

‘THAT HE MAY TAKE DUE PRIDE IN THE EMPIRE  
TO WHICH HE BELONGS’:

THE EDUCATION OF MAHARAJAH KUMAR  
SIDKEON NAMGYAL TULKU OF SIKKIM

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In 1879, the first wife of the 9<sup>th</sup> Maharajah of Sikkim, Thutob Namgyal, gave birth to their second son, Sidkeon Namgyal, following the birth of a daughter in 1876 and their first son, Tsodag Namgyal, in 1878. The Maharani died in childbirth in 1880,<sup>1</sup> and the years that followed were difficult ones for the Maharajah, as the interests of Sikkim clashed with those of the British Indian empire. Following the conflict of 1888, a British Political Officer was appointed to oversee the administration of Sikkim. The officer selected, John Claude White (1853-1918), was a mean, petty and domineering individual who, during the following two decades in which he dominated the state of Sikkim, carried on a long vendetta against both the Maharajah and his son Tsodag Namgyal. John Claude White's successors in the Gangtok Residency included some of the outstanding frontier officers of the British empire, men such as Lieutenant-Colonel F.M. Bailey (1882-1967) and Lieutenant-Colonel Sir W.F. O'Connor (1870-1943), as well as forward-thinking and culturally sensitive diplomats such as Sir Charles Bell (1870-1945) and Sir Basil Gould (1883-1956).

White, however, who came from the Public Works Department rather than the usual military or ICS background required of Political Officers, was the worst type of colonial official, lacking the background, training, and character that produced his successors. Sikkim, however, was no place for an ambitious 'Political' in the late 1880s, and White seems to have been appointed because no Political Officer wanted the job. While in the normal scheme of things he would have been appointed to head the Tibet Mission of 1903-04, his failings were obvious to Lord Curzon, who chose the dynamic Political Officer Francis Younghusband to head that mission, with White an isolated and unpopular nominal deputy. Despite his failings, White lingered on in Gangtok until he reached retirement age in 1908, whereupon the Government of India was able to replace him with Charles Bell. White,

however, wrote a self-serving memoir, *Sikkim and Bhutan* (London 1909), and with the imperial government not anxious to highlight its officer's failings, he came to be favourably regarded by British history.<sup>2</sup>

In February 1899, the British Government of India recognised Sidkeon Namgyal as the heir to the throne of Sikkim,<sup>3</sup> passing over Tsodag Namgyal, who had sided with his father in various disputes with White, and who remained in exile in Tibet while his father managed an uneasy reconciliation with the British. In so doing, White apparently hoped to make a clean break with the past, and to install as Sikkim Maharajah a more compliant ruler. The youth in whom the British placed their trust was actually a recognised Buddhist incarnation (*tulku*), who had been destined to a religious life, and his innocence of the political world was doubtless a key factor in the British preference. Here, they reasoned, was a young man they might shape in their own image.

The Maharajah Kumar had learned 'a smattering of Hindi and Tibetan' in 1893-95 from the 'Rajah Tendook at Bhutia Basti near Darjeeling',<sup>4</sup> and as early as 1895, the British had sought to educate him in the English language. Sir Alfred Croft, a key figure in imperial education projects on the north-east frontier,<sup>5</sup> recommended that he receive instruction from Sarat Chandra Das, the noted explorer of Tibet,<sup>6</sup> and for nine months in 1895-96 he spent an hour a day with the Bengali *pandit*. For the next three years he was taught by various military surgeons in Gangtok on an *ad hoc* basis, often going months without a lesson. In 1899 he was then sent, 'at his own request, many times repeated, for about six or seven months to St Paul's school at Darjeeling as a private pupil of the Rector. ... [But he] was not sufficiently advanced to take part in the studies of the other boys. He was then withdrawn.' None of his teachers apparently proved of much value, for as the Kumar later wrote 'I regret to say that during these years, I made little progress in my English education.'<sup>7</sup>

An education in the language of the colonial power had, by this time, become almost an essential qualification for ruling one of the 'princely' or 'protected' states under the British empire. It signified the embrace of modernity, or at the very least enabled the local ruler to understand the culture of the imperial overlords. The establishment of an education system based on that of the British, and emphasising the use of the English language, had a long history in India, particularly in Bengal, and was regarded by the British as one of the great benefits of their rule. But it was also to produce the class that demanded the same

freedoms education taught and that were available to the British. However, at that time this was not a factor in Sikkim, where the British education system was entirely absent.

When the ruling chiefs of British India were invited to the Delhi Durbar of January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1903, the Maharajah of Sikkim did not attend, because, according to White, the court astrologers had said that if he did, he would fall ill. In fact, as A.J.K. Singh has described, White refused to let the Maharajah attend and insisted that the young Kumar should represent Sikkim on this first occasion when a Sikkimese leader was to attend a state function of the British empire.<sup>8</sup>

The Kumar's experience of British power was further developed when, having attended the Durbar, he was involved in the negotiations at Khambajong between the Governments of India and Tibet in the lead-up to the 1903-04 Younghusband mission. After Younghusband's forces had fought their way to Lhasa and forced the Tibetan government to allow British-Indian representatives to be stationed in Tibet, Younghusband's 'right-hand man', the Political Officer W.F. O'Connor, was posted at Gyantse as, in effect, British India's representative in Tibet. This produced a somewhat awkward situation, for O'Connor was nominally under the command of the Political Officer in Sikkim, John Claude White. But O'Connor detested White and his relationship with his nominal superior was a difficult one, as he enjoyed the full support of the Indian Foreign Secretary, Louis Dane, and had gained permission to communicate directly with his government without consulting White.

That O'Connor should be given such an unprecedented right was not only due to White's poor reputation with the Government of India. O'Connor, who was fluent in Tibetan, was a skilled intelligence agent. Having served in the Intelligence branch in Simla, mapping – and clandestinely exploring – routes into Tibet, he was appointed intelligence officer on the Younghusband mission and had built up a network of paid informants in Tibet who reported on Chinese and Russian activities there, as well as on those of the Tibetan government and its officials.<sup>9</sup>

With the Dalai Lama having fled Lhasa shortly before the arrival of Younghusband, O'Connor cultivated the friendship of the Panchen Lama. His ultimate aim was to install the Panchen as ruler, if not of Tibet, at least of a new state in southern Tibet centred on Shigatse.<sup>10</sup> As part of that plan, O'Connor brought the Panchen Lama down to India in November 1905, and he was given a tour designed to impress him with the might of the Raj. The Kumar accompanied O'Connor and the

Panchen on this tour, during which they visited the sacred sites of Indian Buddhism, and were introduced to the then Viceroy, Lord Minto.<sup>11</sup>

By this time the Kumar was growing restless. In August 1905 he had written to White pointing out that for the past five years

I have lived in Gangtok with nothing much to do except attend to my private affairs. I am now twenty-six years old, and it is time I did some real work, but before busying myself with the affairs of State, I am very anxious to complete my English education, so as to fit me for my work here, now and in the future, for my country's good... . I will have to manage the affairs of State...and introduce improvements in...the welfare of the people...especially of the Bhutias and Lepchas, the real people of the country, who are too poor and ignorant to improve their position without help and guidance from those in authority over them... . I do not feel prepared to undertake this trust. I need more knowledge, which can only be obtained by study in that country where Englishmen are trained to govern India, and by travel in Foreign [*sic*] lands which will open my mind and broaden my views. My earnest desire is that I may be allowed to study for a year in England... . After the completion of my studies, on my way back to Sikkim, I hope I may be allowed to travel through Europe, Japan, and China... . I do not desire to go as a Kumar or to travel as one, but as an ordinary student, taking only one servant, or without one, so that the expenses may be kept as low as possible.<sup>12</sup>

The origins of the plan that the Kumar put forward are uncertain. While the idea could have been the Kumar's alone, it was common practice for the Political Officers to advise the indigenous elites to take a particular course of action which they (the Political Officers) would represent to their own government as arising from the desire of the indigenous elites. They would naturally support the idea and the Government of India would then be faced with a suggestion from a local ruler that was supported by their representative, and were thus (finances permitting) likely to support it, not least because they could present it to the Home Government in Whitehall as something all parties agreed on. What seems likely is that one or all of Bell, White, and O'Connor suggested the idea to the Kumar, who was excited by the prospect.<sup>13</sup>

The Kumar soon followed up this original request with a more refined proposal; that he be accompanied by three young men who would assist with implementing reforms after their return; that a guardian/tutor be allocated to him by the Government of India; that he 'attend one of the big English schools, either Rugby or Eton, where I could mix with the boys in their games and outdoor life...[and] ...[d]uring the vacation...a walking tour in England and Wales might be taken.' In addition, the Kumar added a new proposal, that after leaving England he undertake a six month tour of the world (including America), with three months to be spent in Japan 'where the Buddhist religion could be studied.'<sup>14</sup>

In this proposal the Kumar also noted that 'It will be necessary to adopt the European style of dress so as not to be conspicuous.' This was an important point in the wider context. The adoption of Western dress was an important symbolic marker of an individual's acceptance of, and identification with, modernity.

In March 1906, White forwarded the Maharajah's suggestions to the imperial government, adding that

The Maharajah Kumar is now 26 years of age. His present surroundings in Sikkim, being narrow and limited and breathing an atmosphere of ignorance and superstition, are not calculated to improve him .... It would remove him for a time from the baneful influence and sordid intrigues of the palace, and would make him more independent, more confident of himself, more manly.<sup>15</sup>

White proposed that he take the Kumar to England and remain with him for one month, in addition to which he wanted three months special leave.

The Viceroy approved of the Kumar's voyage to England for educational purposes, but he was concerned over the social side of the visit, and emphasised that '[t]he party should not be introduced to society in London as the object of the tour is purely educational.'<sup>16</sup> But as if in recognition that this was a vain hope, the issue of White accompanying the Kumar was recognised as a problem. Experience had shown that White was simply not equipped with the right background to fit into the intensely class-conscious world of British society. The India Office were informed that

White...a P.W.D. man ...was put in as he was good at making roads...he is quite a nice fellow but I ...doubt very much whether he were quite the right man to choose a tutor for the Kumar, and certainly he would never do to take the Kumar about in society. Sir Walter Lawrence will perhaps tell you how *gauche* he was over the Prince of Wales's visits to his charges at Calcutta.<sup>17</sup>

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On the 8<sup>th</sup> of September 1906, the Maharajah Kumar and two Sikkimese companions sailed from Bombay on the P&O liner, the *S.S. Peninsular*.<sup>18</sup> It seems to have eventually been decided that White would accompany him to England and then return, leaving the Kumar without a formal escort. The original idea that he attend an English school had been abandoned, presumably on the grounds that at the age of 26, the Kumar would not fit easily into school life. Instead he was to be sent to Pembroke College Oxford, where a Mr Bernard Blackiston was to be his tutor.

The Kumar soon settled down in Oxford, making friends and enjoying his new life. He took four hours a week of drawing lessons at Ruskin art school, in addition to 13 hours a week of English language and culture lessons from Blackiston. In addition he was enrolled in a course on elementary mechanics and physics in line with White's desire that he receive some technical education. But Blackiston had little regard for this technical education. 'I must' he wrote 'disassociate myself with any responsibility as to what the Rajah Kumar learns or does not learn in respect to electricity.'<sup>19</sup>

Nor did the Oxford graduate and soon-to-be Political Officer in Sikkim Charles Bell see much point in the Kumar's studying electricity when he lacked a scientific background and was still struggling to learn English. While on leave in the U.K., Bell visited the Kumar in Oxford and recommended that his practical education should focus on forestry and agriculture, political economy, especially tax, and that he should take the course of 18 lectures in Indian law that was intended for Indian Civil Service probationers.

Although he did not meet Blackiston, Bell reported to the India Office that the role of the Kumar's tutor was crucial. 'He is no doubt the most important of all. While teaching the Kumar he should endeavour to strengthen the latter's pro-British ideas.' The Kumar's education, Bell stated, should be centred on English with readings in

history, 'that he may take due pride in the empire to which he belongs.'<sup>20</sup>

Bell also noted that while the Kumar was 'lonely at times', 'he was 'anxious to use his time at Oxford to the utmost [*sic*] for educational purposes.' The Kumar, who was lodging in Oxford with a Mrs Skinner, lived quite frugally although he did some entertaining. His accounts for November 1907 show that he spent 4 pounds, 12 shillings and 6 pence, the expenses including one box of cigarettes and several cakes along with medical expenditure.<sup>21</sup> Suitable outings were arranged for him, for example, he was given permission to visit the Naval dockyards and was shown over a British destroyer.<sup>22</sup> He also visited Switzerland in September 1907 in the company of his tutor Blackiston. There are no details of the visit, and Blackiston resigned his position the day after they returned without offering any written explanation.<sup>23</sup>

The Kumar then moved into rooms at Pembroke College, but apparently did little to further his education during his remaining stay there. His thoughts were already turning to his return journey, which, he hoped, would include Japan and a return to Sikkim via eastern Tibet. White had already noted that 'the great object will be keeping him engaged in congenial occupation, so that he will remain contented and happy and not become discontented with his lot and anxious to get away as so many Indian princes do on their return to India.'<sup>24</sup> So he suggested creating a position for the Kumar as chief Dewan, taking on some of White's work, and White, who had no desire to retire, offered to stay on in Sikkim. White's offer was ignored, but his thoughts on the Kumar's future were significant, for there were those who felt that '[t]he undesirability of sending young Indian Princes to England to be educated has been proved in every instance in which the experiment has been tried, and in my opinion the practice should be strongly discouraged in the future.'<sup>25</sup>

The Kumar had already confided in White on another aspect of the future. In November 1906 he wrote to White that

I am now approaching an age when it would be desirable for me to think of finding a wife. I think you know that there is no one suitable in Sikkim at present, and I am not inclined to send to Tibet for any Tibetan lady as I could not go myself and I would not like the choice to be left to someone else. Do you think the Government of India would approve if I were to try and find a Japanese lady while I am travelling in that country: I understand they are more intelligent and better educated than

our Sikkim girls, and one great advantage is that we should both be of the same religion...I think we should spend a few months in Japan, in order that we may become acquainted with suitable and desirable families.<sup>26</sup>

In India, White supported the Kumar's plan,<sup>27</sup> and the Viceroy was sympathetic, but after some discussion, and consulting the British Ambassador in Tokyo, it was concluded that a Japanese wife would not be a suitable match.<sup>28</sup> The reasons were noted as follows;

1. A possible influx of Japanese into Tibet; 2. The possibility, not to say probability, of the marriage turning out unhappily owing to the complete change of life and environment involved for the lady; 3. In the event of disagreements arising between husband and wife the Japanese Government might possibly espouse the cause of the lady; 4. The issue of mixed marriages is seldom satisfactory.<sup>29</sup>

The Kumar anxiously awaited the Government of India's decision, but was finally informed that

I am afraid that it would not be feasible for you to undertake a journey through Tibet at present, and the idea must be abandoned. I am sorry also to have to inform you that the Government of India are unable to approve your projected visit to Japan as they consider it would be best for you not to be away from Sikkim too long at one time, and that you should take some share in the work of the State, at an early date.<sup>30</sup>

The Kumar was obviously disappointed by the Government of India's decision, and appealed to the Secretary of State for India, who declined to alter the decision. There was, however, a solution to one of the problems, which White pointed out to the Kumar. The Government had declined to allow the Kumar to visit Japan to look for a wife, but perhaps they might look more favourably on an application to visit Japan on pilgrimage!

So the Kumar duly applied to visit Japan for religious reasons, while also noting that 'watching its progress and advance in civilization...[would be]...the very greatest help and value to me when considering the welfare of my own country.'<sup>31</sup> The Government were conscious of the need not to alienate the Kumar, and it was noted that



‘our inability to acquiesce in the marriage he had set his heart on has caused much soreness, which it would be as well to remove, if possible.’ Thus the Kumar’s hopes of seeing something of the world before he returned to Sikkim were to be fulfilled. It was agreed that he should take a tour, with the proviso that he did so under escort, with all costs to be met from Sikkim state revenues.<sup>32</sup>

While White and Bell were both considered as escorts, with the Kumar specifically asking for White, the long-serving Political Officer was soon to go on leave prior to retirement and Bell was earmarked to replace him. The Government of India were glad to be getting rid of White, and so the choice fell on White’s old insubordinate subordinate, the then Captain W.F. ‘Frank’ O’Connor, who as a son of landed Protestant Irish aristocracy, was a man far more at home in ‘high society’ than was White.

O’Connor drew up an itinerary which was approved by the Viceroy, although he preferred that the Kumar should spend more time in Canada than in America on the dubious grounds that the young man ‘would learn more’ in the British dominion. O’Connor’s proposal was a tour arranged by Thomas Cook, at a total cost of £2,000.<sup>33</sup> It involved a sea journey on the *S.S. Mauritania* to New York, then by land to Montreal, Ottawa and Chicago, and thence on via the Grand Canyon to San Francisco. From there they were to sail on the *S.S. Siberia* to Honolulu and on to Yokohama, then Tokyo. After a month in Japan, they were to sail to Seoul, then Mukden (Manchuria), and by land through Tientsin, Peking, Hankow, Shanghai and Hong Kong, from where they would travel by sea via Singapore to Calcutta. The various British embassies along the way were to be informed of the Kumar’s impending arrival, and the Government of India provided him with a letter of introduction.<sup>34</sup>

So it was that the Maharajah Kumar and his British escort left Liverpool station at noon on the 11<sup>th</sup> of July 1908 and boarded the *S.S. Mauritania*, which sailed at 6 that evening. After an ‘uneventful voyage’ they arrived in New York on the morning of the 17<sup>th</sup>, where the British Vice-Consul met them and drove them to the Waldorf Hotel. They spent three days in New York, ‘which was very hot and disagreeable’, with visits to the stock exchange and the US sub-treasury before leaving for Montreal. After a day’s rest there, they took a boat to view Niagara Falls.<sup>35</sup>

We know nothing of the Kumar’s impressions of North America. O’Connor submitted a sparse diary of events coloured only by the observation that after viewing Niagara Falls, they went on to Chicago.

where they ‘attended a political meeting of the new “Independence Party” in the evening and heard some fine American rhetoric.’ O’Connor, however, was following a plan. He reported that

while attaching myself but little importance to the mere moving from place to place, or the mere gazing at some show spot, such as the falls of Niagara or a Japanese Temple, I have endeavoured to indicate to the Maharaja Kumar the educative value to be derived from such things by associating them with the physical or social phenomena of which they are products....whilst duly admiring such objects of natural or artificial beauty as we have encountered, my aim has been especially to inculcate into his mind the broader lessons to be learnt from a study of national institutions, characteristics, and development.<sup>36</sup>

On the 28<sup>th</sup> of July they arrived at the Grand Canyon, where they stayed three days, making an expedition to the bottom of the canyon, before leaving for San Francisco. The charms of that city must have pleased them, for they remained for six days, but their activities there are not recorded.

On the 11<sup>th</sup> of August, they boarded the *S.S. Siberia* and sailed for Yokohama, with a stop-over to view Hawaii by motor-car. Arriving in Yokohama on the 28<sup>th</sup>, they stayed there until the 4<sup>th</sup> of September before taking a train to Nikko for a three day walking tour from Chuzenji to Ikao, whereupon they travelled to Tokyo. Only here did O’Connor begin to describe events in more detail. The journey through North America had apparently been something of a normal holiday tour for both men, with the Kumar doubtless an exotic guest for his American hosts. But once he arrived back in Asia, there were significant religious and political implications to the Kumar’s presence.

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On the 17<sup>th</sup> of September 1908, the Kumar had an audience with the Mikado, and four days later he ‘addressed a large meeting of Japanese Buddhists on the subject of the Buddhist Shrine Restoration Society, and met with cordial sympathy from them all.’ In Kyoto, where he stayed from the 22<sup>nd</sup> of September until the 11th of October, he visited girls’ and boys’ schools and universities ‘and made such study as we could of the Japanese system of education.’

But as O'Connor noted, they

also saw a good deal of my friend Count Otani, the head of the Nishi Honguanji sect of Japanese Buddhism and of his friends and relations, by whom we were entertained at dinners, picnics, etc. We thus had an opportunity of seeing something of Japanese social life under pleasant auspices. Count Otani himself is a very remarkable man, highly cultured and well-read, who has travelled in most parts of the world.

There was more to Otani than that, however. As Scott Berry has discussed, before he fell from Royal Favour over financial issues, the Count was an ambitious aristocrat who was responsible for the dispatch of a number of Japanese agents to Tibet. He and O'Connor were old acquaintances, and at a time when Japanese and British interests coincided, it seems likely that they shared intelligence on Central Asia.<sup>37</sup>

After leaving Kyoto, O'Connor and the Kumar travelled on via Osaka to Kobe, where they stayed for four days, and thence sailed on the Inland sea to Miyajima. But 'on the 20<sup>th</sup> of October we received a telegram from the British Ambassador recalling us to Tokio [*sic*], which we reached on the 22<sup>nd</sup> by train.' They stayed in Tokyo until the 7<sup>th</sup> of November, and the issue of the Kumar's quest for a Japanese bride again arose. O'Connor recorded that the Ambassador

Sir Claude Macdonald very kindly interested himself during this period in the question of the Kumar's marriage to a Japanese or Semi-Japanese lady and invited him to various dances, dinners, etc., but he finally came to the conclusion that no suitable arrangement could be made and we continued our travels.

Visits to technical schools followed and they 'attended a review of 30,000 Japanese troops on the occasion of the Emperor's birthday and official receptions at the Foreign Office and Prince Arisugaua's house.' Thence they travelled to Shimonseki on the 7<sup>th</sup> of November, and on to Pusan, where they took the train to Seoul, proceeded from there to Antung and 'by the Japanese light railway to Sokakoo, thence Mukden, staying two nights and visiting the Manchu tombs on the 15<sup>th</sup>.

The next day, the Kumar took the train to Peking, arriving on the morning of the 17<sup>th</sup>, just after the death of the Emperor and the Dowager Empress had been publicly announced. Sir John Jordan, the

powerful British representative in Peking, invited them to stay at the Legation and they remained there for a fortnight 'seeing all that was possible in the somewhat unfortunate circumstances.' During this period they were able to have perhaps the most significant of encounters on the journey; an interview with the Dalai Lama, who was then in exile in China. The importance of this meeting was such that O'Connor filed a separate report on the encounter. For the Kumar it was a meeting of great religious significance and the highlight of his journey. Bell later recorded that

The matter of most interest to the Maharaj Kumar during his tour was his interviews with the Dalai Lama at Peking. He is deeply interested in the Buddhist Shrine Restoration Society of which he is Vice-President, and during his interviews with the Dalai Lama, spoke regarding the objects of this society, in which the Lama expressed much interest.<sup>38</sup>

The meeting with the Tibetan leader was of tremendous personal interest and political significance for O'Connor. The Dalai Lama had remained in exile since the Younghusband mission, and after the withdrawal of the British forces from Lhasa, the Chinese had stepped into the power vacuum and imposed their authority there. With the departure of Viceroy Curzon from India and a new, anti-imperial government elected in Britain, O'Connor, the British representative in Tibet, had been left isolated in Gyantse. Lacking any support from his government, he had been unable to develop his plans for the Panchen Lama. Moreover the Chinese had forced the Tibetans to boycott the British post there, so O'Connor's position had become untenable, and he eventually had been forced to withdraw. The Trade Agency remained, and his protégé, the promising young officer F.M. Bailey, was posted to replace him. However British influence had suffered a near-terminal blow and was only salvaged by the Chinese collapse after the 1911 revolution.

The Dalai Lama, in exile in Mongolia, had hoped for Russian support for his position, but when the Russians refused to assist him diplomatically or militarily, his position had declined to the point where he was forced to seek an accommodation with the Chinese. Thus he had journeyed to Peking, where he found himself in a humiliating position as he witnessed the final days of the Manchu dynasty, whose decadence could hardly have impressed the austere Buddhist leader.

The 13<sup>th</sup> Dalai Lama had never met a British person until his arrival in Peking, and Sir John Jordan, who had little time for the Tibetans or the Tibetan policies of the Government of India, had paid only a purely formal call on him. But O'Connor, who seems to have been acting entirely on his own initiative, had no intention of restricting his meeting to diplomatic formalities. While he did not report it, there seems little doubt that O'Connor assured the Dalai Lama that the British had no objection to his return to Tibet.

What O'Connor did report is that the Kumar had 'expressed a strong desire to visit the Dalai Lama. I spoke to the British Minister who said...[he had] no objection to the visit provided it was made unofficially and that the discussion of all political topics was avoided'.<sup>39</sup> Thus on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of November 1908, they drove to the Yellow Temple accompanied by a Chinese official in charge of his presence, and conversed on general topics for ten minutes. Before they took their leave the Kumar -- who was now wearing his monastic robes -- raised the subject of the Bodh Gaya restoration, and the Dalai Lama said he would discuss that issue if they made another visit.

They returned on the 25<sup>th</sup> and talked for two hours. The Dalai Lama

spoke of his own adventures and travels since leaving Lhasa in 1904. He said that he had been much impressed by all that he had heard and seen, that he felt that he had benefited by the extended knowledge of the world, his views had widened and many of his former prejudices had been removed. It was, he said, a great pity that so few Tibetan officials ever left their own country, for that nowadays without some knowledge of the outside world it is not possible for a country to advance or prosper. There is no harm, he thinks, in the adoption of foreign manners and customs provided people preserve their own religion. During his travels in Mongolia he...had gained the affection and reverence of a large number of devotees. He hoped to strengthen this influence and to extend it still further over other Buddhist countries in the course of time.

The Dalai Lama was unhappy about the actions of China, but understood the 'necessity of avoiding friction' and 'expressed himself then as entertaining friendly sentiments towards Great Britain and being desirous of dwelling on good terms with the Indian Government.'

He then asked the Kumar about the Panchen Lama's visit to India:

how the Lama was received, entertained etc... and the Lama particularly wished to know whether the Tashi Lama had obtained any influence over Buddhists or Buddhist sympathisers in India. ...[He also stated that he expected] to meet the Tashi Lama at Nag-chu-ka on his way back to Lhasa ...[and that] on his return to Lhasa he proposed to send some Tibetan students to India to study medical and other science[s], and he asked the Kumar to assist him in this.

O'Connor reported that this was followed by a long discussion over the condition and future of Bodh Gaya and concluded by noting that 'during his travels he has learnt to speak both Chinese and Mongol'<sup>40</sup>

Quite how much Sir John Jordan knew of all this is uncertain. He reported to the Foreign Office that he had officially informed Russia and China that the Kumar's visit to the Dalai Lama was a religious visit.<sup>41</sup> But both nations well knew the name of O'Connor, and must have suspected intrigue.

At the Dalai Lama's suggestion the Kumar then made a five day journey to the monastery of Wu-tai-shan, but before they left, O'Connor had one more meeting that must have been one of the most remarkable of his long career on the Indian frontiers.

One of the main reasons, if it was not the main one, of the Younghusband mission was the claim by important figures in the British Indian government (not least Curzon and Younghusband), that Tibet, while rejecting ties with the British, was secretly dealing with Russia, Britain's great rival in Central Asia. The key figure, it was claimed, was Agvaan Dorzhiev, a Buriat monk with Russian citizenship, who was a close confidant of the Dalai Lama. The British were aware that Dorzhiev had travelled between Lhasa and the Tsarist Russian capital of St Petersburg bearing diplomatic messages, and they imagined him as a Machiavellian secret agent.<sup>42</sup>

Now, in 1908, with the Younghusband mission and the policies it exemplified already seeming long gone history, O'Connor discovered that Dorzhiev was in Peking. With Britain and Russia having recently concluded an agreement over Central Asian affairs, O'Connor was able to meet his old adversary. In a private letter he recorded the meeting in the following words,

...there is an (apparently) very frank and above-board Russian diplomat (Mr Korostovets, the Minister) who is in almost daily communication with Dorjjeff [*sic*]. He expresses the most

unexceptionable sentiments, declares that he has informed the lama that Russian interests in Tibet have ceased altogether....and that the Lama must now reconcile himself absolutely to Chinese authority by which he must inevitably be bound for the future. He even invited me over to his place one evening (after dark) to meet Dorjjeff. I went and had a three-cornered conversation lasting an hour. It was an amusing anticlimax to all our Tibetan schemes – our mission, our military expedition, the fighting, slaughter, destruction of property, heart-burnings and hard work. Here we were sitting quietly round a table in the Russian Legation at Peking – the Russian Minister, Dorjjeff, the sinister figure who loomed so large in Central Asian politics a few years ago, and nearly set three great powers by the ears, and poor I who was caught up in the great events and used for a time – chatting amicably over the dry bones of a dead policy. Dorjjeff and Korostovets in Russian, K. and I in English and French, and Dorjjeff and I in Tibetan. Korostovets talked a great deal (he is a voluble man) and, as I say, his sentiments were beyond cavil. I said as little as possible: told Dorjjeff I was pleased to meet him, but that England now had no policy in Tibet except to remain on friendly terms with Tibet and China. Poor Dorjjeff quite sees the point of view. There is no doubt that he and the Lama dislike the Chinese and would be delighted to see the last of them. But as there is no-one else to turn to and Tibet cannot stand alone, they must swallow their pill and be good boys under the Amban's dictation.

I enclose a photo of Dorjjeff (taken some years ago) which Rockhill gave me. Isn't he a desperate character? He looks much the same now but a good deal older (he is 55). He is still the chief advisor and confident of the Dalai Lama and is apparently on very intimate terms with the Russians. He says he is not going back to Lhasa with the Lama.

As far as one can judge, the future tranquillity of Tibet depends entirely upon the ability of the Chinese effectually to maintain their influence there. There can be no doubt, I think, that there is a strong anti-Chinese party in the country, who, after the return of the Lama to Lhasa, will make trouble if they can find an excuse or if China is too weak to prevent them. Whereas, if China is strong she can, of course, reduce them to insignificance.

This is probably the last word I shall write on Tibetan matters. *Requiescat[?] in pace.*<sup>43</sup>

\* \* \*

The Kumar's tour was nearing its conclusion, and for O'Connor the highlights had doubtless passed. But they stayed at the monastery of Wu-tai-shan, where they found that '[m]ost of the monks are Chinese and Mongols but we were fortunate enough to find one or two Tibetans with whom we could converse.' On their return to Jankow, which they reached on the 16<sup>th</sup> of December, they were entertained by the Consul General, a Mr Fraser, and then took a steamer to Shanghai. The voyage was not without excitement for as O'Connor noted

We reached Nan-king after having been delayed nearly 24 hours through the steamer running into the bank of the river. We left the boat at Nan-king and went by rail to Shanghai.

On the 22<sup>nd</sup> they left for Hong Kong 'where we landed and spent the night ashore, dining with the Governor, Sir Frederick Lugard.' On the 26<sup>th</sup> they sailed to Singapore and on New Year's Day they sailed on the *S.S. Lindula*, arriving in Rangoon on the 6<sup>th</sup> of January.

They halted there for five days to enable the Maharajah Kumar to address a meeting of Burmese Buddhists on the subject of the Buddhist Shrine Restoration Society, and dined with the Lieutenant-Governor. On the 11<sup>th</sup> of January they sailed on the *S.S. Bangala* to Calcutta, arriving there on the 14<sup>th</sup>, and 12 days later the Maharaja left for Siliguri and a return to his homeland. He reached Gangtok on the 12<sup>th</sup> of February.

O'Connor seemed to have enjoyed his travels, and ironically, given that in retirement (following financial difficulties after the Wall Street Crash) he worked as a tour guide in the Himalayas, he recorded that 'I am becoming quite an expert at checking baggage... I am thinking of applying to Cook's for a job later on as highly qualified.'<sup>44</sup>

Of the results of the tour he reported on the Kumar that

It was only after we had left England in July last that I began adequately to realise the defective nature of his general education and his ignorance of the elements of school-boy knowledge... On taking stock of his acquirements I found that he had received virtually no education at all... neither history



nor science nor mathematics... . His was the mind of a child; and it was necessary ... to commence the discussion of any subject from the simplest and lowest standpoint... [but]... Whilst far from clever, the Kumar is genuinely anxious to acquire information, and is patient and pains-taking [*sic*] at any task he takes up.

He [now] displays, I think, a quickened intelligence, and has at any rate learnt of the existence of many fascinating fields of knowledge which remain for him to explore. In a word his intellectual curiosity has been aroused and his facilities stimulated... and is anxious to make up for the time which, to his own great regret, has been squandered in the past.<sup>45</sup>

On his return to Sikkim, the Kumar was given an opportunity to influence Sikkim's future. He was appointed as Vice-President of the State Council and placed in charge of the departments of education and forests, in addition to being given religious control of the monasteries.<sup>46</sup>

There was, however, one matter outstanding. While the Kumar had ended his world tour, he had not succeeded in finding a wife despite continuing efforts during the Asian leg of his travels. O'Connor had helped as best he could, joking that he was 'now ... beginning to qualify in another sphere, that of matrimonial agent.'<sup>47</sup> From Tokyo he had reported that the Kumar had discussed the possibility of marrying a lady of mixed Japanese and English origin with the British Ambassador, who thought a pure Japanese better. The Kumar was said to have stated that 'he does not contemplate marriage with Burmese, Thibetan or other Buddhist lady, and fears that he must remain unmarried if his wishes are not met.' Bell, now the Political Officer in Sikkim, agreed and was concerned that the 'Kumar would become discontented if his wishes are frustrated.' The Viceroy now concluded that a Japanese wife was acceptable if the Sikkim Durbar had no objection, but if they did the idea should be dropped. He ordered that 'Japanese families consulted should be informed fully of disadvantages of life in Sikkim for a foreign wife.' These instructions were conveyed to O'Connor.<sup>48</sup>

There was, however, an objection from Sikkim. Bell reported that

His Highness the Maharajah objects, as I had surmised, to the proposed marriage. His contention is that the Maharaj Kumar, being an incarnation of Buddha, should not marry at all, and

should not take part in worldly affairs but should devote himself entirely to religious exercises.<sup>49</sup>

But Bell pointed out that the previous Kumar had married and that the Maharajah would probably accept it as long as the lady was a Buddhist, although he preferred the customary Tibetan wife. In fact, according to Bell it was actually Her Highness the Maharani who was

the guiding spirit in opposition to the Maharajah-Kumar, as she would like her own son to succeed to the Gadi and the Kumar's marriage will still further remove this boy's chance. In this as in other matters both the Maharajah and the members of the Durbar follow her lead.<sup>50</sup>

Bell concluded that

The chief desiderata in such a wife are that she should not be prone to intrigue, that she should be of an economical disposition, as the Maharaj-Kumar himself is, for Sikkim is a poor State, that she should not be too fond of society, for Gangtok is a small and isolated place, and that she should be content with one or two only of her fellow country-women as servants.<sup>51</sup>

A month later, however, Bell reported that the Kumar was not entirely opposed to a Tibetan wife - 'it transpires that shortly before the Maharaj Kumar left England for America he wrote to one of the Sikkim lamas to send an emissary to Tibet to enquire as to the possibility of obtaining a Tibetan wife.' A daughter of the aristocratic Lha-gya-ri family was thought suitable and the Kumar had been asked for Rs. 12,000 'as preliminary expenses.'<sup>52</sup>

Six months later no progress had been made. The British Ambassador in Japan had failed to find a suitable match and the discussions with the Lha-gya-ri family had fallen through.<sup>53</sup> No suitable ladies could be found in Bhutan and the Kumar's thoughts turned further east. Bell requested of his government 'that enquires be made as to suitable ladies of aristocratic lineage in Burma and Siam. In the present circumstances a Burmese wife would be preferable to one from either Tibet or Siam, as Burma is under British rule.' A number of possibilities were explored by the officials in Burma; four Shan ladies were reported to be 'so far as I can judge, moral and well brought up

and moderately good-looking', but the most promising candidates were found in the family in the Limbin Mintha, who were then residing in Allahabad.<sup>54</sup>

There were four daughters in the family, and they were 'English-speaking', which was an important consideration. So enquiries were made of these girls, and the Government of India enquired of the Uttar Pradesh government

whether in the opinion of His Honour, the Lieutenant-Governor, such a marriage would be acceptable to the Limbin Mintha, and, if so, which of the ladies would be likely to prove the most suitable wife for a young man of the Maharaja-Kumar's age, temperament and education. He is 33 years old, is a devout Buddhist of quiet and amenable character, simple and retiring in his habits, but appreciative of congenial society.

Discrete enquiries revealed that two of the girls seemed suitable:

The latter is of more vivacious disposition than her elder sister. Both are extremely nice girls, well educated, of good manners and dispositions, with an excellent knowledge of English and not without accomplishments....people would ... while liking them both, express some slight preference for the younger girl.

This seemed promising. The Kumar set out for Allahabad, officially to view 'the Exhibition', but in reality to meet the young ladies. Unfortunately on his return Bell had to report that 'the Maharaj Kumar has been to Allahabad and has met the daughters of the Limbin Mintha. He informs me that he does not desire marriage with any of them. He is at present undecided as to his future action.' An unsigned file note on Bell's correspondence concluded that 'It is sad that the reality seems to have fallen short of the hopes raised by ...[the] flattering testimonial.'

The Kumar's thoughts turned again to Japan. He wrote to a Mr Davidson in Tokyo:

You will be surprised to hear from me after such a long time since we have met last at Tokyo. ... I would like to ask you a favour that is you know I have a great ambition to marry a Japanese lady as I know they are much more enlightened and educated than any other women on this side of the world.

During these last 2 years I tried to find a suitable lady from India, Burma and Tibet.

But I regret to say that I could not find any suitable one up to date ... [and I had to leave Japan] before I had sufficient opportunity of seeing and making acquaintance with any respectable families.

There is no-one that I know of who knows so much about the Japanese people than yourself.

I shall be so grateful to you if you will kindly let me know if there is any suitable, good-looking lady that you know of. It would be still nice if photographs could be secured and sent to me. Of course she must be able to speak English well, else she won't be any use to me.

I wonder whether you are acquainted to Count Otani of Nishihong-wanji at Kyoto, as I know him well. He writes to me sometimes. I wonder whether there is any suitable young lady who are relative of him.[sic] ... I am sending you a Tibetan purse with some Tibetan coins and also a cutting of the Dalai Lama's seal. I hope you will accept this curio as a Xmas present from me.<sup>55</sup>

By this time however Anglo-Japanese relations were in decline and the Viceroy stated that he 'should prefer that idea be discouraged.' It was noted that Japan was active in China and Turkestan, there were reports of mysterious journeys by Japanese travellers and of a Japanese community established on the Yunnan border under the protection of a local noble prominent in the revolution. Thus it seemed 'wiser not to put them in a position from which Tibet and Nepal would be easy of access.'<sup>56</sup>

The Government then made further enquiries in Burma, Kashmir, Ladakh and the smaller Buddhist states such as Zanskar, requesting confidential enquiries be made and photographs of any suitable brides forwarded to Sikkim.<sup>57</sup> One possibility emerged in Kashmir, where the Resident reported that the Wazir Wazarat of Ladakh had recommended one candidate. The Wazir had reported that

the most respectable family of Buddhists in Ladakh, Zanskar and Purig is that of the Rajah of Stok, whose grandfather Giapu Tanduf Namgial was the ruler of Ladakh at the time of conquest. He has no daughter of his own; but his cousin Rajah

Tashi Lawang of Mathu has a grown-up daughter who I should think would be a suitable spouse.

The Wazir had discussed the matter with the Raja of Stok and the Kushuk Bakula of Zanskar – from the other branch of her family – but

they know absolutely nothing of the Maharaj Kumar of Sikkim nor have enough means to enter into matrimonial alliances with ruling Chiefs. For this reason they do not know how to start the negotiations.

But they were arranging for a photo and the Kushak asked for more information about the Kumar! The lady concerned was then 16 years of age, and was said to be ‘a lady of very refined manners according to Tibetan civilization and is also said to be good looking,’ but she was also illiterate, far from wealthy and spoke only Ladakhi. While a photo of her was requested, the matter lapsed.

Instead, the Maharajah Kumar thought again about one of the daughters of the Limin Mintha. In January 1913 he requested permission from the Government of India to visit the Buddhist shrines of Kathmandu and then to journey to Rangoon for 2-3 weeks to meet the 3<sup>rd</sup> daughter of the family, who had returned to Burma from Allahabad. The Political Officer reported that ‘after seeing something of this lady he may decide to propose marriage to her.’<sup>58</sup>

Nepal was too concerned with its own forthcoming royal installation for it to be a convenient time for the Kumar to visit Kathmandu, and so the Kumar sailed from Calcutta to Burma and stayed in the Mansion Hotel in Rangoon while he re-considered the young lady as a potential wife. On his return to Gangtok on the 12<sup>th</sup> of March 1913, the Maharajah Kumar informed Charles Bell that he wished to marry Teik Tin Ma Lat, the 2<sup>nd</sup> daughter of the Limbin Mintha. He had seen the parents in Rangoon and they had agreed to the match, but informed the Kumar that Burmese custom was for the groom’s parents to ask the brides parent’s for their daughter’s hand.<sup>59</sup>

Burmese custom created a new problem. Bell and the Kumar spoke to the Maharaja on the 14<sup>th</sup>, asking him to write to the girl’s parents requesting their daughter’s hand. But the Maharajah refused to do so! He repeated his objection to the Kumar marrying at all. Bell reported to his Government that the ‘Maharaja is obdurate in this matter and will no doubt always remain so.’<sup>60</sup>

Then the prospective bride herself took a hand. Ma Lat wrote to the Kumar saying she wanted to marry him, and she suggested that Bell ask the Government of Burma to approach the parents, which Bell agreed to do. But Kumar wanted the Government of India to tell the Maharaja that they did not agree with his desire to prevent a marriage, something Bell doubted was advisable.<sup>61</sup>

The Government of India then informed the Government of Burma that 'The Government of India cannot for obvious reasons act *in loco parentis* in the manner desired by the Maharaj Kumar. But they have every sympathy for the latter in his present difficulties.' They wanted the situation explained to the lady's parents, 'who may be informed that the Government of India has no objection to the match.'<sup>62</sup>

The Assistant Commissioner of Police in Rangoon thus informed the Limbin Mintha of this and the father of the 19 year old, 'English-speaking' Ma Lat wrote in response that

I have the honour to say that the Limbin Minthame and I give our consent to a marriage between our daughter Ma Lat and the Maharaj Kumar of Sikkim. We regret that His Highness the Maharajah should not desire the proposed union, but as both the parties to it are of age and agree, and that the Government of India approve, we consider that there is no obstacle to the marriage and trust that it may take place when details have hereafter been arranged.<sup>63</sup>

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It is at that point that the India Office file on the Kumar's travels in search of education and a wife, comes to an end. And there is no happy postscript to the tale. The marriage to Ma Lat did not take place. Instead the Kumar followed the traditions of his ancestors and married Cheoni Wangmo, a lady from the Tibetan aristocracy. A few months later the Kumar succeeded his father as Maharajah of Sikkim after the latter's death in February 1914, but the young man himself died on 5<sup>th</sup> December of that year, apparently from the effects of a fever while suffering from jaundice.<sup>64</sup> Cheoni Wangmo travelled to Bodh Gaya and Benares to burn butter lamps in his memory and he was succeeded as Maharajah by his younger half-brother Tashi Namgyal.<sup>65</sup>

Ultimately the effort expended by the British, and the dreams of the young Kumar, had no lasting effect on the history of Sikkim. But a study of the manner by which his education proceeded tells us much

about the aims and methods of the British colonial state in South Asia, the responses of the indigenous elites, and the extent to which events and processes in the Indo-Tibetan Himalayas were interconnected. It also sheds an interesting light on the difficulties faced by the Himalayan aristocracy in finding suitable marriage partners, and the diplomatic considerations involved in these alliances.

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## NOTES

1. *History of Sikkim* [hereafter, *History...*]; compiled by His Highness the Maharajah Sir Thutob Namgyal (KCIE) and Maharani Yeshay Dolma of Sikkim, unpublished manuscript translated by Kazi Dousandup [*sic*], 1908, p. 71.
2. I have discussed White's career and character at length in two works; 'The Establishment of the British Trade Agencies in Tibet 1904-1909: A Survey', in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Series 3.2.3, 1992; and, *Tibet and the British Raj: the frontier cadre 1904-1947*, Richmond (U.K.), 1997; also see A.J.K. Singh, *Himalayan triangle; A historical survey of British India's relations with Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan 1765-1950*, London 1988, p. 229-33.
3. *History...* pp. 98-142; this work ends on a positive note concerning White and his career in Sikkim, clearly a diplomatic fiction.
4. Oriental and India Office Collection [hereafter OIOC], L/P&S/10/92- 564, O'Connor to [Government of] India, 4 February 1909, 'Diary of events connected with the Kumar's tour.' This paper is based on OIOC file reference L/P&S/10-92, which contains virtually all relevant correspondence; to avoid repetition hereafter I thus cite only the appropriate file reference number.
5. Croft was the key figure behind the opening of the Bhutia Boarding school at Darjeeling in 1874. The school was specifically intended to develop local youths who could mediate in dealings with the Raj's northern neighbours; P.Waller, *The Pundits: British Exploration of Tibet and Central Asia*, Lexington, (Kentucky), 1990 p. 193, quoting National Archives of India, Foreign Department Secret, January 1882, 722-725, Sir Alfred Croft to A.C. Lyall, 12 April 1879, pp. 194 & fn.8, p. 292.
6. Chandra Das, the first headmaster of the Bhutia school, travelled to Lhasa in 1881-82 on an intelligence-gathering mission for the British. He was subsequently *persona non grata* in Tibet, but remained in Darjeeling as an authority on Tibet, although he was not highly regarded by Curzon and Younghusband and was consulted only in an academic capacity in that era. Chandra Das wrote a number of accounts of his travels, but for a critical analysis of the details and consequences of his 1881-82 mission, see Alex McKay, 'The Drowning of Lama Sengchen Kyabying: A Preliminary Enquiry from British Sources', in *Tibet Past and Present: Tibetan Studies I. the Proceedings of the 9<sup>th</sup> International Seminar for Tibetan Studies, Leiden 2000*, H. Blezer (Gen. Ed.), Leiden 2002.

7. 10-92-1485, Sidkeong Tulku, Maharajah Kumar of Sikkim to White, 23 August 1905; 10-92-564, O'Connor to the Government of India, 4 February 1909; 'Diary of events connected with the Kumar's tour.'
8. White, *Sikkim and Bhutan*, pp. 45-48; Singh, *Himalayan Triangle...*, p. 247: *History*, p. 127, states that 'The Maharajah was ready to go, but Mr White however thought that His Highness having never before that Visited the Plains and not used to European etiquettes and customs would not do very well for the occasion, as the Railway Journey would be long, and the place crowded, so it would be trying to His Highness's health and nerves to attend the Durbar. [*sic*]' It goes on to note that the Maharajah was concerned about the effects of his non-attendance on his status and official income.
9. See McKay *op cit*, 1992, 1997.
10. On which see McKay 1997; also see A. Lamb, *British India and Tibet. 1766-1910*, London 1986.
11. The Prince of Wales, who was then touring India, met the Panchen Lama, but it is unclear whether he also met the Kumar; there is no reference to it in the *History*....
12. 10-92-1485: Maharajah Kumar to J.C.White, 23 August 1905.
13. Bell was later involved in the sending of four Tibetan boys to Rugby school in England. The influence of the Political Officers is surely suggested by the Kumar's statement regarding expenses being kept as low as possible.
14. 10-92-1485, Maharajah Kumar to White, 23 August 1905.
15. 10-92-1485, White to India, 20 March 1906.
16. 10-92-1485, [Foreign Secretary] Louis Dane to the India Office, 9 August 1906. By this period, the appearance in British society of numerous members of Indian 'royalty', many of whom were of very minor status in India, was being viewed with disfavour in official circles. But see C.Wylie, note of 4 October 1906, which states that the Kumar 'wishes to get into "good society"' and is desirous of assistance in doing so – a matter which presents some difficulties.'
17. 10-92-1485, letter headed 'United Services Club Simla', to Lt-Col Sir Curzon Wylie at the India Office, 15 August 1906 [page with signature is missing], original emphasis.
18. Viceroy to the India Office, 14 September 1906.
19. 10-92-2534, Blackiston to Wylie, 22 January 1907.
20. Charles Bell to Ritchie [India Office], 7 May 1907.
21. 10-92-3146, 'Kumar's accounts for November 1907.'
22. 10-92-2802, Admiralty to the India Office, 20 March 1907; Blackiston to Wylie, 24 March 1907.
23. 10-92-1455, Political Department reference paper, 3 October 1907, from Wylie to Ritchie.
24. 10-92-935, White to India, 1 April 1907.
25. 10-92-1553, 'Note by the Political ADC', W.H.Wylie, 10 December 1907.
26. *Ibid*, Maharajah Kumar to White, 5 November 1906.
27. 10-92-1455, White to Ritchie, 27 August 1907.
28. 10-92-379, [Ambassador] Claude Macdonald to Colin Campbell, India Office, 28 March 1907; file note by Ritchie, 26 April 1907.
29. 10-92-1553, 'Note by the Political ADC', W.H.Wylie, 10 December 1907.



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30. *Ibid.* Dane to Maharajah Kumar, 19 August 1907.
31. *Ibid.* Maharajah Kumar to India, 3 October 1907
32. *Ibid.* Maharajah Kumar to Wylie, 19 January 1908; Wylie minute paper of 22 January 1908.
33. Typically, the government only sanctioned an expenditure of £1,500, which was exceeded by more than 6,000 rupees. As much of that was due to religious donations, and religious objects purchased, however, the matter was passed over; 10-92-1257; 10-92-1289, 'Administration Report of the Sikkim State for 1908-1909'; 10-92-265, India to Secretary of State, 27 January 1910.
34. 10-92-3378, O'Connor's 'proposed itinerary', 11 June 1908 ; 10-92-411, Viceroy to the India Office, 18 September 1908.
35. This and the following section is taken from 10-92-564, O'Connor to India, 4 February 1909, 'Diary of events connected with the Kumar's tour'.
36. *Ibid.*
37. See S. Berry, *Monks, Spies and a Soldier of Fortune: The Japanese in Tibet*, London, 1995; also see Sir F. O'Connor, *On the Frontier and Beyond: A Record of Thirty Years Service*, London 1931.
38. 10-92-1289, 'Administration Report of the Sikkim State for 1908-1909'.
39. 10-92-2826, O'Connor's 'Confidential memo on Kumar's visit to Peking', 1 December 1908.
40. *Ibid.*, 'Memorandum on an interview between the Dalai Lama and the Maharaj Kumar of Sikkim held at the Yellow Temple Peking on November 25, 1908', by W.F. O'Connor
41. 10-92-2943, [Ambassador] J.N. Jordan to Sir Edward Grey, 2 December 1908.
42. Only with the publication of John Snelling's *Buddhism in Russia: The story of Agvan Dorzhiev, Lhasa's Emissary to the Tsar*, Shaftsbury, (U.K.), 1993, has Dorzhiev's actual role emerged. That work relied heavily on research by Alex Andreyev in St Petersburg, whose own work is forthcoming (Brill, 2003) and adds considerably to Snelling's work, particularly in regard to Dorzhiev's work in the 1920s.
43. 10-92-2826, extract from a private letter from O'Connor to Sir R. Ritchie, Peking, 1 December 1908; while it seemed an appropriate conclusion, O'Connor did have some later involvement with Tibet, including a brief term as Political Officer Sikkim in 1921; see McKay 1997.
44. 10-92-3498, O'Connor to Curzon Wylie; date (like so much of O'Connor's handwriting) indecipherable.
45. 10-92-564, O'Connor to India, 4 February 1909, 'Diary of events connected with the Kumar's tour.'
46. 10-92-1289, Administration Report of the Sikkim State for 1908-1909.
47. See note 42.
48. 10-92-1802, Viceroy to the India Office, 25 September 1908, and reply of 30 September 1908; instructions to O'Connor dated 17 October 1908.
49. 10-92-2030, Bell to India, 5 October 1908, replying to query of 2 October 1908.
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid.*

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52. 10-92-2207, Bell to India, 24 November 1908.
  53. 10-92-4246, note by Claude Macdonald, 13 November 1908; 10-92-889, Bell to India, 12 May 1909.
  54. 10-92-632, Bell to India, 5 July 1910 and related correspondence.
  55. 10-92-169, Maharajah Kumar to a Mr Davidson, 22 November 1911.
  56. 10-92-233, Viceroy to the India Office, 23 January 1912; undated/signed Foreign Office minute, ca. Feb 1912.
  57. 10-92-1105, Bell to India, 11 April 1911, enclosing Maharajah Kumar to Bell, 23 March 1911 and related correspondence. For the Ladakhi perspective on these events, see Nawang Tsering Shakspo, 'Ladakh's Relations with other Himalayan Kingdoms', in Steinkellner, E., (Gen.Ed.), *Tibetan Studies II*, Wien (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften), 1997, pp.669-76.
  58. 10-92-687, Political Officer Sikkim to India, 26 January 1913, and India to Maharajah Kumar, 31 January 1913.
  59. 10-92-2584, Bell to India, 29 March 1913.
  60. *Ibid.*
  61. *Ibid.*  
10-92-2584, R. Chenevix Trench (Government of India), to W.F. Rice (Government of Burma) 16 April 1913.
  63. *Ibid.*, Rice to India, 21 May 1913.
  64. OIOC, V/10/1977, Administration Report of the Sikkim State for 1914-1915; there were the usual rumours of poisoning that seemingly accompany the early death of any important figure in Himalayan history.
  65. Singh, *Himalayan triangle...*, p. 256, reports that the young *tulku*'s ideas on land reform were not popular with the Sikkimese aristocracy; as she notes [n.385, p.285], one Indian writer has claimed that Bell did not like either the Kumar or his ideas, stating that, 'His death was as much a relief to the Political Officer as it was to the Kazis and monks.'; see Lal Bahadur Basnet, *Sikkim: A Short Political History*, New Delhi 1974, p. 64. There is nothing in the file on which this article is based to support that conclusion.