaction," he writes, "I learn from the reports of Purunghir the flourishing state of the lately projected scheme of trade, to promote which, he assures me, not anything has been wanting in facility of intercourse ; that the adventurers, who had invested their property, had experienced perfect security in conducting their commerce, had carried their articles to an exceeding good market and found the rate of exchange materially in their favour." Not only was Purunghir charged with the verbal communication of the anxious desire of the Regent to continue with the new Governor-General "those offices of friendship so long supported by his predecessor," but he brought two letters for the Governor-General, one in the name of the young Tashi Lama, and one from the Regent himself. The Tashi Lama's letter runs thus— "We have made no deviation from the union and unanimity, which existed during the time of the first of nobles, Mr. Hastings, and the deceased Lama ; and may you also grant friendship to these countries, and always make me happy with the news of your health, which will be the cause of ease to my heart and confirmation to my soul." The Regent wrote : "Every day make me happy by the news of your health and prosperity, and bestow favours like the first of nobles and make me happy with letters, which are the cause of consolation." No response whatever appears to have been given to these cordial invitations to correspondence, and six years later an event occurred which might have been made an occasion for winning

permanently the affections of the Tibetans, but which was allowed to undo all that Warren Hastings had achieved; and to close Tibet against British subjects for a hundred years.

7. The temple of Tashi Lunpo had been enriched for generations by the munificence of its abbots and the piety of the faithful. Rich tapestries and silks, rare pictures and precious stones, vessels and images of solid gold, ornamented its walls and its altars. The gilt roof of the tomb of Chokyi Gyaltshan cost six lakhs of rupees, that of Yese Pal Sanpo cost over seven. With the remains of Paldan Yese (Bogle's Tashi Lama), Kien Lun sent to Tibet a temple of copper and another of solid gold, which were placed inside the mausoleum at Tashi Lunpo, and the Tibetan chronicler, whose account has been translated by Baboo Sarat Chandra Das, says: "All the presents made by the Emperor, together with those obtained from other sources, of the estimated value of 4,15,665 *San* (Rs. 2,49,39,900) were spent in erecting his tomb and decorating and adorning it with precious stones and satin flags." The story of all this wealth tempted the Goorkhas, who, having conquered Nepal and a part of Sikkim, were in want both of money and of occupation. In 1782 they suddenly appeared before Tashi Lunpo: the Regent and the child Tashi Lama escaped across the Sanpo; and the Goorkhas, after stripping the monastery and the palace of their treasures, hurried back to Nepal with their booty. The Regent conveyed the young Lama to Lhassá, and information was despatched to Peking. An avenging army was soon in motion from China, and within a few months of the occurrence of the outrage, the Goorkhas were signally defeated close to Kathmandoo itself, and compelled to disgorge their plunder and to undertake to pay an annual tribute to China and to send an Embassy in token of submission every five years. The Chinese turned these events to bitter account against us. They reported that we were the allies of the marauders, that we had drilled their troops, that British soldiers had been recognized among them. A line of Chinese posts was established along the frontiers of Bhootan and Nepal, and every native of India was expelled from Tibet. An expression in Turner's "Account

of the situation of affairs in Tibet from 1785 to 1793" would seem to show that the Tibetans applied to us for assistance, and that we refused it. Mr. Edgar doubts whether aid was really asked for. However this may be, the circumstances were such as to render intervention a right and almost a duty. Warren Hastings would have required no pretext beyond the fact that an unprovoked act of brigandage had been committed on a helpless child, and that a party of marauders, whom it was in his power to coerce, had driven his young ally a fugitive from the palace where British envoys had recently been received with honour. Mr. Duncan was actually signing a treaty of commerce with Nepal, while the Goorkhas were planning their attack on Tashi Lunpo, and the only notice Lord Cornwallis appears to have taken of the outrage was an offer to mediate between China and Nepal, which was treated with indifference on both sides. "From this period," says Turner, "unhappily is to be dated the interruption which has taken place in the regular intercourse between the Company's possession and the territory of the Lama." "The approach of strangers, even of the natives of Bengal and Hindustan, is utterly prohibited. A most violent prejudice prevails even against the Hindoo Goseins, who are charged with treachery against their generous patrons, by becoming guides and spies to the enemy, and have in consequence, it is said, been proscribed their accustomed abode at Teshoo Loomboo, where they had been ever patronized in great numbers by the Lama, and enjoyed particular favour and indulgence."

8. Thus the curtain fell upon the Tibetan stage, and from this time up to the present the journey of an Englishman to Lhasa (which is considerably nearer to Darjeeling than Darjeeling is to Calcutta, and which is separated from it by no pass of any difficulty whatever) has been considered something about as visionary as a voyage to Laputa or Atlantis would have appeared to a contemporary of Swift or to a disciple of Plato. Manning indeed made his way to the holy city in 1811—the only Englishman, so far as we certainly know, who ever reached it. He spoke Chinese, he travelled in disguise, and his

knowledge of medicine gave him great advantages. But his disguise was penetrated, and he was compelled to return to India. Our next glimpse of Tibet is obtained from the narrative of Fathers Huc and Gabet, who reached Lhasa on 29th January, and were deported from it on 15th March 1846. Both Manning and Huc and Gabet were well treated by the Tibetans, and were expelled by the Chinese. Manning, who wished to go on to China, was forced to return to India. Huc and Gabet, who begged to be allowed to go on to India, were forced to return to China. In the pages of these missionaries we find a most interesting mention of the Penchen Rimboochay, to whom Warren Hastings sent Turner more than 60 years before, and whom Lord Cornwallis saw driven from his home by the Goorkhas. "The celebrity," they write, "of the present Penchen is prodigious; his partisans assert that his spiritual power is as great as that of the Talé Lama, and that the sanctuary of Tashi Lunpo does not yield in sanctity to that of Potala. The present Penchen Rimboochay is sixty years of age; he is, they say, of a fine and majestic frame, and astonishingly vigorous for his advanced age. The Tibetans, the Tartars and the other Buddhists call him by no other name than the Great Saint, and never pronounce his name without clasping their hands and raising their eyes to heaven. The Tartars have so strong a faith in his power that they invoke him continually. In dangers, in afflictions, in all matters of difficulty, they have in their mouths the magic word bokte (saint)."

9. Our next information comes from the reports of the hardy explorers of the Survey Department despatched between 1865 and 1878, and from the (politically) more important reports of Baboo Sarat Chandra Das. This gentleman, while head-master of the Bhutia School in Darjeeling, devoted himself to the study of Tibetan literature, and conceived the design of penetrating to Tashi Lunpo. This design he carried out with a prudence, a courage and an intelligence which entitle him to high distinction. In 1879 he reached Tashi Lunpo travelling, not by the Sikkim passes, where he would have been liable to detection, but by the Kang La, which leads into a corner of

Nepal, and then over the Chotang La and the Chorten Nyema into Tibet. He went in the character of an Indian pundit, desirous of studying Buddhism in the places where it now flourishes. He was most hospitably received by the Minister of the Penchen, Singchen Rimboochay, and by the Penchen Rimboochay himself. This Penchen was born in 1853, and was the immediate successor of the Penchen of Turner and of Huc and Gabet. Sarat Baboo did not see much of the Grand Lama, who was only at Tashi Lunpo during seven weeks of his stay; but he saw enough to convince him of his strong individuality of character. The Minister, throughout his stay, manifested the strongest desire to become acquainted with European science. He was indefatigable in his application to photography and took lessons in English and Hindi, in physical science, and in mathematics. Sarat Baboo left Tashi Lunpo with a warm invitation from the Minister to return in the succeeding year. The Minister begged of him to fetch a lithographic press, some vaccine matter, a telephone and other things. In 1881 Sir Ashley Eden obtained the sanction of the Supreme Government to Sarat Baboo's deputation with Lama Ugyen Gyatso, the companion of his previous journey, on a visit to Tashi Lunpo and Lhasa. The Baboo again took the Nepal route, but this time crossed the Kanglachen Pass. He was received with open arms by the Minister, and resided with him at Tashi Lunpo and Dongtse for several months. He had better opportunities than on his first visit for prosecuting his acquaintance with the Grand Lama, and gave him lessons in Sanskrit. The Lama showed himself to be a man of broad and liberal views, and strongly inclined to further intercourse with India. He even proposed to take the Baboo in his own suite to Lhasa, when unfortunately he died of small-pox in August 1882. Sarat Baboo's report of his second visit is now in the press. It is sufficient to say here that he visited Lhasa in the train of the wife of one of the Shaffés, or Chief Secretaries, who is related to the Minister, and that he saw the Talé Lama, then a boy of eight. He returned to India in the beginning of 1883. The Minister had asked him if he could take about Rs. 2,500 for him in money to Calcutta for the purchase of European articles. On the Government of India learning this, they

desired that the Minister might be informed that they would be glad if he would consider this sum as placed to his credit in Calcutta in recognition of his kindness to the Baboo.

10. We have been awaiting a favourable opportunity for formally communicating this message, and an occasion recently presented itself. There have been various rumours afloat for the last year or so of the stoppage of the trade through Darjeeling by the Tibetan officials. This was at one time said to be owing to the quarrel between Tibet and Bhootan in August 1883, when the Paro Penlow plundered Phari Jong and carried off the Jongpen a prisoner. At another it was attributed to the influence of the Nepalese, who, after the settlement of the dispute arising out of the riot at Lhasa in March 1883, when the Sera, Depung, and Gahdan monks, disregarding the authority of the Tibetan Government, plundered the shops of the Newar traders, are said to have pressed the Tibetans to close the road to Darjeeling for three years. That the trade was stopped at times, and so lately as September last, there can be no doubt. It was considered desirable that enquiries should be made on the subject in Sikkim, and as some questions of importance regarding the Maharaja's allowance and the levy of transit duties were pending, there was a good opportunity for interesting the Sikkim Durbar in the matter. At the same time circumstances had suggested the advisability of opening a direct road between Darjeeling and the province of Tsang, where a large supply of wool is found and where the people have always been well disposed to us in consequence of the friendly relations subsisting between the Tashi Lamas and the Indian Government a hundred years ago. The Lieutenant-Governor accordingly deputed me to make enquiries from the Maharaja at Tumlong, and to visit the Lachen valley to ascertain if a road, practicable all the year round, could be constructed. It was also hoped that, if I could have a friendly interview with the Tibetan authorities on the frontier at the head of the Lachen valley, an opportunity might be found for communicating the message of the Government of India to the Minister at Tashi Lunpo, the capital of Tsang. A special report deals with the question relating to Sikkim. I may here say that

the Maharaja was able to state that, when he left Choombi on 20th October, the trade had been opened again. He attributed the stoppage to the dispute with the Bhootanese which was then being investigated; he said he knew nothing of a Nepalese intrigue. Intimation of my projected visit to the frontier was sent by the Maharaja to Kamba Jong, and on the 8th November I met one of the Jongpens of Kamba (the other was ill) at Giagong. I may here quote the description given by Baboo Sarat Chandra Das of the functions of a Jongpen:—"The Jongpens are the district officers who, in addition to their revenue and executive duties, are entrusted with powers to try Civil and Criminal cases within the limits of their *jongs* or districts. The chief duty of the Jongpen is the collection of the Government revenues and occasional taxes, levied by the issue of *kargya*, or *purwanas*, from the Court of Kablons. His power therefore is very great in revenue and executive matters. In every *jong* two Jongpens with equal powers are appointed from among the most distinguished Doongkhors. The Jongpens of Tibet closely resemble in their duties and powers the district officers under the British Government, with this difference, that the Jongpens have also to do military duty in times of war. In military matters the Jongpen is subordinate to the Dahpen (General) and the Ampa (Senior Imperial Resident)."

11. At the beginning of our first interview, the Jongpen was reserved and distant in his manner, and was evidently uneasy, lest I should ask leave to cross the frontier. He also declined to receive a letter or presents for the Minister, on the ground that it was not the custom to hold any communication with the British. As the conversation proceeded, however, and I pointed out that the letter was a mere matter of courtesy, and a sign of respect for the character and position of the Minister, made enquiries about the reappearance of the Penchen and explained the entirely pacific and friendly nature of our policy, and as he saw that I had no intention of crossing the frontier or of giving trouble, he became more communicative, and finally agreed to take charge of the letter and some presents. After this the communications became very cordial, and

he displayed much curiosity and interest in the things presented or shown to him, and finally he himself asked me to have a photograph of the group taken. Next morning I had a long confidential interview with him, only Sarat Baboo being present as interpreter. He begged that I would treat what he said as confidential, and I trust, therefore, that this portion of my memorandum may be regarded as such. To my enquiry what was the cause of the suspicion with which we were regarded, he answered that there was no real dislike or suspicion of us among the people, and that on the contrary they were now well aware that the "Maharani's" subjects are governed with justice and are very rich and happy. This knowledge is spreading every day, and a stronger and stronger desire is growing up for further communication with India. The only party really opposed to us are the monks of the monasteries at Lhassa,—Sera, Depung, Gahdan, Mulu, and the four "Lings" (Kenduling, Chemeling, Checheling and Tankyaling),—who are afraid of losing their influence, and also afraid of losing the profits of the practical monopoly which they now hold of the trade through Darjeeling. The monks have hitherto had their own way, but he and most of the officials, and all the people, would like to see all restrictions on communication with us removed. I asked him what he thought of the proposal of constructing a road through the Lachen valley for the convenience of traders. As an official, he said, he could not say he would like to see it made; as a private individual he would be glad. I asked him if it would lead to increase in trade. He said that it would certainly do so, if traders were allowed to pass. People are now most anxious to trade with India, and are most eager to get English goods, particularly broadcloth, cutlery, and piece-goods. "Now-a-days," he said, "whenever a man gets an article of English manufacture, a hundred people come to look at it." He said, however, that there would be no use in making a road while the present policy is upheld, as he would be forced to prevent people from using it in large numbers. I asked him if he levied any duty now on traders, such as I had met in the Lachen valley. He said, he had no orders to levy duty, but he had strict orders not to let many people pass Kamba Jong, and he had had before this to turn people back for

fear of getting into trouble. In the same way at Phari, he believed it was a matter more of prohibition than of taxation. He did not believe in the pretext of the Bhootanese and Nepalese difficulties so far as the question of the trade by the Jeylep (the eastern pass) was concerned. The Sera and Depung monks are keen traders, and they have influence enough to cause difficulties to be thrown in the way of their competitors. I asked him if he and others of the same views had any hope of seeing a change in the policy of exclusion. He said that if we could only get China on our side, the present was an excellent opportunity. The riot of March 1883 occurred during the grand prayer meeting, when the police of Lhasa is every year given over for a month to the charge of the monks under a Provost called Tshog-chhen-shal-no. The quarrel originated in the maltreatment of a Tibetan lady by some Nepalese shopkeepers. The Sera, Gahdan and Depung monks all took part in the disturbance because the Nepalese are rival traders. The Sera and Gahdan monks had the additional incentive of a desire to discredit the Depung monks, who, they complain, monopolise the appointment of Provost. The Gesub, who tried to quell the tumult, had to take refuge in the Talé Lama's palace and afterwards tendered his resignation of the office. The outcome of the matter was that the Lhasa Government had to pay Nepal an indemnity of 10 lakhs of rupees. They have this year asked China to send four Ampas instead of two, in order to support their authority against the monks. This, the Jongpen said, was an excellent opportunity for us. The Lhasa Government, he assured me, are themselves liberal and friendly, and if the Chinese would allow us to approach them and the monks were suppressed, trade, he was confident, would be freed from all restrictions. I had also a long talk with the Jongpen about the Tashi Lamas. He was well acquainted with the story of Bogle's and Turner's missions, and said that every villager in Tibet knew of the pearl necklace which the Governor of India sent to the Tashi Lama. He also spoke quite seriously of the belief that Her Majesty is the incarnation of the Divine Mother Tara, who is the special protectress of the Penchens. The monks at Lhasa, it may be observed, have tried to spread the belief that she is the

incarnation of Mag-jorgyamo, the God of War, but throughout Tsang, and in a great part of U, the other view is held. He was very much surprised and pleased at even my limited stock of information regarding Tibet and its religion, but he was aware that the Indian Government are tolerant towards Buddhists, and that it had even expended money on repairs of Buddhist monuments. He also knew that Warren Hastings gave the Tashi Lama a piece of land on the Hooghly for a Buddhist temple. My interview with the Jongpen was cordial in the extreme, and he repeatedly asked Sarat Baboo to say that he had never hoped to see a Peling (European) with so much sympathy for Tibet and its people. I hope I may be pardoned for going so much into personal detail with regard to this interview. I have done so because it seems to me that no better illustration could be given of the willingness of these people to enter upon friendly relations with us, if they are properly treated, or of the superiority of personal intercourse over formal correspondence, than the change between the Jongpen's manner at the beginning of our interview on the 8th and his manner at the close of our interview on the 9th. We parted, I promising to send him copies of his photograph as soon as possible, and he promising to write to me at times with news of Tibet. I may add that the Jongpen's attendants, 106 in number, were very friendly and respectful.

12. The Jongpen has carried out his commission most faithfully, and the Minister has not failed to respond promptly to my letter. A copy of his letter to me and the letter for His Excellency, with the significant present accompanying it, have been separately forwarded to the Government of India. We have thus at length succeeded, after much neglect and many failures, in opening friendly communication with Tibet. His Grace the Duke of Argyll wrote in his despatch of 5th May 1870: "I entirely concur with Your Excellency's Government that benefit may reasonably be expected from the proposed measure of abandoning our recent policy of isolation towards Tibet, and resuming the former friendly communications with its rulers, which were originally opened by Mr. Warren

Hastings, when Governor-General of India, and which have unfortunately been too long in abeyance." The letters now received are the first that have come from the authorities at Tashi Lunpo since December 1785. But they derive a further special interest from their contents; for the letter of the Minister announcing the incarnation of the 16th Penchen Rimboochay in 1884 is a precise parallel to the letter of the Regent announcing the incarnation of the 14th in 1782.

II.

13. It is unfortunately, from the special circumstances of the case, impossible to make any approach to an accurate estimate of the expansion of trade that would follow if our native merchants were admitted without restriction to Tibet. We know that a flourishing trade did exist while the road, even through Nepal, was open, and moderate duties only were levied. We know that as soon as our merchants were again admitted through Bhootan, a profitable commerce at once sprang up. And we might assume, if we had no other materials for forming an opinion, that the trade would be valuable to-day, when Calcutta is brought within 15 days' journey of Shigatse and three weeks journey of Lhasa, if it was valuable when the journey even to Shigatse took six weeks, and when Darjeeling, where the whistle of the steam-engine now resounds along the hills, was still hushed in the silence of the primeval forest. The registered import and export trade of Nepal was last year Rs. 1,48,71,315. How much of this,—and of the trade which escapes registration,—goes to and comes from Tibet we have no means of ascertaining with accuracy. Some light, however, is thrown upon the extent of the trading operations of the Nepalese merchants by the fact that the amount which the Tibetan Government had to pay on account of the losses sustained by them in the disturbance at Lhasa on 31st March 1883 was 10 lakhs of rupees. They have establishments at Shigatse, Gyantse and Chethang as well as at Lhasa. We do not know what even our present trade through Darjeeling really amounts to. I have shown in the report for the past year that I

ascertained by personal enquiries made through Baboo Sarat Chandra Das that the value of the goods under nine heads alone, known to have been taken to Tibet by individual traders, was Rs. 1,54,805 against Rs. 8,080, the value of the total exports of the year under those heads as shown in the registers. The Commissioner's attention has been drawn to this, and he has been asked to make proposals for a change in the system of registration, which can never be efficient while the mohurirs are supposed to work at Rungeet and Pheydong throughout the year. Several instances of the same nature have come to my notice during the current year. I may observe that there has been a considerable increase in the recorded export of piece-goods, indigo, tobacco and copper and in the recorded import of horses, blankets, musk, and yak-tails, though the figures only represent the trade passing at the times when the registering officers have been present at their stations. I have ample evidence, however, that the most valuable and portable articles frequently escape notice altogether. Musk, for instance, is a very favourite article of import, the pods selling in Calcutta at Rs. 20 to Rs. 25 each. It is known that there was a rush of general trade in the beginning of the year,—when the passage of goods through Phari was comparatively free,—in consequence of the very large profits said to have been made by those who owned ventures in 1883-84 after the withdrawal of the Nepalese traders from Lhasa. The Pheydong mohurir appears to have attended to his work in June, as his register shows Rs. 64,000 worth of musk imported in that month. In September the register shows Rs. 14,100. The returns for October and November are blank, and the return for December shows Rs. 6,000. Now Sarat Baboo has procured for me a list of nine men who came through Pheydong in November and December with musk worth Rs. 88,500. Some had silks and bullion as well. The imports of musk alone were therefore not less than Rs. 1,66,600 in the four months of June September, November and December. The value registered in 1883-84 was Rs. 2,560, and in 1882-83 was *nil*. I have little doubt that the total value of the trade between Tibet and Darjeelng,—apart from the local trade of Sikkim,—is quite ten lakhs of rupees even now.

14. But, as I shall proceed to show, this gives us no indication whatever of the value of the trade that would be carried if our traders were placed on the same footing as the Nepalese occupy in Tibet. The trade of Tibet with India is now carried on by Nepalese, Cashmeerees and Tibetans. We may leave the Cashmeerees out of consideration, as the trade of India through Ladakh can never be large. The Nepalese are compelled to use the routes through Nepal in order that their Government may have the opportunity of handing them over to the tax farmers on the frontiers. The journey from Calcutta to Kathmandoo takes 9 days, and the journey from Kathmandoo to Shigatse takes 28 days. From Shigatse to Lhasa is 8 days' march. The journey from Calcutta to Lhasa by Kathmandoo therefore takes over six weeks without halts. Now Darjeeling can be reached in 26 hours from Calcutta. I came in myself in 1877 from the Jeylep Pass to Darjeeling between Thursday morning and Saturday evening, and, had the railway then existed, I could have reached Calcutta at noon on Monday, having had my food in Tibet at the Jeylep Chorten on Thursday morning. A week would be an ample allowance for a trade with laden coolies or mules from Darjeeling to the Jeylep. From the Jeylep to Gyantse may be counted 7 days, and from Gyantse to Lhasa 6. The journey, therefore, from Calcutta to Lhasa by Darjeeling may be taken at three weeks, or less than half the journey by Kathmandoo. The rates of duty on goods passing north or south across the southern frontier of Nepal vary at the different stations. There is no regular customs establishment, but the vicious system of farming is employed. The effect on trade may be gathered from the remark of the Collector of Mozufferpore: "The farmers make as much as they can during the term of their lease, and their exactions are passed over unnoticed." It is understood that export and import duties are also levied at Kirong on the northern frontier. In Sikkim, on the other hand, there are no duties of any kind. It is impossible that a trade through Nepal could flourish with such difficulties to surmount as a tedious journey of six weeks and a harassing system of import and export duties. Why the trade through Darjeeling is so cramped is clear enough. Our merchants

not being allowed to settle in Tibet and carry on a regular commerce with correspondents in the plains, the trade remains in the hands of individual Tibetans who have themselves to take charge of their own small ventures. Even they, as we have seen above, are constantly harassed and stopped. What we require is to have our own native merchants stationed in the principal towns with liberty to carry on unrestricted communications with the plains through Darjeeling. If this could be effected, there can be no doubt that a very large trade would spring up, and English goods would not only have a large market in the valley of the Sanpo, but displace the Russian goods which now, from the facilities they enjoy, find their way into southern Mongolia and Tibet. I have already referred to the statement of the Jongpen of Kamba regarding the demand that exists for European goods. A glance at the map is sufficient to show that, with our railway to Darjeeling, and good roads to the neighbouring frontier, it only requires commercial organization and freedom from obstruction to ensure a flourishing trade between Calcutta and Lhasa.

The Nepalese are well aware of the danger with which their monopoly is threatened, even under present circumstances, by the Darjeeling route. The goods imported by Darjeeling can be sold at Lhasa at a very large profit, and still at lower prices than the Nepalese have to charge. They have accordingly again brought great pressure to bear upon the Tibetan Government to close the Sikkim route, and a Lhasa trader informs me that there is a general apprehension that this pressure will be effectual, and that trade between India and Tibet through Darjeeling may soon be wholly prohibited. This man has never before visited Calcutta, though he has travelled from Lhasa to Nepal, and he very graphically described the ease and rapidity of the one journey compared with the other. It will not be forgotten, in this connection, that the Tibetans pay the Nepalese tribute under the Treaty of 1856.

15. The chief articles of export from Tibet would be musk, gold and wool. Of musk I have spoken above. The supply of this article appears to be practically unlimited, as the musk deer abounds throughout the country.

16. The mineral wealth of Tibet has formed the basis alike of Indian fables and of Chinese proverbs. Indian fancy placed the home of the gods far away among the snows, on mountains glittering with gems and gold. The Chinese have a saying that Tibet is both the highest and the richest country in the world. The tradition that the country contains rich mines of gold and silver found expression eleven hundred years ago in a work called Sang-ling ("the secret land") by the great apostle Padma Sambhava, which is now in the Talé Lama's library at Lhasa. There appears to be little doubt that gold is really plentiful. The profusion with which the metal is used in the adornment of the great temples of Tashi Lunpo, Lhasa and Samye shows that it can be obtained without much difficulty. Turner says: "They find it in large quantities and frequently very pure. In the form of gold dust it is found in the beds of rivers, and at their several bendings, generally attached to small pieces of stone, with every appearance of its having been part of a larger mass. They find it sometimes in large masses, lumps and irregular veins; the adhering stone is generally flint or quartz, and I have sometimes seen a half-formed, impure sort of precious stone in the mass." Regarding Western and Central Thibet, one of the Batháng missionaries writes: "Must it be supposed that Central Thibet is rich in nothing but rocks and mud when the largest gold-fields actually worked lie to the west, at Thokjalung and Chakchak in the Ngaré province, and on the Kuenlun mountains at the very boundary between Thibet and the Gobi desert? The gold dug from the Thibetan mines is shining in the rays of the sun on the gilt pinnacles of the pagodas, on the idols, on the beams and columns of the temples, on the chairs, couches and ornaments of people of high rank." And we have evidence that gold is plentiful in Eastern Thibet also. Huc and Gabet say: "Thibet, so poor in agricultural and manufacturing products, is rich beyond all imagination in metals. Gold and silver are collected there so readily that the common shepherds have become acquainted with the art of purifying these precious metals. You often see them in the ravines or in the hollows of the mountains, seated round a fire of argols amusing themselves with purifying in a rude crucible the gold dust

they have found while tending their herds" M. Desgodins, in "La Mission du Thibet," writes thus: "Lesable d'or se trouve dans toutes les rivières et même dans les petits ruisseaux du Thibet oriental. On peut voir autour de la malheureuse petite ville de Bathang, prise comme centre, en bien des endroits, vingt ouvriers chinois ou thibétains laveurs d'or selon l'expression, très occupés à leur travail et très circonspects aussi parce que les lois thibétaines défendent, sous des peines sévères, tout creusement dans les mines d'or et d'argent." The prohibition here referred to has its origin in the popular superstition—a remnant of the old worship of the forces of nature—that ill luck must attend any attempt to discover the secrets of the earth. This superstition, as Mr. Edgar points out, is also prevalent in Sikkim. In Tibet, however, the prohibition has, for individuals, legal as well as popular sanction. The sacred books declare that Tibet is a land of treasures, and that the spirits appointed to guard them will wreak vengeance on any one who seeks to trespass on the mystic storehouse. It is ordained that if any one accidentally discovers a mine of precious metals or of gems, he shall go his way and tell no man, satisfied that he has been accorded a glimpse of the wealth committed to the care of the terrible genii, the Tanma Chuni, but presuming not to look further. The need of gold for the adornment of the temples, and a liking for tea and other commodities has, however, led to some relaxation of these ordinances in favour of the Government, so that the Talé Lama's administration works two gold mines, and the Tashi Lama's one. The progressive party of course ridicule all this. Sarat Baboo has told me a characteristic story of the Minister, who asked him to examine some black stones near his country seat at Dongtsé to see if he could find any evidence of coal, adding, however, that he must be careful not to be observed, as the regulations could not be openly defied. These antiquated ideas will soon give way before self-interest, if commerce is developed, and then the vast mineral resources of Thibet will at length have an opening. As regards other minerals, I may again quote Turner: "Two days' journey from Tissolumboo there is a lead mine; the ore is much the same as that found in

Derbyshire, mineralized by sulphur, and the metal obtained by the very simple operation of fusion alone. Most lead contains a portion of silver, and some in such proportion as to make it an object to work the lead ore for the sake of the silver. I have seen ores and loose stones containing copper, and have not a doubt of its being found in great abundance in the country."

17. The quantity of wool available for export is known to be enormous. Between Kamba and Shigatse, within a march and a half of the Sikkim frontier at the head of the Lachen, sheep are killed, not for the sake of their hides or fleeces, which are practically valueless for want of a market, but in order that their carcasses may be dried into jerked meat and sold for eight annas each. At Kamba itself carpets and rugs are manufactured of the finest quality, and of patterns evincing excellent taste and skill; but there is no outlet for these fabrics. Further north on the great Chang Thang (or northern plateau), which begins just beyond the Sanpo, within five marches of the Kongra Lama, are prodigious flocks and herds which roam at will over the endless expanse. "The whole Jángtháng," writes Mr. Hennessy in his review of the explorations of A—k in 1879-82, "is coated by a short succulent grass, which from May to August covers the undulations with the softest of green carpets;" and he adds that hundreds, and even thousands, of maunds of shawl wool are "necessarily produced every year and *wasted*" on this great prairie.

18. As regards imports, the Jongpen laid stress chiefly on the demand for broadcloth, piece-goods and cutlery. Indigo and tobacco, he said, would also be largely consumed; but the other goods were universally prized. On the subject of tea he was more reserved. All he could say was that the prohibition against the import of Indian tea was enforced by the Chinese, and could be removed by them only. The more the question is examined, the more plain it becomes that, if the trade were freed, Indian tea must displace China tea in the markets of Tibet. How soon this result would follow upon the removal of the prohibition would depend upon the enterprise of the planters. I observe that Mr. Hennessy, in a note on trade routes

and the tea trade of Tibet, based upon information supplied by A—k, comes to the conclusion that Indian tea cannot compete in price with China tea in the Lhasa market. Mr. Hennessy's conclusions appear to be perfectly fair if the accuracy of the data on which they are based could be conceded. Of some of these, however, he speaks with hesitation, and I think I can show not only that they are inaccurate, but that other points have been altogether overlooked by A—k. The argument is that, as carriage by the Changthang route between Darchendo and Lhasa costs almost nothing owing to the "enormous carrying power not only available but even running to utter waste," the price of tea at Lhasa need hardly exceed its price at Darchendo, 890 miles off. The figures given by A—k would show that the best tea is sold at Darchendo for 8 annas a pound, and the worst for an anna and a quarter, and the outside limit of cost of carriage to Lhasa is taken at one rupee per maund, that is $2\frac{2}{5}$ th pie, or less than a quarter of an anna a pound. If these statements were correct, then the best China tea could be sold at Lhasa for a little more than 8 annas, and the worst for a little less than an anna and a half a pound. Now, I think that no one reading A—k's report can fail to observe that, admirable as is the scientific part of his work, his observations on commercial questions are extremely scanty and extremely vague. He was at Darchendo for a few days, and at Lhasa for several months. He gives some figures to show the price of tea at the former place, but none to show what is also of importance,—its price at the latter. He actually describes the gates of Darchendo "with doors made of thick boards," but says nothing of the customs duties levied at these gates, at the eastern gate on tea coming in and at the northern and southern gates on tea going out. As a matter of fact every packet of four bricks pays $\frac{3}{100}$ of a Chinese ounce of silver (three annas and four pie) on entry and the same duty on exit. Every pound of tea therefore pays 4 pie or one-third of an anna as customs duty, or nearly twice as much as the carriage for 890 miles is estimated to cost.

19. Before I refer to the actual selling price of China tea at Lhasa, I may point out that, against A—k's estimate

of $5\frac{1}{3}$ annas for a brick of the worst tea at Darchendo, we have the evidence of a missionary, who resided for some years in the neighbourhood, that the price of a brick of the worst tea at Darchendo is $12\frac{1}{2}$ annas. We have further the export charge for customs duty of 10 pie a brick or 2 pie a pound, which A—k does not refer to. As regards the carriage from Darchendo to Lhasa, it is to be observed that the calculation avowedly proceeds on speculation only. It is assumed that yaks can be hired, as well as fed, for nothing, and that the only expense that need be considered is the food of one man in charge of every 40 yaks, and the wear and tear of accoutrements. I learn, however, from the statements of traders from Lhasa, whom Sarat Baboo has closely interrogated, that, though the tea traders (called Do-pa because they go to Do, the common name for the eastern tract including Amdo, Darchendo, &c.) generally go by the Chang-lam (or northern road), they have much larger expenses to incur than A—k's estimate would include. Moreover it will be observed that this estimate takes no account of losses from exposure and from the robbers who are known to infest the route. They have first to purchase their baggage animals at Nag-Chu, which A—k reached in 11 days from Lhasa, and, though yaks feed themselves on a great part of the journey, asses and mules require some grain or pulses. These last animals are sometimes used in preference to yaks because they are able to travel faster and are less liable to succumb to exposure and fatigue. A trader, who has himself been to Darchendo, has given me the following sketch of a commercial venture undertaken by a Do-pa of his acquaintance. He took two servants and ten yaks to Darchendo by the Chang-lam route. He spent, apart from the sum invested in tea, two *dochhe* (Rs. 250) on the double journey of seven months, including an expensive stay of one month at Darchendo, and he made a profit of Rs. 100 only on the whole transaction. I give these figures for what they are worth, merely to show that the expenses of this expedition of 1,780 miles are not so trifling as has been assumed.

20. I now come to a matter of more practical importance, namely the price at which China tea actually sells at Lhasa. Though A—k expressly mentions the two

classes of coarse teas called Chupa and Gyépa, he fails to observe the instructive meaning of the words themselves. *Pa* in Tibetan corresponds to the Hindustani word *walla* for which we have no precise English equivalent. *Chu* means *ten* and *Gyé* means *eight*. Chupa simply means "ten-walla" and Gyépa "eight-walla." Now it happens that these classes of brick tea are actually used in Tibet as currency. The terms used to describe them merely indicate their conventional value in *tankas* (six annas). The conventional value therefore of a brick (about 5 pounds) of Chupa is Rs. 3-12-0, and of a brick of Gyépa is Rs. 3. Besides these there are fine teas, made up, some in bricks of different sizes, some even in leaf. The first quality of "Duthang," for instance, is sold at Lhassa at 4 srong or Rs. 10 for a brick of 6 pounds, and the second at Rs. 7 for a brick of 5 pounds, or at about Rs. 1-10-0 and Rs. 1-6-0 a pound respectively. I am informed by the merchants that at present the cash price of Chupa varies at Lhassa from 8 to 9 tankas a brick ($9\frac{1}{2}$ to $10\frac{1}{2}$ annas a pound), while that of Gyépa varies from 6 to 7 tankas a brick (a little over 7 to about $8\frac{1}{2}$ annas a pound). I can add a curious piece of confirmatory proof. One of my native assistants was presented with a brick of Gyépa tea by the Rajah of Sikkim when I visited Tumlong. He sold this to the coolies when we were in the Lachen valley, and they readily gave him Rs. 2-12-0 for the brick, or $8\frac{4}{5}$ annas a pound. The actual price when payment is made in Indian rupees, or in gold dust, varies at times, but the value of the tea for the purposes of barter is the value expressed by its name. The conventional value of Chupa is therefore 12 annas a pound, and that of Gyépa about $9\frac{1}{2}$ annas a pound. The price actually paid for Gyépa in the Lachen valley was just under 9 annas a pound.

21. In the face of these figures the only question of practical importance that remains, in regard to the price of China tea at Lhassa, is the margin of profit which it allows. If the trade were a monopoly, the present price would be no measure of the price at which the tea could be sold in competition with Indian tea. It may at once be answered that it is not a monopoly. The Chinese officials used, it is said, to get their salaries sent to them in tea on the pretext

that no tea could be procured in Tibet: this tea was carried free under *lam-yig* (road order) along the Shung-lam (or Government road), and was afterwards disposed of by them at its conventional value, and of course at an enormous profit. This practice, however,—partly, it is reported, because the villages on the route were becoming deserted in consequence of the perpetual harassment to which the inhabitants were subjected,—has long been stopped. A certain quantity, said to amount to 3,000 mule loads, is still imported annually by the Lhasa Government along the Shunglam, and the people of the villages on the route have to furnish carriage free. But this tea is used to supply the chief officials and the monasteries about Lhasa, and is not sold. The bulk of the trade is carried on by the Do-pa, and no restriction whatever is placed on their operations. I understand that they complain that competition has brought about the reduction in price below the conventional value of the bricks and leaves them a very small margin of profit. Some have even abandoned the tea trade and taken to commerce, in their small way, with India. It is quite clear, then, that the prices I have given represent the actual commercial value of the tea at Lhasa. I may add that, as we go westward to Gyantse and Shigatse, the cost of carriage brings the price of the tea nearer and nearer to its conventional value. Every year 300 mules are said to be despatched from Tashi Lunpo to Darchendo to fetch tea for the establishment of the Tashi Lama and the monks. The journey takes nearly eight months. If the Lachen route were opened, Tashi Lunpo would be brought within 15 days' march of Darjeeling.

22. Let us now see what would be the cost of laying down Darjeeling tea at Lhasa. Mr. Hennessy's estimate of the cost of carriage is unduly favourable. He puts it at Rs. 4-9 a maund. This allows for $1\frac{1}{2}$ maunds being carried by a cooly from Darjeeling to Phari, which is taken to be 90 miles. But a Darjeeling cooly will not carry more than one maund on a journey, and the Jeylep pass, which is three days' march this side of Phari, is 96 measured miles from Darjeeling. A pony can carry $1\frac{1}{2}$ maunds to Lhasa in 20 days. The journey would cost Rs. 10, at the rate of 8 annas a day, or 1 anna 4 pie a pound. To be absolutely

safe, however, let us take the journey at 25 days and the cost of carriage at 1 anna 8 pie a pound. This would cover the cost of carriage between most of the gardens and Darjeeling. As regards cost of production, it is impossible to estimate the cost of producing the compound of sticks and coarse leaves which, under the designation of Gyépa, now passes current in Tibet for the value of 9 annas a pound. The specimen which I submit herewith will make this clear. I understand, however, that the cost of producing good tea for the English market in the Darjeeling gardens need not exceed $5\frac{1}{2}$ annas a pound. It would be unnecessary to use expensive tea-boxes for packing; but if boxes were used, they would sell in Tibet, where wood is a luxury, for much more than they cost. Doubtless some system of packing in baskets or in gunny bags would be adopted. Half an anna a pound would be an outside limit of the cost of packing and incidental charges.

23. It comes to this, then, that good Darjeeling tea could be laid down at Lhasa—even on the improbable assumption that the Tibetans would impose an import duty equivalent to that levied by the Chinese at Darchendo—for 8 annas a pound, while the worst China tea sells at an average of about 8 annas, and even the second best quality of China tea sells as high as Re. 1-6 a pound. At Shigatse and Gyantse the cost of Darjeeling tea would be still less, while that of China tea would be still greater. I make no attempt to decide which the planters would find the more advantageous course,—to manufacture brick tea to compete with “Chupa” and “Gyépa,” or to send ordinary leaf tea which could far undersell “Duthang” and could be sold at a profit at prices slightly higher than those now prevailing for an immeasurably inferior article. The conditions of the market would soon be discovered if that market were once opened. The figures I have given will show plainly enough how great a field would lie before the Indian product if it were admitted to Tibet.

24. On the question whether the Tibetans would take to Indian tea the evidence is plain enough. Sarat Baboo was given Indian tea at an entertainment at Tashi Lunpo,

and he says it was much appreciated. The Jongpen of Kampa repeatedly praised the quality of the tea which I gave him to drink at Giagong. Tibetan politeness demands that the guest should expressly praise whatever is placed before him by his host. I may note, however, that my friend emptied two cups, while he merely tasted the brandy I gave him, and it is fair to infer that he did really find the tea palatable. The Jongpens who met Mr. Edgar at the Jeylep liked Indian tea. The Minister at Tashi Lunpo, who has the name of being a connoisseur in tea, drinks Indian tea whenever he can get it, and I have just sent him, through Kamba Jong, a present of some. A Darjeeling merchant, named Rabden, well aware of the profit that would ensue if his venture were successful, tried to smuggle a large quantity of Darjeeling tea into Tibet in the year 1872; but he was detected at Phari, his tea was confiscated and he was imprisoned for three years. The Tibetans tell me that they do not themselves drink the coarse tea sold in the Darjeeling bazar, because it is too bitter. They think that, if it were not fired, it would be more to their taste. Whether it would be necessary to make tea exclusively in bricks for the Tibetan trade is not clear. A Tibetan trader, now in Calcutta, has brought down some green China tea *in leaf* for his own use. These, as I have said above, however, are points which the trade would settle if obstructions were removed. With a large tea-drinking population on one side of the passes and a large production of tea on the other, it cannot be doubted that the producers and consumers would come to an understanding if the opportunity were allowed. I am told that some of the Darjeeling gardens, such as Tukvar and Singell, contain China plants, and they could undoubtedly supply tea such as, at the present moment, the Tibetans require.

25. On the general question of what Tibet would give and take, I cannot do better than quote from a note which Baboo Sarat Chandra Das has prepared for me:—

The chief imports of Tibet are cotton cloth, ohintz, broadcloth, kinkob, cutlery, indigo, tobacco, copper, pearls, corals, emeralds, quicksilver, dyes, sugar, treacle, llama and merino cloth and iron. Cotton cloth has the largest demand, the Tibetans of all classes having of late

years taken largely to the use of cotton for inner garments, for the lining of their robes and trowsers, and for screens and ceilings. Formerly they used to get their supplies from Nepal and China, but now-a-days European cotton cloths from the south have largely arrested the cotton trade of Eastern China, as merchants find it profitless. On account of the dry climate of the country cotton wears as well as the coarse serge, which has the disadvantage of being very rough and heavy. The demand for cotton stuff is really great, and the Nepalese traders sell cotton fabrics at 100 to 150 per cent. profit. The extreme dearness is a great hindrance to an increased demand for cotton cloths, as such commodities are thereby brought within the reach of the rich and the luxurious only. The increase of the wool trade will fast increase the demand for cotton in Tibet, as the Tibetans will not care to weave wool into cloth at the extreme disadvantage of selling them below cost price. A thick Bhutia woollen *choga* will sell at one-third the price of the raw wool required to make it. Hence cotton cloth will fill the Tibetan houses as soon as the exportation of wool increases.

The Nepalese merchants generally buy their articles of trade at Calcutta and carry them to Katmandu for transmission to Lhasa and the interior towns of Tibet at great expense of money and time. If they understood the real secrets of commerce, and were induced to bring their goods within the reach of the poorer classes, they could really profit by trade and get opportunities for larger investments of money and for a wider employment of their countrymen.

Broadcloth (of liver, crimson, orange, green, blue, and brown colours) is displacing the Russian broadcloth brought from the North Mongolian frontier. The latter is said to be of better quality, though much more costly than the British Indian broadcloth. But broadcloth stuff, on account of its cheapness, is readily bought by the middle classes, who wear it on state occasions and in making visits to their relations, instead of the durable, but costly, *purag* (Tibetan serge of excellent quality). English inferior broadcloth is esteemed more as an object of luxury than of ordinary use. If traders could be persuaded to sell their goods at a reasonable profit, the demand for broadcloth would be very great. At present well-to-do men in Tibet generally consider broadcloth as an object most suited for presentation to all classes of men. Silk and China satin were formerly fashionable articles for that purpose. Now broadcloth has much superseded their use. The silk and satin presented to men of humbler walks of life do not much benefit them, but broadcloth serves many purposes, as it is easily saleable, may be used as loose upper coats, boot-hose, hats (both for Lamas and females), and various other purposes. The Tibetans are fond of sewing their boot-hoses with broadcloths of different colours with the stripes arranged in rainbow hues. How glad the Tibetan becomes when presented with broadcloth, and what fascinating charm

it has over all classes of men, cannot adequately be described in a few words. If Indian traders or the Tibetan merchants could take this stuff to Tibet so as to place it within the reach of all classes of men, the demand for it could not fail to be very high, and its trade lucrative. The Northern Tibetans buy broadcloth from the Mongolians, who bring it from Russian shops in Lower Mongolia. The cost per yard is three to four times the cost of the same article brought to Lhasa from Calcutta *via* Nepal. The Tibetans buy the northern broadcloth under the impression that it is an indigenous product, and therefore a more durable manufacture, being called *sog-po Gonum*, *i.e.* Mongolian broadcloth. Yet the northern merchants, Chinese and Mongols, cannot supply the demand for this dress luxury of the Tibetans by trading in Russian broadcloth. But now-a-days they are getting their mistaken ideas corrected by the Calcutta broadcloth being brought within their reach.

The more we can push on the facilities of trade by the cis-Himalayan passes, by cultivating friendly relations with the Lama Government and by making roads to the frontiers of Tibet, the greater will be the progress of southern trade. The Russian trade, as far as the exports to Tibet and Mongolia are concerned, consists of European woollens, cotton cloths, glassware, leather, toys, telescopes, and fancy goods, some hard ware, pistols, revolvers, satin, and hides brought from European Russia, Siberia, and North America by way of Kamtsatka and Russian America. The coarse Russian broadcloth is much valued by the Tibetans of the middle class, and the finer stuff by the richer classes, both among the clergy and the lay people. Under such circumstances a sufficiently active industry can advantageously be employed to replace the northern traffic by bringing the British Indian articles within the reach of the Tibetans and the Southern Mongolians. The hides are used by the Mongols for making portmanteaus, sacks, tent strings, saddles, and pouches of different shapes. The Tibetans use leather for shoes and saddlery. They make their own portmanteaus with tanned yak skins very rudely. Assam fabrics, raw coarse silk cloth, called *bureh* or *khama* in Tibet, are sought by all classes of men, from the highest to the lowest. The former they use for inner garments and trousers, and the latter serves them as wrappers, like the shawls of the natives of India. The demand for this coarse stuff is incredibly large, but the supply is meagre.

Next in importance and value to the Tibetans is the European cambric called *sook*. Its durability is its great recommendation, and it is used for making trowsers, and occasionally robes for the lay people. It is not so expensive as broadcloth. English velvets and chintzes are also much in demand, the former being used for hats, boots, saddle lining, and the top cover of seats and cushions. They now get the same from China and Mongolia, but the native merchants and the Newars are about to replace that trade by English stuffs from Calcutta.

The demand for kinkob and lace from Benares is very great, generally among all classes of men who have any pretension to wealth. The rich line their shoes, boots, coats, outer garments, and hats, the petticoats and jackets of women either wholly or partially, with kinkobs. The high price which the Newars and Kashmiris demand for this article of luxury places it within the reach of a very limited class of men. I cannot describe the earnestness with which my acquaintances and friends asked me to procure them some kinkobs from Benares. They also pointed out the profit that would accrue to me even if I disposed of the same at a comparatively low price, say at 30 to 50 per cent. profit. I was really surprised to see that my friends were unable to understand why I disliked fetching them goods like a merchant from the British Indian market. The following colours of European broadcloth, namely, the yellow, orange, crimson, liver, blue, and green, are greatly esteemed in Tibet. The clergy are restricted to the use of the first four, the fifth is used by the lay people, and the sixth used exclusively by the females. The English colours are very agreeable to all classes of men according to their faith and taste and are superstitiously admired.

Next in importance to broadcloth is the merino fabric, called *gya-ther*. It is used in entire pieces, slightly sown, of 12 to 16 yards, for the frock-like gowns of the monks, and in pieces of 6 to 8 yards as wrappers. The liver or *gya-mug* colour is eminently suited for clerical costumes. Larger breadths are not much prized, as clothes sewn in numerous patches are prescribed in the sacred books as suited for the clergy.

English and Indian chintzes, though not worn by the Tibetans, are yet largely used for screens, ceilings, and coverings of pictures. Cotton stuffs are now gradually coming into use for the inner garments of priests and ladies. The trowsers of the lay people are generally made of blue and white cotton stuffs.

Thin *khurwas* are used to line the robes of the middle class men. Tents are universally made of cotton stuff, although canvas from Sifan or Silin, which is costly, is preferred by the upper classes. Light canvas brought from Northern Mongolia is of small breadth and less strong than Indian tent canvas. The coarsest kind of borderless shawls are used by the Tibetans who can afford to buy them, and are brought from Ladak and Kashmir through the Nepalese passes.

Tibet has been from time immemorial the principal market for different kinds of precious stones, such as pearls, corals, and amber. The former two are obtained from Nepalese and Kashmir merchants, and the latter from the Ladak and Chinese merchants.

Almost all the females who can afford it buy pearls and coral to adorn their head-dress. The head-dress is the most costly of all the

ornaments worn by the Tibetan ladies; its price varying from Rs. 100 to Rs. 10,000. An immense number of pearl-strings is used to complete the head-dress of a lady of high rank. The greatest attention is paid to adorning the head by all classes of females, who seem quite indifferent to adorning their persons suitably to their head-dress. The priests who have any pretension to rank and sanctity, as well as well-to-do lay men, carry rosaries made of coral in their hand. The Nepalese merchant have practically the monopoly of the pearl and coral trade. Of late the market has been pretty full; but as good pearls are rare in Lhasa, I was asked by many gentlemen of position and ladies to see if I could fetch them some excellent pearls.

The demand for indigo is always on the increase. Its usefulness as a dyeing material has ever been appreciated in Tibet. All classes of men, except the Lamas, buy indigo in quantities proportional to their requirements. Great landlords invariably maintain manufacturing establishments, and keep the largest supply of indigo.

The costliness of Tibet carpets and rugs is mainly due to the high price of indigo in Tibet. There are numerous dyeing roots and plants that grow on the rocky hills and in the gravelly plateau of Tibet. The present supply, owing to the difficulty of carriage, is very inadequate.

There are no copper mines in Tibet, or at least the people have not been able to discover any which they could work for copper. The Tibetans get large supplies of copper from Nepal and Calcutta. Conveyance from Nepal being very expensive, people now turn to Calcutta as the cheapest market for copper. Almost all sorts of cooking and church utensils are made of copper. The tea-pots, lamp-burners, cooking vessels, water-jugs, images, washing caldrons, the roofing and ornamental spires of temples, are all made of copper plates. For the supply of this useful metal Tibet has been solely dependent on Nepal and Calcutta of late. The Calcutta metal has been declared to be less costly and more easily worked.

Tobacco is largely consumed by the lay people. The women are particularly fond of snuff. Though formerly it was an article of luxury, yet now it has become an article of every-day house consumption. The monks clandestinely smoke tobacco and publicly use snuff when out of the monastery. Rungpore tobacco is much prized in Southern Mongolia, and Chinese tobacco is still in high esteem in Lower Tibet and Upper Mongolia. This is not owing to the superior quality of the Chinese tobacco, but because of the rarity of the article and its high price in the hands of the southern merchants. If steps could be taken to fill the southern markets of Tibet, such as Shiga-tse, Gyang-tse, Lhasa, and Chethang, with tobacco, this drug must find its way to the northern mart of Lower Tibet and Mongolia.

Tibet requires a large number of tropical drugs and spicery for consumption both for cookery and for the preparation of medicines. In return she exports to India a large number of vegetable and mineral substances, the value of which very few Indian physicians have yet been able to appreciate.

English cutleries are gradually displacing the Chinese, Nepalese, and Bhutea country-made cutleries. At present English knives are beginning to be used instead of the Chinese *gyati* or the chop-sticks. Forks are not valued, but there are few Tibetans who do not buy spoons for their tables. Long needles supply the place of forks in Tibet. While at Gyang-tse I was told by Chanjo Kúsho that an ordinary razor (Joseph Rodgers') some eight years ago cost him Rs. 8. He begged me to use his eight-rupee razor in preference to my one, which had cost me only Re. 1-8 at Calcutta. In fact his one was much inferior to my one; but as he had paid Rs. 8 for it, he attached a higher value to it. At present much profit is derived from the sale of European cutleries, as they are very portable.

Mirrors, tin plates, and chinaware from Canton, are now finding extensive sale in Tibetan markets. The use of ugly wooden cups, such as those made out of maple knots, is fast being superseded by china cups from Calcutta. People consider this a great convenience. The more traders from the south will take chinaware for sale to Tibetan marts, the more will China crockery from Tarchindo and Pekin fall off, and eventually the demand for chinaware from Calcutta will entirely stop the northern trade of Tibet.

The export of Tibetan goods to India, including cis-Himalayan countries, through Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan, exceeds the imports into Tibet, and compares favourably and hopefully with what formerly existed. Although I have no statistics to bring forward regarding these countries, yet I believe that the information obtained by me is very near the truth, and may have some practical utility, as derived from trustworthy sources.

Tibet gold, obtained as payment for goods by the Newars, is conjectured to be upwards of ten lakhs a year. As the coinage of Tibet is much adulterated, the Kashmiris and Newar merchants sell their goods at a discount over the chief coinage (*tanka*) to provide for the adulteration. When they return to Nepal, they dispose of their silver by exchange for gold or gold-dust. The Nepalese Government having prohibited by law the importation of silver into Nepal, the Newar merchants find it easy to barter in gold, and the Tibet Government naturally yield to the claims of the Newars to leave their silver in Tibet. The coinage of Tibet having no outlet remains in the country, and lessens the extent of annual coinage in the mint. The gold dust and gold pieces annually going out of the country necessitate the further working of the mines, which yield a steady

supply. The Newar merchants, who are strictly prohibited from bringing Tibetan, Nepal, or British Indian silver coins into Nepal, carry down gold to dispose off the same with advantage. This saves them much trouble as to the conveyance, security on the way, and time. They refine the Tibet gold-dust, which is usually impure, and gain considerably thereby.

The finest borax, rhubarb, and musk in the world are the exclusive products of Tibet and its frontiers. Much of the first and second is taken to Russia by the Mongolian merchants and by the Chinese merchants to Peking, and thence by European merchants to Europe and America. The natives of Tibet are ignorant of the great use of these two articles in Europe, and hence we hear so little of rhubarb and borax in the cis-Himalayan trade. Musk and yak-tails have been from time immemorial the renowned articles of Tibetan trade with ancient India. Notices of them are to be found in the travels of Drake, and also in the works of Arrian and Megasthenes. In the sacred books of the Hindu, chowry (yak tail) and musk were the chief articles of Himalayan trade carried on by the Kiratas (the Khumbo tribe of Eastern Nepal) and the Bhutias.

All Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, Man Twang, Lho Khabra, Daphla country, the Pobo land, Western China, and smaller Mongolia obtain their supply of salt from Tibet. There is an immense salt mine in the Chang district north-west of Lhasa and one month's journey north of Shiga-tse, which furnishes inexhaustible quantities of rock-salt to all Tibet and the neighbouring countries. The Government of Tibet levies no duty on this article, and the Tibetans find it a very convenient commodity to exchange for rice, millet, sugar, and different other products of Nepal or India. I conjecture that about three to four lakhs of rupees worth of salt is annually imported from Tibet into Nepal, and a lakh of rupees worth into Sikkim and Bhutan.

The exports of live-stock, such as sheep, goats, and ponies, are very important in the commerce of Tibet. Their value and growing demand is very marked. I refrain from conjecturing the value of live-stock trade with cis-Himalaya, simply because it is very easy to ascertain it from statistics.

The wool trade (at present of woollens), salt, and live-stock, not to speak of all other minor exports from Tibet, and above all the importation of gold into Nepal, make the exports of Tibet of greater value than the imports from this side of the Himalayas.

III.

26. In considering the question of the opening of free commercial relations with Tibet, we have two main factors

to deal with—the power of the Chinese, and the influence of the monks of Lhasa. There can be no doubt that, if these two elements were conciliated, the secular Government of Lhasa and the people at large would be glad to see trade and general intercourse established.

27. Of course the most important is China. However much we may resent the present policy, and however unreasonable and humiliating we may consider it, we cannot challenge it as an infringement of a right. We ourselves allowed the power of China to become finally supreme in Tibet in 1792, and if our proceedings were the subject of misunderstanding or misrepresentation, it can hardly be said that they did not afford grounds and opportunity for both the one and the other. At any rate, we deliberately abdicated the influence which we had obtained, and might have increased. Since then Nepal, as well as Tibet, has recognized her supremacy, the contracting parties in the Treaty of 1856,—namely “the Chief Sirdars, Bhardars and Lamás of both Governments,”—distinctly declaring that “the Emperor of China is to be obeyed by both States as before.” A general authority is claimed even over Sikkim, and the letter of the Ampas to the Maharaja in 1873, regarding the Jeylep road and Mr. Edgar’s visit, shows that attempts have sometimes been made to exercise it without much ceremony. And whatever fluctuations Chinese influence in Tibet may have experienced at different times,—with the ebb and flow of popular feeling, the subservience or ambition of different Gesubs, and the long minorities of three Talé Lamás in succession,—there can be no doubt that to-day it is perhaps stronger than it ever was. We have reached one of those periodical crises which events in Tibet appear to bring about in a regularly recurring cycle to give the Chinese opportunities for re-establishing or strengthening their dominion. The murder of one Gesub in 1716; the murder of another, followed by the destruction of the two Ampas, in 1749; the plunder of Tashi Lunpo by the Goorkhas in 1792; the deportation of the Gesub, and the suppression of the Sera monks who supported him, by Ki-Chan in 1844; and now the riot between the monks and the Nepalese in 1883; and the appeal of the Government to China for the

deputation of Special Commissioners to keep the former in check,—are all opportunities such as China was eager to grasp in the past, and such as she will not probably forego to-day. Without the permission and countenance of China, no British mission could be sent to, or could hope to reach, Lhasa. But if China's consent and support could be obtained (and this was provided for in the draft of the Chefoo Convention), such a mission, properly conducted, would undoubtedly have an enormous effect in bringing about a good understanding between the Tibetans and ourselves. The few who have been brought into contact with them have found them polite, amiable, hospitable, intelligent, and liberal-minded. This was the experience of Bogle, Turner, Manning, Huc, Gabet and Sarat Chandra Das. I can contribute my own testimony to the same effect. I am satisfied that the Tibetans only require to be spoken fair and treated properly to become our fast friends; and a short visit to Lhasa of Europeans, who might be depended upon to discharge their trust judiciously, would serve to dispel all the clouds of distrust and doubt which past events have gathered about our name. The vast scientific value of such a mission does not require demonstration.

28. It will not be overlooked that there are two Indian products which the Chinese look upon with dislike—opium and tea. As regards opium, it could be made clear that the Tibetans do not consume it, and that only smuggled opium could possibly be carried to China by land at a profit. But if the main line of trade were transferred to Darjeeling, the smuggling of opium would become much more difficult than it is now. The territory of Nepal marches with the opium districts, and it has no interest in the suppression of the smuggling of Indian opium to China; whereas it would be impossible for smugglers to carry on any extensive operations through Darjeeling. Of tea I have spoken above. We have no means of properly estimating the amount of customs duty levied at Darchendo (Ta-t sien-lu). Mr. Hennessy thinks that the consumption of tea in Tibet is not less than $11\frac{1}{2}$ millions of pounds, and the duty on this, at the rate given above, would be nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of rupees. But this estimate is purely speculative, and there is every reason to

suppose that a good part of the amount levied never reaches the Chinese exchequer. As regards the interest of the Lhasa Government in the matter, we only know that the tea they import does not enter the general market, and there seems no reason why they should make any change in their present practice. Whether they would ultimately take to Indian tea is a question which cannot be solved in our present knowledge of the circumstances. There may be political considerations involved with which we are not acquainted. At any rate it is clear that we must secure the countenance of the Peking Government before we take any active steps to negotiate with the Tibetan authorities at Lhasa. It can be demonstrated that there is already a considerable import of Chinese goods into Tibet through Calcutta, and undoubtedly the superiority of this route over the tedious and dangerous journey of 1,300 miles by land between Canton and Lhasa must, if our policy is adopted, lead to a great increase in the trade. And perhaps, under present circumstances, it would be possible so to present the case to the Chinese that they may be willing to promote our views.

29. I would, therefore, urge that application be made to China for passports and support for a mission to proceed to Lhasa for a specified period, to confer there with the Chinese Commissioners and the Lhasa Government on the admission of Indian merchants to Tibet, and the removal of all restrictions on the free passage of traders by the Darjeeling route. It should be stipulated that the admission of Europeans, except by consent in each case of the Tibetan Government, and on passports issued by them, would be considered outside the scope of the negotiations. Even in Bogle's time, the admission of Europeans was recognized as hopeless—because Chinese influence had become paramount at Lhasa—though Indian merchants were admitted and protected. I think we should largely increase our chances of success if it were made clear, in the first instance, that no such proposal would be made. Our main object is to establish our trade on a sound footing, and to make it the interest of the Tibetans to maintain intercourse with India. This can be done if a mission paves the way, and

our native merchants are freely admitted. The admission of Europeans may follow. If it is pressed now, our object will be probably frustrated from the beginning.

30. But, besides the Chinese, we have to take account of the monks who occupy the monasteries in and about Lhasa. The number of monks in each, according to the

Depung ...	7,700	figures obtained by Baboo Sarat Chandra
Sera ...	5,500	from the Tibetan records, is given in the
Gahdan ...	3,300	margin. Gahdan was founded by the
Tankyaling ...	600	great Tsong-kapa; Depung by Gedun-
Checheling ...	500	tupa, his successor. These monks have
Potala ...	500	always been a power at Lhasa, and have
Chemeling ...	300	at times shown themselves to be turbulent
Chogpoiki ...	300	and unruly. It was they who sacked the
Kenduling ...	200	houses of the Chinese in 1810, because
Meru ...	200	a Chinese soldier had killed a monk in a
Total ...	<u>19,100</u>	scuffle. It was the Sera monks who broke into rebellion in

1844, when Ki-Chan arrested the Gesub, and who compelled the Chinese Ambassador to seek refuge for a time in the house of one of the Kahlons. It was the Depung monks, assisted by those of Sera and Gahdan, who plundered the shops of the Nepalese in 1883. They seem to represent the national party in permanent opposition to the Chinese, sometimes being headed by the Gesub, as in 1749 and 1844, and sometimes defying both Gesub and Chinese, as in 1810 and 1883. Their attitude towards us would naturally be one of opposition, as it has generally been to the Chinese, not so much on account of bigotry,—for there is very little of this in the country,—as from an apprehension of their power being reduced and their privileges curtailed. There is, however, another motive of jealousy which I suspect had something to do with the attack on the Nepalese in 1883. Some of these monks are very fond of trading, though necessarily they indulge in it in a desultory fashion. In fact, as my lists show, a considerable part of the trade of Lhasa through Darjeeling is carried on by monks who have temporary leave of absence from their monasteries. At the present moment there are monks from Sera and Depung in Calcutta, and I have seen them several times in Darjeeling. They know that

their only present competitors in the Indian trade are the Nepalese, and they know that more serious competitors would be found in the Indian merchants if they were admitted. Unless we conciliate their good-will, they will certainly oppose us. But the good-will of the monasteries at large can be acquired by showing them some attention and dealing liberally with them. The Tibetan records are full of instances of the reputation gained by great men by judicious largess to these, the Brahmins of Tibet. As soon as passports from China are received, it would, I believe, have an excellent effect if the rumours now afloat of the respect shown by the British Government to the Tashi Lama's memory were followed by an unofficial communication to the abbots of the three great monasteries, sending them presents, and saying that it was proposed to make substantial gifts to the institutions on the arrival of the mission. The influence of the abbots could certainly be permanently conciliated by an expenditure which would be trifling compared with the importance of the object in view.

31. I need hardly point out the importance of improving the opportunity for further correspondence with Tashi Lunpo, which the letter from the Minister has offered. This has been fully discussed in our letter of 8th instant. The people of the province of Tsang, high and low, have always been friendly to us, and I can say with confidence that my interviews with the Jongpen of Kamba have increased this feeling. Should the application to China for leave for a mission to go to Lhasa fail, I would strongly urge that permission might be sought for a mission to go to Tashi Lunpo to present the congratulations of the Government of India, as soon as the conclusion of the preliminaries connected with the identification of the young Tashi Lama is reported. This would be a precise parallel to Turner's mission in 1784, and it would not fail to produce good results politically and scientifically. Moreover, the Chinese could hardly refuse this request, even if they refused the other; for Colonel Prejvalsky is now travelling in Northern Tibet with two Chinese officers, who are supposed to escort him. It is known that opposition has been fomented at Lhasa with the view of keeping him

from reaching the holy city. (This has been reported to me, through Sarat Baboo, by a trading monk of Tashi Lunpo whose home is in Kham where Prejvalsky now is.) There would be no fear of any sort of opposition in Tsang if a passport from China were obtained. Our own popularity, the influence of our friend, the Minister, and the fact that the visit was one of respect to Penchen Rimboochay, would secure us a good reception. If, then, the main scheme of a mission to Lhasa fails, I would strongly recommend that this measure at least should be carried out.

32. My visit to the head of the Lachen valley has confirmed me in the opinion that it is desirable to open a road through Sikkim by that route. Even with the roads such as they are, I found that our duty-paying salt has driven Tibetan salt back three or four marches from Darjeeling, and it would certainly penetrate further if the roads were improved. In the Lachen valley above Lamteng (8,900 feet) the people are extremely well off, with large flocks of sheep and goats and herds of yaks, and excellent crops of potatoes and turnips. They send timber into Tibet and obtain in return tea, salt and barley flour. But though they have constant communication with Tibet by the Kongra Lama pass, they are cut off from Sikkim and Darjeeling for five months of the year owing to the destruction of their temporary bridges and the submersion of the track in places by the rise of the river on the melting of the snows. The road for two marches down the Lachen, from Lamteng to Choongtam,—where it joins the Lachoong and, with it becomes the Teesta,—and then for two more along the Teesta from Choongtam to Sinchik, is very bad and in places descends into the bed of the river. But, except for these four marches, it is possible to take ponies from Darjeeling to the Kongra Lama. If the road were carried along the hillside by blasting (and this would obviate subsequent expenditure on repairs), it would seem, to a non-professional observer, that one suspension bridge only would be required between Lamteng and Choongtam, and this, owing to the narrowness of the stream and the rocks available for supports on both sides, would not be costly. The bridge over the Teesta at Samdong and over the Rungeet would

be more expensive. But I cannot doubt that the road would have an important effect in opening up Lower Sikkim and the rich and healthy Lachen and Lachung valleys. I have already referred to what the Jongpen said regarding the obstructions which he is now ordered to place in the way of trade through Kambajong. But if these can be removed, there can be no doubt that a large trade would pass down by the Lachen valley were a proper road available. The fact that the Jongpen was able to meet me at the frontier, notwithstanding two very heavy recent falls of snow, shows that the Kongra Lama pass remains open under very unfavourable circumstances. Immediately beyond it begins the wool country, and Tashi Lunpo itself is only four marches distant. It is very important that we should have a direct road to Tsang and its capital, independent of the circuitous road through Phari Jong, which is in the province of U and under Lhasa. On every ground I recommend that an Engineer be deputed to report upon the probable cost of improving the road and bridging the streams between the Rungeet and the Zemu. From Zemu Samdong to the frontier (three marches) almost nothing is required. He should be instructed to take in hand at once the improvement of the road, where this can be effected with ordinary appliances. I may add that the Maharaja of Sikkim promised me to give every help in the construction of this road and undertook to maintain it on completion. The Lachen people exhibited great joy on being told that such a road was in contemplation, and would help with ordinary labour.

33. My recommendations, then, are—

(1). That application should be made to China for passports and support for a mixed political and scientific mission to proceed to Lhasa for three or four months to confer with the Chinese Commissioners and the Lhasa Government on the free admission of native Indian traders to Tibet and the removal of obstructions on the trade through Sikkim and Darjeeling, it being understood that no proposal for the general admission of Europeans will be brought forward.

(2). That, on passports being received, unofficial overtures be at once made to the abbots of Sera, Depung and Gahdan monasteries with the view of securing their goodwill towards the mission.

(3). That every effort be made to improve the opportunity now obtained for friendly correspondence with the authorities at Tashi Lunpo and intercourse generally with the province of Tsang; and that, in the event of the negotiations with China for a mission to Lhasa failing, application be made for passports for a small mission to proceed to Tashi Lunpo on the occasion of the identification of the new Penchen Rimboochay.

(4). That an Engineer be deputed to report on the cost of improving the road and bridging the streams between the Rungeet and the Zemu rivers, and to commence work in some parts, in order that permanent communications may be opened with the Lachen valley and the province of Tsang.

COLMAN MACAULAY,

Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

The 19th January 1885.

I append a sketch map which Colonel de Prée, Surveyor-General, has kindly had prepared for me.



Sketch Map to accompany the Memorandum on our relations
 by the
 Hon. Mr. Macaulay, Secretary to Govt. of Bengal.



S SIKKIM



our relations with Tibet

st. of Bengal.

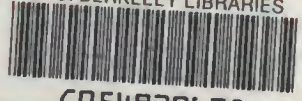


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