TIBET

THE IMPACT OF THE EXPLORATION, DISCOVERY, AND MAPPING OF TIBET ON THE OUTSIDE WORLD FROM WARREN HASTINGS TO THE INDO-CHINESE WAR OF 1962

A COLLECTION OF 766 BOOKS, ARTICLES, AND MAPS ON TIBET
This collection of 766 items—books, articles, and maps—on Tibet was assembled by Professor Derek Waller of Vanderbilt University in the course of his research on the pundits—the native agents employed by the British from 1863 onwards to penetrate, explore, and map the uncharted areas of Tibet where the British themselves were forbidden entry on pain of death. Professor Waller’s book will be published in the autumn of 1986.

It is not a collection on the art or religion of Tibet, although books on these subjects are included when relevant. It is about mapping, exploring, and above all boundaries, their definition, laying down, infringement and protection. It is a political collection, providing background information not readily available elsewhere on two major themes which run through Asian politics; first the Indo-Chinese Border dispute which culminated in the war of 1962, second the Great Game, the struggle for power in Central Asia between Britain and Russia in the nineteenth century, and its aftermath in the twentieth. The collection throws light on both these themes, and helps explain otherwise apparently irrational behaviour and attitudes.

As soon as the British gained control in India they started expanding their territories to the north. "The history of the period 1765-1947 in the Himalayan region is the history of Britain’s gradual extension of territory and influence to the southern borders of Tibet. By the end of the nineteenth century Ladakh, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan were all within the British sphere of influence and formed a series of buffer states between British India and Chinese controlled Tibet." (Marshall, Britain
But during this period Britain never managed to establish a defined and agreed border between India and Tibet. The principal attempt, the Simla Conference of 1913, left a legacy of muddle, cover-up, and a thoroughly unstable line of demarcation, so that when India gained independence from the British in 1947 she inherited a long established boundary dispute. At this point the problem was too local to be of concern to the rest of the world, but this quiescent state of affairs ended in 1950 when the Chinese People's Republic occupied Tibet. From then on the problem had potentially global ramifications, involving as it did two of the world's largest populations. India and China now shared a common boundary, and this a boundary which had never been satisfactorily defined. In 1962 this led to the Indo-China War, which ended with a cease fire, not a settlement; the boundary problem remains.

The other theme running through the collection is the story of The Great Game for supremacy in Central Asia played out between Britain and Russia in the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth century. Tibet and its neighbours formed "a crisis zone in 'The Great Game'...it was the fear of Russian influence in Tibet which was largely responsible for persuading the British Government to authorise the Younghusband Expedition to Tibet in 1903-4." (Marshall).

This collection, therefore, is not of interest merely to historians of the colonial period. It contains documentation and analysis relevant to two problems which affect Asian politics in the 1980s, and which are unlikely to disappear in the 1990s.

Apart from the political importance of the collection and the difficulty nowadays of assembling anything like it, it is of note for its accounts of travel, exploration, and mountaineering. From Turner (Items 703-5) and Kirkpatrick (Item 367) to Robert Byron (Item 367) most of the writers possess a clear, cogent prose style, whether they are searching for the source of the Tsangpo, the haunts of the ovis poli, the road to
Lhasa or the track of the Russians.

Six strengths of the collection deserve attention.

First, it contains substantial authorial sub-collections; among them 10 works by Hedin (Items 290-299), 10 by Younghusband, (Items 741-50), and 16 by Kingdon-Ward (Items 350-365).

Second, there are eye-witness accounts of events such as the Bhutan War (Items 2, 557), the Younghusband Expedition, (Items 741, 743, 455, 503, 714, 76, 389), etc.

Third, there are rarities, including Strahan: Report on the Explorations of Lama Serap Gyatsho, 1856-68; Explorer K-P, 1880-84; Lama U.G., 1883; Explorer R.N., 1885-6; Explorer P.A., 1885-6, in Sikkim, Bhutan, and Tibet. (only 150 copies of this work with its vital maps were issued); Forsyth, (Item 216), Report on the Yarkand Mission, with 102 mounted photographs by Chapman, whose copy it was. Many of the important works on exploration and mapping are increasingly hard to find, such as Moorcroft's Travels in the Himalayan Provinces (Item 468), Vigne's Kashmir (Item 710), Markham's Narratives of the Missions of Manning and Bogle (Item 435), Thomson's Western Himalayas (Item 672), Hedin's Southern Tibet, with its definitive and unsurpassed maps, Torren's Travels in Ladak, Tartary and Kashmir (Item 687), Oliphant's Journey to Katmandu (Item 501). Even modern reference works- Wessels, for example (Item 722) and Lessing (Item 402) are now hard to come by.

Fourth, there are articles from the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, Royal Asiatic Society, etc. Often the most vivid accounts are to be found in these journals, written by explorers immediately after their journeys, and before the labour of writing a full-length book on the subject dulled the freshness of their experience. Sometimes no book was written and the only accounts are in the pages of contemporary journals. An example is Hayward's Journey from Leh to Yarkand and Kashgar, RGS 1870.
Fifth, and of great political and diplomatic interest, two works in the collection throw a surprising light on Government intelligence at work, in one case, volume 14 of Aitchison's *Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads* (Item 5), involving the re-writing of history. After the publication of this work the British Government in India wished to make it appear that an unratified agreement at the Simla Conference between Britain and Tibet had in fact been ratified; The volume was withdrawn, the relevant pages re-written, and the work re-published with the original title page and date of publication unchanged. We have one of the few surviving originals.

Volume 5 of Phillimore's great work, *Historical Records of the Survey of India* (Item 526) was withdrawn by the Government of India before publication, and has never been released. We can only trace three copies which escaped; we are fortunate to have a photocopy from one of these three. It is no exaggeration to say that all scholars of the subject need to refer to this indispensable work continually, but are unable to do so because of Government censorship of what appears to be the most over-sensitive kind, and Phillimore's invaluable life work is left incomplete; the final volume might never have been written. (Further details of the complicated story of both works on request).

Sixth, The importance of the maps in this collection, from Rennell onwards, cannot be over-estimated. Many of them will never be equalled, let alone surpassed. There are 445 maps in Hedin's *Southern Tibet* alone; Forsyth, Hayward, the pundits, etc. etc. made outstanding maps of virtually unknown and inaccessible country. As late as 1871 Shaw (Item 617- *Visits to High Tartary, Yarkand, and Kashgar*), discussing the geographical relation of Tibet to India, could write "Imagine a wall supporting behind it a high terrace of gravel...but what lies beyond, on the further side of the gravel terrace? Is it supported on that side also by a wall of mountains, or does it stretch away?" No one knew, and
explorers laboured in impossible terrain, often in peril of their lives, to record paths known previously only to a handful of remote tribesmen and a few mountain goats, so that eventually no one would have to write, as Forsyth was forced to, "The Boundaries laid down on this Map are approximate only, and are not to be considered authoritative." (Item 216)."

There follows a Foreword by Julie G. Marshall putting some of the works in this collection in their historical context. Miss Marshall's bibliography *Britain and Tibet 1765-1947 The Background to the India-China Border Dispute* (La Trobe University Library 1977) is an indispensable guide to any study of the subject.
TIBET

JULIE G. MARSHALL.

Tibet has long fascinated Westerners both because of its remote, romantic location situated on a high mountain plateau surrounded on three sides by massive mountain ranges, and because of its unique form of theocratic government. Furthermore, before the 1950s, the Tibetans maintained a policy of isolation, and repeatedly rebuffed attempts by foreigners, especially the British, to enter their land.

This collection of books and articles includes much more than accounts of Tibet, its people and customs. It also documents the history of British attempts to establish relations with Tibet from the eighteenth century, and British associations with the Himalayan states of Ladakh, Lahul and Spiti, Kumaon, Garhwal, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Assam. These regions had traditional religious, economic and political connections with Tibet. Thus once the English East India Company took over Bengal in 1765 and began expanding its territory to the borders of the Himalayan area, it was inevitable that the British should have some contact with Tibet.

Although the first contact came through the survey work of the Company's Surveyor-General, James Rennell (Items 555,556,557), who penetrated to the borders of Bhutan in 1766, the early interest of the Company in the area was commercial. Its acquisition of Bengal coincided with the conquest of most of Nepal by the Gurkhas under Prithvi Narayan and the disruption of the trans-Himalayan trade which passed through the Nepal Valley. With this trade route closed, the Company began to look towards Bhutan and Assam hoping to find alternative routes to Tibet which also might lead to the lucrative markets of China.

The first serious attempt to open direct relations with Tibet came
from Warren Hastings (Items 129,245,430), who began his administration of Bengal in 1772. His opportunity came with the outbreak of war between Bhutan and the Indian state of Cooch Behar in 1773. Cooch Behar appealed to the Company for help. The successful campaign waged by the Company, and the intervention of the Panchen Lama of Tibet on behalf of the Bhutanese, led to the Bogle Mission to Tibet in 1774 (Item 435) and the Turner Mission in 1783 (Items 703-5).

In Nepal the Gurkhas continued their military expansion and between 1788-1792 twice invaded Tibet. After Chinese military intervention the Gurkhas appealed to the British for help and in 1792 signed a commercial treaty with them in the hope of aid. Cornwallis, the Governor-General, instead sent Colonel William Kirkpatrick (Item 367) on a mission to Kathmandu to act as a mediator in the war, but by the time of his arrival in 1793 the Chinese had defeated the Gurkhas and concluded a treaty with them. Furthermore Chinese suspicions that the British had aided the Gurkhas has been given as a reason for the failure of the first English mission to China led by Lord Macartney (Items 29, 564).

The British continued to try and improve trade relations with Nepal but territorial encroachments by the Gurkhas into British protected states led to the Anglo-Nepalese War of 1814-1816 (Items 29,564). Nepal was forced to accept a British resident in Kathmandu by the Treaty of Segauli which ended the war, and the later history of Nepal is contained in the accounts of residents such as Brian Houghton Hodgson (Items 305,310), and of members of the Residency staff (Items 500,501).

Attempts by individual travellers to enter Tibet in the nineteenth and early twentieth century were mainly concentrated in the Western Himalayan region and this collection of books and articles contains many of the original accounts of these travellers. They include William Moorcroft (Items 103,468), the first Englishman to enter Tibet from this
region, Alexander Gerard (Item 239), William Lloyd (Item 411), Cunningham (Item 102), Skinner (Item 637), Vigne (Item 710) Thomson (Item 672), Torrens (Item 687), Bower (Item 58), Knight (Item 374), Wellby (Item 721), Deasy (Items 130,131), and Landor (Items 395-8). As well as these British explorers other Europeans such as Sven Hedin (Items 290-302) and Bonvalot (Items 52-4), and the American, Crosby (Item 101), reached Tibet from Central Asia. Few of these travellers were successful in penetrating far into the country and the only Europeans to reach Lhasa in the nineteenth century were an Englishman, Thomas Manning, in 1811 (Items 431,435), and two French Lazarist priests, Huc and Gabet in 1846 (Items 314-5). British information about Tibet, therefore, largely depended on the journeys of the native explorers, or pundits, employed by the Survey of India, who were able to travel in areas barred to Europeans. From 1865 the pundits travelled extensively in Tibet and several of them, notably Nain Singh (Item 465), Kishen Singh (A.K.) (Items 466, 716), and Sarat Chandra Das (Items 119-20) reached Lhasa. An account of the exploration of a number of the other pundits including Kinhup (K.P.), who first successfully identified the course of the Tsangpo River of Tibet, is contained in Item 653.

The most direct route to Tibet from Bengal was through Sikkim, but it was not until after the Anglo-Sikkimese War of 1861 that this became the main area through which the British attempted to open relations with Tibet. The 1861 treaty removed restrictions on travel in Sikkim and it was not long before British travellers and officials took advantage of this to visit the Tibetan frontier (Items 164,666,725). In 1890 an Anglo-Chinese Convention defined the boundary between Sikkim and Tibet, and three years later a supplementary trade agreement was appended to this Convention. But the Tibetans refused to recognise the Convention and by 1899, when Lord Curzon (Items 105,106,586) became Viceroy of India, Chinese power in Tibet was in eclipse. Curzon made several attempts to deal directly with the Tibetans, but his letters were returned unopened
at a time when news of a Russian mission to Tibet had reached India.

Curzon had long studied with apprehension the growth of Russian influence in Asia (Item 105), and it was mainly the fear of Russian influence in Tibet which persuaded the British Government to authorise the Younghusband Expedition to Tibet in 1903-4. Accounts by members of the Expedition- Younghusband (Items 741,743), Millington (Item 455), Ottley (Item 503) and Waddell (Item 714), make fascinating reading, whilst views of journalists are provided by the "Daily Mail" correspondent, Edmund Candler (Item 76), and the "Times" correspondent, Percival Landon (Item 389), who accompanied the Expedition to Lhasa. After the Younghusband Expedition Frederick O'Connor (Items 498,499) was appointed first British Trade Agent at Gyantse and Captain Rawling (Item 545) surveyed much of the area from Gyantse to Gartok in Western Tibet.

In 1905 there was a change of Government in Britain with John Morley as the new Secretary of State for India. His policy was one of non-interference in Tibet and by 1908 the British had effectively abandoned the pre-eminent position won for them in Tibet by Younghusband. The Chinese soon took advantage of the British withdrawal to restore their control and by 1910 their troops had reached Lhasa forcing the Dalai Lama to flee to India. Furthermore their consolidation of control in Eastern Tibet and their activities in Pome and Zayul, two districts which had southern borders with the tribal areas of the Assam Himalayan region, posed a direct threat to the security of the North East Frontier of India.

Britain had first come into contact with the tribes of the Assam Himalayan region with the annexation of Assam following the first Anglo-Burmese War in 1826. Throughout the nineteenth century the region was regarded mainly as a buffer between Assam and Tibet, and although there was some exploration by British officials (Items 115-7,483,484)
there was little attempt to extend jurisdiction over the tribal areas. It was not until 1911 that expeditions were sent into areas controlled by the Abors (Items 268,407), Miris and Mishmis (Items 20,613,614) and Akas, one of their aims being to explore and survey the unknown sections of this region in order to obtain information for use in defining a new frontier between India and Tibet.

In 1914 at the Simla Conference Britain concluded a secret agreement with Tibet defining the Indian-Tibetan border between Bhutan and Burma. This boundary, which followed roughly the crest of the Himalayas, has become known as the McMahon Line. This agreement, however, was not published, and it was not until the mid 1930s that attempts were made to have the existence of the McMahon Line made public. This followed an incident involving the botanist Kingdon Ward (Items 350-366), who crossed into Tibet from Tawang without Tibetan Government permission, and the publication of Chinese maps showing the Assam Himalayan region as part of Chinese Tibet. In 1938 the British decided to produce a revised version of volume XLV of Aitchison's Treaties and to substitute it for the same volume issued in 1929 which had not mentioned the McMahon Line. The revised version was identical to the 1929 edition, including the date of publication, except for the passages relating to the Simla Conference. Orders were given to destroy the original copies of the 1929 edition. One of the few to survive is contained in this collection (Item 5).

From 1914-1947 Tibet existed virtually as an independent neutral state following a policy of non-alignment between Britain and China. Official visits to Tibet were made by the Political Officers of Sikkim-Charles Bell in 1920-21 (Items 39-41), Bailey in 1924, Weir in 1930, Williamson in 1935, and Gould in 1936-1937 and 1940 (Items 84,252). Restrictions on travellers to Tibet were to some extent relaxed in this period, especially following Bell's visit, and some expeditions were
permitted to visit Mount Everest (Items 62,313,489,496,591).

In 1947 British obligations and rights in Tibet under existing treaties passed to the Government of India. The fragility of Tibet's independence and neutrality was demonstrated soon afterwards by the successful Communist Chinese invasion of Tibet in 1950.
REPORT

OF

MR. A. HOSIE,

HIS MAJESTY'S CONSUL-GENERAL AT CHENG'TU,

ON

A

JOURNEY TO THE EASTERN FRONTIER OF TIBET.

[WITH A MAP]

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty.
August 1866.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE, BY HARRISON AND SONS, ST. MARTIN'S LANE, PRINTERS TO COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

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[OD. 2596]. Price 1s. 6d.

SCIENTIFIC RESULTS

OF

THE SECOND YARKAND MISSION:

MEMOIR

OF

THE

LIFE AND WORK

OF

FERDINAND STOLICZKA, Ph.D.

PALEONTOLOGIST TO THE GEORGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF POLAND

By

V. BALL, M.A., F.R.S., F.G.S.

Director of the Geological Survey of India.

Published by Order of the Government of India.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE
FOR HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE.
1896.
REPORT

OF

A MISSION TO YARKUND IN 1873,

UNDER COMMAND OF

SIR T. D. FORSYTH, K.C.S.I., C.B.,

BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE.

WITH

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

REGARDING THE

POSSESSIONS OF THE AMEER OF YARKUND.

CALCUTTA:
PRINTED AT THE FOREIGN DEPARTMENT PRESS.
1875.
A CAMP IN THE HIMALAYAS.
Jumna 24,000 ft from Chooniherma Pass 16,000 ft East Nepal.


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<td>111</td>
<td>Dalai Lama</td>
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<td>New Delhi</td>
<td>1949</td>
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   X Teil 1: (1) Zoologische Sammlungen bearbeitet von C. Attems, Malcolm Burr, A. Forel, H. Friese.


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