CHAPTER II

SIKKIM UNDER THE NAMGYALS

The history of Sikkim starts from the installation of Phuntsog Namgyal, in the Chu-ta year, corresponding to year 1642 A.D., on the throne of Sikkim with the title of Chogyal\(^1\) and Dharmaraja\(^2\) or the king who rules with righteousness.\(^3\) Being a Bhutia, by birth, Phuntsog Namgyal was consecrated as the ruler, by the three monks or the lamas of Nyingmapa sect of Buddhism namely, Lhatsun Chenpo, Kathog Kunto Zangpo and Ngadak Sempa at Yuksom, in west Sikkim.\(^4\) Phuntsog Namgyal as the Chogyal had two-fold duties - spiritual and temporal. As a spiritual leader he was regarded a saint as well as propagator of Buddhist doctrine and faith, and at the same time, he was installed as head of the administration of Sikkim. By doing so, a connection was established between the Dalai Lama\(^5\) of Tibet and Phuntsog Namgyal through Lhatsun Chenpo.\(^6\)

Thus the first ruler of Sikkim was installed on the throne on the Tibetan model.

The circumstances that led to the consecration of Phuntsog Namgyal can be traced back in the differences occurred among the religious leaders of Buddhist religion of Tibet. According to the tradition prevailed among the people of Sikkim as well as those of Tibet and as per the informations given by J. Ware Edgar, the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling, during his visit to Tibet in 1873,\(^7\) that Buddhism was introduced in Tibet in the middle of the seventh century A. D. The religion at that stage

\(^1\) Chogyal is a Tibetan word meaning a king who rules with righteousness.

\(^2\) Dharmaraja is a Sanskrit word meaning a king who is the protector of religion.

\(^3\) Thutob Namgyal and Yeshey Dolma, History of Sikkim, (Unpublished typescript), Gangtok, 1908, p.19

\(^4\) Ibid.

\(^5\) The Dalai Lama is the priest-king of Tibet having both temporal and spiritual powers. As a spiritual head he is the head of the religion and as a temporal head he is the head of the administration.

\(^6\) Ibid.

\(^7\) Letter from J. Ware Edgar, Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling to the Commissioner of Cooch Behar, dated 20th January 1874
was probably based on the teachings of the Buddha himself. In the middle of the eighth century one Guru Padmasambhava of Ujjain (India), better known as Guru Rimpoche by the Tibetan Buddhists, visited Tibet and introduced many Brahmanical elements, such as idol worship and ritualistic observances which were absent in the earlier form of Buddhism. The modifications also consisted of worshipping the Buddha in different forms. The Buddhist people of Tibet accepted these modifications introduced by Guru Rimpoche as their own and practised these modifications for more than two centuries even after his departure. However, in the eleventh century Attisa, a native of Bengal and his disciple Bromston (pronounced as Domton), protested against these modifications and advocated the earlier form of Buddhism prevailed in Tibet. Attisa and his followers rejected the modifications of Guru Rimpoche except the teachings of the Buddha. This protest led to a great schism among the Tibetan Buddhism and contest between these two lasted for many years. Ultimately the people were divided into two groups, namely-the Gelugpas (the Reformers) and the Nyingmapas or Brukpas, (pronounced as Dookpas), and Shammar. The followers of Attisa, came to be known as the Gelugpas, followed the teachings, spiritual importance of celibacy and purity of Buddha. The Gelugpas i.e. the reformists separated from the old sect and wore yellow head dress as their distinctive badge. Eventually the Gelugpa doctrine spread throughout all the Tartar tribes of Central Asia and in Tibet itself during the first half of the fifteenth century. The teachers of the Gelugpas one named Gyow Rimpochi founded the succession of priest-kings known as the Dalai Lama. The successors of the Dalai Lama used their influence over other tribes of Central Asia and Tibet. In 1640, the fifth Dalai Lama made himself master of Tibet and Gelugpa sect got the patronage as a principal sect of Buddhism in Tibet. The followers of Guru Rimpoche, came to be

\[\text{References:}\]
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid., p. 36
10. Ibid., p. 37 J. W. Edgar has described the head dress of these two sects as the Yellow Hat Sect and the Red Hat Sect for describing the Gelugpas and the Nyingmapas respectively.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
known as the *Nyingmapas*, variantly *Brukpas* and *Shammar* or the non-reformists, wanted to continue with the modifications that were introduced in Tibet. They adopted as against the yellow hat of the *Gelugpas*, red hat cap as their badge. By the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century the *Nyingmapas* were degraded of their popularity and reduced to a submissive position among the people so much so that the sect was on the verge of extinct. Under the circumstances and the ascendency of opposition of the *Gelugpas* some of the leaders of the *Nyingmapas* started moving towards southern regions viz. Bhutan, Sikkim and East Nepal. They brought with them the idea of the installation of the *Dalai Lama* by the *Gelugpas* as the priest-kings of Tibet, and, some of these *lamas* wanted to start a new system of kingship in Sikkim on the Tibetan model. In the early seventeenth centuries three Buddhist monks or the *lamas* viz. Lhatsun Chenpo\textsuperscript{13}, Kathog Kunto Zangpo and Ngadak Sempa of *Nyingmapa* sect who emigrated to Sikkim\textsuperscript{14} with the intention of installing a new priest-king there. They ultimately installed Phuntsog Namgyal as the first *Chogyal* or *Dharmaraja* of Sikkim in 1642. They were able to fulfill their mission of saving their sect from extinction and became the king-makers of Sikkim; they also manipulated and motivated Phuntsog Namgyal to protect and patronize the *Nyingmapa* sect. Phuntsog Namgyal as *Chogyal* took them under his protection and aided them to convert the Lepchas to the *Nyingmapa* form of Buddhist faith,\textsuperscript{15} and also promised to respect the followers of Lhatsun Chenpo and his creed in Sikkim.\textsuperscript{16} The whole process was a new concept in Sikkim and these *lamas* found an agent in Phuntsog Namgyal through whom a phase of propagation of new faith started in history of Sikkim by the way of conversion and proclamations.

\textsuperscript{13} He was the founder of *Nyingmapa* order in Sikkim.
\textsuperscript{15} *Ibid.*
\textsuperscript{16} Thutob Namgyal, *op.cit.*, p. 19
Phuntsog Namgyal (1642-1670):

According to the Gazetteer of Sikkim by H. H. Risley Phuntsog Namgyal was related to a Tibetan chieftain named Guru Tashi of Minyang dynasty of Kham Minyak province of Tibet. In the thirteenth century A.D., Guru Tashi, along with his five sons headed towards south direction from Tibet to try his luck in there. During their wandering they came across the Sakya province of Tibet where a monastery was being built at that time. They saw the workers trying to erect pillars for the building. When the workers unitedly failed to erect the pillars of the monastery in their proper position the eldest son of Guru Tashi raised the pillar single handedly and were placed in proper positions, after that he came to be known as Khye Bumsa.\(^{17}\) The Sakya chief offered his daughter named Guruma in marriage to Khye Bumsa which he readily agreed. The family of Guru Tashi lived at Sakya for some time after marriage. Again, they moved further southwards towards Chumbi and settled there for few years. On their way they built a monastery at a place called Pashi and left one brother in charge of it and the rest went to Phari and built another monastery. Guru Tashi died at Phari and the three brothers of Khye Bumsa moved towards Bhutan while Khye Bumsa went to a place called Chumbi, a province in southern Tibet.

Khye Bumsa did not have any issue for a long time. The religious teachers and astrologers advised him to seek the blessings of the head of the Lepcha people of Sikkim. The Lepcha head, Thekong Tek, at that time was living near Gangtok. Khye Bumsa met Thekong Tek with offerings and finally the latter blessed Khye Bumsa that he should become father of three sons. Finally, three sons were born and the eldest was named Kyabo Rab, the second Mipon Rab and the third Langmo Rab.\(^{18}\) Out of the gratitude Khye Bumsa visited Thekong Tek a number of times thereafter which ultimately culminated in a treaty of brotherhood between the two chieftains at a place

\(^{17}\) H. H. Risley, *The Gazetteer of Sikkim*, Calcutta, 1894, p. 8  
*Khye Bumsa* is a Tibetan word which means as powerful as ten thousand men.  
called Kabi Lungchok. This treaty brought about new ties of brotherhood between the Lepchas and the Bhutias. After the death of Khye Bumsa his three sons went further south and settled around modern Gangtok and at the same time some of their relatives also arrived in Sikkim from Hah in Tibet via Chumbi. The second son Mipon Rab married a lady of Sakya province of Tibet and had four sons, the youngest and the fourth was named Guru Tashi after the name of his grandfather. This Guru Tashi’s son, Gyalpa Apha, had a son named Guru Tenzing, who was the father of Phuntsog Namgyal, the first consecrated ruler of Sikkim.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, the three lamas, Lhatsun Chenpo, Kathog Kunto Zangpo and Ngadak Sempa came from different directions of Tibet and met at Norbugang in west Sikkim, which was called by the Lepchas as ‘Yuksom’ meaning the three superior ones or the three lamas. From this place they sent a group of men to find a person who had a name as Phuntsog. After several days the search party found Phuntsog at modern Gangtok. They presented him an invitation from the lamas who were at Yuksom and the invitation was accepted by Phuntsog. On that very evening, Phuntsog left Gangtok along with his followers and household establishments. After reaching Yuksom the three lamas performed the rites and ceremonies of the installation of a king and made him Chogyal of a new kingdom.

Phuntsog Namgyal was made Chogyal of the area bounded by Dibdala beyond Chumbi valley on north touching southwest frontier of Tibet, Tamar Chorten on the banks of Arun river on the west bordering Nepal, Titalia and the Mahanuddee river on the south bordering Bengal (India) and Tangla on the east touching Bhutan. The head quarter this area was at Yuksom. Soon after he was consecrated as the Chogyal of Sikkim he divided his kingdom into twelve dzongs or districts and placed them under

   The two chiefs cut down their veins and the blood was poured into a pot thereby promising that the Bhutias and the Lepchas have become blood brothers from that day.
twelve dzongpons or governors from twelve chief clans of the Lepchas. He, in order to strengthen the central administration, set up a council of ministers consisted of twelve members called kalons. The kalons were also selected from among the chief twelve clans of Bhutias of Sikkim and their duty was to assist him in central administration. The appointment, promotion and punishment of the officers, was the Dharmaraja’s prerogative. He, with the help of his mentors formulated certain rules and regulations of the administration. One of such rules was that the officers who did not serve the king and the state loyally would be degraded and place them at par with the common people, and, they (degraded officers) were required to render service to the state without any payment.

However, Phuntsog Namgyal’s Chogyalship was not accepted by the people of all the communities of Sikkim, the Limboos and the Magars of the western frontier did not like to be ruled by the Bhutias and challenged. The Lepchas being already disciples of Guru Tashi, the great grand father of Phuntsog, contributed summer nazar in shape of newly gathered crops, grains and fruits. Soon after consecration as the Chogyal a Tsong (Limboo) chief named Nahang was defeated and accepted the suzerainty of Phuntsog Namgyal. Another chief of Magar community named Shintu Sati Syan was also subdued with the help of Lama Lhatsun Chenpo.

One of the important events of the reign of Phuntsog Namgyal was the tripartite agreement in 1663, generally known as the “Lho-Men-Tsong Sum” by invoking local deities and various Buddhist deities (Lho referred to the Bhutias, Men to the Lepchas and Tsong to the Limboos, and Sum was the treaty or the agreement.

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22. Sikkim-A Concise Chronicle, Gangtok, Royal Wedding Committee, Sikkim Darbar, 1963, p. 4
23. Ibid.
24. Thutob Namgyal, op. cit., p. 20
25. Ibid., p. 15
26. Iman Singh Chemjong, Kirat Itihas, Darjeeling, 1948, p. 10
27. H. H. Risley, op. cit., p. 10
28. Document preserved at Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, Gangtok and translated into English from Tibetan by Dr. Ringu Tulku, Department of Tibetan, Sikkim Government College, Gangtok, on 31 August 1984. Appendix no. B (Part-I)
between three people). By this agreement the Lepchas and the Limboos accepted the Bhutia ruler as the head of the government. They promised to abide by the king, his guru and his sons and agreed to remain loyal to the ruler and would not revolt against him, if not the guardian deities would punish them. If they did not abide by this agreement they would be punished and if remained loyal they would be benifited physically and economically. Thus by bringing the three communities closer by showing fear and favour Phuntsog Namgyal laid the foundation of the state.

After these troubles were over Phuntsog Namgyal set his mind towards the construction of gonpas or the monasteries. He built gonpa at Dubde and Sangachelling under the direction of Lhatsun Chenpo. Another gonpa was built at Pemayangtse only for monks under the direction of Lhatsun Chenpo. This gonpa was completed during his reign his son Tensung Namgyal. Later on this Pemayangtse monastery was considered as the royal monastery. Various other sites of worship were selected for construction of new monastery there. Under the guidance of Lhatsun Chenpo stupas were built and several lamas were employed there for performing religious rites of Buddhism; he also got a number of disciples and preached the doctrine of Nyingmapa Buddhism. The lama spent rest of his life in Sikkim opening holy places and meditating in caves and secluded places. Thus proselytization of Lepchas and Limboos began and Buddhism became the state religion under the patronage of the rulers of Namgyal dynasty. Soon after the installation of Phuntsog Namgyal was over the other two lamas namely, Kathog Kunto Zangpo and Ngadak Sampa might have left Sikkim as no information about them were found thereafter.

29. H. H. Risley, op. cit., p.11
30. Thutob Namgyal, op. cit., p.23
Tensung Namgyal (1670-1700):

The next ruler of the Namgyal house, Tensung Namgyal ascended the throne in Chag-khyi corresponding to 1670 A. D., while his father, Phuntsog Namgyal and Lhatsun Chenpo were still alive. The reason for installation of Tensung Namgyal on the throne of Sikkim when his father was still alive is unknown from any of the available sources. It is probable that Lhatsun Chenpo might have advised Phuntsog Namgyal to abdicate the throne in favour of his son. The other reason to abdicate the throne might be due to Phuntsog Namgyal’s old age and wanted to witness the consecration ceremony of his son by the respected lama, Lhatsun Chenpo. It is also probable that Phuntsog Namgyal might have devoted his time in administration rather than his duty towards religion. So the lama asked Phuntsog Namgyal to abdicate the throne in favour of his son and perform the duty of a Buddhist saint.

After becoming the Chogyal, on the advice of Lhatsun Chenpo, Tensung Namgyal shifted his capital from Yuksam to Rabdentse a few miles eastward from the earlier capital and was situated on a hill top. The lama had advised him to erect his palace at Rabdentse to the east of which is situated the Tashiding hill, which was regarded as the most sacred pilgrimage of Buddhist faith. It is believed that the hill of Rabdentse was protected by the holy serpent spirit, Gao-jogpo, hence the hill was also considered esteemed. It is further believed that residing at the hill of Rabdentse the new ruler could witness the sunrise at Tashiding and that remind him of his duty of protector and propagator of Buddhist faith. The lama had advised him that Rabdentse was most suitable place for him for the erection of palace and monasteries leading further to the protection of faith.

Tensung Namgyal brought out a change in administration. He created a new post of prime minister, changzod, who led the council of ministers; the first changzod was one Karwang, a Bhutia. He reduced the number of Lepcha dzongpons (governors)

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32. Thutob Namgyal, op. cit., p.23
33. Ibid.
and Bhutia kalons (ministers) to eight clans from twelve. Later on the descendants of these Lepchas and Bhutias officials came to be known popularly as kazis, and, they maintained law and order in their respective jurisdictions.\textsuperscript{34} An office was built just below the Rabdentse Palace for ministers to hold office for general discussions.\textsuperscript{35}

The monastery of Sangachelling was completed and was open to all the subjects irrespective of their descent. With the direction of Lhatsun Chenpo a third monastic building was erected near Pemayangtse for Bhutias only.\textsuperscript{36} The establishment of two types of monastries for Bhutias and the common subjects showed favouritism towards Bhutia subjects by the ruler.

Tensung Namgyal tried to consolidate the kingdom by forming matrimonial alliances with Bhutan, Tibet and the Limboos of Nepal. He married three queens firstly from Bhutan named Nambi Ongmo, who gave birth to a daughter named Pende Ongmo. He next married Lhacham Pedma Putik, the daughter of a Tibetan noble. She gave birth to a son, Chagdor Namgyal and the third was Yo Yo Hang, the daughter of a Limboo chief of Arun Valley on the west bordering Nepal.\textsuperscript{37} With this queen seven Limboo maidens came who were married into the leading Sikkimese families.\textsuperscript{38}

Tensung Namgyal also followed a policy to bring the Limboo chiefs under his control by way of granting titles and land grants. He granted the title of subba to one Limboo chief Suma Hang Thi with a plot of land, subah, for cultivating rice and grazing grounds for cattle.\textsuperscript{39} The grant of titles and lands brought the Limboos closer to Tensung Namgyal. In the later part of his reign he appointed a Lepcha named Yuthing

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{34} Sikkim – A Consice Chronicle, op. cit. p. 4
\item \textsuperscript{35} Thutob Namgyal, op.cit., p. 24
\item \textsuperscript{36} H. H. Risley, op. cit., p. 24
\item \textsuperscript{37} Thutob Namgyal, op. cit., p. 24
\item \textsuperscript{38} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{39} A copy of the deed in Tibetan possessed by late Dharnidhar Dahal of Namthang, South Sikkim and translated into English by Dr. Ringu Tulku, Department of Tibetan, Sikkim Govt. College.
\end{itemize}

It was a term that was in vogue in the Mughal period in India was also in vogue in Nepal. In Nepal a Subba was the head of a Subah and they were mostly Limboos. Limboos of Sikkim and Nepal use the title Subba after their names because of this connotation.
Arup as the head of the Lepchas and later on appointed him to the post of *changzod* after the death of Karwang.\(^{40}\)

Tensung Namgyal nominated Chagdor Namgyal, the son born from the Tibetan queen, as his next successor. Pende Ongmo, daughter of Tensung Namgyal born out of Bhutanese queen, did not like the decision. She claimed the throne on the basis of being the eldest among all the children and of being born from the first queen of Tensung Namgyal. During the reign of Tensung Namgyal though she could not established her nomination but she continued her claim after the death of her father, this led to the misunderstanding among his children.

**Chagdor Namgyal (1700-1717):**

Chagdor Namgyal ascended the throne after the death of his father in the *Chag-Drug* corresponding to the year 1700 A. D. Pende Ongmo, the daughter of Tensung Namgyal through Bhutanese queen, dissatisfied with the decision, and she tried to usurp the throne by inviting the Bhutanese forces to attack Sikkim \(^{41}\). In support of Pende Ongmo, the *Deb Raja* of Bhutan sent a Bhutanese force under Tabar Nga-wang and Don Phenley to capture and assassinate young Chagdor Namgyal. The Bhutanese force reached up to the Rabdentse palace. At this a Lepcha named Yuthing Tishey took Chagdor Namgyal to Tibet and saved the life of the young *Chogyal* of Sikkim.\(^{42}\)

In Tibet, Chagdor Namgyal took refuge under the 6th *Dalai Lama*, who happily gave refuge to him, and was treated generously by the Tibetan government. Chagdor Namgyal during that time showed his interest in secular studies and attended secular

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\(^{40}\) Thutob Namgyal, *op. cit.*, p. 24 Yuthing Arup was the son of Tensung Namgyal born out of his relation with the wife of Lepcha headman, Tassa-Aphong. According to the prevailing custom in Sikkim if an offspring was born due to such illicit relationship the child carried the title of the real husband of his or her mother. Such relation had legal status in Sikkim during Namgyal rule. In reality, Yuthing Arup was the son of Tensung Namgyal and was a Bhutia. As per the prevailing custom, Arup was a Lepcha and not a Bhutia.

\(^{41}\) *Sikkim-A Concise Chronicle, op. cit.*, p. 4

\(^{42}\) Thutob Namgyal, *op. cit.*, p. 25
schools at Lhasa and distinguished himself by his attainments in literature and astrology. Impressed by his scholarship, the Dalai Lama eventually appointed him as the chief astrologer of the Dalai Lama’s court, and granted the estates like Padi Jong, Nagartse Jong, Tinke Jong and Gyalkharnangpa in southern Tibet, as tax free, to Chagdor Namgyal. These estates were given to Chagdor Namgyal in full perpetuity to be enjoyed by him for his distinguished service to the Dalai Lama. In addition to this the Chogyals of Sikkim got the right to stay freely at Chumbi valley in Tibet with tax free pasture land their maintenance. From this time onwards all the Chogyals along with their men and cattle stay at Chumbi during summer season.

During the absence of Chagdor Namgyal at the capital, Yuthing Arup took the charge of the Rabdentse palace, and he acted as the head both of Bhutia and Lepchas of Sikkim. During this period the ruler of Bhutan, Deb Raja, took the advantage of the situation and sent an army under Tabar Nga-wang and Don Phenley. The army occupied the palace, captured Arup, and sent to Bhutan to kill by the Bhutanese king. However, when Arup was interviewed by the ruler, the Raja was so impressed with him that he granted life and was asked to stay in Bhutan as friend. The Rabdentse palace was on occupation of the Bhutanese for almost eight years. During this period the Bhutanese forces moved further west and occupied Gangtok.

In the meantime, when Chagdor Namgyal attained certain age the Dalai Lama, in order to send back Chagdor Namgyal to Sikkim, wrote a letter, apparently for friendship, to the Deb Raja of Bhutan asking him to protect Sikkim and abstain from any ulterior design. Eventually the Bhutanese forces retreated from Rabdentse to the east of Teesta bordering Bhutan. However, the eastern part of Sikkim including Damsang, Daling, Jongsa and Kalimpong and places around the Tagong La hill were

43. Ibid.
44. Ibid., The lands granted to Chagdor Namgyal in Tibet has been described as jagir by Thutob Namgyal and Yeshey Dolma in their work History of Sikkim.
45. Ibid., p. 26
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid.
under Bhutanese possession. Thereafter Chagdor Namgyal was sent back to Sikkim with Lama Jigmed Pao as his advisor in administration. Before leaving Tibet the Namgyal promised to the Dalai Lama that he (Chagdor) would make a courtesy visit to any Tibetan official visited Sikkim. Reaching Sikkim, Chagdor appointed Lama Jigmed Pao as the head lama. The return of Chagdor Namgyal was not liked by few ministers, and, one of such minister, named Shal-ngo Achhok, sent an invitation to the Bhutan government to attack Sikkim. Bhutan utilized this opportunity and sent two forces under their leaders Magpon Agyal and Rupa to attack Sikkim. The Bhutanese army ultimately occupied the land between Teesta and Tagong La, they also killed Achhok was treacherously.48

Chagdor Namgyal brought a few reforms in administration by appointing new officers with different powers. He appointed Jigmed Pao as the Head lama of the palace as well as the Pemayangtse monastery. He appointed new officers called kuchap or king’s agents who were responsible for demarcating pasture lands which were granted to ministers. He appointed a commander of the army from among the ministers called chikyap. He also made a rule by which a kalon or a dzongpon could become a lama and serve the ruler in spiritual business. The ruler took necessary advice from them and expected loyalty.49 He observed the Buddhist rites and rituals more vigorously than his predecessors. He made religious offerings and formalities as mandatory before starting any new venture. He made a private room called Nyi-Wod-Khil-Wa at Rabdentse palace where secret meetings with the chief lamas were held. He made it the rule that in absence of king only the chief lamas could issue instructions and could hear petitions from the ministers thereby giving the lamas an upper hand in the administration of the state.

Chagdor Namgyal’s long stay amongst the learned priests and lamas in Tibet had a great influence in him, which he used for the development of Buddhism and

48. Ibid., p. 27
49. Ibid., pp. 27-28
monastic discipline in Sikkim. He wrote a book entitled *Chayik* on monastic discipline for the smooth regulation of Buddhist monasteries and which became a constitution regarding the affairs of the monasteries and granted greater autonomy to the monastic body to look after the affairs of the monasteries. According to the constitution the monasteries were to have a governing body called *dutchi* which was responsible for the care of properties of the monasteries. The constitution provided by the *Chayik* later on covered other monasteries also and later on made uniform to all monasteries in Sikkim. He composed a religious dance, called *rong cham*, in honour of *Takpoo* or warlike demons and invented the alphabets for Lepcha language. With the aim of increasing the number of Bhutia monks in Sikkim, he issued a proclamation that every second son of a Bhutia family be ordained a monk of Pemayangtse monastery. He also made efforts to bring Limboo subjects under Buddhistic faith by building monastery for them at Pemayangtse under the guidance of *Lama* Jigmed Pao. He also reorganized the administration of the monastery and appointed 108 *lamas* and 108 officials known as *garnapas* to serve and assist him in secular business.

In 1712-13 a border dispute took place between Tibet and Bhutan, and Tibetan army thus dispatched under a general, camped at the border of Sikkim. Chagdor Namgyal, however, could not meet, as he promised earlier, the general as he was ill, and sent one of his *kuchap* to receive the Tibetan force. The *kuchap*, too, failed to meet the Tibetan Regent and this action of Chagdor Namgyal displeased the Tibetan ruler and withdrew the estates granted to him earlier and ultimately a Tibetan force was dispatched to attack Sikkim. This situation of danger was avoided by the tactful

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51. As informed by *Lama* Dup Tshering, Age- 72, *Dorje Lopen* (Head *Lama*) of Old Rumtek Monastery on 16 February, 2011
negotiations by Samduk Lingpa, the dzongpon of Tsang on the promise to pay regular tribute to Tibet in kind, thus the danger of Tibetan attack was averted.\textsuperscript{54}

Chagdor Namgyal’s feud with his half-sister, Pende Ongmo continued throughout his reign. Pende Ongmo had taken shelter in Bhutan after Chagdor Namgyal’s flight to Tibet. She had been negotiating with Bhutan to usurp the throne. By 1714, she had won friendship of some of the lamas of Sikkim and bribed the personal physician of the king. In 1715 Chagdor Namgyal went to take bath in the hot water spring at Ralang along with his personal physician.\textsuperscript{55} The physician suggested that some blood should be let out from king’s body and so he pierced the main artery of the king with his lancet and let the blood come out from his body. The physician left the spot immediately leaving the Chogyal bleeding and soon after this incident the king died on the spot.\textsuperscript{56} Jigmed Pao, the head lama of Rabdentse palace was informed about the incident and he went to Ralang to see the king however, it was too late. Jigmed Pao acted immediately by sending attendants to avenge the death of Chagdor Namgyal. Pende Ongmo and her assistant were captured at Namchi and were strangled to death by stuffing silk scarf down her throat.\textsuperscript{57}

**Gyurmed Namgyal (1717-1733):**

Gyurmed Namgyal, son of Chagdor Namgyal, ascended the throne of Sikkim in Me-Ja corresponding to 1717 A.D., as the fourth ruler of Namgyal dynasty. Being a minor he was assisted by Jigmed Pao, who acted as his Regent. Taking advantage of the minor age of the Chogyal a Lepcha chief named Tashi Bidur rose in rebellion against

\textsuperscript{54} Thutob Namgyal, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 30
\textsuperscript{55} Ibid., Sikkim has four main hot springs or lakes, three in south and one in the north district. The Namgyals and the common people of Sikkim used to take bath in these lakes with the belief that it cures diseases related to nerves and bones. Chagdor Namgyal was infected with disease related to nerves and weak bones during his flight to Tibet in his childhood while on his way through snow laden paths to Tibet. It was his usual routine to visit Ralang for hot water every year during winter. Taking hot water bath by the people of Sikkim during winter is practiced till date.
\textsuperscript{56} Ibid., p. 32
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid.
the king with the help of a Magar chief. The rebellion was put down by Jigmed Pao and Tashi Bidur was killed at Badamtam.\textsuperscript{58}

In 1718 Mongols invaded Tibet from the north at Mindoling and a large number of \textit{Nyingmapa} sect among others were persecuted by the invading Mongols. A group of this sect left Tibet and took asylum in Sikkim. Gyurmed Namgyal married one daughter of a \textit{lama} who had taken asylum in Sikkim. The king’s marriage with the daughter of a refugee was however, regarded as unauspicious by the leading \textit{lamas} of Sikkim.\textsuperscript{59} This caused Gyurmed Namgyal to abandon his wife at this he went to Tibet lived there as a mendicant. During his absence in 1721 the Bhutanese forces attacked Sikkim and made major destruction at Rabdentse palace. They were, however, repulsed by Sikkimese forces under Shal-Ngo and Nyerchen and the boundary was fixed at Dhalla-Gang.\textsuperscript{60} Taking advantage of the situation the Limboos also rose in rebellion. In 1722 Gyurmed Namgyal came back from Tibet and the Lepchas received him with great respect and now onwards he became more inclined towards them. He with the help of the Lepchas oppressed the rebellions and asked them to build fort walls at Rabdentse at their own cost. The Limboos rebels withdrew their allegiance to Gyurmed Namgyal, fled away towards west and finally organized a province there and they took alligiance to the Nepal ruler.\textsuperscript{61} The province the Limboo were created came to be known as Limbuana.

At this development Gyurmed Namgyal realized the loss of Limboos to Sikkim and creation of Limbuana might invite major disaster to Sikkim in future. To rectify it, he hurriedly called some Limboo and Magar chief of Sikkim and issued a \textit{sanad} granting them the \textit{subahs} with the title of \textit{subba}, or the head of the \textit{subahs}.\textsuperscript{62} He also

\textsuperscript{58.} \textit{Sikkim-A Concise Chronicle}, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 6
\textsuperscript{59.} According to the sources it seems that Gyurmed Namgyal’s marriage was arranged by some other person as he was oly ten years old at that time.
\textsuperscript{60.} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 6
\textsuperscript{61.} H. H. Risley, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 15
\textsuperscript{62.} A copy of the deed possessed by late Dharnidhar Dahal and translated from Tibetan into English by Dr. Ringu Tulku, Department of Tibetan, Sikkim Govt. College. The Deed of Grant or the Charter has been described many times as \textit{sanad} in the unpublished work \textit{History of Sikkim}, by Thutob Namgyal and Yeshey Dolma.
gave the permission to all Limboos to beat their traditional drum, chyabrung, during their festivals. The Limboos were happy with this declaration and once again Gyurmed Namgyal was able to win the friendship and loyalty of Limboo chiefs of Sikkim.

The troubles with Bhutan had not come to an end even after his return from Tibet and frequent quarrel and skirmishes continued. Gyurmed Namgyal unable to settle by himself asked for Tibetan intervention and the Tibetan government deputed Tsang Depon Chang-lo-Chen to settle the issue. Tsang Depon Chang-lo-Chen called a meeting and invited the representatives of both the parties at the province of Tsang. The meeting could not bring any success, hence, in 1723, Depon Chang-lo summoned again a meeting with the representatives of Sikkim and Bhutan at Phari in Tibet. At this meeting they came to a conclusion and boundary between Sikkim and Bhutan was fixed at Rongchu.  

Gyurmed Namgyal had no interest in administration and so, again went to Tibet on pilgrimage in disguise as a mendicant. While he was in Tibet, Gyurmed Namgyal met Wangchuk Dorje, the 9th Karmapa Lama and revealed the truth of his mendicancy. Wangchuk Dorje asked him to return to his kingdom and advised him to rule; accordingly Gyurmed Namgyal returned to Sikkim after pilgrimage to holy places in Tibet. After his return from Tibet in early 1733, he built a monastery at Ralang for the Karma Kagyupa sect of Tibetan Buddhism.

The long absence of Gyurmed Namgyal from Sikkim had increased troubles among his ministers. By the end of 1733 he fell seriously ill and told his ministers about his connection with a young nun of Sangacholling monastery. She was the daughter of Nyer Gahden, a monk and was living at Sangacholling looking after the herds of the monastery. Soon after, Gyurmed Namgyal died, and the ministers went out in search of

63. Thutob Namgyal, op. cit., p. 37
64. H. H. Risley, op. cit., p. 15
65. The Karma Kagyupa sect of Buddhism was founded by Dusum Khyenpa in Tibet in the 12th century A. D. the Karma Kagyupa form of Tibetan Buddhism believes in the incarnation of Buddhist saints known as the Karmapas. The Karmapa wears black head dress or hat as a mark of distinction.
the nun. They found the nun with her son. The ministers had named the child as Namgyal Phuntsog and brought him to the palace.66

**Namgyal Phuntsog (1733-1780):**

Namgyal Phuntsog was declared as the next Namgyal ruler after Gyurmed Namgyal. Soon, however, confusion arose among ministers over the legitimacy of the heir to Sikkimese throne. *Kalons* divided into two groups – one group supported Namgyal Phuntsog under *changzod* Karwang and the other opposed him under *changzod* Tamding, the Royal Treasurer.67 The differences gradually increased so much that ultimately they fought each other and continued for few years. Taking advantage of this situation Tamding established himself as the king of Sikkim by assuming a new title of *Gyalpo* Tamding from 1738-1741.68 In such a period of internal strife *changzod* Karwang took the young king to Sinchel near Darjeeling and fought wars from there with *Gyalpo* Tamding with the help of Lepchas, Limboos and Magars.

In 1741, Tamding lost the war against the combined forces of *changzod* Karwang and fled to Tibet. He made representations to Tibetan government requesting the *Dalai Lama* to look into the affairs of Sikkim and to interfere regarding the legitimacy of the king of Sikkim.69 At this the Tibetan government got an opportunity to look into the matters of Sikkim and deputed one Rapden Sharpa to act as a Regent of the minor Namgyal Phuntsog. He was also ordered to make detailed enquiry and submit its report as soon as possible. Rapden Sharpa reigned in the name of Namgyal Phuntsog for five years from 1741 to 1746.70

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66. H. H. Risley, *op. cit.*, p. 15  
67. *Sikkim – A Concise Chronicle, op. cit.*, p. 6  
68. *ibid*, p. 39  
69. *ibid*, p. 15  
70. H. H. Risley, *op. cit.*, p. 16
Rapden Sharpa built forts at Karmi and Mangsher and converted these places into new dzongs, and he made Mangsher as his headquarter. However, he was neither in mood to solve the affairs of Sikkim nor bothered to bring the young Chogyal back to the palace from Sinchel. Instead he brought out a series of administrative reforms on Tibetan model by convening the Assembly of Sikkimese officers at Mangsher in the presence of the lamas, village headmen and the common people. In this Assembly, headmen were given the title of tumyangs or the superintendents of cultivation. The Assembly led to the fixation of new system of revenue in Sikkim namely – bah pa – a tax on land, zo lung - a tax on forest produce, and tshong- khyed - a custom or income tax which were to be paid in kind. In this connection another system of taxation was introduced called kang which was a rent on land that to be paid by the tenant to the landlord or by a landlord to the government which was to be paid in butter. Rapden Sharpa thus introduced a new system of taxation in Sikkim in the 1740s and made a way for collection of taxes from the peasants of Sikkim and tried to bring in a stable income to the ruler in future.

In 1746, an incident took place which led to the unpopularity of Rapden Sharpa. A Magar chief of western border of Sikkim died. According to the norms prevailed the Chogyal or his regent had to recognise the new chief and to send representatives for coronation. Rapden Sharpa refused to accept the chieftainship of the new chief. This attitude of Rapden Sharpa enraged the new Magar chief, who, then sought the patronage of Deb Raja of Bhutan. The Deb Raja deputed his representatives to attend the consecration ceremony, thus the friendship between the Magar chief and the Deb Raja was established. In 1747 they jointly attacked Sikkim and they were defeated by Rapden Sharpa with Tibetan armies. After this battle the relations between Magars and

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71. Thutob Namgyal, op. cit., p. 40
72. Maharaja Thutob Namgyal and Maharani Yeshey Dolma have described the village headmen as mondals and peasants as raiyats in their work History of Sikkim.
73. H. H. Risley, op. cit., p. 16
74. Charles Bell, The People of Tibet, Delhi, 1992 (reprint), p. 304
75. Thutob Namgyal, op. cit., p. 41
Sikkim went off for ever. The Mangars from now onwards became subordinate to the Bhutan ruler.

In 1747 changzod Karwang tried to persuade Rapden Sharpa to install Namgyal Phuntsog on the throne. For the purpose he along with Lama Khangchen Ralpe Dorje, a Tibetan from Sher, went to Karmi fort where at that time Rapden Sharpa was residing. Lama Ralpe was able to influence Rapden Sharpa to agree to bring the young Chogyal from Sinchel and install him at the capital. An agreement was drawn up and promulgated at Mangsher known as Mangsher Duma, and by the terms of the agreement Rapden Sharpa formally placed Namgyal Phuntsog on the throne at Rabdentse. After settling this issue Rapden Sharpa returned to Tibet.

In 1752 another threat came from the Limboos who again rose in rebellion against the ruler. However, it was also put down by changzod Karwang and their loyalty was won back by the grants of presents to the Limboo chiefs according to their ranks and position. After this trouble was over Namgyal Phuntsog was more inclined towards the Lepchas. He created a new post of nagzen or advisor and appointed one Lepcha, named Patuk on this post whose duty was to help the ruler in administration and to advise him in special cases. He was assisted by the Lepcha minister changzod Karwang in administration and continued with the administrative reforms brought out by Rapden Sharpa. Namgyal Phuntsog died in 1780 and was succeeded by his son Tenzing Namgyal in the same year.

**Tenzing Namgyal (1780-1793):**

Tenzing Namgyal ascended the throne in the Chag-Ji corresponding to 1780 A.D. At the time of his accession he was surrounded by two ambitious rulers in the east.

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76. H. H. Risley, *op. cit.*, p. 16
77. *Ibid*
78. Document translated from Tibetan by Dr. Ringu Tulku, Department of Tibetan, Sikkim Govt. College, Gangtok
and the west namely, Deb Zhidar, the Deb Raja of Bhutan and the other was Prithvinarayan Shah in Nepal respectively. In 1780 Bhutan attacked Sikkim and took possession of Sikkim up to the eastern bank of Teesta River and Samdong, the Bhutanese forces were repelled the enemy from Sikkim and peace was brought about by ceding Rhenock to Sikkim, which earlier belonged to Bhutan.

Gurkhas of Nepal raided Sikkim in 1785-86 and the attack was again repelled by changzod Chogthup, popularly known as Satrajeet, and the Gurkha forces were chased up to the banks of Arun River. But soon as the Sikkimese forces retreated due to summer heat in the plains, the Gurkha forces took the advantage and advanced up to Tob-Jong. Raja Pratap Singh Rai, the successor of Prithvinarayan Shah, sent four Brahmmins in 1786 to settle boundary question with Sikkim at Bijapur, but the representatives were killed by the forces of Satrajeet. The Gurkha ruler insisted on the indemnities for the slaughter. The matter could not be settled by Tenzing Namgyal, he requested the interference of the Tibetan government. Sikkim’s treasury was empty due to war with Nepal and the Tibetan government saved Sikkim by paying four thousand rupees to the Gurkhas as indemnity for the slaughter of four Brahmmins. The Gurkhas promised to refrain from any kind of future raids and the boundary between Sikkim and Nepal was fixed to the east of Shangdi-Jong. It was also agreed that any breach to this agreement was to be fined with hundred dharnis of gold. Once again Sikkim was saved from the ambitious projects of Prithvinarayan Shah and his successors.

The war with Nepal led Tenzing Namgyal to modify his armed forces. He made it mandatory that during emergency the lamas and common people were to form an

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79. Ibid., p. 45.
Prithvinarayan Shah of Nepal had united all the chiefs under the banner of one religion (Hindu), one ruler and one nation - Nepal.
80. Ibid., p. 45
81. Satrajeet was a Lepcha and he was named so by the Gurkhas as he defeated the Gurkhas on seventeen occasions.
82. Ibid., p. 46
83. Ibid., p. 46
A dharni is equivalent to two and a half kilograms. In usual practice a ser is more or less equal to one kilogram. Therefore the breach fee to be paid was two hundred and fifty sers of gold.
armed force and in 1788, Tenzing Namgyal formed a regular force which consisted of Bhutias, Lepchas, Limboos, Jimdars (Rai) and Magars. Two Limboos namely, Sho-na Hang and Yong-Yong Hang, were appointed as Commanders for the first time.\textsuperscript{84} Tenzing Namgyal also appointed a chief cook in his palace with the title of sopon and was made a close associate of the king along with changzod and the head lama. While considering their services the king could appoint the sopon to the post of chief administrator or dewan.\textsuperscript{85} From this time onwards the title of changzod and dewan was used jointly for prime minister of Sikkim Chogyals.

In 1788 the Gurkhas again attacked Sikkim and occupied Illam and Tob-Jong and advanced as far as Chakung in west Sikkim. In 1789 Sikkim dispatched a force under joint command of Bhutia Commander Tagkarpa Deba Tsang Rinzing and Satrajeet. Tagkarpa Deba Tsang Rinzing repelled the Gurkha forces at Namchi and Satrajeet was able to repel Gurkhas from Rangeet River and drove them up to Morung. In the meantime, the Bhutia Commander, Tagkarpa Deba Tsang Rinzing died and Bhutia force under him retreated.\textsuperscript{86} The death of the Bhutia commander was a great loss to Sikkim. Taking the advantage of the retreat of Sikkimese force, Purna Alley and Jahar Sen the commanders of Gurkha army made a sudden attack in the western borders of Sikkim and advanced to Rabdentse palace. Another force under Damodar Pandey occupied lower Teesta.\textsuperscript{87} The Gurkha raid of 1790 compelled Tenzing Namgyal to flee to Tibet along his queen and his son, Tsugphud Namgyal.\textsuperscript{88} Damodar Pandey continued his attack and occupied most of the places in west Sikkim. He also dispatched forces to take possessions of monasteries and took possessions of the properties of monasteries and administration in their hands.\textsuperscript{89} At this Chogyal Tenzing Namgyal and his attendants reached to Am-Mochu in Tibet and took refuge under Tibetan government. During the

\textsuperscript{84.} Ibid., pp. 47-48  
\textsuperscript{85.} Ibid., p. 51  
\textsuperscript{86.} Ibid., p.48  
\textsuperscript{87.} Sikkim – A Concise Chronicle, op. cit., p. 8  
\textsuperscript{88.} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{89.} Thutob Namgyal, op. cit., p. 48
refuge to Tibet the Deb Raja of Bhutan, Deba Seshing sent twenty four thousand pathis of rice, tea and twelve hundred silver coins to Tibetan government for helping the Sikkimese king. The Deb Raja of Bhutan showed his generosity to help Tenzing Namgyal in this period of distress. At this stage of Gurkha occupation of Sikkim the Tibetan government deputed the dzongpon of Phari, Phadang Gawa, to Sikkim and the Deb Raja of Bhutan sent Tinlay Dugyal and Phurpa to help Sikkim. They convened a meeting with lamas and laymen at Song Bolgyong in 1791 and summoned Jahar Sen from Rabdentse palace. The Gurkha leader did not succumb to their demands and further planned to attack Tibet.

In 1791-92 the Gurkha force renewed the attack on Tibetan force and advanced as far as Tashi Lhunpo in Tibet, however, they were driven back to Morung by Tibetans. A negotiation was held between the Chinese, Tibetan and the Gurkhas in Tibet. The Chinese representative asked the Gurkhas to return the earlier portions back to Sikkim which they had occupied. At this time Sikkim failed to send any representatives as the king himself was in exile, so the Gurkha representatives told that Sikkim boundary was up to the river Teesta and the areas to the west of Teesta were of Nepal. The ruler of Sikkim being a helpless refugee in Tibet the Gurkhas took possession of major portion of Sikkim in the western borders.

The war between the Gurkhas and the Tibet in 1791-92 had some repercussions in Sikkim. While Gurkhas were engaged in Tibet the Sikkimese forces under Satrajeet and Zomgyal expelled the Gurkhas from Rabdentse. When the war between Tibet and Nepal concluded Tenzing Namgyal went to Lhasa to seek help of Tibet for driving out the Gurkhas from Sikkim. In the meantime, a letter was sent to Lhasa by Satrajeet that the Sikkimese forces had recovered some portion of Sikkim from Gurkhas. The

90. Ibid. Pathi, a unit of measurement have been described in Chapter IV.
91. Ibid., p. 51
92. Ibid.
Tibetans, in consequence, were incensed and ceased preparations.\textsuperscript{93} Tenzing Namgyal died in Lhasa in 1793 and his son Tsugphud Namgyal was in Tibet. The Tibetan government sent Tsugphud Namgyal to Sikkim with some presents to succeed as a new ruler of Namgyal dynasty.

**Tsugphud Namgyal (1793-1863):**

Tsugphud Namgyal ascended the throne of Sikkim as the seventh *Chogyal* of Sikkim in *Chu-Lang* corresponding to 1793 A. D. During this time the Gurkhas further pushed in Sikkim from the west and occupied remaining tracts of land lying to the west of Teesta. At this Tsugphud asked for Tibetan help which was however refused. Tibetans too pushed their boundary up to the Chola Jelep range thereby reducing the boundary of Sikkim from the north.\textsuperscript{94} The Gurkhas started moving further eastwards, occupied Nagri and a large number of their population settled there who paid rent to Nepal for some years. Tsugphud Namgyal was helpless at the loss of his tracts in the west and the north but could not do anything. The fear of Gurkha raids and to bring himself closer to Tibet he shifted his capital to Tumlong from Rabdentse in 1814.

At this stage the British, who were involved in a war with Nepal over the issue of Gurkha encroachment in the Terai region of Gorakhpur, were watching the developments on their northern frontiers, and were keen to keep peace with the northern neighbours.\textsuperscript{95} The British were apprehensive of of Chinese and Bhutanese involvement in the war and found that Sikkim was the real ally. In 1815 they deputed Captain Barre Latter to contact the king of Sikkim who eagerly agreed to help British against the Gurkhas.\textsuperscript{96} Tsugphud Namgyal in turn was assured by British Government regarding

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{93} H. H. Risley, *op. cit.*, p. 18
\item \textsuperscript{94} *Ibid.*, p. 19
\item \textsuperscript{95} *Ibid.*, p. iii
\item \textsuperscript{96} *Papers Relating to Nepal War*, London, 1824, p. 268
\end{itemize}
possible assistance to expel the Gurkhas.\textsuperscript{97} He extended all possible support to the British which resulted in the defeat of Nepal.

The Anglo-Nepalese war came to an end by signing the Treaty of Saguali in 1815. Nepal lost the war with British and the hilly tracts situated to the east of Mechi River and to the west of the Teesta River formerly occupied by Nepal were ceded to the British. To reward Sikkim for the help they rendered to British during the war they concluded a separate treaty with Sikkim in 1817 at Titalia. By the Treaty of Titalia the tracts lying to the east of Mechi River and to the west of Teesta were ceded with full sovereignty to the Sikkim ruler or \textit{Sikkimputtee Maharaja} by the British.\textsuperscript{98} Sikkim was to abstain from any kind of hostility with Gurkhas or any other state and was to help British in their expedition to the hills. British arbitration was made mandatory in relation to disputes between Sikkim and neighbouring states. Dacoits and offenders were to be handed over to British and no protection was to be given to the defaulters. Merchants and traders were to be protected and Sikkim was not allowed to levy duties on the transit of merchandise.\textsuperscript{99}

The treaty was beneficial to the interest of Sikkim however, Sikkim lost her independent status. Sikkim was made “dependant” to British and the duty of Sikkim was to look after the welfare of British and their subjects. Sikkim was not allowed to levy any new tax and custom duties and she was dependent to British. British on the other hand got the right of trade up to Tibetan borders, to get fugitives and dacoits arrested and handed over to the British authorities.

The Treaty was of great advantage to the British. The British objective to prevent Nepal from getting assistance from any quarter was fulfilled by isolating both the states. British feared that if Nepal got aid from China then they would not be in a position to safeguard their northern frontiers. A situation was needed to open relations

\textsuperscript{97} C. U. Aitchison, \textit{A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries Vol. II.} Calcutta, 1909, p. 311
\textsuperscript{98} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 322
\textsuperscript{99} Appendix no. B (Part-III)
with Sikkim and fulfill the British objectives of safeguarding their northern frontiers and this opportunity was provided by the Treaty of 1817.\textsuperscript{100} Two months later after the signing of Treaty of Titalia the East India Company granted a \textit{sunnud} by which an additional territory of Morung, \textit{i.e.}, the lands lying between Mechi and Mahanadi Rivers were granted to Sikkim.\textsuperscript{101} However, a condition was made that the \textit{Sikkimputtee Maharaja} should obey the orders of the Governor General in Council. The \textit{sunnud} also mentioned Sikkim as a feudatory of the British.\textsuperscript{102}

The growth of British interests over Sikkim and the developments of friendship between them were looked upon by Tibet with suspicion. Immediately after the conclusion of the Treaty of Titalia Tibetan army was stationed at Phari and Gyantse to watch the movements of British and subsequently the information was given to Tsugphud Namgyal.\textsuperscript{103} In 1822 after the Tibetan troops moved upto Sikkim borders. In 1844 when Tsugphud Namgyal went to Chumbi for a retreat the Tibetan Government at Lhasa asked him to pay for pasturage and hire for transport. The Namgyal rulers were exempted from any payment for pasturage during their stay at Chumbi. The sudden change or demand was due to growing friendship between Sikkim and British. These developments were also responsible for the growth of relations between Sikkim and the British. After his return from Tibet Tsugphud Namgyal repeatedly requested Captain Llyod, who was then Governor General’s Agent for North Eastern Frontiers and British Resident in Nepal, to settle the western boundaries of Sikkim up to Arun River. However, at this moment Captain Lloyd took no interest in settling the boundary question.

In 1826, a Lepcha \textit{changzod} named Bolod was murdered by the orders of Tsugphud Namgyal. Bolod’s cousin Eklathup \textit{alias} Dathup, fearing similar fate, fled

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101. Melville Memo, no. 4  
102. \textit{Sunnud} granted to \textit{Sikkimputtee Maharaja}, Appendix no. B (Part-III)  
103. Thutob Namgyal , \textit{op. cit.}, p.54
\end{flushright}
and took refuge in Nepal with some of his Lepcha followers.\textsuperscript{104} Dathup met the son of Bolod named Kungha who was the dzongpon of Kotah near Illam.\textsuperscript{105} The Kotapas asked the help of Nepal Government to raid Sikkim and Nepal readily helped them as an opportunity to take revenge on Sikkim and helped them to rebel against Tsugphud Namgyal with men and arms. They penetrated Sikkim by crossing Rangit River reached the capital of Sikkim at Tumlong. Though they were driven out however, they kept on raiding Sikkim and troubled for a long time.\textsuperscript{106} Tsugphud asked the Tibetan and Chinese Resident in Tibet to negotiate with Nepal to remove the Kotapa brothers from Illam and prevent them from frequent raids. After repeated requests the Tibetan and Chinese Resident agreed to call Dathup to the court of Tsugphud for reconciliation. Dathup demanded the post of changzod and the Tsugphud was reluctant to grant him that post due to the opposition from his ministers. Dathup was sent back to Illam without any punishment. As no agreements were made, Dathup resumed his raids in Sikkim.\textsuperscript{107} The failure to bring about reconciliation between Tsugphud Namgyal and the Kotapa leader brought further troubles to Sikkim and British did not take any interest as they thought it to be an internal matter of no importance.

Further in 1827 a dispute occurred between Sikkim and Nepal regarding a hill called Ontoo, on the eastern side of the Mechi River. Tsugphud Namgyal asked the Governor General, Lord William Bentinck, to arbitrate into the dispute as per the provisions of the Treaty of Titalia. In response the Governor General deputed Captain G.W. Lloyd and G.W. Grant to investigate into the matter. During the course of their investigation they came across Dorje Liang later Darjeeling, a small hill village in Sikkim and they were attracted by the position of this place and found it to be suitable for a sanatorium and a military station. The climate of Darjeeling resembled with that of England and they brought to the notice of the Governor General, who, then deputed

\textsuperscript{104} C. U. Aitchison, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 312
\textsuperscript{105} The family and brothers of Bolod were known as kotapas.
\textsuperscript{106} Thutob Namgyal, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 59
\textsuperscript{107} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 60
Captain Herbert, a surveyor, to examine the place with Lloyd and Grant. They suggested that the place to be suitable both for a sanatorium and a considerable military station.\textsuperscript{108}

The Ontoo question was decided in favour of Nepal and the hill was granted to Nepal. British were now more interested towards the transfer of Darjeeling to them for a sanatorium. The matters were discussed in the Council and Lord William Bentinck proposed to open negotiations with Tsugphud Namgyal for the transfer of Darjeeling to the East India Company. Charles Metcalfe, a member of the Council, opposed the proposal on the ground that it would rouse suspicion of the king of Sikkim and jealousy of Nepal. Charles Metcalfe feared that Nepal might consider it to be step to invade her and the matter was again dropped for a time being. An opportunity came to British in 1834-35, when again the Kotapas under their leader Dathup raided Sikkim. Colonel Lloyd, the Governor General’s Agent for the North-Eastern Frontier and the British Resident in Nepal was deputed to enquire into the causes of disturbance. Bentinck wanted to exploit this situation to acquire Darjeeling and he again proposed to his Council that Lloyd should negotiate with Tsugphud Namgyal for the grant of Darjeeling in exchange for an equivalent, either in land or money.\textsuperscript{109}

On 18 February 1835, Lloyd reached Sikkim and paid a courtesy visit to Tsugphud at Tumlong. Lloyd mentioned to Tsugphud about the desires of the Governor General to have Darjeeling in exchange for lands in the plains or for a sum of money.\textsuperscript{110} He agreed to cede Darjeeling in exchange of Debgong, a site in plains. However, it was beyond his authority and not possible for Lloyd to grant any lands in exchange, he pressed him for rent or compensation. Finally, he agreed to cede Darjeeling to the British without a condition,\textsuperscript{111} and promised to send the Deed of Grant to Lloyd through

\textsuperscript{108} A. J. Dash, \textit{Bengal District Gazetteers,} Darjeeling (Alipore), 1947, p. 37
\textsuperscript{109} Bentinck’s Minute of 8 January 1835, F. P. P., p. 1
\textsuperscript{110} Lloyd’s Letter to Government of India, 9 March, 1835, F. P. P., p. 100
\textsuperscript{111} C. U. Aitchison, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 312
his vakeel or Sikkim Maharaja’s Agent at Darjeeling.\textsuperscript{112} Subsequently the Deed was handed over to Lloyd at Darjeeling by Cheeba Lama, the vakeel. The Deed of Darjeeling Grant said that Darjeeling was given to the British out of Maharaja’s friendship with them.\textsuperscript{113} In 1841 the British Government granted an allowance of three thousand rupees a year to Tsugphud as compensation for the grant of Darjeeling, and in 1846 the sum was increased to six thousand rupees a year.\textsuperscript{114}

The settlement of population at Darjeeling advanced rapidly due to tea plantation taken up by the British. The British encouraged the Nepalese and the people from Sikkim and the plains to settle down in Darjeeling. Schools were opened up and Darjeeling began to flourish as a modern market place. The increased importance of Darjeeling was a source of early and constant jealousy and annoyance to the dewan of Sikkim.\textsuperscript{115} Namgay, the dewan of Sikkim was the monopolist of all trade in Sikkim. This jealousy was shared in by the lamas and other principal officers of Sikkim, who lost their rights over slaves settling as British subjects in Darjeeling.\textsuperscript{116} Slaves escaped to Darjeeling in search of better avenues and to save themselves from the atrocities of the officials and lamas of Sikkim. The dewan occasionally threatened those subjects who had settled in Darjeeling by declaring them as escaped slaves and discouraged their settlement. Some of them were kidnapped and again sold into slavery by his men. When the British authorities asked them to capture and surrender the criminals, the dewan and the lamas denied. Earlier, there was an arrangement between Sikkim and Bhutan regarding mutual exchange of slaves. Tsugphud Namgyal and his Dewan constantly importuned Dr. Campbell, the Superintendent of Darjeeling, to follow a similar course

\textsuperscript{112} Tsugphud Namgyal had appointed Agents of the Maharaja of Sikkim as per Article 7 of the Treaty of Titalia. These Agents were known as vakeel who were to act as mediators and interpreters between the British officers and the Maharaja of Sikkim.
\textsuperscript{113} Appendix no. B (Part-IV)
\textsuperscript{114} C. U. Aitchison, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 312
\textsuperscript{115} Now onwards the prime minister of Sikkim came to be known as the dewan. It is probable that dewan was the corrupt form of diwan widely used in India at that time.
\textsuperscript{116} H. H. Risley, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 20

The slaves of Sikkim had escaped to Darjeeling to save themselves from the harsh treatment of their masters. They settled down there freely due to the British encouragement and became freemen.
which the latter refused. This was the beginning of strained relations between British and Sikkim.

In 1849, Dr. Campbell and Dr. Hooker were seized and made prisoners by dewan Namgay. They had visited Sikkim for a botanical survey with the permission of British Government and the ruler of Sikkim. Dewan Namgay detained them in order to force the demands of giving up of escaped slaves back to Sikkim from Darjeeling. Tsugphud Namgyal ordered the release of the detained officers when intimation reached him from the Governor General. However, the British Government was very unhappy on the detention of their officers. In February, 1850 a British force was dispatched to Sikkim and the annual grant of six thousand rupees on account of the Darjeeling rent was also stopped. As a punishment, Morung and the hill tract of Darjeeling to the west of River Teesta were confiscated. Tsugphud Namgyal was impoverished due to the stoppage of the rent as it was the only permanent source of income of Sikkim. Not only this British also annexed the plains of Sikkim and it was another major loss for Sikkim as major revenues came from the plains. The new territory was put under the management of the Superintendent of Darjeeling and the dewan was ostensibly dismissed from service by Tsugphud due to British pressure. Sikkim lost her possession of her territories and a permanent income from Darjeeling. British Government did not take this matter lightly and the tiny state of Sikkim was now under the mercy of the British.

The matter did not end here and dewan Namgay made his way into power again through his wife, an illegitimate daughter of Tsugphud Namgyal. The kidnapping of British subjects of Darjeeling was resumed without the possibility of obtaining redress. In April and May 1860 two aggravated cases of kidnapping were reported to the British Government. The effort to procure reparation failed and the Governor General in

117. C. U. Aitchison, op. cit., p. 313
118. Ibid.
119. Sir Richard Temple, op. cit., p. 169
Council ordered to occupy the territories of Sikkim lying to the north of the Rammam River and to the west of Great Rangit. A force was dispatched under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Gawler, accompanied by Hon’ble Ashley Eden, as Envoy and Special Commissioner. The force advanced to the Teesta when the Sikkimese acceded to the terms dictated by the Governor General. On 28 March 1861, the Treaty of Tumlong was concluded by Ashley Eden with Sidkeong Namgyal, son of Tsugphud Namgyal. At this stage Tsugphud Namgyal was in Chumbi with his son and family. Ashley Eden sent the message to him through Cheeba Lama to come to Tumlong to sign the Treaty. Cheeba Lama on the other hand deputed Phodang Lama to Chumbi with the message that the treaty would be favourable if Sidkeong Namgyal came down to Sikkim to sign the treaty and Sidkeong Namgyal signed the Treaty on behalf of his father.120

The Treaty of Tumlong consisted of twenty three articles.121 All former treaties between the British Government and Sikkim were cancelled. The Government of India restored the territory under its occupation to Sikkim. Sikkim agreed to pay the war indemnity of seven thousand rupees by way of instalments. Other articles included the surrender of criminals, abolition of trade restrictions and abolition of slave trade. The Government of India got the right to construct road through Sikkim. Sikkim agreed to assist British army in the hills and not to allow armed forces of any other country to pass through Sikkim without prior permission of British. The Sikkim Government agreed not to allow dewan Namgay or his blood relations to enter into Sikkim or hold any office under the ruler of Sikkim or his family either in Sikkim or at Chumbi. It was also agreed that Namgyls were not to stay in Chumbi for more than three months. Finally, a vakeel or an Agent of Sikkim was to be appointed by Sikkim Government at Darjeeling who would reside permanently at Darjeeling.122

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120. C. U. Aitchison, op. cit., p. 314
121. Appendix no. B (Part-V)
122. C. U. Aitchison, op. cit., p. 314
The Treaty of 1861 brought Sikkim under the control of British. Sikkim lost all freedom of action and became a protectorate of the British Government of India. The British interests were secured by banishing dewan Namgay from the state. The Namgyal ruler having agreed not to stay at Chumbi in Tibet for more than three months in a year was less likely to be influenced by Tibetans. British gained many trade privileges as free trade between British India and Sikkim was assured. They got all the concessions without having the need to annex Sikkim. Sikkim was a great loser in terms of the Treaty of 1861. Most of the fertile and revenue yielding tracts in the lowland were occupied by the British. Sikkim was financially crippled and she was not in a position to pay war indemnity when she herself was dependent on Darjeeling rents. The appointment of vakeel at Darjeeling was additional financial burden to Sikkim and he was to be paid by the Sikkim Government.

**Sidkeong Namgyal (1863-1874):**

Sidkeong Namgyal was nominated by Tsugphud Namgyal as the next ruler of Sikkim while both of them were at Chumbi.\(^{123}\) He ascended the throne in the Cha-Phag corresponding to 1863 A. D., after the death of his father Tsugphud Namgyal as the eighth consecrated ruler of Sikkim.\(^{124}\) As soon as he ascended the throne a dispute between the people of Lachen and Lachung and the Khamba-Jong regarding grazing tax was settled. In 1866 an agreement was made between Sidkeong Namgyal and Bhutan and both countries agreed that they should not give any support to the criminals.\(^{125}\)

\(^{123}\) Thutob Namgyal, *op. cit*. p. 68

\(^{124}\) Sikkim – A Concise Chronicle, *op. cit.*, p. 10

\(^{125}\) *Ibid.*, p. 69

_Dewan_ Namgay, after his expulsion from Sikkim in 1861 received a grant of land from Dalai Lama and was appointed an officer at Phari (Tibet). His duty was to give advice to the dzongpon of Phari on Sikkim affairs, whenever required.
The significant development during the reign of Sidkeong Namgyal was the increase in the annual rent on account of Darjeeling in 1868 to nine thousand rupees, and in 1873 to rupees twelve thousand rupees. Sir George Campbell had recommended to the Government of India to increase the allowance on condition that Sidkeong Namgyal should assist British officer Edgar, Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling, during his visit to Sikkim. Sidkeong Namgyal was to help the Government of India in the opening of trade with Tibet and should inform the Government of India on the activities at the Tibetan borders. In 1868 Sidkeong Namgyal asked the permission of Government of India for the return of ex dewan Namgay to his service. The request was refused as being contrary to the 7th Article of the Treaty of 1861 and it would lead to intrigues for succession.

Sidkeong Namgyal was under pressure from both sides i.e. Tibet and British Government. There was a pressure from Tibet to restore dewan Namgay to his old position. On the other hand the British Government had some other intentions over Sikkim and was keen to develop trade relations with Tibet. In 1873 J. Ware Edgar was sent on a mission to Tibet via Sikkim for opening of trade relations. The mission of Edgar was also interrupted due to the suspicion of dewan Namgay at Tibetan borders. However, he came back with valuable information on future trade prospects with Tibet via Sikkim and proposed the British Government to open up roads to Tibet through Sikkim. The other result of mission of Edgar exposed the system of land and revenue administration in Sikkim under the Namgyals. He also noticed the system of administration of Sikkim under Namgyals. Sidkeong Namgyal died in 1874 and was succeeded by his half-brother Thutob Namgyal.

126. H. H. Risley, *op. cit.* p. 22
127. Letter of the Government of Bengal to the Government of India, 17 June 1873, F. P. P., October 1873, no. 492
130. Letter of J. Ware Edgar to the Commissioner of Cooch Behar dated 20 January 1874
Thutob Namgyal (1874-1914):

Thutob Namgyal, son of Tsugphud Namgyal through his fifth wife Menchi, ascended the throne after the death of his half-brother Sidkeong Namgyal, in the Shing-Khyi corresponding to 1874 A.D. His accession was not an easy affair as intrigues were attempted to set aside his accession in favour of his half-brother, Tinle Namgyal at Chumbi. To claim the throne of Sikkim for Tinle Namgyal, Namgay and his mother-in-law, Menchi, arranged a joint marriage of Thutob Namgyal and Tinle Namgyal, with Yeshey Dolma, the daughter of Leden Se, at Chumbi, as polyandry was accepted under prevailing law. Thutob accepted Yeshey Dolma as joint wife along with Tinle Namgyal, as per the prevailing law. All this helped the intrigues in favour of Tinle, as his joint marriage with Yeshey Dolma was pointed out proving Thutob and Tinle as legitimate brothers from the royal family. However, the designs of Namgay and Menchi failed due to the action of Mr. J. Ware Edgar, the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling. J. Ware Edgar was in favour of setting Thutob Namgyal on the throne of Sikkim and he knew that Thutob Namgyal would better serve British interests in Sikkim than Tinle Namgyal. Tinle Namgyal was under the influence of Namgay and the Tibetans who were sure to jeopardize the British designs of establishing new trade relations with Tibet.

In 1875 Sir Richard Temple, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, visited Sikkim and had a friendly interview with the Thutob Namgyal and Karpo at Chomnaga near the Cho-la pass. The British were more interested in the establishment of free trade relations with Tibet and not the internal affairs of Sikkim. Sir Richard Temple’s visit is important because he studied the system of administration under the Namgyal rulers of Sikkim and made some notes of it. He studied the conditions prevailing in Sikkim during his visit and found that the absence of the Namgyals from Sikkim was the reason of backwardness of Sikkim. He noted that the ruler of Sikkim resided half the year in the

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Chumbi Valley, in Tibet, along with his officials. According to him this might have led to the negligence of administration in Sikkim on the part of the Namgyals. Richard Temple has also given the description of the administration of Sikkim under kāzīs and the condition of Sikkim. He noted that, the civil officer of Sikkim were the kāzīs, and scanty population of Sikkim which was less than 5,000 persons in an area of 2,544 square miles. To him Sikkim was rich in natural resources and “…soil, timber, fuel, running streams, metals, and stone – but very poorly cultivated; not actually misgoverned, perhaps, but more backward than any Hill State I have ever seen…”

The visit of Sir Richard Temple resulted in the construction of road from Darjeeling to the Tibetan frontier at Jeylep in 1877.

The reign of Thutob Namgyal was witnessed by the settlement of a large number of Nepalese in west Sikkim. He was against the settlement of the Nepalese and the Bhutanese due to his fear of the frequent raids by the Nepalese and the Bhutanese in the earlier periods. The other reason was the fear that these settlers could reduce the Bhutias and the Lepchas to minority in Sikkim. Nepalese were granted settlement by his ministers without the knowledge of the ruler. These ministers had allowed them to settle at Chakung, Reshi, Rammam, Kitam Namchi and Sadam. In 1877, the Nepalese trader of Newar tribe was given the tracts of lands for settlement of Nepalese at Kitam by Phodong Lama and Khangsa dewan. It was resented by Tatsang Lama and his men and they planned to expel these Newars from Namchi and Kitam. The matters worsened further and a quarrel took place between the lamas and the Nepalese at Kitam. Further, this led to a misunderstanding between the pro-settlement ministers. Thutob Namgyal convened a Council of Ministers and lamas called the Lhadi Medi in 1877. The Lhadi Medi approached Ashley Eden, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal at Kalimpong in

134. *Ibid.*, p. 64
135. Thutob Namgyal, *op. cit.* p. 73
1878 to discuss and settle the matters, the question of Nepalese settlement was discussed and they were admitted in south Sikkim on uninhabited lands\textsuperscript{137}. At this Namgay instigated the pro-Tibetan party of Sikkim to intrigue and agreement did not work well. A riot broke out at Rhenock between the local people and the Nepalese settlers. The Bengal Government deputed Mr. A. J. Paul to pacify the two groups and on April 14, 1880 he was able to bring out an understanding between the two groups of locals and the Nepalese.\textsuperscript{138} The pro-Tibetan party of Namgay was unhappy with the agreement of allowing the Nepalese to settle in Sikkim and Namgay went to Tibet and created anti-British feeling there.

In 1881, Government of India deputed Sarat Chandra Das, Head Master of the Bhutia School at Darjeeling, to visit Tibet and establish contacts with the \textit{Panchen Lama} or the Grand \textit{Lama} of Tashi Lunpo. He met the minister of Panchen \textit{Lama}, Sing-chen and was able to develop friendly contacts with him and persuaded for free trade relations with British.\textsuperscript{139} Soon after Sarat Chandra’s return to Darjeeling in 1883, trade on Sikkim-Tibet border was stopped. The British Government keen to develop trade with Tibet, was intrigued at this stoppage. With the suggestion of the Bengal Government, the Government of India deputed Finance Secretary of Bengal Colman Macaulay to visit Sikkim in 1884 and was sent with an instruction to enquire the reasons of the stoppage of trade, to find out direct route to Tsang in Tibet via Lachen Valley of Sikkim, and to communicate a friendly message of the Government of India to the Minister of the \textit{Panchen Lama} at Tashi Lunpo.\textsuperscript{140}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{137} Thutob Namgyal and Yeshey Dolma have described the \textit{Lhadi Medi} as Sikkim Assembly in their work \textit{History of Sikkim}.
\item \textsuperscript{138} C. U. Aitchison, \textit{A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries, Vol. 12}, Calcutta, 1929, p. 54
\item \textsuperscript{139} \textit{Macaulay’s Memorandum to the Government of India on British Relations with Tibet}, F. S. E., May, 1885, no. 752
\item The \textit{Panchen Lama} was the administrator of Tashi Lunpo and had died. Till the incarnation of \textit{Panchen Lama} was identified the minister of late \textit{Panchen Lama}, Shing-chen dealt with the administrative affairs of Tashi Lunpo.
\item \textsuperscript{140} \textit{Ibid}.  
\end{itemize}
In October 1884, Colman Macaulay came to Sikkim and met Thutob Namgyal and asked him to enquire regarding the stoppage of trade activities by the Tibetans. Macaulay could not get any information regarding the matter. At this time Thutob Namgyal had come under Tibetan influence due to his second marriage with a Tibetan lady, Yeshey Dolma. Earlier, the influence was minimized when Thutob Namgyal was installed on the throne of Sikkim due to the interference of Mr. J. Ware Edgar. Thutob Namgyal was again inclined towards Tibet and showed a little concern over the disruption of trade. Macaulay assisted by Sarat Chandra Das, Lama Ugen Gyatso and Nimsering the interpreter, went to Tibetan border and met the Tibetan official, the dzongpon of Khamba at Sikkim-Tibet border. He came to know with the communication with the dzongpon that the Tibetan monks of Sera, Drepung, Gaden and Mulu were afraid of losing their influence and profits if free trade was opened to the British. These monks feared that free trade between Tibet and the British would lead to competition and they would lose their monopoly over it.\textsuperscript{141} After much discussion with the dzongpon, Macaulay was able to open up friendship of Government of India with Tibet. He was able to find out the future prospects of British free trade to Tibet. The mission of Macaulay was successful was able to persuade the Tibetan Government for opening a free trade between the British and Tibet.

After his return from Tibet Mission, Macaulay proposed to the Government of India to obtain the permission of the Chinese Government to allow Indian traders to Tibet and the removal of obstructions on trade through the Sikkim-Darjeeling route. He proposed that the Government of India should request the Chinese to allow British to proceed to Tashi Lunpo. Finally, he proposed to improve the condition of road and bridges in order to open up a permanent communication with Tibet through Sikkim.\textsuperscript{142}

\textsuperscript{141} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{142} Colman Macaulay, \textit{Report on a Mission to Sikkim and the Tibetan Frontier, 1884, With a Memorandum on our Relations with Tibet}, Bibliotheca Himalayica, Kathmandu, 1977 (reprint) , p. 105
In 1885 Thutob Namgyal received a letter from the British Commissioner of Darjeeling to go to Phari and influence the Tibetan officials for opening up free trade between British India and Tibet. In 1866 he was again asked to remain at Phari till the advent of Macaulay’s second mission to Tibet. Thutob Namgyal was pressed between the ambitious projects of British Government and the Tibetans. Tibetans, owing to the Chinese pressure, did not allow British to enter Tibet and the Phari dzongpon started building forts at Sikkim-Tibet borders at Lingtu.\(^{143}\)

The period of Macaulay’s second mission was troublesome for Thutob Namgyal. Thutob Namgyal himself was in trouble due to Tibetan movements and construction of forts at Lingtu and they also started claiming Rhenock. He feared if he was unable to defend his frontiers he would lose his throne so he preferred to remain neutral.\(^{144}\) Thutob Namgyal was at Chumbi when Macaulay’s Mission was in progress in 1886 and concluded a secret treaty with Tibet at Galling in 1886 showing his inclination to Tibet.\(^{145}\) The treaty was like a petition in which Thutob Namgyal had promised to Tibet and the Chinese to remain loyal to them and abide by their orders. Due to these developments between Sikkim and Tibet the mission of Macaulay was stopped at Lingtu and the Tibetans refused to evacuate the forts. In 1888 the Sikkim expeditionary force was sent against Lingtu under British and the Tibetans were compelled to evacuate Jelep.\(^{146}\) In December 1888 the Chinese Resident Sheng Tai arrived at Gnatong and negotiations were opened with a view to a settlement of the misunderstandings that had arose between British and Tibet however the negotiations broke down in January 1889.\(^{147}\)

The secret treaty of Galling was the violation of the Treaty of 1861 with the British, and Thutob Namgyal was asked to return Sikkim. British Government was now

\(^{143}\) Thutob Namgyal, *op. cit*. p. 86  
\(^{144}\) *Ibid*. p. 88  
\(^{145}\) H. H. Risley, *op.cit*. p. viii  
\(^{146}\) C. U. Aitchison, *op. cit*. p 317  
\(^{147}\) *Ibid*
convinced that the problems relating to free trade with Tibet could be solved only if Sikkim was brought under direct British rule. Mr. James Hart, of the Chinese Imperial Customs Service, reached Darjeeling in 1889 and negotiations were made towards the solution of difficulties.\textsuperscript{148} Due to all these reasons, Mr. J.C. White was appointed Political Officer of Sikkim at Gangtok in June 1889, to advise and assist the Maharaja in his administration of Sikkim. A representative council selected from the three communities of Sikkim namely, the Lepchas, the Bhutias and the Nepalese was established. The salary of the Political Officer was met by withholding the annual subsidy of twelve thousand rupees to the Sikkim state on account of Darjeeling.\textsuperscript{149} The appointment of the British Political Officer brought the affairs Sikkim under direct control of British Government. This control was brought out without any objection and difficulties. However, British did not annex Sikkim to avoid troubles from Tibet.

As a Political Officer, J. C. White organized a Council consisting of Khangsa dewan, Phodong Lama, Shoe dewan, Gangtok kazi, Tassiding kazi, Entchey kazi and Rhenock kazi. He set out to streamline the administration of Sikkim by surveying the lands for revenue assessments. He encouraged immigration in order to bring more lands under cultivation, roads and bridges were laid and thus established the basis of taxation and revenue and Gangtok became new administrative capital.\textsuperscript{150} New allotments of land were made to Newars and the plainsmen were granted the thikadari or the rights of collecting revenues, without the consent of the Namgyal ruler. Thutob Namgyal was paid five hundred rupees per month for his maintenance which further led to complications.\textsuperscript{151}

Thutob Namgyal felt frustrated by the usurpation of power and authority and impoverishment caused due to the stoppage of his permanent income from Darjeeling

\textsuperscript{148} Ibid
\textsuperscript{149} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{150} J. C. White, \textit{Sikkim and Bhutan – Twenty One Years on the North-East Frontier 1887-1908}, London, 1909, pp. 26-27
\textsuperscript{151} Thutob Namgyal, \textit{op. cit.} pp. 104-106
rent. He went on pilgrimage leaving the administration in the hands of the Political Officer and the Council. Later, Thutob Namgyal realized that Sikkim needed development in administration. He felt gratitude for the British benevolence in Sikkim. Mr. White’s administration was judged by Thutob Namgyal and his queen Yeshey Dolma and later they prayed to Lady Minto for the extension of service of Mr. White during their visit at Calcutta.  

In March 1890 Anglo-Chinese Convention was signed between China and British Government at Calcutta to settle the matters connected with the boundary between Sikkim and Tibet. By this Convention China recognized the British as protectorate over Sikkim, the British got the right to control administration and control over foreign relations of Sikkim and trade. Free trade between British India and Tibet was opened to all British subjects and were allowed to travel freely between British India and Tibet at Yatung. The Political Officer of Sikkim had full power to enquire matters on the disputes arising between British and Chinese or Tibetan subjects in Tibet along with the Chinese Frontier Officer. Thus the Convention of 1890 settled the status of Sikkim, for all practical purposes Sikkim became a part and parcel of British India and lost the Namgyal’s separate existence and identity.

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152. Ibid., Kazi Dausamdup was the interpreter between Maharani Yeshey Dolma and Lady MInto at Calcutta.
153. C. U. Aitchison, op. cit, p. 333. It should be noted here that both Tibet and Sikkim were considered as the subordinate to the Chinese Government.
154. Appendix no. B (Part-VI)