

SECRET

File No. 8-X (Secret) of 1938.  
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT

NOTES

Serial Nos. (1)-(66).

INDO-TIBETAN FRONTIER. EXPEDITION TO TAWANG, ASSAM, TO  
EXAMINE LOCAL CONDITIONS IN ORDER TO MAKE SUGGESTIONS FOR  
FUTURE ADMINISTRATION OF THAT AREA.

(1)

In this connection please see Serial No. (14) in our file No. 523-X/26 which lays down that no Gurkhas of Nepalese nationality are to be given Government employment except in the Army and in regular Military Police battalions and then only up to the existing strength sanctioned. In the present case the employment of Gurkhas will be for a short duration and we may perhaps ask His Majesty's Minister, Nepal whether the Nepal Government could be induced to agree as a special case. Draft telegram submitted for approval.

B. S.,—5-2-38.

C. A. G. SAVIDGE,—5-2-38. Issue.

W. R. HAY, — 5-2-38.

(2)— Issue.

(3)

(4)—Issue.

(5) & (6)

(7)—Issue.

(8)

We may repeat this telegram to the Assam Government and leave them to make what other arrangements they can for carriers for Tawang expedition, Draft submitted.

B. S.,—26-2-38.

C. A. G. SAVIDGE,—26-2-38.

Issue as amended. We may have to return to the charge.

W. R. HAY,—26-2-38.

(9)—Issue.

(10)

Routine drafts submitted for approval.

B. S.,—5-3-38.

C. A. G. SAVIDGE,—5-3-38.

(11)—(14)—Issues.

(15) & (16)

The Government of India sanctioned an allotment of Rs. 15,000 to meet a part of the cost of an expedition to the Tawang Area, vide Serial No. (21) in File 561-X(Sec.)/37 below. The Assam Government now intimate that this allotment has been exceeded by Rs. 1,000 and ask that a further amount may be sanctioned. External Affairs Department has no funds at its disposal from which the additional expenditure can be met. We may, therefore, ask Finance Department kindly to sanction an additional grant, cf. their notes at page 24 in *ibid*.

B. S.,—28-3-38.

We have surrendered a fairly large saving in the tribal areas grant as modified and this additional Rs. 1,000 required by Assam may be allotted, as the expenditure was unavoidable.

G. K. S. SARMA,—28-3-38.

Finance Department.

We may agree. Draft submitted. The saving next year should be surrendered to us.

H. A. C. GILL,—29-3-38.

External Affairs Department.

This is returned to Finance Department for cancellation of the Audit order. We have heard today that the excess has been met by reappropriation and the papers have been sent to Finance Department this morning.

G. K. S. SARMA,—31-3-38.

Finance Department.

This reached us too late for anything to be done.

H. A. C. GILL,—1-4-38.

External Affairs Department.

(17) & (18)

In view of Assam Government telegram No. 206, dated 30th March 1938, Finance Department may be asked kindly to cancel their Audit order No. D./2343-B., dated 30th March 1938.

B. S.,—31-3-38.

G. K. S. SARMA,—31-3-38.

Finance Department.

It is regretted that it is now too late to accept any modifications in the grants for 1937-38.

H. A. C. GILL,—31-3-38.

External Affairs Department.

(19)—Issue.

[Extract from notes on File No. D. 2636-X/38.]

2. The Tawang Expedition has already started and the preliminary expenditure in 1937-38 was about Rs. 16,000. Beyond the proposed surrender of Rs. 1,000 we can make no reduction in the budget provision.

G. K. S. SARMA,—8-4-38.

Foreign Secretary has agreed to the following:—

1. Surrender of Rs. 1,000 from the provision for the Tawang Expedition.

G. K. S. SARMA,—10-4-38.

(20) & (21)

For an understanding of this case notes pages 26-28 and Serial, No. (50) in File No. 493-X/35 may kindly be read. Attention is also invited to notes pages 26-28 and Serial Nos. (24), (26), (30) and (31) in File No. 561-X/37, regarding the despatch of the present expedition to Tawang.

2. Serial No. (20) has been repeated to Assam but it is not clear whether Serial No. (21), referred to therein, has also been repeated to the Provincial Government. An enquiry may perhaps be made from the Political Officer, Sikkim, and he may be told with reference to paragraph 5 of his telegram at Serial No. (20) that he need not postpone his tour. Rai Bahadur Norbhu will, it is hoped, be able to tackle the question successfully. Mr. Gould will be within reach of telegraphic communications upto the 20th May. In any case R. B. Norbhu will repeat all telegrams to us and Assam.

A draft telegram to the Political Officer, Sikkim, is accordingly submitted for approval. Memos. to the India and Office Shanghai are also added.

T. D.,—5-5-38.

We can I think safely leave Rai Bahadur Norbhu to deal with any questions which may arise at Lhasa, and there is no need for Mr. Gould to cancel his tour to Bhutan.

The drafts may issue.

C. A. G. SAVIDGE,—6-5-38.

W. R. HAY,—6-5-38.

(22)

(23)—Issue.

(24)

(25)—(27)—Issues.

(28)

This may please be read with reference to Serial No. (51) in File No. 493-X/35, Serial No. (31) in File No. 561-X/35 and notes above.

2. The cause of delay in Nyukmadong, as stated by the Political Officer, Balipara, is not readily understood. The labour corps accompanying the expedition consists of a permanent strength of 8 Sirdars and 400 coolies [File No. 561-X/37 (Sec.), notes pages 10-11 and correspondence pages 12-13]. This army of men was approved by us chiefly because of the non-availability of local carriers at various places and as it was anticipated that at and near Tawang the Political Officer will not be able to engage local coolies. Provision has also been made for additional labour at a cost of Rs. 6,000.

3. As regards the request made by the Assam Government in paragraph 2 of this letter, the position is as follows. The Government of India are aware that the Dzongpons of the Tsona district in Tibet collect revenue from the Tawang area for the Lhasa Government, that the Tibetan officials check the collection work of the various Dzongpons and that the Tibetan Government actually maintain their officials in and around that area [File No. 493-X/35, notes pages 10-11 and Serial No. (7)]. The question was taken up with His Majesty's Government in 1936 and with their concurrence the Political Officer, Sikkim, was instructed inter alia to demand from the Lhasa Government the discontinuance by them of the collection of revenue in the Tawang area [Serial Nos. (7), (15), (16) and (30) in *ibid*]. The Political Officer however more than once recommended postponement [Serial Nos. (28) and (32) in *ibid*] of any actual measures to establish our authority in the area in question. The matter was discussed by him with the Assam Government and eventually referred to the Government of India who decided in the circumstance explained by the local Government to send an expedition under Captain Lightfoot, Political Officer, Balipara Frontier Tract, to examine the country, get into touch with the inhabitants of the area and form some estimate of its

revenue possibility in order to facilitate the decision regarding the future policy of establishing our rights in the area [File No. 493-X/35, Serial Nos. (50) and (51)]. The nature of this expedition is purely preliminary and exploratory and no line of action is apparently to be decided at this stage of the tour until it is over and a complete report thereof is received from the Provincial Government [File No. 561-X/37 (Sec.), notes pages 27-28 and Serial No. (31)]. Meanwhile it would perhaps suffice if Rai Bahadur Norbhu who is in Lhasa is instructed through Political Officer, Sikkim, to tackle the question with the Tibetan Government as suggested in his telegram at Serial No. (21). For orders.

T. D.,—13-5-38.

I have prepared tentative drafts to the Secretary to the Governor of Assam and Rai Bahadur Norbhu. The present Expedition is intended to be purely exploratory, vide paragraph 2 of Serial No. (51), File No. 493-X/35 (Sec.), and Serial No. (2), File No. 561-X (Sec.). I feel that we must strongly resist all attempts on the part of the local authorities to persuade us to agree to any action which may commit us to a prolonged or possibly permanent occupation of the country at the present stage, not only because the financial implications of such action would be considerable, but its political effect in Tibet might be disastrous. We may eventually be compelled to ignore the expostulations of the Tibetan Government and proceed *vict armis*, but to begin with in any case it is desirable that we should try and settle matters so far as possible by negotiations.

W. R. HAY,—14-5-38.

1. Draft No. I has been approved by His Excellency and may issue at once.
2. Will Deputy Secretary please revise the draft to Rai Bahadur Norbhu and let me see again before issue.
3. My demi-official letter below to P. S. V. should issue.

H. A. F. METCALFE,—16-5-38.

Reference paragraph 2 of Secretary's note. I have revised the draft.

W. R. HAY,—17-5-38.

Issue.

H. A. F. METCALFE,—18-5-38.

(29) & (30)—Issues.

(31)

(32)—(34)—Issues.

(35)

Rai Bahadur Norbhu's suggestion that Captain Lightfoot should be instructed to proclaim in the widest possible degree to the British subjects in Tawang that they must refuse to make any payment in future to the Tibetan officials cannot be accepted. In fact we have decided that the future policy in Tawang will depend on Captain Lightfoot's report after the completion of the entire tour. A similar suggestion was made by the Assam Government—vide Serial No. (28)—and our attitude in the matter was explained both to them and to the Rai Bahadur as in the telegram at Serial No. (29). The other suggestion made in paragraph 7 of the p. u. c. is also equally unacceptable. The Posa of Rs. 5,000 paid to the Dzongpons of the Tawang Monastery was fixed in 1843-44 as compensation for certain territorial annexations and cannot be discontinued or suspended in view of the historical reasons [File No. 493-X/35 (Sec.), notes page 18]. In 1936 also such a step was recommended both by the Assam Government and the Political Officer, Sikkim, but the Government of India decided against the suspension of this compensation [Serial No. (25) in *ibid*]. In the circumstances we may inform Rai Bahadur Norbhu by telegram that the suggestions made in paragraphs 6 and 7 of his telegram cannot be given effect to until Captain Lightfoot's expedition has returned and his report is received and examined. For orders.

T. D.,—27-5-38.

Draft telegram below may issue.

W. R. HAY,—28-5-38.

(36)-Issue.

(37)

His Excellency has seen.

H. A. F. METCALFE,—27-5-38.

(38) & (39).

According to the provisional tour programme of the Tawang expedition a garrison of 50 rifles and the S. A. S. column duty are to remain in Tawang for about 10 days. We are not aware of any modification in this programme. It is not however the intention to maintain the garrison at Tawang indefinitely or to take any other action which might commit the Government of India to a permanent occupation and further expenditure in this connection. Consequently the suggestion made in paragraph 3 of Serial No. (20) was not considered here.

2. As regards paragraph 2 it has already been decided not to take any action on Rai Bahadur Norbhu's proposals contained in paragraphs 6 and 7 of his telegram at Serial No. (35) and a post copy of our reply to the Rai Bahadur was sent to Political Officer, Sikkim [*of*. Serial No. (36)].

3. The telegram has been repeated to Assam who will no doubt give a reply on the point raised in the concluding sentence of paragraph 1.

B S.,—2-6-38.

(40)—(42)—Issues.

Rai Bahadur Norbhu is presumably in possession of the expedition's original programme and he should understand from Serial No. (29) that there is no present intention of modifying it.

No action routine or otherwise need be taken in Serial No. (39) at present.

W. R. HAY,—3-6-38.

H. A. F. METCALFE,—3-6-38.

(43) & (44)

Serial No. (43).—In reply to our demi-official letter to Sikkim of the 1st February 1938 (File No. 561-X/37), Mr. Gould wrote to say that he agreed with Norbhu that no approach should be made to the Tibetan Government before the Tawang expedition takes place. We accepted this view but India Office does not appear to have been supplied with copies of relevant demi-official correspondence. As regards paragraph 2 of the India Office letter our attitude in the matter vis-a-vis that of the Tibetan Government is explained in Serial Nos. (28) to (31), (35) and (36), copies of which have been sent [Serial Nos. (34) and (40)] to the India Office and have apparently crossed their present reference. A draft demi-official letter to Mr. Peel is submitted for consideration.

2. Serial No. (44).—The duplicate copy of report No.5, has been sent to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy separately. A copy of this letter with enclosures may be sent to the India Office and Shanghai by routine. Necessary drafts put up.

3. Please see paragraph 2 of Serial No. (19). The printed budget has since been forwarded to the Government of Assam but the savings in question have not so far been surrendered by them. As the Finance Department are pressing for the surrender of all available savings without any further delay, a draft reminder to Assam is submitted for approval.

B. S.,—8-6-38.

C. A. G. SAVIDGE,—8-6-38.

W. R. HAY,—8-6-38.

H. A. F. METCALFE,—8-6-38.

Report No.5 should go to Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy for information.

H. A. F. METCALFE,—5-6-38.

P. S. V.

Seen.

L[inlithgow],—7-6-38.

External Affairs Department.

(45)—(49)—Issues.

(50)

In the circumstances explained in the paper under consideration we may for the present accept the surrender of Rs. 260 made by the Secretary to the Governor of Assam. A draft letter is accordingly submitted for approval. It is presumed that 'A' Branch to whom copies of correspondence will be given will take further action in regard to the surrender being reported to the Finance Department and to the Audit Officer concerned.

B. S.,—30-6-38.

Finance Department may see Serial Nos. (16) and (17) and their note at page 1 ante. Regarding the balance of Rs. 740, the Assam Government will be reminded after a month. The sum of Rs. 260 will be surrendered on return of file.

B. R. SUBRAMANIAM,—30-6-38.

[Seen in the Finance Department.]

External Affairs Department.

The draft in the file may now issue.

B. S.,—5-7-38.

B. R. SUBRAMANIAM,—5-7-38.

(51)—(Issue).

(52)

Although the question of Tawang is still under discussion by Rai Bahadur Norbhu with the Tibetan Cabinet and no settlement can be expected until after Captain Lightfoot's expedition has returned from Tawang, there would seem to be no objection to the Bhutan Government being requested in the sense of the suggestion contained in the paper under consideration. As regards the boundary between Assam frontiers and Bhutan, it has already been determined, with the exception of certain disputed tracts in the area north of hill 10830—vide Serial Nos. (11) and (46) in File No. 493-X/35.

2. Necessary drafts submitted for approval.

B. S.,—6-7-38.

G. C. L. CRICHTON,—6-7-38.

H. A. F. METCALFE,—7-7-38.

(53) Issue.

(54)

Another indiscretion of the 'Statesman'.

H. A. F. METCALFE,—8-7-38.

We receive only Delhi edition of the 'Statesman' and no such report has appeared in its issue of the 7th July. Presumably by Assam edition is meant Calcutta edition which is not received in this Department. In any case Deputy Secretary might like to ring up Mr. T. Sellan Bowan, Statesman's representative in Simla, and ask him to have the news contradicted in a subsequent issue. As an alternative Rai Bahadur Norbhu

Dhondup may be addressed as in the draft telegram submitted for approval. Routine drafts also added.

B. S.,—9-7-38.

We may have the report contradicted in the 'Statesman' and also inform Rai Bahadur Norbhu as in the draft which I have amended. Copies of our telegram may go by post to Secretary to Governor, Assam.

C. A. G. SAVIDGE,—9-7-38.

The telegram below may issue and the file should be put up to Secretary for the next Press Conference at which he will deny the report.

G. C. L. CRICHTON,—9-7-38.

(55)—(58)—Issues.

I explained matters to the Press and told them that the Government of India had not as yet come to any decision as to future policy in Tawang.

H. A. F. METCALFE,—14-7-38.

(59) & (60)

Serial No. (59).—Reports Nos. 6 to 8 contain little of interest. Report No. 9 gives the impression that Tawang Monastery officials and the villagers of Tawang are prepared to shake off the influence of the Tsona Dzongpons which is a healthy sign. Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy may see.

2. Serial No. (60).—No action is required to be taken at present on the points raised by Captain Lightfoot in his letter of the 19th June 1938, to Mr. Mills, as our policy will be decided only after the final report of the expedition has been examined in consultation with the India Office. As regards Tawang and Bhutan boundary we have already telegraphed to Mr. Gould [Serial No. (53)] to inform the Bhutan Government that they should not enter into any negotiations with Tibetan Government in this matter.

3. Routine drafts are put up.

B. S.,—15-6-38.

C. A. G. SAVIDGE,—17-7-38.

His Excellency has seen the file and I place below some private and personal correspondence on the subject which has passed between His Excellency and the Governor of Assam.

H. A. F. METCALFE,—23-7-38.

(61)—(66)—Issues.

(1)

TELEGRAM FROM THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR OF ASSAM, No.  
352-G.S., DATED THE 5TH FEBRUARY 1938.

Great difficulty in recruiting carriers for the proposed visit to Tawang. If there is any objection to recruiting Nepal born Gurkhas resident in Shillong for temporary employment with Balipara labour corps.

(2)

TELEGRAM R., TO HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTER, NEPAL, No.2, DATED THE  
7TH FEBRUARY 1938.

It is proposed to send small exploratory expedition to Tawang under Political Officer early in April next. Assam Government are experiencing great difficulty in recruiting carriers and enquire whether there is any objection to recruiting Nepal born Gurkhas resident in Shillong for temporary employment with Balipara Labour Corps.

Proposed employment will be about 4 months. Please telegraph your views.

(3)

TELEGRAM FROM THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR OF ASSAM, No.  
551-G.S., DATED THE 14TH FEBRUARY 1938.

Reference my telegram No. 352-G.S. of 3rd instant, regarding recruitment of Nepal born Gurkhas resident in Shillong for temporary employment with Balipara Labour Corps in connection with the proposed visit to Tawang. Transport of rations held up for want of carriers. Kindly telegraph orders.

(4)

TELEGRAM R., TO HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTER, NEPAL, No.4, DATED THE  
15TH FEBRUARY 1938. [REPEATED TO ASSAM GOVERNMENT  
REFERENCE THEIR TELEGRAM No. 551, DATED THE 14TH FEBRUARY,  
No. 305, SERIAL No, (3).]

My telegram No.2, February 7th [Serial No. (2)]. Temporary employment of Gurkhas.

Please expedite reply as transport of rations held up for want of carriers.

(5)

TELEGRAM R., FROM HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTER, NEPAL, No.1, DATED THE 17TH FEBRUARY 1938.

Your telegram No.4, February 15th [Serial No. (4)]. I have referred the matter to Prime Minister.

(6)

TELEGRAM FROM THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR OF ASSAM, No. 788 G. S., DATED THE 24TH FEBRUARY 1938.

Reference your telegram No. 305 of 15th instant, regarding recruitment of Nepal born Gurkhas resident in Shillong for transport purposes in connection with the proposed visit to Tawang [Serial No. (4)]. As matter very urgent and the whole programme is being dislocated by delay very early orders are solicited.

(7)

TELEGRAM R., TO HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTER, NEPAL, No.5, DATED THE 25TH FEBRUARY 1938. [REPEATED TO SEC GA, ASSAM, REFERENCE HIS TELEGRAM No. 788, DATED 24TH February, No. 364] [Serial No. (6)].

Your telegram No.1, dated the 17th February [Serial No. (5)].

Please expedite reply repeating to Secga, Assam, as expedition's programme being dislocated by delay.

(8)

TELEGRAM R., FROM HIS MAJESTY'S MINISTER, NEPAL, RAXAUL, NO.2, DATED THE 25TH FEBRUARY 1938.

Your telegram No.2 of 7th February [Serial No. (2)]. Nepalese Government do not agree to relax rule regarding employment of Nepalese born Gurkhas in units other than regular British Indian Gurkha units.

(9)

TELEGRAM R., TO THE SECRETARY TO GOVERNOR, SHILLONG, No. 382,  
DATED THE 27TH FEBRUARY 1938.

Our telegram No. 364, dated the 25th February [Serial No. (7)].  
Minister, Nepal telegraphs that Nepal Government do not agree to  
proposed recruitment of Nepal born Gurkhas.

(10)

LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR OF ASSAM, No. 773-  
G.S.,. DATED SHILLONG, THE 24TH FEBRUARY 1938.

In continuation of my letter No. 249-G.S., dated the 19th January  
1938 [Serial No. (25) in File No. 561-X (Secret)/37], I am directed to  
submit a revised tour programme for the proposed visit to Tawang by the  
Political Officer, Balipara Frontier Tract.

TAW ANG EXPEDITION.  
PROVISIONAL TOUR PROGRAMME.

Confidential.

April 1938.—

5. Belsiri (Tiger Flat).
6. DOIMARA. (Base—FORWARDING GUARD POST—6 Rifles).
7. MORENGMODZONG.
8. PANKIM-LA.
9. SHERGAON. (OUTPOST—13 Rifles).
10. HALT. (Move rations and stores forward).
11. DOMKHO. (Outpost, 12 Rifles).
12. HALT. (Move rations and stores forward).
13. PHUTANG.

14. DIRANGDZONG. (OUTPOST. 1 I. O. and 25 Rifles, and 1 S. A. S.).
  15. HALT. (Move rations and stores forward. Arrange hired ponies and coolies, and Dakwallas for camps up the line of communication).
  16. LIH.
  17. NYUKMADUNG.
  18. SENGEDZONG.
  19. JUNGLE CAMP across SE-LA (14,200').
  20. JANG.
  21. TAWANG.
  22. }
  23. { HALT. (Arrange details for side trips and close up rations and stores, if any, from SENGEDZONG and JUNGLE camp).
  24. }
  25. OUTWARD MARCH—TOUR in NYAMJANG CHU and S. W. and of TAWANG CHU VALLEY.
  26. Do.
  27. SHAKTI
  28. KAPLENG.
  29. LUMLA.
  30. TAWANG via TONGLENG.
- } P. O.'s escort—25 Rifles.

May 1938.—

1. HALT. (Arrange for tour up the MAGO CHU).
  2. JANG.
  3. KYALA.
  4. LUGUTHANG.
  5. NYURI.
  6. HALT.
  7. LUGUTHANG.
  8. KYALA.
  9. JANG.
  10. TAWANG.
- } P. O.'s escort — 25 Rifles.

- 11. } HALT. (Arrange TOUR in TAWANG CHU VALLEY, south of
- 12. } TAWANG).
- 13. LUMLA. }
- 14. POGLEN. }
- 15. BOMJA. }
- 16. KE. }
- 17. SHURBI. }
- 18. TAWANG. }
- 19. } HALT. (Arrange for return Journey to DIRANGDZONG, leaving
- 20. } the garrison of 50 Rifles and the S. A. S.
- 21. JANG
- 22. JUNGLE CAMP.
- 23. SENGEDZONG.
- 24. NYUKMADUNG.
- 25. LIH
- 26. DIRANGDZONG.
- 27. HALT. (Arrange TOUR in DIGIEN VALLEY).
- 28. NAMSHU. }
- 29. TEMBANG. }
- 30. HALT. Visit KUDDUM and RAHUNG. }
- 31. NAMSHU. }

P. O's 25 Rifles.

P. O.'s escort—25 Rifles.

TAWANG GARRISON with the S. A. S. leaves TAWANG on 30<sup>th</sup> May on the return journey.

June 1938.—

1. DIRANGDZONG.
2. HALT. (Arrange for return journey).
3. PHUTANG.
4. JUNGLE CAMP.
5. RISO-LA.
6. JUNGLE CAMP.
7. PHUTANG.
8. DOMKHO.
9. SHERGAON.
10. HALT.
11. SIGGON.

} P. O.'s escort—25 Rifles.

.....

.....

(15)

DEMI-OFFICIAL LETTER FROM H. M.'s MINISTER, NEPAL, No. 46-A-II,  
DATED THE 12TH MARCH, 1938.

In continuation of my telegram No.2, dated the 25th February, 1938 [Serial No. (8)], I enclose herewith a copy of His Highness the Prime Minister's letter, dated the 19th February, 1938, on the subject of recruitment of Gurkhas for the Balipur Labour Corps.

It will be seen from His Highness' letter that the Nepal Government do not want to make any relaxation of the rules as they fear that this might create a new precedent which would effect their policy of keeping the Gurkhas of the martial class strictly for the existing Gurkha Battalions.

LETTER FROM HIS HIGHNESS THE PRIME MINISTER, NEPAL, TO HIS  
MAJESTY'S MINISTER, NEPAL, DATED THE 19TH FEBRUARY 1938.

I have received your letter No. 46-A, dated the 14th February, 1938, asking whether my Government have any objection to the recruitment of Gurkhas in the Balipur Labour Corps to go with an exploration party to Tawang.

As a rule the Government of Nepal are averse to the idea of the Gurkhas of the martial class being diverted to any other channel than the military line and they should like to stick to this principle as far as possible. In the present instance though the recruitment in the labour crops for the purpose mentioned is to be for a limited period of four months only, yet the relaxation in the rule will, it is feared, have a far reaching effect in as much as it is likely to create a general impression which may effect our policy of keeping off Gurkhas of the martial class from such like avocations. As the exploration party is said to be a small one it may not be requiring a large number of men to recruit for labour to go with it and our suggestion is that the needful number of men be obtained from some other source.

(16)

TELEGRAM FROM THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR OF ASSAM, No.  
1401-G.S., DATED THE 26TH MARCH, 1938.

Reference your memo. F. 561-X/37, of 30th December last communicating allotment of rupees fifteen thousand for Tawang Expedition during current Financial year. Allotment exceeded by rupees one thousand on account of unavoidable preliminary expenditure. Extra allotment to cover the excess may kindly be sanctioned. Expenditure next year will be proportionately less.

(17)

AUDIT ORDER FROM THE FINANCE DEPARTMENT, TO THE COMPTROLLER,  
ASSAM, No. D./2343-B., DATED NEW DELHI, THE 30TH MARCH, 1938.

The Comptroller, Assam, is informed that the Government of India have sanctioned the following allotment in the Appropriation under "34-Tribal Areas" for 1937-38 to meet a part of the cost of an expedition to the Tawang Area:

Sub-head.	Amount.
	Rs.

Account II—Other Charges:

C.4—Other Charges:

C.4 (4)—Other Expenses .. .. . 1,000

...

ENDORSEMENT BY THE FINANCE DEPARTMENT, NO. D./2343-B., DATED 30<sup>TH</sup> General, Central Revenues.

(18)

TELEGRAM FROM THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR OF ASSAM, No. 206-S., DATED 30TH MARCH 1938.

Reference my telegram 1401-G.S., of 26th instant [Serial No. (16)]. Rupees one thousand being met by reappropriation from savings.

(19)

LETTER TO THE SECRETARY TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF ASSAM, No. F. 8-X SEC./38, DATED NEW DELHI, THE 8TH APRIL 1938.

I am directed to state that your telegram No. 206-S., dated the 30th March, 1938 [Serial No. (18)] reached the Government of India too late to permit the cancellation of the additional allotment of Rs. 1,000 already sanctioned as requested in your telegram No. 1401-G.S., dated the 26th March 1938 [Serial No. (16)], vide Audit Order issued from the Government of India, Finance Department to the Comptroller, Assam, No. D. 2343-B., dated the 30th March 1938 [Serial No. (17)] (copy enclosed).

2. I am to request that the corresponding savings in the current year may be surrendered to the Government of India as soon as the budget for that year is communicated to you.

(20)

TELEGRAM R., FROM GOULD, YATUNG, No. 898, DATED 4TH (RECEIVED 5TH) MAY 1938. (REPEATED TO ASSAM AND NORBHU.)

My immediately following telegram is copy of telegram No. 247, dated

3rd May [Serial No. (21)], from Norbhu.

2. Attitude to Tibetan Government even in the face of overt action on our part indicates that it would have been useless to press them to concede in advance acquiescence in our assumption of our Treaty rights in Tawang area. Fact that Lightfoot has arrived Tawang prior to any protest is all to the good.

3. I presume Lightfoot's programme is capable of modification in accordance with requirements of actual situation. It will possibly prove to be desirable that his garrison should be maintained at Tawang until Tibetan Government adopt complaint (complaisant) attitude.

4. Norbhu should repeat all telegrams to Government of India and also to Assam.

5. As at present arranged I am due to leave Yatung May 11th for Bhutan. Up to May 20th telegrams will reach me within 36 hours and within about ten days during most of tour. If it is desired I will postpone tour but actually there seems little for Norbhu to do beyond insisting that we are acting within our rights and have no intention of abandoning them.

(21)

TELEGRAM R., FROM NORBHU, LHASA, TO GOULD, YATUNG, No. 899,  
DATED 4TH MAY, 1938. (REPEATED TO FOREIGN, SIMLA.)

Tibetan Government called on me yesterday afternoon and said that they received joint report from Tsonaa Jongpo and Tawang Monasteries that Lightfoot with about two hundred troops and six hundred coolies arrived Takzong near Tawang and that expedition desires to come to Tawang. Tibetan Government enquired why expedition had come without notifying them and said they would issue order to stop expedition coming to Tawang. I replied that as Assam Government usually send their officers to tour round their Frontier and as Tawang was ceded to Government of India by virtue of 1914 Treaty, Assam Government are sure to send

officers to inspect country and that it is not advisable to stop expedition at this stage. Tibetan Government asked me to wire you to withdraw expedition. I told them that expedition will return only after touring round Tawang and it is no use to force expedition to go back. I however promised to wire you as they desired. At the same time I told them that I was glad that they raised question with me and that I would discuss it in two or three days time as I have Treaty map with me. I will now tackle question and do my best. Please arrange to maintain urgent communication with me while touring Bhutan and also please telegraph whether I should repeat all telegrams to Government of India.

(22)

TELEGRAM R., FROM THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR OF ASSAM,  
SHILLONG No. 306-C.B., DATED (AND RECEIVED) 6TH MAY 1938.

Political Officer Sikkim's telegrams Nos. 898 and 899 May 4th [Serial Nos. (20) and (21).] Political Officer Balipara reports on 26th that Tibetan Government officials are collecting taxes at Nyukmadong (Square U 8, 6). They resent his presence and local inhabitants fear reprisals for assistance given to column.

Letter follows giving all details available and asking for definite instructions.

(23)

TELEGRAM R., TO POLITICAL OFFICER, SIKKIM, YATUNG, No. 773,  
DATED 6TH MAY 1938.

Your telegram No. 898, May 4th [S. No. (20)]. Tawang expedition. Your tour need not be postponed. Presume your telegram No. 899 of May 4th [Serial No. (21)] has been repeated to Assam.

(24)

TELEGRAM R., FROM POLITICAL, SIKKIM, YATUNG, No. 938, DATED (AND

RECEIVED.) 7TH MAY 1938.

Your telegram 773 May 6th [Serial No. (23)]. Yes.

(25)

MEMORANDUM.

The papers specified below were transmitted to the Secretary, Political Department, India Office, London, for the information of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, under cover of the Foreign Secretary's letter No. 72 (A) M., dated the 12th May 1938:—

1. Telegram from P.O., Sikkim, No. 898, dated the 4th May 193 [Serial No. (20)].
2. Telegram from P.O., Sikkim, No. 899, dated the 4th May 1938 [Serial No. (21)].
3. Telegram to P.O., Sikkim, No. 773, dated the 6th May 1938 [Serial No. (23)].

(26)

MEMORANDUM TO HIS MAJESTY'S AMBASSADOR, SHANGHAI, No. 26-CH./ (2), DATED SIMLA, THE 9TH MAY 1938.

1. Telegram from the P.O., Sikkim No. 898, dated the 4th May 1938 [Serial No. (20)].
2. Telegram from the P.O., Sikkim, No. 899, dated the 4th May 1938 [Serial No. (21)].
3. Telegram to P.O., Sikkim, No. 773, dated the 6th May 1938 [Serial No. (23)].

(27)

LETTER TO THE COLONIAL SECRETARY, HONGKONG, No. F. 8-X/38, DATED SIMLA, THE 9TH MAY 1938.

I am directed to request that the enclosed cover bearing No. 26-Ch./(2), may be made over to the Commander of a British Steamer bound for Shanghai with instructions to deliver it personally at the British Embassy at Shanghai.

(28)

LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR OF ASSAM, No. 2256-G.S., DATED SHILLONG, THE 6TH MAY 1938.

In continuation of the correspondence resting with my telegram No. 1401-G.S., dated the 26th March 1938 [Serial No. (16)] I am directed to forward for the information and orders of the Government of India a copy of a report dated Camp Senge Dzong 26th April 1938 from the Political Officer, Balipara Frontier Tract, together with, for ready reference, a copy of the relevant passage of his confidential letter No. 23 of April 28th, 1936, to which reference is made.

2. His Excellency is of the opinion, subject to the views of the Government of India, that the situation is one which will not respond to any but the firmest, treatment and fears that, unless Tibetan officials cease finally to collect taxes on the Indian side of the International boundary and unless the local inhabitants can be confidently assured that they will suffer no retaliation for having assisted the Political Officer, the necessity of maintaining a permanent outpost at Towang must be envisaged. His Excellency therefore begs to suggest that not only should the Tibetan Government be asked by the Government of India to withdraw their officials to their side of the International boundary without delay, but that the Political officer should be authorised himself to inform those officials forthwith that they must leave India, and to inform the local inhabitants that they should in future refuse to pay any taxes to the Tibetan Government and to assure them they need fear no retaliation.

3. His Excellency would be glad if he could receive by wire the orders of the Government of India as to the attitude the Political Officer is to adopt towards the Tibetan officials on the one hand and the local

inhabitants on the other in order that he may receive guidance in a difficult position at the earliest possible date. The incidents described in Captain Lightfoot's letter relate to his first contacts with Tibetan officials; he has still a considerable distance to traverse and a considerable time will elapse before his mission is accomplished, and therefore the Governor feels that it is very necessary that Captain Lightfoot should be in possession of clear instructions as to the lines on which he should proceed.

4. The necessity of the instructions referred to in the proceeding paragraphs is confirmed by the facts disclosed in Mr. Gould's telegrams Nos. 898 [Serial No. (20)] and 899 [Serial No. (21)] of the 4th May 1938 addressed to Foreign Department, copies of which have just been received.

LETTER FROM THE POLITICAL OFFICER, BALIPARA FRONTIER TRACT,  
CAMP SENGE DZONG, TO THE SECRETARY TO H. E. THE GOVERNOR,  
SHILLONG, DATED THE 26TH APRIL 1938.  
[REPORT No.3 (SHEET 83-A., SQ. U 7, 8)].

I have the honour to report that the column reached Senge Dzong on 24th April 1938, and halted here for two days, due to difficulty in sending forward our rations.

The delay was due to the representative of the Tsona Dzongpons being in Nyukmadong (Sq. U 8, 6) where they were engaged in collecting taxes to be forwarded to the Thibetan Government. Their being there has stopped the local villagers from supplying us with coolies as the Dzongpons representative needed them all himself. I had to send down my Thibetan interpreter to the village and tell the representative that the needs of Government came first and that the village was to supply coolies to us. This was quite sufficient and coolies have arrived today. I am hoping that the column will not be delayed any more and that we shall be able to start off again to-morrow, when we shall have the worst march of the tour, as we have to cross the Se La at 14,200 feet.

I would like to point out that the purpose [File No. 493-X/35 (Sec.), Serial No. (51)] of our visit is largely being nullified by the presence of Thibetan officials collecting taxes actually in our presence. It seems to me that whatever is the result of this tour, the Thibetan Government will have to be moved to recall their tax collecting officials eventually, and I am strongly of opinion that action should be taken at once.

I have been informed that all local officials, both Thibetan and Towang monasterial, have been annoyed at our employing so many coolies for our work and so interfering with their tax collecting, and the local villagers are all very frightened that these officials will take their revenge on them after our departure.

I can easily prevent Monastery officials from behaving in this way as we pay them Posa of 5,000 Rs. and they can be dealt with by withholding part or all of this sum, and I am sure that they will not risk such action being taken. As regards the Thibetan officials, we have no hold on them whatever and it is quite likely that they will fine the unfortunate villagers who have worked so well for us. I shall of course point out to them in Towang, that they should not take any such action, as the villagers were working under compulsion and so were not in any way to blame. In the event of villagers suffering from our visit, our prestige will suffer.

As far as is known, there are only two Thibetan officials in Towang, and they are known as the Tsona Dzungpons. One of these is a Thibetan official and the other, his assistant, is appointed for a period of 3 years only.

All available information on the Tsona Dzungpons is given in my Confidential letter No. 23, dated 28th April 1936 addressed to the Chief Secretary to Government.

I am unable to give the names of the officials as yet.

So far as the column is concerned, all is well, barring colds, we are having little sickness at present. Senge is very cold as it lies at a height of 10,000 feet and the weather has been bad.

Reports say that there is very little snow on the Se La at present.

EXTRACT FROM LETTER FROM THE POLITICAL OFFICER, BALIPARA FRONTIER TRACT, TO THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF ASSAM, SHILLONG, NO. 23-CONFL., DATED CHARDUAR (P. O. LOKRA) THE 28TH APRIL 1936.

In addition to all the officers mentioned above, there are two other Dzongpons, locally known by the Monbas as the Tsona Dzongpons, who are appointed by the Tibetan Government, for the collection of revenue and other civil work, from the area round Twang and North of the Manda La and Bomdi La. These men are both Tibetans, and not Monbas. Their names are Ragashak, who is a permanent official and Gadeu who is appointed for a period of 3 years. These officials are purely civil, have nothing whatever to do with the running of the monastery and live in the village of Gyankar, which lies about 2 ½ miles due East of Twangdzong. The revenue they collect is said to amount to Rs. 10,000 per year and includes revenue from the Tibetan district of Tsona, which is also in their charge. The correctness of the amount of revenue collected is exceedingly doubtful and may be taken for what it is worth. The revenue is paid in kind by the villagers and is again largely paid in chillies, rice, dyes and ponies.

Periodical visits are also paid by various Tibetan officials who check the work of collecting revenue by the various Dzongpons.

(29)

TELEGRAM XX, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR OF ASSAM, No. 818, DATED THE 16TH MAY 1938. (REPEATED NORBHU P.O., SIKKIM.) Your letter 2256-G. S., dated May 6th [Serial No. (28)]. Tawang.

2. The object of the present expedition is purely exploratory, vide paragraph 2 of letter No. F. 493-X/35, dated 1st July 1937 to you and the Government of India cannot agree to any action which would commit them to permanent occupation and further expenditure. Future policy in

Tawang can only be decided after expedition has returned and information gathered by Lightfoot has been examined.

3. Lightfoot should inform all concerned that Tawang is by Treaty Indian and not Tibetan territory and should impress this on Tibetan officials if he meets them. He should not however demand their withdrawal and should give no assurances to the Local inhabitants but should simply inform them that he has been sent to make enquiries into local conditions and that Government will decide after his return whether to take any further interest in them or not. This attitude may create difficulties for Lightfoot but is the only possible line until future policy has been decided.

4. Norbhu is discussing the whole question with the Tibetan Government in Lhasa and we are instructing him to request them to withdraw their officials to their side of the border. Discussions will however take time and no settlement with Tibetan Government can be expected until after expedition has withdrawn.

(30)

TELEGRAM XX, TO NORBHU, LHASA, No. 823, DATED THE 18TH MAY 1938. (REPEATED POLITICAL OFFICER, SIKKIM.)

Your telegram No. 899, May 4th [Serial No. (21)]. Tawang.

2. Lightfoot reports that he found representatives of the Tsona Dzongpons in Nyukmadong engaged in collecting taxes on behalf of the Tibetan Government. He states that so far as he knows the two Tsona Dzongpons are the only Tibetan officials in Tawang. One is permanent and the other is his assistant appointed for three years. Lightfoot experienced some difficulty in obtaining coolies owing to the presence of these officials and fears retaliation against the villagers who have assisted him, after his departure.

3. Our telegram No. 818, dated May 16th [Serial No. (29)] which has been repeated to you was a reply to a letter [Serial No. (28)] from the

Secretary to the Governor of Assam in which it was recommended that Lightfoot should be authorised to inform the Tibetan officials in Tawang that they must leave India forthwith and to tell the local inhabitants that they should refuse to pay any taxes to the Tibetan Government and that they need fear no retaliation.

4. If you see no objection please request the Tibetan Government to withdraw their officials to Tibetan side of frontier as proposed in paragraph 4 of our telegram to Assam and telegraph the result. Please also inform us of results of any discussions you have held with Tibetan Government on general question of Tawang.

(31)

TELEGRAM R., FROM NORBHU, LHASA, TO POLITICAL OFFICER,  
SIKKIM, No. 388, DATED THE 19TH (RECEIVED 21ST) MAY 1938.  
(REPEATED FOREIGN, SIMLA AND ASSAM, SHILLONG.)

On 6th May I saw Bhondong Shape privately and with aid of map we discussed Assam border in so far as it effects Tawang and Tibet. It was necessary to point out very clearly that Tawang was definitely ceded in India under treaty agreement of 1914 and that Tawang is now included with Assam territory south of MacMahon Red Line.

I took particular care to point out that under normal procedure Provincial Government must carry out tours of inspection at definite intervals and that present expedition into Tawang and territory was no exception to general procedure.

He was interested to know why Tibet ceded Tawang under 1914 Agreement and to avoid at this juncture any revival of Tibetan Eastern border question. I professed ignorance and suggested that he should investigate matter by consulting Tibetan Government records and those officials who went to Simla.

2. Following up this interview which can be considered most important I called upon Kalon Lamaa and Tendongg Shape who after studying map

did not feel inclined to commit themselves to any definite statement.

3. Yesterday I attended meeting of Tibetan Cabinet and repeated concisely facts I gave Bhondong. After due consideration they decided to refer matter to Regent and Prime Minister and said they would call for elucidation of any further details they may require. Further developments will be reported to all concerned in due course.

(32)

MEMORANDUM TO HIS MAJESTY'S AMBASSADOR, SHANGHAI, NO. 31-CH., DATED SIMLA, THE 23RD MAY 1938.

1. Letter from the Government of Assam, No. 2256-G.S., dated the 6th May 1938, and enclosures [Serial No. (28)].
2. Telegram to the Government of Assam, No. 818, dated the 16th May 1938 [Serial No. (29)].
3. Telegram to Rai Bahadur Norbhu Dhundop, Lhasa, No. 823, dated the 18th May 1938 [Serial No. (30)].
4. Telegram from Rai Bahadur Norbhu Dhundop, Lhasa, No. 388, dated the 19th May 1938 [Serial No. (31)].

(33)

LETTER TO THE COLONIAL SECRETARY, HONGKONG, No. F.8-X/38, DATED SIMLA, THE MAY 1938.

I am directed to request that the enclosed cover bearing No. 31-Ch. may be made over to the Commander of a British Steamer bound for Shanghai with instructions to deliver it personally at the British Embassy, Shanghai.

(34)

MEMORANDUM.

The papers specified below were transmitted to the Secretary, Political Department, India Office, London, for the information of His Majesty's

Secretary of State for India, under cover of the Foreign Secretary's letter No. 84 (A)-M., dated the 26th May 1938 :-

1. Letter from the Government of Assam, No. 2256-G.S., dated the 6th May 1938, and enclosures [Serial No. (28)].
2. Telegram to the Government of Assam, No, 818, dated the 16th May 1938 [Serial No. (29)].
3. Telegram to Rai Bahadur Norbhu Dhundop, Lhasa, No. 823, dated the 18th May 1938 [Serial No. (30)].
4. Telegram from Rai Bahadur Norbhu Dhundop, Lhasa, No. 388, dated the May 1938 [Serial No. (31)].

(35)

TELEGRAM XX, FROM NORBHU, LHASA, TO GOULD, YATUNG, No. 398, DATED THE 25TH (RECEIVED 26TH) MAY 1938. (REPEATED FOREIGN, SIMLA AND ASSAM, SHILLONG.)

Owing to line interruption Foreign telegram No. 818 [Serial No. (29)] received on May 20th and No. 823 on May 21st [Serial No. (30)].

I interviewed Tibetan Cabinet of three Ministers yesterday. Senior Shape owing to sickness was unable to attend. I stated that I have received instructions to protest against illegal collection of taxes and embarrassment of expedition by Tibetan officials within British territory and requested them to withdraw these officials.

2. Their reply in effect was that Tawang is Tibetan territory and collection of taxes normal. Further they could not understand why Government of India did not raise Tawang question during lifetime of late Dalai Lama.

3. My reply in effect was to refer them to Treaty, upon validity of which they have so far made no comments.

4. They say what action they propose to take will be discussed with

me after they have conferred with Senior Shape.

5. Throughout negotiations so far I have adopted what could in no way be considered a high handed or overbearing attitude and have gone some extent to explain to them good conduct between Governments in respect of Treaties obligations and mutual relations.

6. And therefore I would suggest that Lightfoot be instructed to proclaim in widest possible degree that the taxes imposed by Tibetan Government in Tawang are illegal and that true domiciled inhabitants of Tawang, who are now British subjects, must refuse to make any (group omitted? payment)s in future.

It is of paramount importance that Tawang subjects be convinced that they are no longer subject to control of Tibetan Government and if local administration of Tawang is seriously considered by the Government of Assam, means should be provided to give Tawang subjects full protection from forcible coercion by Tibetan officials.

7. In the meantime the annual posa of Rs. 5,000 granted to Tawang should be discontinued.

I consider these steps, if taken, to be first logical adjustment of the whole question.

(36)

TELEGRAM XX, TO NORBHU, LHASA, NO. 875, DATED THE 28TH MAY 1938. [COPY BY POST TO (1) POLITICAL OFFICER, SIKKIM, (2) SECRETARY TO GOVERNOR, ASSAM.]

Your telegram 398, May 15th [Serial No. (35)].

It is not possible to consider proposals contained in paragraphs 6 and 7 of your telegram until expedition has returned and Lightfoot's detailed report has been received, cf. our telegram 818, May 16th to Assam [Serial No. (29)].

(37)

OFFICE MEMORANDUM FROM THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO THE  
VICEROY, No. 1294-G.P., DATED SIMLA, THE 26TH MAY 1938.

Enclosure to Serial No. (37).

LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR OF ASSAM, TO THE  
PRIVATE SECRETARY TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY AND  
GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA, DATED SHILLONG, THE      MAY  
1938.

I am directed to submit for the information of His Excellency the  
Viceroy a copy of a report from the Political Officer, Balipara Frontier  
Tract, on his arrival at Tawang.

LETTER FROM THE POLITICAL OFFICER, BALIPARA FRONTIER TRACT,  
CAMP TAWANG, TO THE SECRETARY TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE  
GOVERNOR, SHILLONG, NO. 229/TWG., DATED THE 10TH MAY 1938.

Report No.4.

I have the honour to submit my fourth report on the Towang Column.  
My last report was submitted from Senge Dzong (Sheet 83-A, Sq. U, 7, 9)  
where we had halted to arrange for our rations to be carried forward. On  
the 27th April, all arrangements having been satisfactorily made we left  
Senge for our hardest march, that being the one on which we had to  
cross the Se La, which lies at a height of 14,000 ft. The march was a hard  
one and I think that numbers of all ranks were affected by the height.  
There was not much snow on the summit and we were lucky in having a  
fine day. We camped in the jungle at a height of 12,000 feet, and had  
one of the most unpleasant evenings I have ever spent. In the afternoon  
the weather broke and we had rain and hail that continued all night, the  
temperature dropping below freezing point. After this we reached Towang  
without any more difficulty on 30th April 1938. It is very noticeable that  
the villages on the North side of the Se La range are more numerous and  
far more prosperous than the Monba villages on the South side. The hills

round Towang are not so steep and we saw extensive fields of barley and wheat. Some villages had wet rice cultivations. We also saw large numbers of sheep and yaks. On the way from Jang to Towang, we were met on the road by the two Tsona Dzungpons, both of whom are Thibetan Government Officials. (Towang and Jang lie in Sheet 78 M, Sq. T.)

The Dzungpons were very friendly but said nothing about the purpose of our visit and asked no questions.

We reached Towang at about 13-00 hours and settled into a very pleasant camp about a mile from the monastery, which was in full view. The monastery officials had been very helpful in preparing large quantities of bamboo matting which we found very useful in camp making. On the next day, we received visits from the monastery officials and from the Tsona Dzungpons. (Tsona lies in Sheet 78 M, Sq F, 7, 9). Nothing of any importance came to light. On the same morning, the Sema Nagas were sent back to Charduar to be discharged from the Labour Corps. Their work has never been really satisfactory and they seemed to be quite unable to stand up to the work. Out of the original 70 which started on the tour, only 26 were fit for work on arrival at Towang. They were obviously unhappy and I considered that it was no use keeping them here. They will be sent back to Kohima as soon as they have been paid off. Our own Gurkha labourers are in very good condition indeed.

In the afternoon Major Brown chose a new site for the Assam Rifle post as I considered that this site was too far away from the main road and monastery. A suitable site about a quarter of a mile from the monastery and beside the main road was selected. On the next day, the 2nd, Major Brown and I returned the calls of the various officials whom we had seen yesterday. We visited the monastery where we were received with great cordiality. We presented the gifts that we had brought from Charduar, the number and value of which caused something of a sensation. Although I had seen the Tsona Dzungpons enter the monastery before our arrival, I saw no signs of them at the reception. I

do not know if this was a gesture of diffidence on their part due to the present political situation. Their non-appearance was strange as they are looked upon by the monastery officials as the rulers of the district and so of very great importance. After the reception we were conducted round the monastery, taken into the Gompa (temple) where we presented a silk scarf to the Abbot.

In the evening I interviewed village headmen and arranged a ten days' tour in the area, south-west of Towang.

A representative of the Bhutanese government met us on our arrival and informed us that a surveyor was being sent to meet us and to accompany us on our next local tour. We should be able to clear up the boundary question.

I will submit my next report after my return from the next local tour after ten days.

(38)

TELEGRAM XX, FROM NORBHU, LHASA, TO GOULD, YATUNG, NO. 402, DATED THE 30TH (RECEIVED 31ST) MAY 1938. (REPEATED TO FOREIGN, SIMLA AND ASSAM, SHILLONG.)

My telegram No. 398, May 25th [Serial No. (35)] regarding Tawang.

2. Senior Shape rejoined Cabinet yesterday and I am informed that relevant documents have not so far been reviewed but they promise to call on me again as early as possible in this connection.

(39)

TELEGRAM XX, FROM GOULD, YATUNG, NO. 5044, DATED THE 1ST (RECEIVED 2ND JUNE 1938. (REPEATED TO LHASA AND ASSAM.)

Lhasa telegram May 25th, 1938 [Serial No. (35)] seems to be based on assumption that it would be possible to communicate with Lightfoot before he leaves Tawang. I am however under impression that

paragraph 3 of my telegram 898, May 4th [Serial No. (20)] has been negated by your telegram of May 16th [Serial No. (29)]. It is desirable that Norbhu should be informed as soon as possible whether Lightfoot's tour programme has been modified and what date he is likely to leave Tawang.

2. Subject-matter of most of Norbhu's paragraph 6 and paragraph 7 will apparently have to stand over until after Lightfoot's return.

(40)

#### MEMORANDUM.

The papers specified below were transmitted to the Secretary, Political Department, India Office, London, for the information of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, under cover of the Foreign Secretary's letter No, 90 (A)-M., dated the 2nd June 1938:—

1. Telegram from Rai Bahadur Norbhu Dhandup, Lhasa, No. 398, dated the 25th May 1938 [Serial No. (35)].
2. Telegram to Rai Bahadur Norbhu Dhandup, Lhasa, No. 875, dated the 28th May 1938 [Serial No. (36)].
3. Report from the P.O., Balipara Frontier Tract, dated the 3rd May 1938 [Enclosure to Serial No. (37)].
4. Telegram from Rai Bahadur Norbhu Dhandup, Lhasa, No. 402, dated the 30th May 1938 [Serial No. (38)].

(41)

MEMORANDUM TO HIS MAJESTY'S AMBASSADOR, SHANGHAI, No. 35-CH./(1), DATED SIMLA, THE 3RD JUNE 1938.

1. Telegram from Rai. Bahadur Norbhu Dhandup, Lhasa, No. 398, dated the 25th May 1938 [Serial No. (35)].
2. Telegram to Rai Bahadur Norbhu Dhandup, Lhasa, No. 875,

dated the 28th May 1938 [Serial No. (36)].

3. Report from the Political Officer, Balipara Frontier Tract, to the Secretary to His Excellency the Governor of Assam, dated the 3rd May 1938 [Serial No. (37)].

4. Telegram from Rai Bahadur Norbhu Dhandup, Lhasa, No. 402, dated the 30th May 1938 [Serial No. (38)].

(42)

LETTER TO THE COLONIAL SECRETARY, HONGKONG, No. F. 8-X/38,  
DATED SIMLA, THE 3RD JUNE 1938.

I am directed to request that the enclosed cover bearing No. 35-Ch. (1) may be made over to the Commander of a British Steamer bound for Shanghai with instructions to deliver it personally at the British Embassy at Shanghai.

(43)

DEMI-OFFICIAL LETTER FROM INDIA OFFICE, No. P. Z. 3507/38, DATED  
THE 30TH MAY 1938.

We notice from Gould's telegrams Nos. 898 [Serial No. (20)] and 899 [Serial No. (21)] of 4th May (copies of which were sent to us with your letter No. 72 A.M. of 12th May) [Serial No. (25)] that the Tibetan Government have complained that the expedition to Tawang was sent without any notification having been made to them. We had understood from Savidge's letter of 1st February to Gould [demi-official No. F. 561-X/37 in File No. 561-X/37, Serial Nos. (26) and (27)] that the Tibetans would in fact be informed in advance of the expedition and since there seems to be a gap in the correspondence on our files, we should be grateful if you could let us know why it was later decided not to inform them.

2. We should also be interested to know how matters stand at present vis-a-vis the Tibetans.

(44)

LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR OF ASSAM, No. 2506-G.S., DATED SHILLONG, THE 30TH MAY 1938.

I am directed to refer to the correspondence resting with your telegram No. 818, dated the 16th instant [Serial No. (29)] and to submit a tour programme of the Tawang expedition as further revised by the Political Officer, Balipara Frontier Tract, and approved by His Excellency the Governor. Copies of reports Nos. 4 and 5 by the Political Officer on the expedition are also sent herewith for the information of the Government of India.

Enclosure I to Serial No. (44).

OFFICE OF THE POLITICAL OFFICER, BALIPARA FRONTIER TRACT,  
CHARDUAR

Revised Tour Programme of the Towang Column.

May 18th to June 29—Halt at Tawang.

June 30—JANG.

July 1—Jungle Camp.

July 2—SENGEDZONG.

July 3—LIH.

July 4 DIRANGDZONG.

July 5—Halt.

July 6—PHUTANG.

July 7—DOMKHO.

July 8—SHERGAON.

July 9—Halt.

July 10—SIGGON.

July 11—RUPA.

July 12—Halt.

July 13—TONGRE WO.

July 14—BOMPU LA.

July 15—PESTIFEROUS.

July 16—DOIMARA.

July 17—BELSIRI (TIGER FLAT).

July 18—CHARDUAR.

G. S. LIGHTFOOT,  
Political Officer,  
Balipara Frontier Tract,

TOWANG;  
The 15<sup>th</sup> May 1938.

Enclosure II to Serial No. (44).

LETTER FROM THE POLITICAL OFFICER, BALIPARA FRONTIER TRACT,  
CAMP TOWANG, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR OF  
ASSAM, No. 229/TWG., DATED THE 10TH MAY 1938.

Report No.4.

I have the honour to submit my fourth report on the Towang Column. My last report was submitted from Senge Dzong (Sheet 83 A, Sq. U, 7, 9) where we had halted to arrange for our rations to be carried forward. On the 27th April, all arrangements having been satisfactorily made we left Senge for our hardest march, that being the one on which we had to cross the Se La, which lies at a height of 1,4000 ft. The march was a hard one and I think that numbers of all ranks were affected by the height. There was not much snow on the summit and we were Jud-y in having a fine day. We camped in the jungle at a height of 12,000 feet and had one of the most unpleasant evenings I have ever spent. In the afternoon the weather broke and we had rain and hail that continued all night, the temperature dropping below freezing point. After this we reached Towang without any more difficulty on 30th April 1938. It is very noticeable that the villages on the North side of the Se La range are more numerous and far more prosperous than the Monba villages on the South side. The hills round Towang are not so steep, and we saw extensive fields of barley and wheat. Some villages had wet rice cultivations. We also saw large numbers of sheep and yaks. On the way from Jang to Towang, we were met on the road by the two Tsona Dzongpons, both of whom are Thibetan Government Officials. (Towang and Jang lie in Sheet 78 M, Sq. T.)

The Dzongpons were very friendly but said nothing about the purpose of our visit and asked no questions.

We reached Towang at about 13-00 hours and settled in to a very pleasant camp about a mile from the monastery, which was in full view.

The monastery officials had been very helpful in preparing large quantities of bamboo matting which we found very useful in camp making. On the next day, we received visits from the monastery officials and from the Tsona Dzungpons. (Tsona lies in Sheet 78 M, Sq. F, 7, 9). Nothing of any importance came to light. On the same morning, the Sema Nagas were sent back to Charduar to be discharged from the Labour Corps. Their work has never been really satisfactory and they seemed to be quite unable to stand up to the work. Out of the original 70 which started on the tour, only 26 were fit for work on arrival at Towang. They were obviously unhappy and I considered that it was no use keeping them here. They will be sent back to Kohima as soon as they have been paid off. Our own Gurkha labourers are in very good condition indeed.

In the afternoon Major Brown chose a new site for the Assam Rifle post as I considered that this site was too far away from the main road and monastery. A suitable site about a quarter of a mile from the monastery and beside the main road was selected. On the next day, the 2nd, Major Brown and I returned the calls of the various officials whom we had seen yesterday. We visited the monastery where we were received with great cordiality. We presented the gifts that we had brought from Charduar, the number and value of which caused something of a sensation. Although I had seen the Tsona Dzungpons enter the monastery before our arrival, I saw no signs of them at the reception. I do not know if this was a gesture of diffidence on their part due to the present political situation. Their non-appearance was strange as they are looked upon by the monastery officials as the rulers of the district and so of very great importance. After the reception we were conducted round the monastery, taken into the Gompa (temple) where we presented a silk scarf to the Abbot.

In the evening I interviewed village headmen and arranged a ten days' tour in the area, south-west of Towang.

A representative of the Bhutanese government met us on our arrival

and informed us that a surveyor was being sent to meet us and to accompany us on our local tour. We should be able to clear up the boundary question.

I will submit my next report after my return from the next local tour after ten days.

Enclosure III to Serial No. (44).

(No. 233/Twg.

Dated 27th May 1938).

CAMP TOWANG,

16<sup>th</sup> May 1938.

#### 5th Report.

I have the honour to submit the following report on the Towang column. Since my last report, I have been out on a 12 day tour with Major Brown, and 1 section of Assam Rifles.

We left Towang on the 4th May and returned on the 15th.

The first day's march was to Pamkerr, which lies in Sheet 78 M at Sq. T .5, 4 . 5, about 2 miles from Tongleng, which is marked on the map. Here I was visited by the headmen of Pamkerr and Shaktuis near Pamkerr. They would not give me any information whatever, as they had been ordered by the Tsona Dzungpons not to answer any questions. They appeared to be very frightened and it was only with difficulty, that they were persuaded to come to the camp at all. I may add that I found this difficulty almost everywhere. In most cases, villagers hid in their houses when we appeared and only the very bold had the temerity to appear. At Lumla, which we reached on the next day, we met the Representatives of the Bhutanese Government, who had been sent by the Durbar, to help settle the boundary question. Lumla lies approximate at Sq. S, 4.5, 2 and not where it is shown in the map.

From here the Bhutanese accompanied us to Sanglung, Sq. S, 1, 1. We actually camped on the river bank near the bridge shown on the map.

The bridge was interesting as it was a suspension bridge made of split bamboos plaited together and was capable of bearing the weight of ponies and mules. On this march, near Lumla we were able to see practically the whole of the Bhutan boundary from point Sq. K, 9.5, 2.5 to Sq. Z, 10, 8. The only parts that were invisible were the two Western bits near Betin (Sq. Y, 1, 10) and Manam Sq. Y, 1, 9. A number of local Headmen called on us here.

On the following day we proceeded to Chang Pu, Sq. Y, 5, 9. Actually we camped about two miles to the East, as Chung Pu lies just inside the Bhutanese border. Here we were able to see and agree as to the parts of the Bhutan border that we had been unable to see previously. There was no difficulty in fixing the boundaries and no part was in dispute. I have submitted a separate report today.

We halted in Chung Pu for a day, and spent the morning in visiting the village whence we got a magnificent view over Bhutan. We filled in many villages that were unmarked in the map.

From Chung Pu camp we proceeded up the Nyamjang Chu river to Shakti, Sq. S, 5.5, 7. This took two days easy marching up the river bed. There is a fairly good road which is used by pack trains. This is the winter route from Towang to Tsona, as the Milakatong La (Sq.M) is too deep in snow.

We halted one day in Shakti in order to give the coolies a rest. The Shakti villagers were not so reticent as the previous people we had interviewed, as the Tsona Dzongpons, not knowing we were visiting Shakti, had not warned them. They told us what their taxes were and also informed us that they had been so oppressed that half the villagers had run away to Bhutan about 5 years previously. The villagers in this corner are half Bhutanese as there has been much inter marrying.

From Shakti, we returned by a different route across the hills, via Gyp (just South of Shakti) to Lumla.

When we reached Lumla we found that the villagers were more willing

to give us information, and some interesting facts became known. We reached Towang on the 15th.

It is difficult to give any exact information about the present system of taxation in this area, as there appears to be no method whatever, and it appears to be carried out most unfairly. Taxes are paid almost entirely in kind, the chief articles being grain of different kinds, paper, planks and in some cases, sheep.

The greater part of the taxes go to the Tsona Dzongpons and the remainder to the Nyertsang of Towang monastery. A very small portion goes to two small monasteries called Gompase, and Jora, both of which are near Tsona.

There are also two Shengos, who are local small rajahs, and who have been authorised by the Tibetan Government to collect a small amount of taxes from certain villages for services rendered in the past.

The main injustices are that the rates of taxation for villages are all different, and two villages of the same size, will be found to be paying quite different amounts.

The taxes to be paid were settled very many years ago; so long in fact, that nobody has any recollection as to who made the assessment or how the assessment was made. Also no alteration has ever been made and villages that have dwindled still pay the same amount as they did in the past.

The main complaint that was made was that all local officials made villagers carry their loads free of charge, and that all the ragtag and bobtail of their followers had to be fed free of charge. As an example of load carrying, the villagers of Shakti declared that on the average they carried about 1,000 loads annually to Pangchen (Sq. L, 6.5, 1) for the Tsona Dzongpons alone. This figure is probably incorrect, but the loads carried must be very many as Shakti lies on the main route to Tsona for most of the year and all the tax collections made by the Dzongpons go by this route, except in the months of June, July, August and part of

September.

Lumla village claims to carry 1,500 loads for the Tsona Dzongpons annually.

In conclusion, I will try and give a short impression of the Monbas in this area. They are the most subservient people I have ever seen in the hills, and appear to have been crushed for years. They are terrified of any official who appears, and especially of the Tsona Dzongpons. Their present reaction to our visit is one of fear that the Tsona Dzongpons will punish them for any help that they give to us. Actually they have been very good indeed in supplying labour, and in doing what they have been told, but the feeling of their being in fear is always very noticeable. Most of these people have never seen a European, yet when we arrive in a village, the majority of the populace hide in their houses. It is very disappointing that so few of them come for medical treatment. Although the Sub-Assistant Surgeon has been visiting villages, still very few of them are willing to be treated.

Venereal diseases are common among these people, and yet few have come for treatment.

In conclusion, I would state that the removal of the Tsona Dzongpons would be the biggest boon these people have ever had.

(45)

DEMI-OFFICIAL LETTER TO INDIA OFFICE, LONDON, No.F-8-X/38, DATED  
THE 10TH JUNE 1938.

Will you please refer to your demi-official letter No. P.Z.-2507/38, dated the 30th May 1938 [Serial No. (43)].

In reply I am desired to say that subsequent to Savidge's demi-official letter to Gould of 1st February 1938 [F. No. 561-X/37, Serial No, (26)], referred to by you, the Government of India decided not to approach the Tibetan Government before the expedition was sent to the Tawang area. A copy of the correspondence

<sup>1</sup> bearing on this decision is enclosed for your information. They should of course have been sent to you at the time.

As regards the present position vis-a-vis the Tibetan Government, you will have by now received copies of correspondence, forwarded with our weekly letters Nos. 84 (A)-M. and 90 (A)-M., dated the 26th May [Serial No. (34)] and the 2nd June 1938 [Serial No. 40]]. You will see from these that the Government of India are not prepared to take any action at present which would commit them to permanent occupation of and further expenditure in the Tawang area. Their policy will be decided only after the expedition has returned and the information gathered by Lightfoot has been examined. The Secretary of State will also be consulted before any final decision affecting relations with the Tibetan Government is taken.

(46)

LETTER TO THE SECRETARY TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF ASSAM, No. F. 8-X/38, DATED SIMLA, THE 10TH JUNE 1938.

I am directed to refer to paragraph 2 of my letter No. F. 8-X/38, dated the 8th April 1938 [Serial No. (19)], and to request that the sum of Rs. 1,000 mentioned therein may kindly be surrendered to the Government of India without any further delay.

(47)

MEMORANDUM.

The papers specified below were transmitted to the Secretary, Political Department, India Office, London, for the information of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, under cover of the Foreign Secretary's letter No. 1002 (A)-M. dated the 16th June 1938 :—

---

<sup>1</sup> Demi-official letter from Political Officer, Sikkim, No. 6 (3)-P. |38, dated the 15th February 1938 and enclosures.

Demi-official letter to Political Officer, Sikkim, No. 561-X|37, dated the 26th|28th February 1938.

Letter from Assam, No. 2506-G.S., dated the 30th May 1938, and enclosures [Serial No. (44)].

(48)

MEMORANDUM TO HIS MAJESTY'S AMBASSADOR, SHANGHAI, No. 36-CH., DATED SIMLA, THE 13TH JUNE 1938.

Letter from Assam No. 2506-G.S., dated the 30th May 1938, and enclosures [Serial No. (44)].

(49)

LETTER TO THE COLONIAL SECRETARY, HONGKONG, NO. F. 8-X|38, DATED SIMLA, THE 13TH JUNE 1938.

I am directed to request that the enclosed cover bearing No. 36-Ch., may be made over to the Commander of a British Steamer bound for Shanghai with instructions to deliver it personally at the British Embassy at Shanghai.

(50)

LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR OF ASSAM, NO. 439-S., DATED SHILLONG, THE 24TH JUNE 1938.

I am directed to refer to your letter No. F.-8-X|38, dated the 10th June 1938 [Serial No. (46)], and to say that the expenditure for expedition to Tawang so far booked in the office of the Comptroller, Assam upto March 1938 (final) is Rs. 15,260-1-9. There is no information as yet about further adjustments. In the circumstances, a sum of Rs. 260 only is hereby surrendered for the present out of the current year's provision of Rs. 18,000 under the head "34-Tribal Areas-Account II-C.-5-Miscellaneous expenditure-C.-5. Other charges-C.-5 (4). Other expenses-Expedition to Tawang".

(51)

LETTER TO THE SECRETARY TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR OF ASSAM, No. F. 8-X|38, DATED SIMLA, THE 5TH JULY 1938.

With reference to your letter No. 439-S., dated the 24th June 1938 [Serial No. (50)]. I am directed to state that in the circumstances explained the Government of India are pleased to accept for the present the surrender of Rs. 260 out of the current year's provision of Rs. 18,000 under the head "34-Tribal Areas- Account II-C-Miscellaneous expenditure—C.-5 Other charges—C.-5 (4). Other expenses—Expedition to Tawang".

I am to request that in regard to the balance of Rs. 740 a further communication may be made after a month.

(52)

TELEGRAM R., FROM THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR OF ASSAM, SHILLONG, No. 466- C.B., DATED (AND RECEIVED) THE 5TH JULY 1938. (REPEATED TO POLITICAL GYANTSE AND NORBHU.)

In continuation of correspondence ending with your telegram No. 875, May 28th [Serial No. (36)] to Norbhu, Political Officer Balipara reports from Tawang that Tibetan Government, on the plea that Tawang area has never been ceded to India, intend to fix their own boundary with Bhutan Government in that area with a view to obtaining admission from Bhutan that Tawang is Tibetan. Political Officer suggests that Bhutan Government might be informed that Tawang area is British and that they should not negotiate with Tibetan Government regarding boundary there. Tibetan Government will probably suggest to Bhutan boundary identical with that already virtually agreed on between India and Bhutan. Copies of latest reports follow.

(53)

TELEGRAM R., TO GOULD, YATUNG, No. 1107, DATED THE 7TH JULY

1938. (REPEATED TO POLITICAL GYANTSE, NORBHU, LHASA, AND SECRETARY TO GOVERNOR, ASSAM, SHILLONG.)

Reference Assam telegram, No. 466—C.B., July 5th [Serial No. (52)], repeated Political Gyantse. If no objection Bhutan Government, should be informed that Tawang area is British and requested not to enter into any negotiations with Tibetan Government regarding boundary between that area and Bhutan.

(54)

TELEGRAM R., FROM SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR OF ASSAM, SHILLONG, No. 470-C.B., DATED (AND RECEIVED) THE 8TH JULY 1938.

Unauthorised report has appeared in Assam edition of "Statesman" of 7th July to the effect that it is likely outpost will be established at Tawang to guard border and that local Lamas have undertaken to administer area under orders of Political Officer Balipara. His Excellency suggests that Norbhu might be instructed to make suitable statement to Tibetan Government to allay suspicion if report comes to their notice.

(55)

TELEGRAM R., TO RAI BAHADUR NORBHU DHONDUP, LHASA, NO. 1117, DATED THE 9TH JULY 1938. (REPEATED TO POLITICAL SIKKIM, YATUNG.)

Following received from Assam, No. 470-C.B., July 8th [Serial No, (54)]. Begins. Unauthorised report  
If report comes to their notice. Ends.

We are taking steps to have the report contracted in "Statesman" but if question is raised by Tibetan Government you may inform them that the report is entirely without foundation.

(56) MEMORANDUM.

The papers specified below were transmitted to the Secretary, Political

Department, India Office, London, for the information of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, under cover of the Foreign Secretary's letter No. 126- (A)-M., dated the 14th July 1938 ;—

1. Telegram from the Secretary to H. E. the Governor of Assam, No. 466-C.B., dated the 5th July 1938 [Serial No. (52)].
2. Telegram to P. O. Sikkim, No. 1107, dated the 7th July 1938 [Serial No. (53)].

(57)

MEMORANDUM TO HIS MAJESTY'S AMBASSADOR, SHANGHAI, No. 41-CH., DATED SIMLA, THE 11TH JULY 1938.

1. Telegram from Assam, No. 466-C.B., dated the 5th July 1938 [Serial No. (52)].
2. Telegram to P. O. Sikkim, No. 1107, dated the 7th July 1938 [Serial No. (53)].

(58)

LETTER TO THE COLONIAL SECRETARY, HONGKONG, No. F. 8-X|38, DATED SIMLA, THE 11TH JULY 1938.

I am directed to request that the enclosed cover bearing No. 41-Ch., may be made over to the Commander of a British Steamer bound for Shanghai with instructions to deliver it personally at the British Embassy at Shanghai.

(59)

LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR OF ASSAM, No. 2967-G.S., DATED SHILLONG, THE 5TH JULY 1938.

I am directed to refer to the correspondence resting with my letter No. 2506-G.S., dated the 30th May 1938 [Serial No. (44)] and to submit copies of reports Nos. 6—9, from the Political Officer, Balipara Frontier Tract.

Enclosure I to Serial No. (59).

LETTER FROM THE POLITICAL OFFICER, BALIPARA FRONTIER TRACT,  
CAMP TOWANGDZONG, TO SECRETARY OF THE GOVERNOR OF  
ASSAM, SHILLONG, No. 234|TWG., DATED THE 24TH MAY 1938.

Report No.6.

In continuation of my report No.3 in which I suggested that the removal of the Tsona Dzongpons would be advantageous. It has come to notice now that the Nyertsang and the Chhanzu of the Lamasery here are both appointed by the Tibetan Government, and that in the event of the Tsona Dzongpons being removed, they should also be withdrawn.

I regret that this information was not given previously, but the fact has only just come to my notice.

The Nyertsang is the monastery accountant and collects revenue for the maintenance of the Monastery.

The Chhanzu duties are not quite clear to me yet, but he is the Tibetan Government's representative in the monastery councils. A further report will be submitted shortly.

They are both Tibetans, and in the event of their removal, Monbas should be appointed.

Enclosure II to Serial No. (59).

LETTER FROM THE POLITICAL OFFICER, BALIPARA FRONTIER TRACT,  
CAMP TOWANGDZONG, TO SECRETARY TO H. E. THE GOVERNOR OF  
ASSAM, SHILLONG, NO. 236|TWG., DATED THE 3RD JUNE 1938.

Report No.7.

I have the honour to submit a further report on the Towang column. Since my last report, the column halted in Towang for three days, and then did a short tour of four days in the Towang Chu valley, where several villages were visited.

On the 17th, while Major Brown and I were in the Monastery, we were informed that the two Tsona Dzongpons wished to call on us for

the purpose of making enquiries about the reason for our visit. I agreed to see them on the following day.

On the next day, instead of coming themselves, they sent their two assistants. As I was representing the Indian Government and the matter was one of importance, I considered that the non-appearance of the Dzungpons was a discourtesy and refused to see or hear what the Assistants had to say. They were informed of my decision by the Tibetan interpreter, who later informed me that the Dzungpons wished to submit a report to Lhasa and so had sent their assistants to make what enquiries they could. Since this date I have seen nothing of the Dzungpons.

On the 21st, we visited the female lamasery at Jamnang, which lies about 2 miles from the main monastery. The lamasery is a small affair and appeared to contain about 30 women. It is a branch of the main institution and is fed and maintained by the Nyertsang. There is another a few miles up the road, which is said to be bigger.

On the 22nd, a small column left Towang and proceeded to Shurbi (78 M, Sq. T, 3.5, 3.). We halted here for the night and interviewed local headmen. There is a hot spring here which is much visited by the Monbas and local Tibetans. Bathing in it is considered very good for rheumatism and kindred diseases.

From here we went up the river to Mibra, (Sq. T, 8, 3.5.) where we also saw village headmen.

Our next camp was at Thimu, which lies in Sq. T, 6.5, 4. From Thimu we returned to Towang.

There is little of interest to report. The health of the whole column is excellent and the only sick at the moment are two men of the Assam Rifles who are suffering from slight fever.

I have tried, without success, to find out the total income of the monastery, but the Nyertsang who is the official accountant, blandly

informed me that accounts are kept. This I know is a lie, but he is a Tibetan official and I can get no information until all such persons are removed.

The weather has been fairly good. The days are almost invariably fine and the nights wet.

In my last report, I reported that the Nyertsang and Chhanzu are both Tibetan officials, and that I would report further. The Nyertsang is a Tibetan Official and is appointed by Government. He is the accountant of the Lamasery, and in this capacity is the head of the administrative side of the monastery. He is responsible for the collection of revenue on behalf of the monastery.

The Chhanzu, is appointed by Drepung monastery in Lhasa and may be called semi-official. He is a layman himself, and with the help of the head Lama, is in charge of the monks. He is head of the monastery council and is responsible for all appointments of monks to duties both in and out of the monastery. He gets a part of the Posa paid by us to Towang, as part of his salary.

Enclosure III to Serial No. (59).

LETTER FROM THE POLITICAL OFFICER, BALIPARA FRONTIER TRACT,  
CAMP TOWANGDZONG, TO THE SECRETARY TO H. E. THE GOVERNOR  
OF ASSAM, SHILLONG, No. 240|TWG., DATED THE 13TH JUNE 1938.

Report No.8.

I have the honour to submit another report on the Towang Column. Since my last report, dated 26th May 1938, the column has been confined to Towang due to bad weather.

From 27th May 1938 to 31st May 1938, the rain has been almost incessant and as a result it has been very cold. I did not think that it was worth touring in such weather as it would certainly have caused sickness in the rank and file.

On 1st June 1938, we started off on a short tour as the whether

showed signs of improvement. The first day we went to Shiro, which is in Sheet 78M, Sq. T, 7, 4.2. Immediately after our arrival the weather again broke and heavy rain fell. Here we interviewed local headmen. The following day we proceeded in pouring rain to a camp near Rao (Sq. T, 9.5, 6.) where we stayed for one night. We saw the headmen of Rho and Changta (just south west of Rho). These villagers are in rather a peculiar position as they pay no taxes of any kind. Instead of being taxed, they are forced to do coolie carrying work for a Tibetan village called Shou. The exact position of Shou is not known but it lies somewhere a few miles north of the Milakatong La (Sq. M, 4, 3.).

The Rho and Changta villagers say that they spend almost the whole time from October to May away from their villages carrying loads to Towang. The column returned to Towang on the 4th.

There is little of interest to report. I have reported to Government that I am proposing to return to the plains in the first week of July, if I can make the necessary arrangements in time. There is no point in staying as I have learned that the Tsona Dzungpons, as is their custom, are returning to Tsona for the summer, and the villagers are not visiting us in numbers as they are busy with their cultivations.

The health of the column is excellent.

We are holding sports for the column today.

Enclosure IV to Serial No. (59).

LETTER FROM THE POLITICAL OFFICER, BALIPARA FRONTIER TRACT,  
CAMP TOWANG, TO THE SECRETARY TO H. E. THE GOVERNOR OF  
ASSAM SHILLONG, No. 245|TWG., DATED THE 22ND JUNE 1938.

Report No.9.

1. I have the honour to submit herewith the 9th report regarding the Towang column.

2. Since my last report, dated 5th June 1938, the column has remained in Towang and there has been little of importance to report. On the whole the weather has been bad, but the health of the column is

excellent.

3. On one day, Major Brown and I climbed up the road towards the Bom La which lies to the North of Towang, to see if we could get a view of the Northern boundary of the district. We climbed to a height of 13,000 feet, but were unable to see anything due to bad weather. Much time has been spent in preparing reports and estimates required by Government.

4. One incident of considerable interest occurred during the week. On the 12<sup>th</sup>, the monastery officials showed us their annual Devil dances. I am led to understand that this is a great honour as these dances are religious and normally only performed once a year in January. I was also told that they were performed against the orders of the Tsona Dzungpons, who strongly disapproved.

5. The dances were of great interest and the silk dresses worn, were magnificent. I took several hundred feet of cinema picture of the performance.

6. The monastery officials having completed the dances, were overcome by nervousness as to what the Tsona Dzungpons would do to them for disobeying their orders. I was informed of this later and informed them that this was British territory and thus the Tsona Dzungpons could do nothing, and that any punishments inflicted by them or attempted to be inflicted, should be reported to me for information to Government. They were somewhat reassured at this. Last night I was also informed that the Tsona Dzungpons were in great trouble, as villages were refusing to carry their loads to Tsona. The Dzungpons had sent to me to ask if I had given orders to this effect. I assured them that I had not. It looks as if British influence is increasing.

7. In the monastery, during the dances, I was told by the Head Lama, that when Major Brown and I had first called on the Monastery, a ceremony at which the Tsona Dzungpons were present, the priest consulted the omens about us and the Tsona Dzungpons. They said that ours had been good and the Tsona Dzungpons bad.

8. This morning, I had intended to again attempt to climb the Bom La, taking the column with me. Due to very heavy and incessant rain, I again cancelled the tour. Bad weather at 14,000 feet would probably cause sickness in the Column and the chance of seeing the boundary was remote.

(60)

LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR OF ASSAM, No. 2993-G.S., DATED SHILLONG, THE 7TH JULY 1938.

I am directed to refer to my telegram No. 466-C.B. of the 5th July 1938 [Serial No. (52)] and to forward for the information of the Government of India a copy of demi-official No. 246-Twg. of the 19th June 1938 from the Political Officer, Balipara Frontier Tract, on which the telegram was based. Orders on the other points raised by the Political Officer will, His Excellency assumes, be passed on receipt by the Government of India of the Political Officer" comprehensive report which he will submit on his return.

Enclosure to Serial No. (60).

DEMI-OFFICIAL LETTER FROM THE POLITICAL OFFICER, BALIPARA FRONTIER TRACT, CAMP TOWANG, TO THE SECRETARY TO H. E. THE GOVERNOR OF ASSAM, SHILLONG, No. 246-TWG., DATED THE 30TH JUNE 1938.

1. A case of some importance occurred last year in this district, of which I will give you a summary.
2. The brothers, one of whom is a monk of Sera monastery in Lhasa, are Monbas of Gumkyalung village (Sheet 78 M, 7.5, 3.5.) near Towang, These brothers had a land dispute which the Monastery council wished to settle. The brothers refused to go to Towang for the case to be settled, and when the monastery council sent monks to fetch them, resisted arrest and killed two and seriously injured three others. The brothers then absconded to Tibet where they still are. Their

whereabouts are apparently well-known.

3. Now, the Tibet Government has summoned four member of the monastery council to go to Lhasa for the case to be tried. This being a long journey and as the case will take many months to settle, they do not want to go, but are afraid of the consequences. They approached me on the subject, but being quite ignorant of Government's intentions, I was unable to help them.

4. I understand that they are proposing to ask the Tibetan Government for an extension of time so as to delay proceedings as long as possible in the hope that we may take over the case. I have given them no assurances of any kind except that Towang is British territory and that presumably Government would resent any retaliatory action taken by the Tibetan Government.

5. It seems that it is wrong that this case should be heard by Tibetan officials and I would request orders as to whether Government consider it proper that representations be made to Tibet to have their case closed. I could take up the matter next year in the event of Government taking over.

6. There is also another point that is of importance. This year, in conjunction with Bhutanese officials, I settled the Western boundary of this district. I have learned through the Monastery council that Tibetan Government has issued orders to the Tsona Dzungpons that Towang has not yet been seceded to the Indian Government, and that they should again settle the same boundary with the Bhutanese Government.

7. It seems to me that the Bhutanese Government should be officially informed that Towang is British and that no action should be taken regarding Towang with the Tibetan Government.

8. In conclusion, I would like to say that there is almost a panic in the district at the moment.

9. Traders are, in many cases, trying to sell their goods, as they are afraid that the Tibetan Government may send troops, who would loot all their possessions according to custom. I have assured as many as

possible of the people that such a contingency is impossible, but the fear is still there.

10. There is also fear everywhere that retaliatory action may be taken by the Tibetan Government after our departure. I have been as possible, but I think that very quick action is necessary to be carried out as soon as possible this cold weather.

(61)

#### MEMORANDUM

The papers specified below were transmitted to the Secretary, Political Department, India Office, London, for the information of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, under cover of the Foreign Secretary's letter No. 125-M., dated the 14th July 1938 :-

1. Telegram from Assam, No. 470-C.B., dated the 8th July 1938 [Serial No. (54)].
2. Telegram to R. B. Norbhu Dhandup, Lhasa, No. 1117, dated the 9th July 1938 [Serial No. (55)].

(62)

MEMORANDUM TO HIS MAJESTY'S AMBASSADOR, SHANGHAI, No. 42-CH. |1, DATED SIMLA, THE 15TH JULY 1938.

1. Telegram from Assam, No. 740-C.B., dated the 8th July 1938 [Serial No. (54)].
2. Telegram to R. B. Norbhu Dhandup, Lhasa, No. 1117, dated 9th July 1938 [Serial No. (55)].

(63)

LETTER TO THE COLONIAL SECRETARY HONGKONG, No. F. 8-X|38, DATED SIMLA, THE 15TH JULY 1938.

I am directed to request that the enclosed cover bearing No. 42-Ch. |1, may be made over to the Commander of a British Steamer bound for Shanghai with instructions to deliver it personally at the British Embassy Shanghai.

(64)

#### MEMORANDUM

The papers specified below were transmitted to the Secretary, Political Department, India Office, London, for the information of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, under cover of the Foreign Secretary's letter No. 143-(A)-M., dated the 5th August 1938 :-

1. Letter from the Secretary to the Governor of Assam, No. 2967-G.S., dated the 5th July 1938, with enclosures [Serial No. (59)].
2. Letter from the Secretary to the Governor of Assam, No. 2993-G.S., dated the 7th July 1938, with enclosure [Serial No. (60)].

(65)

MEMORANDUM TO HIS MAJESTY'S AMBASSADOR, SHANGHAI, No. 44-CH., DATED SIMLA, THE 29TH JULY 1938.

1. Letter from the Secretary to the Governor of Assam, No. 2967-G.S., dated the 5th July 1938, with enclosures [Serial No. (59)].
2. Letter from the Secretary of the Governor of Assam, No. 2993-G.S., dated the 7th July 1938, with enclosures [Serial No. (60)].

(66)

LETTER TO THE COLONIAL SECRETARY, HONGKONG, No. F. 8-X|38, DATED SIMLA, THE 29TH JULY 1938.

I am directed to request that the enclosed cover bearing No. 44-Ch., may be made over to the Commander of a British Steamer bound for Shanghai with instructions to deliver it personally at the British Embassy at Shanghai.

GOVERNOR OF ASSAM.

dated Shillong, the 19<sup>th</sup> August 1938

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. F.8-X/38, dated the 5<sup>th</sup> July 1938, Serial No. (51), I am directed to say that the expenditure on the expedition to Tawang booked in the office of the Comptroller, Assam, upto March 1938 supplementary is Rs. 15,260-1-9. In the circumstances it is not possible now to surrender any further amount out of the current year's provision of Rs. 18,000/- under the head "34 Tribal Areas – Account II – C.5 – Miscellaneous expenditure – C.5 other charges – C.5(4)- other expenses – Expedition to Tawang". A further report will, however, be submitted in due course through the statement of savings and excesses.

CONFIDENTIAL

LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR OF ASSAM,  
No. 3851-G.S., DATED THE 7TH SEPTEMBER 1938.

*Report on the Tawang expedition, 1938.*

I am directed to refer to the correspondence resting with your telegram No. 1107 of the 7th July 1938 and to submit for the information and orders of the Government of India a copy of the report of the Political Officer, Balipara, on his expedition to the Towang area. Captain Lightfoot has throughout borne in mind the instructions contained in your Confidential letter No. F. 493-X|35, dated the 1st July 1937, and your telegram No. 818 of 16th May 1938.

2. His Excellency has had the advantage not only of perusing Captain Lightfoot's report, but of discussing personally with him the deplorable state of the inhabitants of the Towang area under Tibetan oppression. The Political Officer, in the course of his joint exploration with Bhutan representatives of a suitable boundary between that State and the Balipara tribal area, saw some Bhutan villagers and described in a way which greatly impressed His Excellency the contrast between the cheerful demeanour of the Bhutan subjects and the crowded condition of villagers of identical race in the Towang area.

3. Fully though His Excellency appreciates the weighty reasons which have hitherto made the Government of India reluctant to commit themselves to further responsibilities in the Towang area, His Excellency cannot resist the conclusion that the report reveals a state of affairs far more serious than anything which the meagre information previously available had suggested and one which is intolerable in an area which is undoubtedly British. His Excellency ventures to express the opinion that

to acquiesce in the continuance of the state of virtual slavery (vide Report, Part I, paragraph 16 and Appendix I) in which the Monbas live is incompatible with the solemn commitments involved by the recent withdrawal of the reservation to the Slavery Convention in respect of the unadministered parts of the Balipara Frontier Tract, conveyance of which to the League of Nations was intimated to this Government in your Memo. No. F. 304-X|38 of the 25th May 1938.

That brutal punishments are inflicted on British Monbas by irregular Tibetan courts His Excellency has no doubt. Of the frequency of so called capital punishment there is no precise information, but His Excellency is satisfied that inhabitants of a British area are from time to time murdered in this way under the orders of officials of the Tibetan Government.

4. His Excellency therefore ventures to trust that the Government of India will now place on record a decision that it is their intention to assume full responsibility in this area, and that subject to the exigencies of the relationships which at present subsist between the Tibetan Government and the Government of India steps will be taken at an appropriate time, the earlier the better, to relieve the Monbas from the grievous oppression to which they are now subjected.

5. With this end in view His Excellency begs to submit the following concrete proposals. Realising that the financial aspect is of importance His Excellency has framed them on the least expensive lines possible. Though, for reasons which will appear below, a complete estimate is not yet ready, His Excellency considers that the net cost will be inconsiderable, and that as good administration brings peace and prosperity the cost is likely to dwindle to negligible proportions, and may even be converted into an excess of revenue over expenditure :-

- (1) A control area should be declared, with boundaries as proposed by the Political Officer (vide Report, Part II, paragraph 2 and Appendix 2).
- (2). This will in itself entail no expenditure, but will mark the limits

of the area from which the tribute proposed in subparagraph (5) below will be paid and into which raids by Akas from the east will not be allowed.

- (2) The Tibetan Government should be requested to withdraw their officials from this area. The absolute necessity of this needs, His Excellency feels, no further emphasis. (Vide Report, Part II, paragraph 3.)
- (3) Negotiations should be begun with the object to causing the substitution of Monba for Tibetan religious officials in Towang monastery and of placing the contributions to the monastery on a known and equitable basis, with the abolition of all forced labour.
- (4) Monopolies in salt and rice should be abolished,
- (5) A tribute of Rs. 5 per house should be imposed throughout the area. His Excellency has discussed this with the Political Officer and is satisfied that it is not excessive. [Vide Report, Part II, paragraph 4(1).]

His Excellency recommends that this should be a tribute rather than a tax, for he considers that the area now under consideration must remain tribal territory and cannot form part of the Province of Assam, even with the status only of an excluded area, in any future that can be foreseen. The inhabitants are for the most part Buddhists, with no affinities with the plainsmen of Assam. Indeed members of some of the tribes are, His Excellency understands, forbidden by their religion even to visit the plains. His Excellency therefore considers that the receipts in the form of tribute from the Towang area should be credited to Central Revenues, from which expenditure on the area will be drawn.

- (6) His Excellency agrees with the Political Officer. [vide Report, Part

II, paragraph 4 (2), (3) and (4) that the administrative staff should consist of an Agent at Towang and Assistant Agent at Dirangdzong, and considers that the type of officer and pay proposed are suitable. They will require the small office establishment suggested. His Excellency considers that an administration of this type, while being the least expensive that can be devised, will be adequate.

(7) Regarding the escort that will be required His Excellency has sought the advice of his Inspector-General of Police and is inclined to agree with him that though half a platoon with the Agent at Towang will be sufficient it would be advisable to post a full platoon with the Assistant Agent at Dirangdzong on the line of communication. The escort will require a medical staff of one Sub-Assistant Surgeon and one Compounder, who will also treat the local inhabitants.

The escort will be drawn from the 2nd (Sadiya) Battalion, Assam Rifles, and His Excellency is examining the question whether it will be possible to provide these additional posts without establishing a wing of the battalion at Lokra or even splitting up the present 2nd Battalion and reconstituting the 5th Battalion.

It is the intricacy of this problem and the necessity of going carefully into the question of the cost of rationing the posts that have prevented His Excellency from submitting a detailed estimate with this letter. His Excellency regrets this inevitable delay, but ventures to hope that perusal of Captain Lightfoot's report at this stage will be of assistance to the Government of India in arriving at an early decision. A detailed estimate will be forwarded as soon as possible.

6. His Excellency has noted, and desires to bring to the notice of the Government of India, the names of the officers whose good work the

Political Officer commends. He desires to add to them the name of Captain Lightfoot himself who, while in no way refraining from making the thorough investigation which the problem demanded has throughout shown tact and sound judgment in a situation which was often most delicate.

## REPORT ON THE TAWANG EXPEDITION, 1938.

### PART 1.

Short geographical description.— The tract of country running North from the plains of Assam to Tawang is divided by fairly high ranges of mountains into three more or less distinct areas. The southern part of the tract, which may be called the Kalaktang area, lies to the south of a line drawn from the Manda La (Sheet 83 A. sq. B, 5.5, 7) through the Bomdi La (sq. C, 5, 7). Kalaktang, the chief Monba village, lies ill Sq. G, 7.5, 7. The central portion, which may be called the Dirang Dzong area, lies to the North of the Manda La—Bomdi La line and to the South of the Se La range which runs north-east from hill 14,600 (on the Bhutan boundary at sq. U, 1, 9).

The northern area, containing Towang itself, lies to the north of the Se La range and is bordered by Tibet on the north and Bhutan on the West.

2. Southern Area.— The southern area is bounded on the west by Bhutan, the border of which roughly runs from the Riso La (Sq. A, 5, 5) southwards to Messagon (Sq. G, 2, 7) whence it runs southwards through the Nyurpa Gyamtso La (Sq. G, 5.5, 2.5) to the plains. The eastern boundary may be said to run north and south on a line drawn through the Bomdi La and Bompu La (Sq. J, 5, 7).

The country to the East of the eastern boundary is inhabited by the Akas, a warlike tribe who take tribute from the whole of the eastern part

of the southern area.

Most of the area is a pleasantly wooded country, covered with oak and pine, and only the valley of the Nargum Chu (the main river in sq. G,) and the south face of the foothills are covered with dense tropical vegetation, The hills are not very high, seldom attaining an altitude of 10,000 feet. The area is watered by two rivers, the Nargum Chu, which runs into the Dhansiri when it reaches the plains, and the Tenga, which runs into the Bhorelli.

3. Southern Area. Inhabitants.—The area is inhabited by two different peoples. The Rongnongpas live in the valley of the Nargum Chu and to the North, and their most north-easterly village is Zurblong (Sq. B, 8, 2.5). The remaining portions of the area are inhabited by the Sherdukpen, whose chief villages are Rupa (Sq. C, 5, 3) and Shergaon (Sq. H, 6, 7.). These two tribes are different in every respect, their languages, dress, and custom being utterly dissimilar. The Rongnongpas, though speaking a different language, may be said to belong to the Monba race, while the Sherdupen, though Buddhists, more closely resemble their more savage neighbours to the east, and cannot be called Monbas. Both these peoples are quiet and friendly and never give any trouble. They live by cultivation and cattle-breeding in their villages in the summer. In the winter they leave their villages almost empty and come down to cold weather camps at Amrutolla on the Nargum Chu river near the plains, and Doimara, which lies on the Belsiri river in the foothills. From these camps they go down to the plains to trade.

4. Communications.— There are three main paths in this area. The first follows the Nargum Chu and debouches on the plains at Udalguri in the Mangaldai sub-division of Darrang district. The other two come down from Rupa and Shergaon respectively. These two paths follows the routes Tongre Wo (Sq. J, 3.5, 9.5) and Bompou La (Sq. J, 5, 7), and

Pankim La (Sq. H, 9, 6.5) and Blonksong (Sq. J, .5, 4.5). They meet at Doimara. The Nargum Chu and Shergaon paths meet to the North at Domkho (Sq. B, 3, .5), whence the path goes north to, Dirang Dzong and Towang. The Rupa path goes North to Dirang Dzong via the Bomdi La (Sq. C) and Rahung (Sq. C, 3, 9). All these paths are indifferent bridle tracks and are regularly used by traders coming down from Tibet and Towang.

5. Dirang Dzong Area. Boundaries.—The Dirang Dzong area is bounded on the west by Bhutan, the boundary of which has not been definitely fixed as yet, but lies roughly on the following line:—Hill 14,600 (Sq. U, 1, 9), hill 14,500 (Sq. U, 3, 6), Orka La, and hill 14,860 (Sq. U, 1, 1). On the east the area is bounded by the Miji Aka country which lies to the east of a line drawn from the Poshing La (Sq. Q, 2, 1) to Konia (Sq. X, .5, .5).

Like the southern area, this part of the country is pleasantry wooded on the hills with oak and pine, the valleys being more densely wooded. There is only one river of any size, the Digien, which runs down the centre of the area from West to East, and eventually runs into the Bhorelli in the Aka country.

This area is far more sparsely inhabited than either the Kalaktang or Towang areas, probably, in my opinion, owing to the fact that the inhabitants are much oppressed by their Aka neighbours. They are all Monbas, though they speak a language differing from those of the Towang Monbas to the north, and of the Rongnongpa Monbas to the south.

6. Paths.—There is only one main path in the area. This comes up from Kalaktang and Shergaon and from these places runs through Dirang Dzong, Nyukmadung (Sq. U, 8, 5.5), and the Se La (Sq. N, 5, 1) to Towangdzong. It is fit for pack transport but is very rough in places. The only place where this route is really difficult, and, at times, even

dangerous, is on the crossing of the Se La, which is at an elevation of 14,200 feet and under snow for the greater part of the year. The most dangerous time of the year for the crossing is in March owing to the prevalence of sudden storms, while the best time is from May to August when there is little, if any, snow.

7. Towang Area. Boundaries.—The Towang area is bounded on the west by Bhutan, whose boundaries were fixed in consultation with the representatives of the Durbar on this tour. They have not yet been ratified by Government, but the proposed boundary runs as follows : — From the hill at Sheet 78 M, Sq. K, 9.5, 2.5, it follows the main ridge to the south to a point at Sq. R, 7.5, 2.5, whence it follows the ridge running south-east to the river Towang Chu, between the villages of Sanglung and Beting, both of which are in Towang, and Chang Pu and Manam, which are Bhutanese. Thence the boundary runs up the Towang Chu to a point at Sq. Y, 4, 9.5, whence it leaves the river and runs up the hill to Sq. Y, 9, 5. Thence it follows the ridge to the east, through the Nyuksang La (Sq. Z) to hill 14,600 (Sheet 83 A, Sq. U, 1, 9).

The northern boundary has not yet been fixed in detail, but the area is bounded by the Tibetan district of Tsona (Sheet 78 M, Sq. F, 6.5, 9.5). The approximate boundary would run from the hill at Sq. K, 9.5, 2.5, down the ridge which runs south-east, just south of Gorsam Chote, to the Nyamjang Chu river, both Gorsam Chote and Pangchen falling in Tibet. From the river the boundary would run up the ridge to the north-east to the hill at Sq. L, 9, 1, and thence through the Milakatong La (Sq. M, 4, 3) to the western extremity of the Macmahon line at Sheet 83 A, Sq. G, 3, 5.).

The eastern boundary is the line of high hills to the east of the Mago district in Sheet 83 A, Sq. H.

8. Villages, etc.—The principal village in this area is, of course, Towang, where the monastery is situated. Particulars of this are given

below (see paragraph 11). After Towang in importance is Gyankar, where the Tsonadzongpons have their headquarters. Gyankar lies in sheet 78 M, Sq. T, and is about 3 miles due east of Towang. I did not visit the Mago district on account of its inaccessibility, as the direct road shown on the map as running up the bank of Mago Chu, via Kyala (Sheet 83 A, sq. N.) and Luguthang, is not in existence, and the only route is via the Se La (Sq. N.). The Mago district is said to be very sparsely populated. The valley of the Towang Chu river, from Jang (Sheet 78 M, Sq. T, 9.5, 4.5) to the junction of the Towang Chu and Nyamjang Chu rivers at Sq. Y, 2, 9.5, and the southern end of the Nyamjang Chu, is very densely populated and I was able to fill in about 60 villages which were not marked on the map. North of Towang the area is entirely uninhabited.

9. Cultivation and industry.—The country appears to be fairly fertile and there are extensive cultivated areas in the inhabited parts. The chief crops grown are wheat, barley and a certain amount of wet rice. Later in the year considerable crops of Indian corn are planted. Many herds of cattle, yaks and sheep were seen. Goats do not appear to be popular and we saw very few. The inhabitants are all Monbas and speak an entirely different language from that of the Monbas of the more southern areas. Their only industry is the manufacture of coarse paper and a very coarse red woollen cloth.

10. Communications.—There are three main routes in this area, two of which go to Tsona. One path follows the route due north via the Milakatong La (Sq. M) and the Kyaken La in Sq. F. As this route is, owing to snow, only open for a few months in the summer there is an alternative route, open the whole year round, via Kapteng (Sq. S, 3, 2.5), Shakti (Sq. S. 5.5, 7.) and the Po La (Sq. F, 4.5, 6.5) to Tsona. The other path is the route via the Se La to the plains.

11. Towang Monastery.—The following short description of Towang monastery may be of interest. It is situated on a bare ridge in the

position shown in the map. The houses are built of stone and cluster round a large central building, which is the Gumpa or temple. The whole is surrounded by a wall in which there are two main entrances at opposite ends. All the buildings are white-washed, and as the pile is on a commanding site it is visible from a great distance. It is a branch of the big Tibetan monastery of Drepung in Lhasa and this connection is of great importance in the politics of Towang. (See paragraph 16.) The monastery is said to be of great antiquity, though nobody was able to give any details of its history. It is occupied by about 500 monks, almost all of whom are Monbas, though the chief positions are held by Tibetans.

12. Monasterial Officials Secular.—The control of secular affairs in the monastery is in the hands of an official called the Nyertsang, who at the moment is a woman. Though her husband, who died last year, was a Monba she herself is a Tibetan and has been appointed to carry on his duties. There is some doubt as to what authority appoints this official; I previously reported that the Tibetan Government did so, but I now find that this is probably not the case, and that the real authority is the Drepung monastery council. The Nyertsang may be said to be the monastery accountant, and in addition is responsible for certain collections of tribute and for general administration. The present Nyertsang, being a Tibetan, would give me no information at all, though she was very friendly in general.

13. Religious Officials.—There are a number of officials who are responsible for religious affairs. First and senior is the Abbot, who is appointed for a period of three years by Drepung monastery. Next in seniority comes the Chhanzu, also appointed by Drepung. His appointment is also for three years, and he is responsible for the general well being of the monks. Both the Abbot and the Chhanzu are Tibetans. The lesser posts are those of the Head Lama, a Monba, who is appointed by the Towang monastery council, and two Omjets who are also appointed by the Towang council. Their duties are purely religious. The

monastery council consists of the Head Lama, the two Omjets and several of the more senior monks.

It is an interesting and importance fact that in this area a strict rule obtains that every third son in every family must be sent to the monastery to become a monk.

14. Monasterial influence.—It will be seen from the above portion of the report that, though Tibetan influence is supreme in the monastery, the only Tibetans in it are the holders of the three highest posts. The remainder of the monks are all Monbas, and I was able to get the information that Tibetan domination is bitterly resented, and that there would be no local opposition to the removal of the Tibetan officials in the event of British control coming into force.

It must be clearly understood that, though the monastery council is empowered by the Tibetan Government to extract tribute from the Dirang and Towang areas, they have no real powers of their own except in religious matters. The supreme power is that of the Tibetan Government. Similarly Drepung monastery has no power in secular matters in the area. Only in the monastery has it any real power, and there again it is completely subordinate to the Tibetan Government.

15. Female Lamaseries.—In addition to the main lamasery there are two female lamaseries situated some three or four miles away from the monastery. These lamaseries are small and of little importance and are administered by the main monastery council. The entry of women to these lamaseries is voluntary.

16. Tibetan domination in the Towang district.—The whole tract, with the exception of the Kalaktang area, is dominated by representatives of the Tibetan Government. These officers are locally known as the Tsona Dzungpons. They are two in number and live in Gyankar (sheet 78-M, Sq. T, 4, 4.5) about 3 miles from Towang. Their chief duty is to extract a

yearly tribute from the inhabitants and their influence extends over the Dirang and Towang areas, but not over the Kalaktang area. In return for this tribute they try cases, both civil and criminal, but as they never leave Gyankar except for the purpose of visiting the monastery twice or thrice a week most of their administration is left to their assistants, of whom there are four. The Tsona Dzungpons and their assistants are Tibetans, though one of them has Monba connections by marriage.

Tribute is paid almost entirely in kind and consists mainly of grain, paper and, in some cases, of planks of wood. Not only does all this tribute have to be brought in free of cost, but forced labour is imposed on the inhabitants to an extent that virtually amounts to slavery of a very serious type. Examples of tribute and forced labour will be found in Appendix No.1. The imposition of forced labour bears most heavily on villages near the main routes and is bitterly, but impotently, resented. The tribute now exacted from each village bears no relation to the size of the village. In the dim past each village was assessed for tribute, and the assessment seems to have been made on the village as a whole, it being left to the village to settle how the tribute was to be paid. Since that time no re-assessment has been carried out, and as a result villages which have dwindled still have to find as best they may tribute equal to that imposed on larger villages.

I found it quite impossible to ascertain the total amount of revenue, as naturally the Tsona Dzungpons would give me no information on the subject. I made enquiries in various villages and was able to collect some local information. Even this was difficult as the Tsona Dzungpons had passed the word round the villages that we were not to be given any information. It is important to note that the Tsona Dzungpons are not the only exactors of tribute; villagers are called upon to pay two or three other persons. Examples will be found in Appendix 1.

The Tsona Dzungpons never visit the Dirang area personally, though it

is in their sphere of control, but send their assistants periodically for the purpose of trying such cases as there may be, but principally for the collection of tribute. Imprisonment is never inflicted in cases. Fines are inflicted, and brutal floggings, the convicted person being lashed to a tree. In serious cases, in which theft is included, the convicted person is executed by being bound hand and foot and thrown into a torrent.

Each village has a headman or headmen. These are supposed to be elected yearly by the villagers. In practice they remain in their appointments for two or even three years. Their appointments have to be approved by the Tsona Dzungpons, whose underlings they are. These headmen have assistants called Gomis the number of whom depends on the number of houses in the village. Sometimes, if a village is small, there may be no headman, but only one or more Gomis, the headman's work being done by that of a neighbouring bigger village. The headman's duties are primarily the extraction of tribute from his village, and secondly the carrying out of any orders he may receive from the Tsona Dzungpons or any other person in authority. The above description gives the ordinary form or rule, but it must be remembered that the Tsona Dzungpons' word is law, and there is no appeal from any order, however unjust, they may give.

17. Monasterial rights in the matter of collecting tribute.—The monastery council has certain ancient privileges and rights in the matter of collecting tribute from villages, and has the advantage over the Tsona Dzungpons in that it has the right to collect tribute in the Kalaktang area in addition to the Dirang and Towang areas. The monastery council elects from among the monks four Dzungpons who hold office for a period of three years. Two of these are called the Dirang Dzungpons and live in Dirangdzong, and the other two are known as the Talung Dzungpons and have their headquarters in Talungdzong (Sheet 83-A, Sq. B, 1.5, 0) and Kalaktang. These persons have the right to collect tribute in their respective areas on behalf of the monastery. In the Towang area, where

there are no monastery Dzungpons, the monasterial revenue is collected by the Nyertsang and his assistants. These officials also collect tribute in the other two areas in addition to that collected by the Dzungpons.

It will thus be seen that each area is regularly visited by a horde of officials, both monasterial and governmental, who with their followers not only extract tribute but also have all their goods carried free and are fed at the villagers expense.

The monasterial Dzungpons have the right to try cases in addition to the Tsona Dzungpons and their assistants, though most of their administration deals with religious matters. All tribute collected is in kind and has to be carried to the monastery by forced labour.

18. Rights of Gompase and Jora monasteries near Tsona.—The majority of villages in the Towang area pay tribute to the small monasteries of Gompase and Jora, both of which are situated near Tsona. The amounts are not large and usually consist of small quantities of grain.

19. Shengos.—There are two persons in the Towang area who hold the title of "Shengo". They are empowered by the Tibetan Government to collect revenue in certain villages as a reward for past services rendered. The amounts collected are so small as to be almost negligible.

20. Salt and Rice Monopolies.—There is in Towang a contractor known as the Dekangpa who holds a monopoly, granted by the Tibetan Government, of the sale of salt. It is not known how much he pays for this privilege, but I should imagine it is no small sum. He sells salt to all villagers, most of whom pay in kind and not in cash. He also has certain rights in the way of getting free labour from villagers. In fact some villagers who live in the east part of the area spend a considerable part of the year carrying loads for him free of cost, and they are apparently bound to do so under fear of punishment. In addition to the salt monopoly the Dekangpa has the extraordinary privilege of being the only

person allowed to trade in rice, No person is allowed to buy rice from any body unless he exchanges it with the Dekangpa for salt, nor is he allowed to eat rice unless he has grown it himself (and rice cultivation is not too common) or buys it from the Dekangpa.

21. Exaction by Akas.—One of the chief tribulations faced by the unfortunate Monbas of the Dirang and Kalaktang areas is the payment of tribute which is extracted from the long suffering villagers by the Akas. The tribes who exact this tribute are the Miji Akas who live in the east half of Sq. W and in Sq. X of sheet 83 A, the Miri Akas who live in Sq. Y, and the Kovutsum and Kutsun Akas in Sq. s D and E. These tribes have no right to tribute and only exact such payment by force of arms. Their threats of war are by no means empty ones as may be seen from the raids carried out by the Mijis and Miri Akas last year on the Monba villages of But and Konia. In these raids some 30 persons were taken as slaves. The Tibetan authorities make not the slightest attempt to protect the villagers from whom they themselves receive tribute, being entirely careless of the well-being of the villagers, provided there is no lessening of the flow of tributary goods to the Tibetan Government and monasteries.

22. Sherdukpen.—Except for the tribute paid to the Akas, the Sherduk- pen, who live in the east of the Kalaktang area, pay only nominal tribute to the Talung Dzungpons, and may be said to be quite free from any control from Towang and the Tibetan Government.

23. Religion.—All the inhabitants of all three areas are Buddhists.

24. General.—The Monbas, who occupy the whole of the Towang Tract, are a peaceful and friendly people. They appear to have no warlike instincts, and are completely under the domination of the Tibetans, whom they hate and fear. Our visit raised hopes that they might be relieved of the Tibetan yoke, but there was grave uneasiness at our departure, lest they should be punished for the help they had given us.

The Monbas are not Tibetans, from whom they differ both in custom and language, of which they speak several. There is no doubt whatever that they resent Tibetan domination and would gladly accept British control.

In accordance with the orders received from Government it was published far and wide that Towang is British, but there is little doubt that this reassurance was not received with quite the enthusiasm and confidence that it might have been, owing to the fact that Tibetan officials made no pretence of refraining from collecting tribute even during our visit. Certain traders actually sold their goods in a great hurry, as they were convinced that Tibetan troops would be sent to the district. Such action is looked upon with terror, on account not of the fighting capabilities of the troops, but of their habit of looting everything that it is possible for them to take away.

To sum up, the reasons why Tibetan domination is loathed by the Monbas and is intolerable by any civilised standards, are—

- (1) Forced labour and extortion of supplies.
- (2) Failure by the Tibetans to protect them from Aka oppression.
- (3) Payment of tribute to several recipients independently at rates bearing no relation to the ability of the villagers to pay.
- (4) Payment at monopolist prices for salt, which is an absolute necessity of life, and for rice, which is a reasonable luxury.
- (5) A brutal and unspeakably corrupt judicial system.

## REPORT ON THE TOWANG EXPEDITION, 1938.

### PART II.

Recommendations and suggestions.

1. Lump sum tribute.—In reply to the orders that I should enquire into the possibility of emphasising British possession of the Towang district by the imposition of a lump sum payment of tribute instead of the institution of an ordinary system of taxation, I beg to report as follows. I am of opinion that such a course is not possible for the following reasons. If British influence is to be established the removal of the Tsona Dzongpons is absolutely essential, but some alternative form of control must take their place. The only such alternative readily available on the spot is the monasterial officials, who would be the only people capable of collecting such a lump sum tribute. I have no doubt that their authority would be quite sufficient to extract any sum required, but I have no doubt also that the sum extracted under the name of tribute would far exceed the British demand and thus cause increased hardship to the already long suffering villagers. Another point to be considered is that Towang monastery is under the control of Drepung monastery in Lhasa, and thus any monastery rule would be strongly influenced from Tibet, and after a short time Tibetan dominance would again creep in to the detriment of British prestige. To substitute the control of Tibetan monasterial officials for that of the Tibetan Government would entirely fail to indicate to the people that the country was part of India.

Some form of British administration, however, simple, must be introduced. Proposals for this light administration will be found in paragraph 4 (1), Part II.

2. Control Area.—The boundaries of the suggested control area will be found in Appendix 2.

3. Recommendations.—The suggestions below deal firstly with what should be abolished, and secondly with what should be introduced.

The following fall under the first category:—

- (1) The Tibetan Government should be asked to withdraw their officials, viz., the Tsonadzongpons and their assistants. With them will automatically disappear their exactions of tribute and forced labour. Till this is done our prestige must inevitably be non-existent.
- (2) It would be of the utmost advantage if the withdrawal of the Tibetan officials from the monastery could be arranged, making it, what in fact it is, a Monba monastery (see part 1, paragraph 11 and Part II, paragraph 8). So inextricably are State and Religion intermingled in Tibet that till the Tibetan monastic officials are withdrawn, Tibetan influence and intrigue must persist in the surrounding country.
- (3) The monopolies of salt and rice should be abolished. (See part 1, part 20.)
- (4) Payment of tribute in kind, whether to us or the monasteries should be abolished and payment in cash substituted. Payment in kind means carriage of the bulky tribute by forced labour, the form of oppression most bitterly resented now.

4. Recommended innovations.—The following are the innovations the introduction of which I beg to propose:—

- (1) In place of the present haphazard and inequitable tribute in kind I beg to propose that tribute in cash at the rate of Rs. 5 a house be paid to the Government of India throughout the control area the establishment of which is proposed below. This rate of tax may seem high as an initial rate, but I am of the opinion that it is not

excessive. I think, indeed, that in a few years this rate might even be increased. Such a fixed and properly distributed tax would be a boon to the villagers in that it would at once do away with the greater part of the forced labour now being inflicted on them. I have calculated that at the beginning about Rs. 11,000 in tribute would be collected from such a tax. The following figures will explain how this total is arrived at :—

In the Towang area there are approximately 80 villages with an average of 15 houses in each. In the Dirang area there are about 15 villages with about 40 houses in each. In the Kalaktang area there are some 15 Monba villages of 12 houses each and in addition there are two Sherdukpen villages of 160 houses. This makes a rough total of 2,140 houses, which gives a revenue of approximately Rs. 11,000. I confidently anticipate that the amount of this tribute will gradually increase. Not only will freedom from oppression lead to greater prosperity, but the emigration of families seeking asylum in Bhutan will cease, and many will return.

After the removal of the Tsona Dzongpons, I would suggest the appointment of two Agents, one of whom, the senior, would be stationed in Towang, and the other in Dirangdzong.

These Agents would be assisted by panchayats. The panchayat at Towang would be composed of 2 representatives of the monastery council, elected for a period of one year, and 4 village headmen, who would be elected by a meeting of all village headmen once a year. In the Dirangdzong area two panchayats would be necessary, one in Dirang and the other in Kalaktang, the additional panchayat being necessary owing to the great distance between the two places. The Dirang panchayat would consist of the two Dirang Dzongpons, who are monastery officials, and, as in Towang, 4 village headmen, who

would be similarly elected. The Kalaktang panchayat would be composed in the same way as the Dirang panchayat, except that the Talung Dzungpons would take the place of the Dirang Dzungpons. These panchayats should be empowered to deal with all cases under the supervision of the Agents and, of course, subject to the right of appeal to the Political Officer of Balipara Frontier Tract. The two Agents, who should be Tibetan-speaking persons of good social position, should be given considerable powers to deal with cases independently of the panchayats when necessary. A brief summary of the two Agents' duties is given herewith—

- (i) The collection of the Rs. 5 house tax.
- (ii) With the aid of the panchayat the hearing of cases.
- (iii) Checking and counting houses in the villages.
- (iv) Keeping the Political Officer informed of all matters concerning their areas.
- (v) Putting up of appeals.

The Senior Agent would carry out the above duties in the Towang area, and would, in addition make occasional visits to Dirang for the purpose of inspecting the work of the Junior Agents, who would be under his supervision.

- (3) Suggested pay of Agents, etc.—I beg to suggest the following rates of pay as suitable for the Agents and their subordinates. The Senior Agent should be given Rs. 200 per month as pay, with Rs. 30 per month as a fixed travelling allowance, while the Junior Agent should be given Rs. 100 with a similar travelling allowance.
- (4) Suggested staff for Agents.—The following staff would be required to assist the Agents.

The Senior Agent would require one clerk at Rs. 30 per month, two chaprasis at Rs. 10, and 6 coolies at Rs. 8. The Junior Agent would require only 8 coolies at Rs. 8 each per month. The coolies are required, not only to carry the Agents' kit on tour, but for the Assam Rifles detachments in Towang and Dirang. I give below a summary of the total staff recommended :-

- (1) Senior Agent at Rs. 200 and travelling allowance at Rs. 30.
- (2) Junior Agent at Rs. 100 and travelling allowance at Rs. 30.
- (3) One clerk at Rs. 30.
- (4) Two chaprassis at Rs. 10.
- (5) 14 coolies at Rs. 8.

5. Control Area.—To mark the limits of our loose administration and of the area from which revenue is received a control area should be established. (See part II, paragraph 2.)

6. Village Panchayats.—I would recommend the institution of village panchayats as is done in most hill districts. Such panchayats would hear all petty village cases, the parties, of course, having the right to appeal to the main panchayat of their area.

7. Removal of Tibetans from monasterial appointments.—Influence should tactfully be brought to bear to try and persuade the monastery officials to elect Monbas to their high religious posts and not to allow Tibetans to be brought from Drepung in Lhasa. I am making this proposal tentatively as being a matter of religion, it would have to be very carefully handled. As the Monbas dislike the Tibetans I do not think that such action would be difficult of accomplishment.

8. Monasterial Revenues.—As far as the monasterial collection of tribute is concerned, I beg to make the following suggestions. Owing to

the fact that the leading monastery officials were Tibetan I was unable to get any idea as to the amount or value of the tribute exacted at present. In view of the above fact, I would suggest that enquiries might be made as to the method of collection of revenues and the amounts collected by monasteries in British India with the object that the present system of payment in kind, with its attendant evil of forced labour, may be discontinued, and some system similar to that in force in monasteries in British India be substituted.

9. Escorts for Agents.—The Agent at Towang will require an escort. I am confident that amid a population only too glad to exchange Tibetan control for ours no trouble in the Towang area is to be anticipated. Nor, I presume, is the Tibetan Government likely to commit an act of war by sending troops into India. For his dignity, and to guard against any possible eventualities, however, I consider that an escort of half a platoon of the Assam Rifles should be with the Agent at Towang. Another half platoon on the long line of communications, stationed preferably at Dirangdzong, where it could effectively prevent Aka raids for tribute into the Control Area, would serve as an escort for the Junior Agent.

10. Accommodation for escorts.—Quarters will be necessary for the two Agents and the Assam Rifles detachments. I beg to suggest that the house occupied by the Tsona Dzungpons when they are in residence at Gyankar, which is of tone and was built by local villagers, be taken over for the Senior Agent's use as a temporary measure. The site is not a good one and should be changed later. The Assam Rifles could build quarters nearby. The Junior Agent could be accommodated in the Dzong at Dirangdzong, while there are many excellent sites nearby for the Assam Rifles escort.

Recommendations.—I desire to bring to the notice of Government the name of Major W. F. Brown, 2nd Assam Rifles. He was in command of the detachment of that battalion which accompanied me on the Towang

expedition. Both he and the detachment under his command carried out their duties with great efficiency and cheerfulness. often under very trying circumstances. Throughout the tour their work was of a very high level of efficiency and the discipline of the force was excellent.

I should also like to bring the work of the following officers to the notice of Government.

1. Sjt. Dwarike Nath Das, head clerk, Political Officer's office, Charduar.

This officer was largely responsible for the preliminary arrangements in the matter of ration dumping, and the sending up of stores before the Column left Charduar. His arrangements were excellent and largely contributed to the ease and comfort with which the tour was carried out. He was also responsible for all arrangements on the Lines of Communication. As an example, I would like to point out that in the whole period of over three months and in spite of bad weather, only 4 of the daily daks were received late. I cannot speak too highly of this officer's work.

2. Achung Tsering La, Tibetan Interpreter.—This officer was working on the line of communications for some months before the column started. He was responsible for the arrangement of local labour for ration and store carrying. He carried out his duties admirably, and it was only due to his untiring efforts that the start of the column was not long delayed. He carried out his other duties with great tact and skill and is trusted and liked by the Monbas.

3. Sub-Assistant Surgeon James Sunni.—This Sub-Assistant Surgeon was deputed to column duty in the Balipara Frontier Tract in November 1937. He was in the hills continuously until the middle of April 1938. During this period he carried out his arduous duties conscientiously and well, and without complaint.

(Sd.) G. S. LIGHTFOOT,  
Political Officer,  
Balipara Frontier Tract.

APPENDIX No. 1.

Example of tribute paid by villages in the Towang area.

1. Village Lomla (sheet 78 M. Sq. S. 4.5, 1.5) approx. 10 houses.

To the Tsom Dzongpons—

	Tankas.
240 tes of dhan—value .. .. .	60
1,000 sheets of paper value .. .. .	100
	(360 tankas value Rs. 45.)
20 wooden planks value .. .. .	200
4 tankas in cash value .. .. .	4

(1 te == approx. 1 ½ seers.)

In addition to the above feed all all visiting officers and carry free about 1,500 loads a year. The local rate for carrying is 6 annas a day and this forced labour is therefore equivalent to an additional tribute of over 560 a year.

To the Nyertsang of Towang-

	Tankas.
1,200 tes of grain worth.. .. .	... 300
To the Jora monastery at Tsona—	
140 tes of grain worth .. .. .	.. 35
To the Shengo of Kateng—	
640 tes of grain worth .. .. .	.. 140
To the Shengo of Phomang—	
120 tes of grain worth .. .. .	.. 32
Total ..	507

Or 64 Rupees.

In addition they carry free loads for the Nyertsang and the Shengos.

2. Village Manam (close to Lomla) approx. 30 houses.

Pays exactly the same as Lomla.

3. Village Shakti (sheet 78 M. Sq. S. 5.5,7.) approx. 35 houses.

To the Tsona Dzongpons—

		Tankas.
200 tankas in cash.	Value .. .. .	200
360 tes of grain.	Value .. .. .	120
	Total	320
		Or Rs. 40.

In addition they supply free food and carry free over 1,000 loads a year one day's march to Pangchen for the Tsona Dzongpons alone.

		Tankas.
To Jora monastery near Tsona—		
190 tes of grain.	Value .. .. .	.. 48
To Compase monastery near Tsona—		
190 tes of grain.	Value .. .. .	.. 48
To the Nyertsang of Towang—		
3,000 tes of grain.	Value .. .. .	.. 750
	Total ..	846
		or Rs. 105.

4. Village Tongleng (sheet 78 M. Sq. S. 10, 3.7) approx. 50 houses.

To the Tsona Dzongpons—

	Tankas.
180 tes of grain. Value .. . . . .	60
80 tes Tsamba. Value .. . . . .	20
180 tes fermented grain. Value .. . . . .	45
26 tankas in cash. Value .. . . . .	26
3,000 sheets of paper. Value .. . . . .	150
28 wooden planks. Value .. . . . .	280
Wool thread. Value .. . . . .	10
Total	591
	or Rs. 74.

Also many loads are carried free.

To the Nyertsang of Towang—

1,800 tes grain worth 450 tankas (Rs. 56).

This has to be carried to Towang.

To the Assts. To the Tsona Dzongpons—

	Tankas.
400 tes wheat. Value .. . . . .	133
36 tes Tsamba. Value .. . . . .	9
120 tes fermented grain. Value .. . . . .	30
Total	172
	or Rs. 21.

5. Village Mangam (sheet 78 M, Sq. S, 6.5, 1.5) with approx. 80 houses.

Pays exactly the same to the Tsona Dzongpons as Tongleng village, i.e.

Rs. 75.

To Nyertsang—

1,600 tes of grain worth 400 tankas (50 Rupees).

This village also carry loads.

6. Village Pamkerr (sheet 78 M, sq.T, 5, 3.5) 25 houses.

Pays exactly the same to the Tsona Dzongpons as Tongleng village and Mangnam, i.e., the equivalent of Rs. 75 plus free carriage of loads.

To the Nyertsang—

1,400 tes grain worth 350 tankas (44 Rupees.)

The above quantity of grain has to be carried to Towang.

7. Village Tengkerr (sheet 78 M, sq. T, 3.5, 2.5.) 6 houses.

To the Tsona Dzongpons—

	Tankas.
50 tes grain worth .. . . .	8
..	
Dyes (got from Bhutan) worth .. . . . .	15
To the Tsona Dzongpons' Assistants—	
1,000 tes grain worth ..	250
Total	273
	or Rs. 34.

To Gompase monastery, Tsona—

2 tes grain per house.

To the Nyertsang—

	Tankas.
1,000 tes grain worth .. . . .	250
..	(Rs. 31).

These villagers also carry loads.

8. Villages Shurbi (sheet 78 M, Sq. T, 4, 3) 18 houses.

To the Tsona Dzongpons—

	Tankas.
180 tes grain worth .. . . .	60
..	
5 planks worth .. . . . .	10
29 tes dyes worth .. . . . .	29





To Compase monastery—

		Tankas.
30 tes grain worth	... ..	8
To the Nyertsang—		
1,000 tes grain worth	... ..	250
	Total	330
		or Rs. 42.

11. Village Mibra (sheet 78 M, sq. T. 8. 3.5.) and Gyamkyalung village (sheet 78 M, sq. T, 7, 3.5) both of 6 houses. Pay exactly the same taxes as Motok village.

#### APPENDIX No. 2

Suggested boundaries for a Control Area in the Unadministered part of the Balipara Frontier Tract.

Southern boundary.— The Inner Line from the Dhansiri river on the west to the Bharelli to the East.

Western boundary.— The Eastern boundary of Bhutan. From the junction of the Bhairobkunda and Jhomri rivers, which is where the boundary cuts the North boundary of Assam (sheet 83 B), the boundary runs up the ridge to Hill 7096 (sheet 83 B, Sq. A.1) and thence to Nyurpa Gyamtso La (sheet 83 A, sq. G., 5, 2). From the Nyurpa Gyamtso La the line runs through hill 9290 (sq. G, 5.5, 3) Hill 10020 (sq. G. 2.5, 4.5), Messagon (sq.G, 1.5, 7.5), the Dangan La (sq. G, 2.3, 8.3) to Hill 10830 (sq. A, 4, 2.5).

From hill 10830 to hill 14600(sq. U, 1,9), the proper boundary has not yet been agreed to between Government and the Bhutan Durbar, as some parts are disputed. I will, in this area, give the approximate boundary.

From Hill 10830, the line runs through the Riso La (sq. A, 5, 5), Hill 14466 (sq. A, 2, 8), Hill 14828 (sq. A, 1, 9), Hill 14860 (sq. U, 1, 1), the Orka and Punsum La (sq. U, 1, 3), Hill 14450 (sq. U, 3, 6), to Hill 14600

(sq. U, 1, 9).

From Hill 14600, the boundary has been agreed upon by myself and the representatives of the Bhutan Durbar, but has not yet been ratified by Government. I will give the line we agreed on.

From Hill 14600, the boundary runs along the ridge to the south-west to the Nyuksang La (sheet 78 M, sq.Z, 4.5,7), whence it continues along the ridge to the peak at sq. Y, 9,5. From this point, the boundary leaves the ridge and runs North-West. It crosses the ridge running north east from point sq. Y, 6, 5, at a point at sq. Y, 8, 6, and thence runs down the valley of a small stream called the Ngangrang Chu to the main Towang Chu river which it joint at sq. Y, 4 9.5. The boundary then runs down the Towang Chu to point sq. Y, 1.6, 9, (just north of the second M in Manam) whence it turns north-west up a small river called the Warrang Chu to the Hill at sq. Y, .5, 10 (the small hill about ½ a mile west of the B in Beting). From this point, the line runs north-west up the ridge to a point on the main ridge at sq. R, 7.5, 2.5, whence it runs along the ridge through point sq. R, 8, 3.5, along the ridge to point sq. R, 6.5, 9.5, (Hill Dipla.).

From Dipla the boundary runs to Hill sq. K, 9.5, 2.5, where it meets the Northern boundary.

Northern boundary.—This boundary has not yet been precisely fixed, but the obvious boundary would run as follows. From the hill at sq. K, 9.5, 2.5, along the South boundary of the Tibetan district of Tsona, which is given herewith.

From Sq. K, 9.5, 2.5, South-east down the ridge to the hill at sq. L, 4.5, 0, and thence to the Nyamjang Chu river at point sq. S, 5, 9.5, whence it runs north-east up the ridge to the peak at point sq. L, 9, .5. From the point sq. L, 9, .5, the boundary runs in a straight line to the Milakatong La (sq. M, 4, 3) whence it runs in a line to the hill shown at sheet 83 A, sq. G, 3.5, 4.5, which is the most westerly point of the Macmahon line. Thence it would follow the Macmahon Line Eastwards as far as Gori Chen 83 A. sq. J, 3.5, 8.

Eastern boundary.— From Gori Chen, which lies at Sheet 83 A, Sq. J, 3.5,

8, the boundary runs south down the ridge to Sq. J, 6.5, 2, and thence through the Tse La (Sq. Q, 3, 8), Hill 13800 (Sq. Q 2, 3.5) and the Poshing La (Sq. Q, 2) to the Hill at Sq. W, 3, 6.2.

Thence South-east along the ridge to Sq. W. 6.5, 3.5, east to Hill at Sq. X, .3, 3.2 and thence to Hill, Gurion (hill 7590) at Sq. X, 2.5, .3. From Gurion, the line runs to Hill 8590 at Sq. D 1.2, 5.5.

Thence west, along the ridge to the Hill at Sq. C, 7, 6.5, and then south to the Tenga river at point Sq. C, 7.2, 2.8. The point where a river runs into the Tenga from the south, approx ½ mile from the "C" in C, B.

From this point, the boundary runs up that river to hill 10,540 at Sq. J, 6.5, 8, and thence to the Bompou La at Sq. J, 5, 7. From the Bompou La the boundary would follow the main path that runs down to the plains.